Cape Peninsula
University of Technology

CULTURAL HERITAGE REGENERATION OF DISTRICT SIX: A CREATIVE
TOURISM APPROACH

by

SIRHAN JESSA

Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree

Master of Technology: Tourism and Hospitality Management

in the Faculty of Business and Management Sciences

at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology

Supervisor: Professor J N Steyn

Co-supervisor: Professor J P Spencer

Cape Town

March 2015

DECLARATION

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this dissertation is my own work, that all sources used and quoted have been cited and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this dissertation was not previously submitted to any other university or university of technology for degree purposes.

_____   _____

Sirhan Jessa   **Date: 1 March 2015**

CONFIRMATION OF PROOFREADING

8 Briar Close
Silverglade
Fish Hoek
7975
proskeh@gmail.com
24.04.2014

To whom it may concern:

I have proofread and edited the thesis:

Cultural heritage regeneration in District Six: A creative tourism approach

by Sirhan Jessa, a dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Technologiae (Travel and Events Management) in the Faculty of Business at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Suggested corrections and/or alterations have been affected.

Rolfe Proske

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ABSTRACT

This study is aimed at determining whether the potential exists for further developing cultural and heritage tourism activities in the redeveloping District Six. A rich and diverse cultural heritage provides the basis from which the study examines whether the implementation of a cultural heritage tourism plan in the redeveloping area, is appropriate, will help address issues of restitution and ultimately contribute to the country's cultural heritage tourism assets. Currently no formal tourism plan for District Six exists.

A historical study provides an assessment of the areas' cultural heritage assets, manifested in politics, music and dance, art, literature, and architecture. A search of existing cultural and heritage tourism literature was conducted in order to gain insight into the descriptive, theoretical and conceptual research questions identified. Relevant development policies and frameworks impacting and supporting potential tourism development in the area were examined. These include the DFD6 (2011) and the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012). Creative tourism was further examined as a tool to augment the tourism product and positively contribute to cultural regeneration. Business and functional linkages to assist the integration of District Six tourism into the broader economy were then identified.

A comparative analysis of the introduction of a cultural heritage tourism plan in Genadendal is made. This area experienced similar socio- political and historical conditions as District Six. Thus, parallels of the potential challenges were drawn and opportunities identified.

A theoretical model for cultural heritage tourism in District Six is then presented by identifying and explaining elements of model theory, discussing models applicable to the research area and adapting a normative framework for cultural heritage tourism on the Cape Flats. The model recommends solutions to problems such as a lack of capacity and skills, funding and investment, public participation and stakeholder engagement.

Furthermore, an empirical survey in the form of in-depth interviews was administered to seventeen relevant academics, heritage and tourism practitioners, resident representatives and development consultants. The methodology included extracting qualitative data through transcribing interviews and thematically presenting and analysing the data. Finally, a list of recommendations is provided.

CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

b

KEYWORDS

Claimants

Community cohesion

Community development

Creative tourism

Cultural heritage tourism

Cultural regeneration

Economic empowerment

Forced removals

Genadendal

Heritage interpretation

Heritage presentation

Public participation

Restitution

Social justice

Sustainability

Urban regeneration

Urban design

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

BB BEE: Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment

CATHSETA: Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality, Sports Sector Education and Training Authority

CCDI: Cape Craft and Design Institute

CMP: Conservation Management Plan

CoCT: City of Cape Town

CPUT: Cape Peninsula University of Technology

CTT: Cape Town Tourism

D6BRT: District Six Beneficiaries and Redevelopment Trust

D6M: The District Six Museum

DEAT: Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism

DECAS: Department of Arts and Culture

DFD6: Development Framework for District Six 2011

GEAR: Growth Employment and Redistribution

NDT: National Department of Tourism

NGO: Non-Governmental Organisation

NHTS: National Heritage Tourism Strategy 2012

NPO: Not for Profit Organisation

SAHRA: South African Heritage Resources Agency

SAT: South African Tourism

SPV: Special Purpose Vehicle

TEP: Tourism Enterprise Programme

TMP: Tourism Mentorship Programme

UCT: University of Cape Town

UWC: University of the Western Cape

WCCC: Western Cape Cultural Commission

WCG: Western Cape Government

WESGRO: Western Cape Destination Marketing, Investment and Trade Promotion Agency

CHAPTER ONE

SETTING THE RESEARCH DETAIL

1.1   Introduction and background

South Africa, 1994, marks a transition from a racist apartheid society that denied basic human rights to the majority of its citizens, to a fully democratic state, in one of the most celebrated political changes of modern times (Butler & Suntikul, 2010; Dieke, 2010). The implication of this change for its tourism industry was massive and represented a critical moment for South Africa's tourism development. National tourism policy was developed to address the imbalances created by apartheid in recognition that the tourism industry would become increasingly important in achieving government's goals of reconstruction and development (Smith & Robinson, 2006; Butler & Suntikul, 2010). Tourism was to become a catalyst for social change and healing in South Africa through income generation, skills development and the creation of meaningful employment (Marschall, 2005).

South Africa has since achieved many of its tourism development objectives and currently enjoys a 5% annual industry growth rate. This translates to 7.9% of the total Gross Domestic Product and R189.4 billion of revenue, (National Department of Tourism, 2010) employing roughly 7% of the country's workforce. Relevantly, cultural and heritage tourism is the fastest growing tourism market worldwide (Grobbler, 2008). In post-apartheid South Africa, many new memorials, statues and heritage sites have been created throughout the country making heritage tourism a strongly emerging sector of the South African tourism industry (Marschall, 2005).

Despite these positive changes Goudie, Khan and Kilian (1999), argue that for many communities tourism brings no more than mundane, low paid and seasonal jobs instead of real empowerment. South Africa has not fulfilled its potential. According to Ashley, Poultney, Haysom, McNab and Harris (2005) and the South African National Department of Tourism, cultural and heritage tourism has not been fully exploited and is underperforming, citing a need for its products to be more authentic, targeted and sophisticated.

Additional challenges include the legacy of poor education (Ashley et al. 2005) and a lack of business and marketing skills which result in difficulties for previously disadvantaged communities to compete (Goudie et al.,1999). These authors support the argument that privatisation of state assets is increasing, the national tourism budget is being reduced and there is a growing presence of multi-national corporations in local markets. Goudie et al. (1999:22), argue that the tourism industry runs the risk of perpetuating negative impacts (such as crime), and replicating past divisions.

The community of District Six is one such disadvantaged and marginalised community. Displaced in 1966, under the apartheid Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950, this community of 60 000 people were forcibly removed to the Cape Flats, while their homes were razed to the ground (Prosalendis, Soudien, Marot & Nagia, 2001). Le Grange (2001) suggests that of all the areas destroyed during apartheid, District Six has been the most celebrated, as it had become the symbol of displacement and hurt caused by the Group Areas Act. It is an area remembered by many as a place where people were able to cross religious, class and social boundaries, the exact reason it offended the racist inclinations of the Apartheid Government (Prosalendis et al., 2001). Having had a unique, yet diverse and distinct culture with a rich architectural heritage (Fransen, 1966), District Six occupies a special place in the history of South Africa.

Despite reports of its poor execution, the Land Restitution Act, No. 22 of 1994 (Rassool & Thorne, 2001), born from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, allows for compensation or full restitution to persons deprived of land after 1913, thus allowing former District Six residents to submit land claims. The 2 500 ex-residents who have to date lodged claims (DFD6, 2011) are represented, together with the District Six Museum and the District Six Beneficiary's and Redevelopment Trust.

The Western Cape Regional Land Claims Commissions Office in conjunction with the City of Cape Town, commissioned the Draft Development Framework Document for District Six (2005), which would determine the capacity and plan for urban redevelopment. The latest Development Framework (November 2011) offers more detail on the scale and nature of the project, and is informed by an interdisciplinary team of professionals (DFD6, 2011).

The DFD6 is used as a strategic planning tool to guide the redevelopment, decision making, and assist in the development of a holistic strategy for claimants and authorities. The framework is intended to facilitate the redevelopment process so that it is conducted in a co-ordinated and structured manner, thereby encouraging the "...*attractive, efficient and functional use of sensitive space..."* (DFD6, 2011:9).

If government goals for employment creation, poverty reduction, and skills development in a currently under-utilised tourism destination are to be achieved, an increase in community awareness of economic and social significance of tourism is needed, as well as an increase of authentic tourism attractions (City of Cape Town, 2004. Tourism Development Framework Report). There also exists a need to strengthen the unique elements of Cape Town's culture, heritage and lifestyles in product development. The need for new authentic products is further discussed by Heath (2002) who argues that the global tourism market is becoming increasingly more competitive, dynamic and sophisticated. Cape Town has a wealth of

culture and heritage products that are of global significance (National Department of Tourism, 2010) which is proof that the market potential exists (Heath, 2002).

To illustrate the potential for cultural heritage tourism, Dallen and Boyd (2003) suggest that in addition to general tourism services such as accommodation, transport and tours, cultural heritage tourism activities are broad and would include material and immaterial forms of culture. Material forms of culture and heritage include visits to monuments, historical or architectural remains and artefacts on display in museums. Immaterial forms of heritage include philosophy, traditions and art in all their manifestations, the celebration of great events or personalities in history and offer a distinctive way of life. Its broad application and educational value should also be considered as part of the cultural heritage tourism product.

It is against this backdrop, given its unique geographic location, rich historical, cultural and political value, that the research will explore the potential that District Six holds to realise cultural heritage tourism's long term economic and social benefits, (National Department of Tourism 2010; Ashley et al., 2005), rejuvenate a lost community and complement and engage other tourism products. Currently no proposals have been tabled for the development of any formalised tourism activity.

This chapter contains the various guiding components of the research, including a problem statement, key questions and study objectives. The delimitations of the study field, research methodology, framework for the design of a theoretical model, and chapter summary is provided.

1.2   Statement of the research problem

Currently no formal tourism plan has been tabled for District Six. The opportunity for cultural and creative tourism to address the dire socio-economic needs of a fragmented community through the creation of meaningful employment, develop skills and contribution to urban regeneration, cultural regeneration and ultimately restitution has not been fully investigated.

1.2.1   Sub-problem 1

Land restitution is a priority in District Six. Therefore any tourism plan must contribute to and be aligned with this process. It would be necessary to investigate how tourism in District Six could be applied to current development frameworks and tourism policy, lobby political support and add to the nations' cultural and heritage assets, and begin to address a currently weak, underperforming cultural heritage tourism sector.

1.2.2   Sub-problem 2

A successful cultural heritage tourism plan in District Six would need to address the nature and scope of tourism development which is appropriate. In addition, obtaining the skills and funding resources would be challenging. Furthermore effective public participation, ensuring the authenticity of the tourism product and maintaining the integrity of the areas' heritage is critical to achieve positive outcomes of tourism in the area.

1.3   Research objectives

The objectives of the research are to:

- Provide a historical overview of District Six, its redevelopment, and an assessment of its heritage and cultural assets.
- Gain insight and understanding into the subject of cultural heritage tourism, debates, challenges and opportunities.
- Gain insight and understanding into the subject of creative tourism and explore the contributory role it could play in cultural regeneration in the area.
- Identify and assess relevant development frameworks and tourism policies which would impact cultural heritage tourism development in District Six.
- Explore the functional and business linkages which would support the development of cultural heritage tourism.
- Conduct a comparative study on a recently redeveloped cultural heritage site, with common socio-political and historic conditions to District Six and,
- Develop a theoretical model for cultural heritage tourism in District Six. The model should recommend solutions to problems such as lack of capacity and skills, funding/ investment, public participation and stakeholder engagement.

1.4   Key research questions

Following on the stated objectives, the key questions to be answered by this study are as follows:

- Is the development of cultural heritage tourism relevant in District Six? Can this form of tourism contribute to the restitution process, cultural regeneration, social justice and community cohesion?
- Is the development of creative tourism relevant in District Six? What role could creative tourism play in contributing to cultural and urban regeneration?
- Do the DFD6 (2011), the National Heritage Tourism Policy (2012) and other relevant economic development and tourism policies support and encourage the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six?
- How will skills funding and other resource shortages be addressed? Who will develop and manage a cultural heritage tourism plan for District Six?
- What lessons could be drawn from the opportunities and challenges, faced by other recently developed heritage sites in South Africa?
- What elements would a theoretical model for the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six contain? How would these elements address planning, funding, training and stakeholder engagement challenges?

1.5   Delineation of the research

District Six is emotionally charged, the restitution process is fraught with difficulty and disparaging political conditions are stalling the land claims process. These factors complicate the research area and demand that comprehensive studies are conducted. This research study will explore the potential for cultural heritage tourism development. The study will not measure resident attitudes towards tourism, nor will it assess thereof.

The research focuses on the geographic area of the current redeveloping District Six, that is, vacant land which is currently zoned for urban redevelopment and restitution. "Community" in this study, will therefore refer to those individuals who are returning to the area, have land restitution rights or have pending land claims.

The empirical survey will be limited to land claims representatives (District Six Redevelopment Beneficiaries Trust) and professional individuals concerned with the redevelopment and restitution process or who have related in depth tourism development and heritage knowledge. Actual claimants and residents will not be considered as this requires an in-depth study of its own.

1.6   Research methodology

An overview of the existing literature is provided in order to gain insight into the descriptive, theoretical and conceptual research questions posed.

An empirical survey in the form of face-to-face interviews was conducted. Interviews are later transcribed and the data thematically analysed. The research methodology is now discussed in more detail.

1.6.1   Literature search

In order to provide the context in which the potential for developing cultural heritage tourism could be assessed, a historical analysis and chronology of events which occurred in District Six is provided. The historical analysis mainly involved consulting secondary data sources and included locating existing sources such as documents, newspaper reports, photographs and relics in which past information has been preserved. The District Six Museum provided a wealth of literary information.

This exploratory, historical descriptive research attempted to reconstruct the past of District Six as accurately as possible, which is well documented in books published by the District Six Museum, for example, "Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and curating the District Six Museum" (2001). A number of books and journals were accessed such as Fransen's "Last Days of District Six" (1996) and "The architecture that Cape Town lost".

The DFD6 (2011) was a valuable source of information and details the heritage assets which existed prior to demolitions. It was important to closely examine this document, as any tourism plan would be subject to the principles contained therein.

A review of economic and tourism policies, tourism strategies and relevant tourism frameworks was conducted to investigate a regulatory framework from which tourism in District Six could operate. Some examples included The White Paper on Sustainable Tourism Development (1994), The Responsible Tourism Policy for the City of Cape Town (2003), The Tourism Development Framework for the City of Cape Town (2005), The National Department of Tourism's National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012) and a Parliamentary Portfolio committee workshop document on developing a national strategy for Cultural Heritage Tourism Development (2010), among others.

Available literature sources (books, journals, published theses, and digital resources) were reviewed to gain an understanding of cultural heritage and creative tourism, current trends and debates, its application and challenges.

Furthermore, a theoretical model building study was conducted to address the challenges of the lack of capacity and skills, funding and investment, public participation, and stakeholder engagement. Books and journals detailing public management theoretical models were consulted and theses, in particular, "Developing a normative model for cultural tourism on the Cape Flats" (Ismail, 2008) were relevantly examined.

In addition, text books detailing the technical aspects of academic writing and how to read and analyse text critically were consulted such as "Finding your way in academic writing" (Henning, Gravett & van Rensburg, 2005).

1.6.2   Empirical survey

The empirical survey involved conducting interviews at respondents' homes or places of work and views were recorded using a digital dicta-phone. The interview schedule consisted of six main questions with related sub-questions. While the majority of questions were open-ended, respondents were required to complete some multiple choice and yes-or-no questions. The objective of the empirical survey was to obtain primary information which would provide insight and understanding into the research problem and key research questions posed.

The questionnaire was designed in conjunction with a supervisor, co-supervisor and registered statistician who provided guidance on the formulation of descriptive exploratory questions, methods and techniques. A literature review of research methodology text books was also consulted, such as "Research Methodology" (Wellman & Kruger, 1999). This provided information on the technical considerations of constructing a questionnaire and conducting an interview.

1.6.3   Description of the research population

The total research population consisted of 20 individuals at the highest possible level of their profession, including directors of local and regional tourism and heritage government departments, tourism and heritage institutions (e.g. South African Heritage and Resources Agency, The Department of Arts and Culture, Cape Town Tourism), District Six Museum trustees, university professors and academics, lead development consultants (economic and urban) and residents or claimants represented by the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust.

The total number of respondents consisted of 17 individuals and comprised of at least two members from each institution listed above, Interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically. The final report is presented in detail in the research methodology chapter.

1.7   Summary

This Chapter outlines the research problem and the research design that was used to achieve the research objectives and answer the key research questions posed. The following Chapter addresses the first research objective by providing an historical overview of District Six and an assessment of its cultural and heritage assets.

CHAPTER TWO

DISTRICT SIX IN RETROSPECT

2.1   Introduction

This chapter prepares the background of the study by providing an historical overview of District Six. A review of the area's early settlement, expansion, subsequent forced removals and current land restitution process sets the scene. An assessment of the main cultural and heritage elements, associated recreational activities, and general lifestyle of the area's inhabitants provides a basis from which future tourism activities could be developed. Furthermore, a general examination of the appropriate interpretation and presentation of the area's heritage, together with the formation and current role of the District Six Museum is presented.

2.2   Location

Located in what is today one of South Africa's prime real estate areas, District Six sits snugly on the fringe of Cape Town's central business district, nestled on the northern slopes of Devil's Peak (Le Grange, 2008). Commanding sweeping views over the Table Bay harbour and the recently proclaimed World Heritage Site of Table Mountain to the west, District Six today covers an approximate area of 150 hectares (DFD6, 2011). The area officially extends from Trafalgar Park and the suburb of Walmer Estate in the east to the main railway line and Castle to the north, with Buitenkant and Roeland Streets in the west. The location and area currently zoned for redevelopment is displayed in Figure 2.1. Figure 2.2 provides an illustration of the greater Cape Town area and District Six location in relation to the Cape Flats, while Figure 2.3 provides a closer look at the historic street grid.

Figure 2.1: Aerial view of D6 (DFD6, 2011:1)
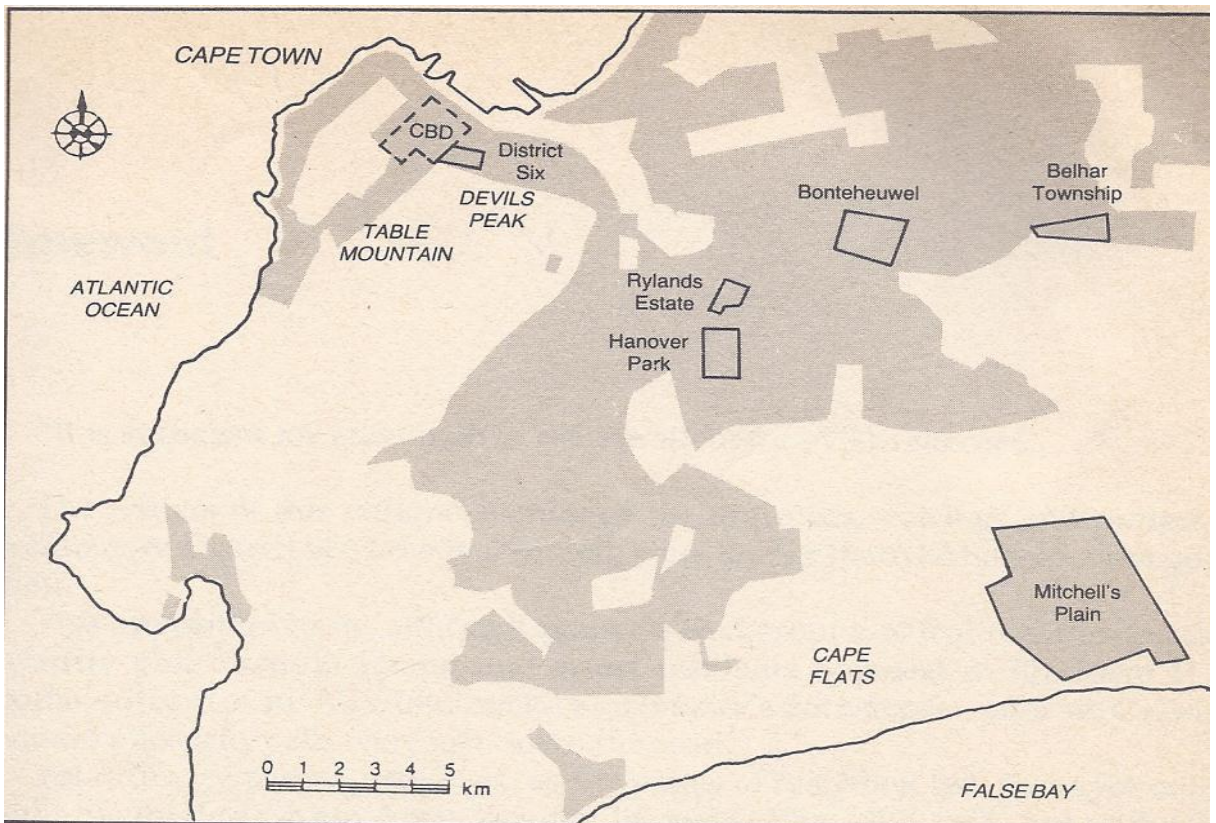
Figure 2.2: Map of Cape Town including D6 (Jeppie & Soudien 1990:9)
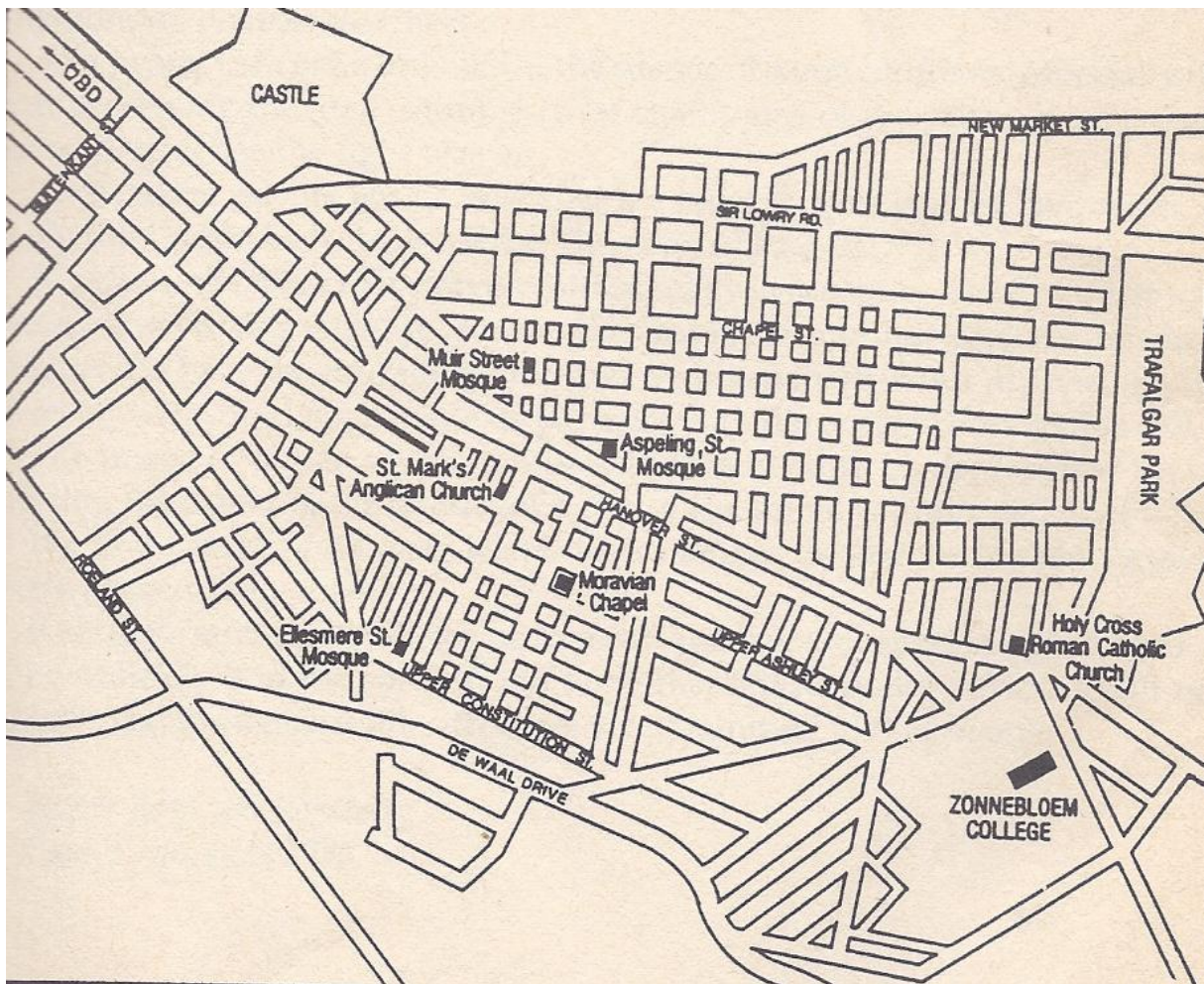
Figure 2.3: Historic street grid, D6, Cape Town n.d. (Jeppie & Soudien 1990:9)

2.3   Early settlement

The early years of colonisation at the Cape saw settlements occurring mainly around the slopes of Lions Head and Signal Hill (Manuel, 1967). It was only when overcrowding occurred that the population began to build their homes on the slopes of Devils Peak (Manuel, 1967:1). Prior to this in around the year 1800, human activity in the area was limited to agriculture, such as the wine farms of Zonnebloem and Bloemhof (Swanson & Harries, 2001) and the slopes of Devils Peak were largely an open expanse of uninhabited land (Soudien, 2001a).

The British banned the slave trade in 1807 and the importation of slaves to the Cape was thus prohibited. With the final abolition of slavery in 1834 (Bickford-Smith, 2001) around 5 000 slaves, who were housed with their owners, suddenly needed accommodation (Pinnock, 1980). Muslim slaves, mainly of Malay origin, found their homes on the slopes of Lions Head in Bo-Kaap, and others beyond Roeland Street in temporary housing, while others settled in Kanaladorp.

The origins of the name Kanaladorp are either due to the number of canals (Buitengracht, Buitenkant and other canals), it was necessary to cross to get there (Manuel, 1967), or the "spirit of kanala", a Malay word meaning to "help one another." The term is most likely derived from the common thread of poverty, shared experiences of struggle, and neighbourhood solidarity, felt amongst freed slaves who settled on the outskirts of the city (Swanson & Harris, 2001; District Six Museum, n.d.).

Many former slaves were skilled artisans and craftsman, and they gradually improved their living conditions (Pinnock, 1980). In the period after slavery all men (not women) were regarded as equal before the law, and could vote in local and central government elections. The contradiction however was that non-white voters had to earn a certain wage, or own property to enjoy this right (Bickford-Smith, 2001). District Six thus became an established community of freed slaves, merchants, artisans, labourers and immigrants, with close links to the city and port (McEachern, 1998).

Hanover Street was built as an extension of Darling Street (Pinnock, 1980). District Six in the 1850's consisted largely of two-storied houses, clustered along Sir Lowry Road and Hanover Street. A flourishing population of 3 000 people lived in densely packed rows of terraced houses (Soudien, 2001a). During the 1800's, a large number of Xhosa people lived in the centre of town, many of whom were refugees from the wars on the Eastern frontiers and the cattle killings of 1857 (Bickford-Smith, 2001). Ad-hoc planning and development, with little regulation of building plans, and a lack of a clear strategy, led to the creation of approximately twenty landholding developments between 1812 and 1860 (Le Grange, 2003).

The following extract is from a French tourist who visited the Cape in 1861 and provided his 'first impressions'. *"It is a rambling untidy locality…. busy, striving, energetic population have thrown themselves upon the soil, built houses of every shape and size… while a feeble and paralysed local government is powerless to enforce the most ordinary regulations necessary for the well-being of a rapidly growing town"* (Herzberg, 1966:7).

The introduction of railways and tramways during the 1860's and 1870's saw wealthier residents relocate to Green Point, Sea Point and Gardens, leaving District Six largely inhabited by the urban poor (Soudien, 2008). The 1865 census recorded 700 "Kafirs" in Papendorp (Woodstock), and by 1900 there were approximately 1 500 Black dock workers living in barracks and about 8 000 Blacks (Bickford-Smith, 2001; District Six Musuem, n.d) living in the city, working as labourers, builders, cleaners, coal merchants or in the brick-fields, tramways, at the Strand Street Quarry or the mountain reservoirs (Bickford-Smith, 2001).

2.3.1 Authorised expansion

The 1867 Municipal Act divided Cape Town into six districts and Kanaladorp officially became District Six (Soudien, 2001b:105). At this time, District Six was significantly overcrowded (Pinnock 1980). Soudien (2001b), Le Grange (2003), Rassool and Prosalendis, (2001) and Manuel (1967) record that the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in the same year caused District Six to grow rapidly to house the merchant classes from India, China, Europe and Australia. The years after 1880 saw District Six develop in a more formalised pattern, the mining boom encouraging the local authority to tighten regulations. By the early 1900's the district became a tightly structured precinct (Le Grange 2003). Housing a heterogeneous group of White, Coloured and African's, actual ownership of property in District Six was predominantly held and controlled by White landlords (McEachearn, 1998; Western, 1981).

Renting property was a lucrative business and saw an estimated 12% annual return, so these tenants reasonably felt exploited (Warren, n.d.). Most notable among these landlords was J.A.H. Wicht, a commissioner for the Cape Town municipality, who in 1854 owned 23 lots of ground and 62 houses valued at £75. By 1865 he owned 374 houses in Cape Town accommodating around 4 000 tenants (Warren, n.d.).

The period of 1881-1914 saw a large migration of Jews from Eastern Europe, Germany and England. Approximately 40 000 Jewish immigrants came to South Africa, with many settling in Gardens, Oranjezicht and Tamboerskloof. The larger, more recent group from Eastern Europe settled in District Six (Berelowitz, n.d.). They were less affluent and nicknamed the "greeners." (Berelowitz, n.d.). Many started and owned businesses and became prominent figures in their community, making *"liberal contributions to the carnival funds"* (Berelowitz, n.d:1). Pickford (1980) observes that these refugees flooded the labour market, threatening local skilled Coloured and Malay craftsman.

2.3.2 Disease and slum clearing

Manuel (1967), Bickford-Smith (2001), and Western (1987) record that on the 31 January 1901, bubonic plague broke out in Cape Town causing widespread mortality. The then Plague Director, Sir Thomas Graham, ordered the demolition of many of the slum structures to eradicate the *"rodent-hosts of the fleas causing plague"* and people were ordered to leave within hours. McEachearn (1998) and Bickford-Smith (2001) observed that these first forced removals were mainly of African Blacks from the Horstley Street area (Bennet & Julius, 2008), to the township of Ndabeni on the Cape Flats.

According to Bickford-Smith (2001) the disease was carried by fleas on rats, living in the hay that was imported from Argentina to feed British horses. African dockworkers were subsequently the first victims and as a result the health authorities blamed Africans for the disease. The Cape Government officials then used the Public Health Amendment Act of 1897 to force Africans into township locations. *"This was Cape Town's first forced removal, and set the pattern for future residential segregation"* (Rassool & Prosalendis, 2001:109).The second unofficial forced removals in District Six took place in 1964 when the Eastern Boulevard (now renamed Nelson Mandela Boulevard) was built, causing the old fine grained urban fabric of the area to be scarred and disfigured (DFD6, 2011).

Further breakouts of influenza (in 1914, 6 340 lives were lost in Cape Town due to Spanish Influenza) and later tuberculosis, resulted in the demolition of the older housing stock in the area, as part of a city-wide public health programme. In its place the City of Cape Town experimented with some of its first social housing projects such as the Stirling and Constitution Street Flats (DFD6, 2011). Bennet, Julius and Soudien (2008) indicate that neglect by landlords and the City of Cape Town to maintain and upgrade general services and amenities resulted in District Six becoming *"a grossly overcrowded and rundown area - a slum!"*

Improvements through local authority upgrade and slum clearing, public apartment developments (Bloemhof Flats) and a structured street grid by the completion of Sir Lowry Road, Constitution and Hanover Streets, saw District Six become a fully developed area in the mid 1940's (DFD6, 2011). According to le Grange (1996), despite the origins of its heterogeneous residents, District Six was a cohesive community that had a sense of its own history, having no apparent residential segregation between classes, and accommodating a high level of tolerance between religions and political beliefs.

Le Grange (1996:7), however cautious of romanticising the overcrowded conditions and poverty in which many of its residents lived, describes District Six positively as *"...containing all the necessary varying qualities associated with urban life. The heterogeneous and dense concentration of people, the high degree of social tolerance…and the mix of primary land uses were all qualities which could support urban safety, public contact and sharing of uses…"*.

2.4   Forced removals

The impact of forced removals in South Africa and subsequent segregation along racial lines are difficult to quantify and measure in social and economic terms. It would be accurate to assume that it affects the vast majority of South Africans and will continue to do so for generations to come. The following discussions further explore this phenomenon.

2.4.1   The Nationalist dream

Forced removals are defined by Aspirant (1995:43) as "...*the statutory, regulatory and economic means by which the white minority government of South Africa controlled the black majority's right to take up residence and work, and the process by which blacks were excluded from white controlled areas.*"

Basing its election campaign on promises to deal with overcrowding resulting from large, uncontrolled migration into the cities from rural areas, the National Party became the governing power of South Africa in 1948. The National Party sought to channel capitalist development for "Whites", by controlling other populations as a cornerstone of its apartheid policy (McEachern, 1998).

The Apartheid system was obsessed with separating South African citizens along racial lines in order to foster white superiority at the expense of the black majority. It introduced a significant number of controls in the form of legislative acts such as the Mixed Marriages Act No 55 of 1949 and the Immorality Act No 23 of 1950 (South African History Online, 2010).

The 1950 Group Areas Act gave the National Party government the legislative power to segregate communities on the basis of race, forcing races to live in specific areas and restricting ownership and occupation of land to a specific race group. Although the law was supposed to apply in converse, generally only land under Black ownership was appropriated by the government for use by Whites (South African History Online, 2010). It was a cornerstone of the National Party's Apartheid policy of racial separation and Blacks were violently evicted from cities and towns (Soudien, 2008). Unterhalter expresses her feelings:

> "*The massive scale of the removals and the suffering that has been imposed on millions of people have not been incidental or accidental to the system of White domination…they have been essential to it…essential to the system of control*…" (Unterhalter, 1987:2).

Delport attempts to quantify the significance of forced removals in the following statement:

> "*Population removals on a major scale, under Group Areas Act legislation alone affected 860 400 people throughout the country in the years of 1960-1983, and will continue to affect them…*" (Delport, 2001:42).

Unterhalter (1987) puts this figure at closer to 3.5 million for the same period, citing the most exhaustive analysis by the Surplus People Project (Platzky & Walker, 1983), a report which provided a wealth of detail on forced removals, province by province and provided explanations for forced removal and its history, since the advent of colonialism.

> "*Forced removals have taken a number of forms in the different periods of Apartheid… people who were moved and the dramatic reversal experienced in their fortunes when they were uprooted from settled communities and dumped by government trucks on barren land with only tents for shelter… to a bleak fate of poverty and unemployment….*" (Unterhalter, 1987:1).

Field (2001a) estimates that the numbers affected were closer to 3.9 million people. Interestingly, during the period of 1994 to 2004, 940 000 farm workers were evicted from farms, greater than in the preceding 10 years when 737 000 people were evicted (Groenewald, 2005). This author noted that post-apartheid evictions occurred and peaked in 1997 mainly due to the implementation of the Extension of Security of Tenure Act No 62 of 1997, which was designed to secure the tenure rights of farm dwellers. The introduction of a minimum wage in agriculture also had an impact (Groenewald, 2005).

District Six was only one of many areas in South Africa falling victim to the racist National Party's Apartheid policies. Other areas in Cape Town included Constantia, Newlands, Mowbray, Claremont and Simonstown (Thomas, 2001), and further afield in South End in Port Elizabeth, Sophiatown and Fordsburg in Johannesburg and North-End in East London (Le Grange, 2001). These areas were similar to District Six in that they were working class neighbourhoods which offered a better quality of life given their close proximity to places of work, entertainment, places of worship and learning, and within which residents were able to live a life of self-respect.

The entire Atlantic Seaboard in Cape Town was zoned for Whites and people were forcibly removed from Tramways Road in Sea Point (a small Coloured enclave) where two residents committed suicide in defiance of their eviction notice (Western, 1981). As Group Areas unfolded, in 1955 some northern suburban areas such as Goodwood and some southern suburban areas were already mixed with almost exactly half White and half non-White occupants (Western, 1981:123).

2.4.2   Forced removals in District Six

On the 11th February 1966, (what came to be known as Black Friday), District Six was declared a White area under the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 (Soudien, 2001a; Field, 2001a; Unterhalter, 1987; Western, 1981). District Six was the first of over 60 areas in greater Cape Town to be declared a White Group Area (Soudien, 2008). The proclamation

was issued by P.W. Botha, the then Minister of Community Development, who later became the leader of the National Party and President of South Africa (Soudien, 2001b).

> *"They sought to leave no trace behind of what District Six was and what it meant for the people of Cape Town"* (DFD6, 2011:33)

District Six may have been occupied almost entirely by non-Whites but the majority of properties were owned by absentee White landlords (Western, 1981; Cape Town City Council, 1966). In 1966 the unofficial value of property owned by Coloureds amounted to R6 million and R17 million for those owned by Whites. At the time 1.3% of the population was White (Western, 1981:155). Ackerman (2012) argues that ownership of 56% (2 076 units) of properties in the area belonged to Whites who were therefore not expelled from the area, but instead removed from properties which did not belong to them in the first place. Ackerman (2012) reports that 948 and 671 properties were owned by Coloureds and Indians respectively.

Over the next 15 years District Six was destroyed and its more than 60 000 residents (Le Grange, 2008; Soudien, 2008; Western, 1981) were forcibly removed to areas of the Cape Flats, (McEachearn, 1998; Western, 1981) mockingly named after the streets of District Six, such as Hanover Park and Lavender Hill. These areas have been, and continue to be plagued by high levels of violent crime, drug abuse, gang violence and associated social problems.

According to Jordan (1997), the systematic demolition of District Six cost the Apartheid Government more than R25 million and became a major source of embarrassment. In 1979, District Six was renamed "Zonnebloem" after the original farm (DFD6, 2011; Geschier, 2007; Western, 1981). The photograph Figure 2.4. reveals a removal in William Street, before and during demolitions, with a view of Hanover Building. Figure 2.5 shows a tractor removing rubble in Blythe Street.

Figure 2.4: Removals before and after n.d. (Adams & Suttner 1998:74)

Figure 2.5: Removals between Blythe and Hanover Street (Abrahams, n.d. D6M)

2.4.3   Resistance to removals

The passage of the Group Areas Act No 41 of 1950 led to boycotts by the Cape Town City Council who refused to provide detailed survey data on racial patterns of occupation and ownership, unless the information was subpoenaed (Western, 1981) and further delays occurred during the relevant proposal debates on Group Area proclamations. District Six was thus only proclaimed a White Group Area in 1966.

The City Council's plea to ministers against the declaration was published in the Cape Times on March 18, 1966, citing the social upheaval and endless bitterness removals would cause. It instead suggested an intensified redevelopment plan, involving a joint initiative with government and the private sector (Cape Town City Council, 1966). The then Minister of Community Development, W.A. Maree responded by saying: *"I shall personally resist any attempt to have all, or part of District Six proclaimed a Coloured area"* (Maree, 1966).

The Cape Town City Council, The Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, The Cape Ring of the Dutch Reformed Church and the Churches Urban Planning Commission were all in favour of District Six being proclaimed for Coloureds (Western, 1981), recognising that opposition to forced removals came from diverse quarters. The historic association between Coloured people and District Six was thus also clearly recognised (Bennet et al., 2008b).

2.4.4   Removals justified?

Contrasting perceptions and attitudes towards District Six are evident, particularly between those who lived in the area and officials and outsiders looking in. *"It was a disgrace to the Mother City…. South Africa's best known slum"* (Western, 1981:142 cites Die Burger, 27 May 1975).

Getting rid of lawlessness and gangs such as the Killers, Jesters and especially the Globe Gang, (which had 300 strong street fighters in 1948) also justified *"slum clearance".* The perceived lawlessness resulted in the declaration of District Six as a no-go area for Allied servicemen during World War 2 (Western, 1987). Crime and violence were a part of everyday life and romanticised versions of the gangsters being harmless, were false. High levels of mortality from tuberculosis also occurred, which served to justify the argument for slum clearing.

Swanson and Harries (2001:64) provide the reasons given for removals as that the area had a strategic and scenic position and highly valued prime real estate, which left it vulnerable to projects of *"urban renewal"* or *"slum-clearing"*, and quote the City Engineer who wrote in 1940:

> "*One must not lose sight of the fact that the District is capable of being one of the finest in the city, as it one time was, before being allowed to deteriorate. Centrally situated, and to become more central with the new foreshore developments, it is a healthy site and commands a magnificent outlook. Today it is a blot in a beautiful city and a disgrace to civilized conceptions of how human beings should live*".

A more neutral view observed that competition over scarce resources, poverty, overcrowding and violence existed alongside neighbourliness and community solidarity (Swanson & Harries, 2001).

Western (1981), while acknowledging that there were sections of deteriorating housing in the district, suggested that the fact that the area was 95% Coloured, and immediate neighbour to the city centre, was a more relevant factor for the demolitions. Western (1981) argues that there existed an oversupply of White housing plots in the metropolis, and subsequently no plans (by the government) existed to develop District Six for White housing.

The City Planner for Cape Town at the time of demolitions said that he had "...*spent a great deal of time extolling the virtues of the architecture and why I thought the building stock, was very largely salvageable..."* (Fagan, 1987).

Geschier (2007) charges that there was a general unwillingness on the part of the landlords and the local City Council to guarantee healthy housing conditions and functioning public services in the area, and therefore allowed the area to deteriorate in order to fulfil the City Councils own agenda. A different point of view suggests that District Six's construction during the industrialisation of British Imperial rule, particularly between 1885 and 1905, left Afrikaner Nationalists feeling that it stood as a reminder of their forced colonial subordination to the British (Western, 1981:154).

Field (2001b:13) is of the view that the political problem of a multicultural district on the doorstep of the city centre is also relevant. District Six is remembered by many as a place where people were able to cross religious, class and social boundaries and may be the exact reason it offended the racist inclinations of the Apartheid Government (Prosalendis, Soudien, Marot & Nagia, 2001).

2.5   Political symbolism

Le Grange (2001) suggests that of all the areas that were destroyed during Apartheid, District Six has been the most celebrated and is symbolic of other forced removals in South Africa. Le Grange (2008) and McEachern (1998) are of the opinion that District Six had become the symbol of displacement and hurt caused by the Group Areas Act, and in many ways has overshadowed the numerous other areas of forced removals from urban suburbs of Cape Town. Geschier (2007:40) said District Six became a national and international symbol for the brutality of apartheid only after the demolition of the area, and especially, after democracy in 1994. This is further expressed by in the following quote by Prosalendis et al. (2001:78):

> *"Ultimately, the story of District Six is not just about District Six. It has been used and will continue to be used as a symbol of wider issues of civil justice and a unique instance of 'multi-cultural' living."*

The story of District Six and the suffering of its residents have been publicized through various popular mediums such as books and musicals. It is the District Six story that has symbolically come to represent the plight of all people who were forcibly removed in Cape Town (Field, 2001b:13).

2.6   Identity lost

Understandably, many people were angry and bitter after being forced out of their homes in District Six. Many felt disconnected from their roots (their heritage), and cast out into unfamiliar townships on the Cape Flats (Swanson & Harries, 2001). The less tangible and psychological effects were severe, as important family, neighbourhood and community networks were broken. Interestingly, Swanson and Harries (2001) suggest that perceptions and memories slip back and forth between nostalgia for a lost golden age free from conflict, to the harsh realities of inaccessibility to quality basic services of health, education, safety and employment. Geschier observes that a sense of place can be described as a mental construction in which the physical space is pivotal in creating and sustaining social relationships, and is a complex process of restructuring one's identity (Geschier, 2007).

Generations of Coloured occupancy had made District Six a cultural symbol (Western, 1981) and people were connected to the physical space, and felt a strong sense of belonging and identity as Capetownians (*mense van die Kaap*) (Swanson & Harries, 2001). This view is expressed in the following passage by Western (1981:150).

> *"The removal of Cape Coloureds, Cape Malays, Indians, Black Africans and Chinese to which the trauma of mass removal for them is far greater because their space at the foot of the mountain in Cape Town was one true source of pride in themselves, as a distinguishable ethnic entity.. Therefore the destruction of District Six is a humiliation of self esteem and self concept, resulting in profound and bitter resentment...by removing Coloureds from District Six, the Whites are doing more than clearing slums or underpinning their exclusive claim to central Cape Town's sacred space. They are also destroying one of the symbols of whatever Coloured Identity may exist, a space in parts seven generations deep, and one with associations with the emancipation of the slaves…"*

The challenge then for tourism development in District Six, is to address this lost sense of pride and identity. Tourism-related activities should develop a distinctive identity which is based on the heritage, culture and traditions of the community and attempt to preserve these and revive lost cultural activities. Tourism should create improved economic opportunities and sustainable, meaningful employment. Re-establishing a lost sense of pride could be achieved by creating higher living standards through upgrading infrastructure such as transport, and recreational facilities. Strengthening civic associations and community organisations so that community members have a say in determining the scale and scope of tourism development, will also go some way to restoring pride. Establishing a comprehensive

creative tourism plan is further discussed in Chapter 5, as a practical application or means to restore pride and identity through tourism development.

2.7   Heritage interpretation and presentation

Literature analysis which follows examining the interpretation and presentation of the memory of District Six indicates that it is a critical factor in determining what meanings are made of the area and what knowledge is created. Tourism development in the area must take cognisance of the importance of appropriate heritage interpretation and presentation. Tourism activities should then provide a platform from which the appropriate heritage can be expressed and be a catalyst for healing, restoring identity and social cohesion.

The importance of appropriate heritage interpretation is highlighted by Kolbe (cited in Swanson & Harries 2001:8) who notes that:
"It is through memory that people are able to create meaning and sustain a positive sense of personal and community identity." Swanson & Harries; (2001:80).

According to Field (2001b:122), the land or money people receive through the restitution process will help but will only partly resolve emotional and legacy burdens. Geschier (2007) suggests that urban renewal and community developments not only require concrete and bricks but also involves the rebuilding of a community, and cultural and social relationships. Field (2001b:122) believes that what communities think, feel and remember can hold crucial lessons for how communities need to be serviced and developed by public, private and civic organisations.

Field (2001b) further noted the importance of oral history in the presentation and interpretation of heritage in the area should be highlighted, and is further explained in the following passage:

> *"Oral history when publicly presented can help people to connect with each other, bridge inside and between communities. It provides the space to express their memories, making contributions to healing."* (Field, 2001b:122).

Oral history institutionalised in project work (development) can increase understanding and sensitivity towards the participating community and strengthen our democracy through popular memory.

The association that claimants have with the former District Six are generally more linked to intangible social and cultural values, rather than just to that of the former physical environment (Le Grange, 2008:10).

According to Le Grange the reconstruction of District Six

> *"...affords a number of opportunities for both cultural memory work, as well as for urban redevelopment within the South African context…Material forms of cultural expression and the elements that make up the design as well as the implementation of urban built environments cannot, by themselves, guarantee desired social and community practices…ideological, economic and social variables impact on how cities and communities function...and will not necessarily restore traditional forms of cultural identity"* (Le Grange, 2008:16).

It is important to consider the above statement when planning for tourism in District Six. Could cultural heritage tourism contribute to restoring traditional forms of cultural identity and does it provide an opportunity for positive cultural memory work? Cities and the neighbourhoods which constitute it are repositories of memories for those who live in it. The physical environment of urban blocks, landmarks, streets and buildings that make up cities, inform both the tangible and intangible memories of its citizens (DFD6, 2011).

The DFD6 thus deduces that in order to memorialise the legacy of forced removal into the reconstruction of District Six, and produce memorial sites that are active parts of public life, conventional practices of inner city development and memorialisation will be tested. The cultural and symbolic significance of the area as a memory site of national forced removals requires that innovative ways (on which to draw on and interpret memory) be found to not only restore land to its former inhabitants, but also repair the urban fabric of a historic quarter. The statement below indicates that cultural heritage tourism has a role to play.

> *"With the pending repatriation of former residents and other claimants, there is the prospect of a redeveloped District Six becoming a 'living memorial' and not remaining a dormant memory site"* (DFD6, 2011:32).

However, claimants and consultants agree that the process of restitution cannot be about the reconstruction of the area to its original state due to practical, political and historic reasons. This view is clearly expressed in the DFD6*:*

> *"Clearly the former District Six cannot be recreated. Not only will this approach be undesirable and inappropriate, but it will also be unable to address contemporary realities. Neither can an artificial reconstruction or parts (a street, a precinct) of the former area be considered in as much as this 'sceneographic' approach would create the semblance of a theme park, or Disney World quality, that would ridicule the process of restitution"* (DFD6, 2011:32).

The symbolic significance of District Six, both domestically and internationally, and the emphasis of restitution over commercial development, requires that innovative means of memorialisation be developed. The returning community of District Six favours an approach that extracts and uses informed modern conservation theory (reconstructive urban planning practice) and enduring historic urban design principles of the original District Six, achieved through developing fabric 'grain' building scale, land-use mix, transitional spaces, the street as public spaces and other principles as outlined in the design principles section (DFD6, 2011:32).

Indications are that the urban design principles of the DFD6 support cultural heritage tourism development in District Six, however this is further examined in Chapter Four (Section 4.13.8.3)

2.8   Resistance to redevelopment

The strategic location and potential for commercial real estate development has made District Six the target of many redevelopment proposals.The National Monuments Council negotiated to take over and restore Upper Ashley Street in 1979. The director of the Monuments Council at the time, J. E. Oberholster, said it might be a bitter reminder (of the past), but that the aim of the Council was preservation. In response a City Councillor (Tom Walters) replied that it is *"disgusting if they keep the most picturesque parts for one group at the expense of another!"* (Anon, 1979). Another view is that Upper Ashley Street, if memorialised at that time, would perpetuate the shame of forced removals.

A proposal in 1979 to build the R44 million Cape Technikon (Abrahams, 2001), occupying 22% of original land in District Six (DFD6, 2011), stirred up a great deal of controversy since it required the demolition of 348 houses still standing (Upper Ashley Street) and inhabited by 354 families (2 500 people) who were not yet removed (Western, 1981).

It is interesting that the Cape Technikon development, together with the Good Hope Centre and the Oriental Plaza, would be completely funded by public capital. Private capital was very reluctant to invest in the *"New District Six."* Western (1981:158) explains that there was so little interest in the public auction of the first three stands of *"tainted land"* of District Six that the then Department of Community Development refused to accept the highest offer. The "Friends of District Six" association with prominent White members and academics and priests, visibly dissuaded White private investment (Western, 1981).

In 1986 the more moderate "Friends of District Six" gave way to the Hands Off District Six campaign (Kolbe, 2001), in order to protect the area from development by the City of Cape Town and the private sector, in particular British Petroleum SA (Le Grange, 2011), who had consulted the services of urban renewal consultants for the redevelopment of District Six. An article in the Cape Argus" on 14th December 1990, tells of: *"significant advances in BP's Open District Initiative… to build more than 1 000 moderately priced houses."* The African National Congress, the United Democratic Front, Cape Town City Council and community organisations entered into a working group to look at planning options (Doman, 1990).

Protest organisations and committees grew, including the District Six Defence Committee and The District Six Rent, Rates and Residents Association (Bennet et al., 2008). A semi-formal alliance was brought together by activists from Woodstock, Walmer Estate and Salt River areas and consisted of civic groups, schools, religious organisations, and cultural and sports organisations (Soudien, 2001b). The guiding intention of their resistance campaign was for District Six to be declared *"salted earth"* and left undeveloped until the then inevitable demise of the Apartheid government (McEachern, 1998). According to Delport (2001), the topographical prominence of the site, its persistent visibility from most perspectives of the city and unique symbolism, combined with waves of protest, were unique factors that helped save it. It is also important to note that South Africa was in the international spotlight at the time, with economic and political sanctions being imposed.

It is evident therefore that any further development in District Six would be viewed with high levels of suspicion, given the profile and prominence of the site. This is also then a relevant consideration for tourism development in the area.

2.9   Land restitution

In 1994, the first democratic elections were held, and in 1995 the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was established to provide a complete picture of the nature, extent and causes of gross human rights violations between 1960 and 1993 (Rassool & Prosalendis, 2001). From this was born the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights Act No 22 of 1994 which allows compensation or full restitution to persons deprived of land rights after 1913. It was thus due to this proclamation that the opportunity arose for the inhabitants of the former District Six to submit land claims.

2.10   The redevelopment process

In order to assess the opportunities for developing cultural heritage tourism in the redeveloping District Six, it is necessary to provide an overview of the redevelopment process, existing perspectives thereof, and the current challenges the process faces.

2.10.1 Perspectives on redevelopment

Due to District Six's strategic location in the city centre and its political and historical significance, it is not surprising that many varied views have been expressed on how the area should be developed. These are further explored.

Joe Schaffers, ex-resident and renowned musician is of the view that District Six should not be developed at all, and instead the open space should be left as a reminder of the suffering incurred by its former residents. Schaffers (cited in Geschier, 2007:42), believes the open space should be left as a monument and used as a conduit to convey empathy and oral history to visitors. However, sympathetic to ex-residents living in poor socio-economic conditions on the Cape Flats, Schaffers is of the opinion that District Six will be lost forever if the area is redeveloped, as displaced residents will not be able to relate to the new area (Geschier, 2007:42).

This opinion is shared by architect Siebert Wiid who is *"sickened by the sterility of the newer urban development's"* which stand in contrast to the colourful, vibrant and humane way of life in former District Six (Fagan, 1987:26). Wiid is here referring to the new apartments, The Cape Peninsula University of Technology and Oriental Plaza buildings.

According to Myrna Robins, a historian and columnist for the Cape Argus, a memorial park should be established. Robins (1997) suggests that an open area within the reconstruction should remain and be developed as a commemoration site so that tourists and residents could remember the forced removals. The establishment of a memorial park in Horstley Street will now become a reality and is planned for as part of the DFD6 (DFD6, 2011). The development of the memorial park as part of a themed heritage route is further discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.8).

Wiid, disagrees and calls the potential re-erection of the Seven Steps and re-site of a future block *"bizarre indeed and a macabre homage to the bureaucrats."* He calls instead for sensitivity and conscientiousness (Fagan, 1987:26).

The Cape Argus published an article in its "comments" column and Reid, the author, argues for developing District Six as a tourist attraction, and suggests reconstructing Hanover Street, retaining the multicultural layout of retail and recreational outlets. Reid suggests the area should be completely pedestrianised and claims the attraction could rival the French Quarter in New Orleans or Singapore where this form of reconstruction has been implemented successfully. Income generated would offset development and maintenance costs, and Hanover Street could become a living monument (Reid, 1997). The potential to develop a cultural quarter may be relevant as part of a cultural heritage tourism development strategy and will be further explored in Chapter Four (Section 4.9.1.).

As previously discussed in the heritage presentation and interpretation section (Section 2.7.), the DFD6 makes it clear that the redevelopment of District Six cannot be about restoring the area to its original state and cites obvious historic, political and practical reasons (DFD6

2011:32). Le Grange (2008) believes that recreating monuments with a theme park quality would ridicule the restitution process.

Le Grange (2008), a lead consultant on drafting the DFD6 and an ex-resident, is of the view that the hallmarks of current suburban development and the gentrification of the area must be avoided. The greed of commercial real-estate developers should be halted and exclusivity prevented. Le Grange advocates for social justice and the restoration of land rights as the imperative for redeveloping the area. This would, according to Le Grange, cited by Bennet et al. (2008:6): "...*draw on the attributes of the original District Six and could promote, improved social tolerance, a better public life and a more urban existence for the city's inhabitants.*"

According to Le Grange (2008), the policies articulated and developed by the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust are guided by the residents' right to return to the area and it has retained *"... a principled and critical political independence in its pursuit to reclaim the land for former inhabitants..."* (le Grange, 2008:11). Residents will be able to be near the city centre, places of employment, education and recreation and assist in changing the land-ownership patterns of the Apartheid city.

It should again be highlighted that the diverse opinions and perspectives on the redevelopment of District Six are challenging and may negatively impact any tourism plan for the area. Consensus is a key success factor in a community-based tourism developmental approach and this may be difficult to attain.

2.10.2 The District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust (D6BRT)

The District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust, born out of previous community struggles for District Six and together with the District Six Museum, formally represent claimants in the land restitution process (Beyers, 2007). The various reasons according to Beyers for engaging in the restitution process range from feelings of nostalgia and the desire to escape the alienation and crime of the Cape Flats, to contributing to the political struggle against Apartheid's legacy, or simply to obtain social and material dividends from the restitution process.

2.10.3 Claimants

There are currently 1 060 verified claimants, representing only a fraction of the total number of people displaced from District Six (DFD6, 2011). The majority of ex-residents have opted not to return to District Six and have instead chosen monetary remuneration. Approximately 1 400 former residents of District Six missed the official deadline for lodging claims in 1996. The Department of Land Affairs is attempting to verify these beneficiaries (DFD6, 2011).

2.10.4 Redevelopment challenges

The restitution of land in District Six is a difficult process, and has been a drawn out, contentious and frustrating exercise for all involved. Articles written by the then mayor of Cape Town and current premier of the Western Cape and leader of the Democratic Alliance, Helen Zille (8 July 2009) titled *"Long wait over District Six a tragedy-Claimants lose out as disputes, mismanagement and political showboating delay land restitution"* and *"Time is running out for District Six- The injustice of forced removal is compounded by the endless delays in restitution and development."* Zille (2009) claims the project is being delayed by *"bungling"* in the Land Affairs Department and the National Land Claims Commission, and accuses the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust of gate-keeping and delaying restitution as the cost of redevelopment continue to increase.

Compounding the difficulties are further allegations of corruption through tender and process manipulation (Zille, 2009). Redeveloping District Six is a multi-billion Rand initiative (R7bn) and the problem is compounding with time (Zille, 2009). In response, the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust asked why no criminal charge had been laid and argue that issues around the Trusts' internal democracy and representivity were resolved. The Trust also defends its position by stating that the difficulty experienced during the administration, vetting, and verification of claimants were exacerbated by *"political musical chairs"* between the Democratic Alliance and the African National Congress at the expense of the restitution process and claims that Zille is indulging in "political" showboating (District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust, 2010).

2.10.5 Current status of development

On the 11th February 2004, Dan Ndzabela and Ebrahim Murat were the first claimants to return to District Six (Gifford, 2004). President Jacob Zuma, upon handing over some of the houses which had been built as part of the 'Next 100 houses' to claimants, committed to settling all remaining verified claimants within a three year period, that is by 2015 (Anon, 2011).

Construction is continuing and delivery of the next 114 houses was scheduled for completion by the end of 2013. The DFD6 has been approved by claimants, the City of Cape Town, The Department of Land Reform and Rural development and the Western Cape Provincial Government (Anon, 2012).

2.11   The District Six Museum

The following paragraphs will explore the founding of the District Six Museum and its role in preserving and presenting the memory of District Six.

2.11.1 Founding the District Six Museum

In 1988, the Hands-Off District Six (HODS) campaign called a large public meeting, which was attended by a thousand people, where a resolution was passed for the establishment of a museum to preserve the memory of District Six. A small task force, consisting mostly of activists and academics from HODS, such as Elaine Clarke, Crain Soudien, Robert Edwards, Lucien le Grange and Anwah Nagia with Terence Fredericks as its chairperson was formed to establish the District Six Museum Foundation (Soudien, 2001b).

Zonnebloem Nest, owned by the Anglican Church on the outskirts of District Six, were the initial premises sought for the Museum. The application to house the museum on this site was unsuccessful and instead workshops and meetings were held at the Holy Cross Centre. In 1992, an ex-resident and member of the Methodist Church, Stan Abrahams, became a trustee of the District Six Museum Trust and facilitated the use of the old Methodist Mission Church in Buitenkant Street at the edge of the old District Six as the current site for the Museum (Delport, 2001).

The Buitenkant Church had been a struggle church during the Apartheid era, and a site in the political protest history of the Western Cape. Prior to the site being a church it was used as slave bazaar and is presently called the Sacks Futeran Building (See Figures 2.6. & 2.7). Seed money was raised from overseas donors and Sandra Prosalendis was appointed as the Museum's curator (Kolbe, 2001).

Figure 2.6: District Six Museum in the Sacks Futeran Building n.d. (District Six Museum, n.d.)
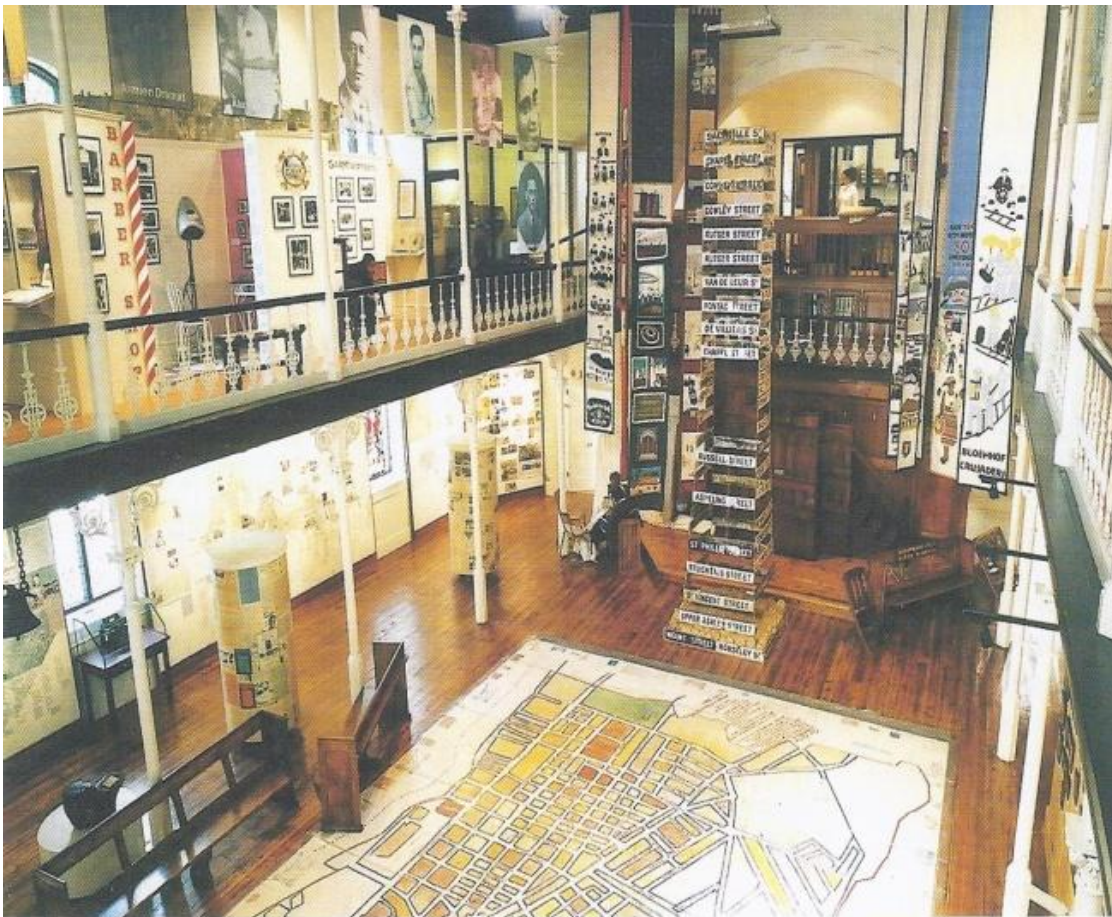
Figure 2.7: Inside the District Six Museum (District Six Museum n.d.)

2.11.2 Museum function

The intention of the curators of the museum is to create a living space, dedicated to working with memory, in remembering the events of forced removals, and its impact on the shaping of society. The District Six Museum has become a place where the sense of absence felt by ex-residents can be linked to the District's presence in people's lives and popular memory (McEachearn, 1998). Curators believe that the presence of District Six residents, (both museum staff and visitors) contributes to the *"coming alive"* of the museum (Rassool & Thorne, 2001).

2.11.3 Museum programmes

The museum developed memory methodologies to incorporate experiences through ongoing engagement with the community it represents, and tries to avoid the District Six Museum being depicted as an object of curiosity (Bennet et al., 2008). Marching bands retain their link with District Six and organise processions through the vacant land every year to commemorate this. Music has been one of the pathways the District Museum has used in keeping the memory of District Six alive and has conducted a music heritage programme to document its rich music heritage. According to Bennet et al. (2008) music and performance will form part of an essential link for the returning social and cultural landscape in District Six. Music will be used as a tool to link diverse communities and make inter-generational links. "Music, Memory and Heritage" and the "Unsung Heroes" programmes were successful in community building and empowering practice (Bennet et al., 2008).The role of music is discussed in more detail, later in this chapter (Section 2.13.3).

Other programmes include the Sports Memory Project (*Fields of Play* and *Offside exhibitions*) which documents and memorialises sport in District Six, *"Huis Kombuis"* food and memory workshop, and dancing and music events. The Museum hosts a Seven Steps members' morning on a monthly basis which allows elderly ex-residents to socialise together with youth and museum staff (Fester, 2010). Many other events are organised including dance evenings, storytelling and theatre events which make the museum an active and important part of its community while conserving and restoring the rich cultural heritage which existed in District Six (Bennet et al., 2008b).

2.11.4 The role of the Museum in redevelopment

According to DFD6 (2011:127), the District Six Museum has played a crucial role in celebrating and preserving the memory of District Six and has served as a base from which former residents have voiced their concerns and hopes for the continued healing and

restitution of their community. The DFD6 (2011) proposes that this role be ongoing, particularly in approving and implementing the Draft Conservation Management Plan which forms part of the Heritage Impacts Assessment for the declaration of District Six as a national heritage site.

2.11.5 Visitor numbers

Excluding pensioners, school students and non-paying ex-residents, 52 910 people visited the museum in 2010/2011. In July 2010 visitor numbers nearly doubled from 4 000 to 8 000 visitors (Hobe, Ewers, Fester & Boase, 2010), most likely due to an increase in visitors to Cape Town for the FIFA World Cup. According to Robins (1997), Queen Beatrix of the Netherlands also visited the museum, which her country helped to fund (Robins, 1997). These visitor numbers indicate that the area has a high international profile, a history which tourists find interesting and worth exploring.

However, current visitors represent a tiny number (approximately 3%) of the total of two million tourist arrivals (Cape Town Routes Unlimited, 2011) to Cape Town. Reasons for the relatively low visitor numbers include a lack of funding and capacity to market itself and further develop its visitor offerings. Furthermore, the potential to further develop its market through improved cultural heritage products and tourism development should be highlighted.

2.12   Declaration of District Six

The District Six Museum in partnership with the South African Heritage Resources Agency is advocating the declaration of District Six as a Grade 1 National Heritage Site. The development of a Conservation Management Plan (CMP) is a key requirement for the application which frames the statutory imperatives encoded in legal and management discourse (Bennet et al., 2008:53).

Non-monumental ways of memorialisation was foremost on the Museum's agenda and it was hesitant to reduce the memorialisation to a technical exercise of *"mapping, grading, describing, protecting and declaring"* (Bennet et al., 2008:58), instead suggesting the memorialisation, through other creative memorial projects, would need to be developed. The logic behind having District Six declared as a Grade 1 National Heritage Site is to ensure that its significance is protected, and that national resources that fund knowledge and expertise could be leveraged (DFD6, 2011:34).

Tourism in the area would therefore have to consider the heritage framework as this would determine the nature and scope of development allowed. While the declaration is still in

process, the development of cultural heritage tourism over other forms of tourism should be encouraged, as it is more likely to be aligned with the declaration's overarching principles and contribute to the protection of the integrity and authenticity of the heritage presented.

2.13 Cultural heritage

A review of literature on the cultural heritage of District Six indicates that is was a lively, vibrant and energetic place. The residents of District Six had a deep sense of belonging and identity that found creative expression in music, plays, poetry, literature and art (Swanson & Harries, 2001). Field (2001b) describes the culture of the area as being the social connections and cultural relationships which are expressed through gossip, folklore, urban legends, traditions and other forms of storytelling. People developed their own form of popular recreation and cultural life of which going to the cinema and participating in the New Years Coon Carnival was a significant part.

District Six was a cosmopolitan place (Swanson & Harries, 2001), where community infrastructures were well established with over twenty schools and colleges, eighteen churches, three mosques and four synagogues, thus indicating that a high degree of religious tolerance existed (Swanson & Harries, 2001). The Lieberman Institute was built in 1934 and together with the Marion Institute provided the community with cultural centres (Field, 2001a). Woodstock beach was a short walk away and the mountain at their doorstep provided many recreational opportunities. Many people were able to walk to work at the harbour and the city centre, or factories in the nearby suburbs of Woodstock and Salt River.

Cinemas or "bioscopes" (The British Cinema, Star and Avalon), speciality stores, hotels, café's, restaurants, bars, barbers, fish markets, music, clothing and grocery stores thrived with Hanover Street at its centre serving traditional Indian and Malay food, fresh bread and "snoekmootjies" (raw fish pickled in vinegar and spices). The following section will further assess the cultural assets of the area which existed and explore the claim that District Six was alive with diverse forms of political views, architecture, music, theatre and art, which made it arguably the cultural centre of South Africa prior to demolitions.

2.13.1 Architecture and historic buildings

District Six, at the height of its development in the 1940's consisted of some 3 700 buildings covering approximately 104 hectares (Le Grange, 1996:9). According to Fransen (1996), the architecture typical of the area included scaled down versions of the grand, flat-roofed Cape Dutch town dwellings of the late 18th century, common to the Bo-Kaap. Most buildings however, displayed architecture of the mid-19th century with more English influenced details such as multi-panelled doors, recessed sash windows with larger panes and sliding upper halves. The unity of scale and detail made the neat rows of streets and houses with gabled edges, running up the slope of the mountain, attractive (Fransen, 1996).

Victorian styled houses in the more commercial parts of Hanover and Constitution Streets boasted some double storey buildings which were ornately decorated with patterned plaster work and balconies. The distinctive minaretted mosques and stonework of the pointed arches of the Gothic revival churches were known landmarks, and were visible on the skyline. The Moravian Hill Church of 1885, (still in existence today) used to be surrounded by rows of stone cottages, built around the same time, using a more German style (Fransen, 1996). Photographs in Figures 2.8 to 2.12 provide some examples of the architectural styles which existed.

Figure 2.8: Clifton Street (District Six Museum, n.d.)

Figure: 2.9: The Moravian Church. (District Six Museum, n.d.)

Figure 2.10: Corner of Hanover and Tennant Street 1963 (Rassool & Thorne, 2001:111)

Figure 2.11: Grosvenor Place, Constitution Street (Rassool & Thorne, 2001:107)

Figure 2.12: The little wonder store (Archer, n.d.)

2.13.2 Prominent people from District Six

According to an article published by the Post reporter in 1966, the following people were born and grew up in District Six, attempting to substantiate a claim that the District produced more prominent people than any other one area in the entire country. While the article may be biased, as 1966 was the year the forced removals began, there is little doubt that the vibrant environment fostered creativity. Some prominent and interesting figures are briefly described.

Dr. A. Abdurahman was the founder of the African Peoples Organisation (1902) which was the first national non-white political organisation in South Africa. He nearly became the first Non-White member of parliament but the Hertzog Act prevented him from standing for election. Dr Abdurahman's daughter, Cissy Gool was a city councillor for 25 years and the only Coloured woman advocate (Figure 2.13).

Figure 2.13: Cissy Gool n.d. (Jeppie & Soudien 1990:65)

Maud Damons was Britain's rave nightclub, television and recording star who lived in London where she was professionally known as Maxine Day (Schoeman, 1994).

Johaar Mosaval began his ballet career with the District Six-based Eoan Group Opera and Ballet Company (now the Joseph Stone in Athlone), attended the Royal Ballet Opera School in London and became a principle dancer with the Royal Ballet (Schoeman, 1994). In 1962 he performed "The Square" by David Poole, which was set in District Six.

Dr. Dagwood Parker, a brilliant physicist was employed by the British Government as an atomic research worker who then attended the London School of Medicine, where he was engaged in experiments on new methods for open heart surgery.

Dullah Omar (Abdullah Mohamed Dullah Omar) piloted legislation for several statutory bodies including the Human Rights Commission and the Constitutional Court, became Minister of Justice and was later Minister of Transport in South Africa's first democratically elected government. His parents had a shop in District Six and he attended Trafalgar High School (Tulleken, 2004).

Testament to this rich cultural heritage are numerous highly acclaimed authors who came out of District Six, such as Richard Rive, who wrote "Buckingham Palace", which chronicles the life of a community before and during removals. Alex La Guma, Rozena Maart, Adam Small and Chris Jansen have all published well known literary works and gave District Six a place in literary history. Painters such as Kenneth Baker, Gregoire Boonzaier and John Dronsfield are internationally recognised painters and are revered for capturing the spirit of District Six on canvas (Anon, 2012).

2.13.3 Music and District Six

Music played an important role in the lives of people in District Six, and even in the late 1950's when the apartheid regime tightened its laws, it was still a place where people could mix freely and it attracted musicians, politicians and writers. Pianist Abdulla Ibrahim (Dollar Brand) and other Cape Jazz musicians frequently visited the area, and Basil Coetzee, known for his song "District Six", was born and bred in District Six. These and other musicians contributed significantly to the history of South African Jazz. In 1986, playwrights Taliep Petersen and David Kramer toured internationally with their popular musical "District Six", and undoubtedly raised the political profile of the plight of District Six in the world arena. Locally, the production broke the Baxter Theatre's record for longest running performance by clocking up 753 capacity performances between 2000 and 2003 (Kramer, n.d).

Records show that District Six has a rich musical heritage and accomplished musicians include Dollar Brand, Vincent Kolbe, Robert Sithole, Taliep Petersen, Zayn Adams, Hotep Galeta (Cecil Barnard), Basil Moses (Lang, 2008), the Christmas choirs like the Bloemhof Crusaders, street musicians, social dancing (Bennet & Julius, 2008), and the famous Malay Choirs. At the time of writing, there were currently more than 100 choirs, according to Lang (2008).

Figure 2.14: College Boys Malay Choir 1960 (Ebrahim1999:41)

Figure 2.15: Guitar players 1969 (Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen & Worden, 1999:69)

Figure 2.16: Jewish Immigrant String Orchestra (Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen & Worden, 1999:69)

Figure 2.17: Ghoema Drum player in William Street (Adams & Suttner, 1988:10)

2.13.3.1   The coon/minstrel carnival

The 2nd of January had always been held as an unofficial holiday at the Cape; the day slaves could down tools and have a welcome day off work. On the 1st of January 1834, 39 000 slaves were emancipated and the event has continued to be celebrated ever since. Cape Malay Choirs with their blend of Dutch and Eastern music had been in existence for around 200 years by that time (Cape Journal, n.d.).

Mohammed Cassiem Dante and his four brothers were among the founders of the Malay Choir (Cape Journal, n.d.). On New Year's Eve, 1887 a Cape Malay Club known as the Star of Independence held a torch-light procession through the streets and like most other clubs took their music very seriously. In 1906, the Cape Argus offered a trophy to be presented at the first organised Green Point Track Carnival which took place on the 2nd of January 1907. For many years it was traditional for troupes to march from the Bo-Kaap and District Six down Wale and Darling Streets to the Carnival grounds. The Honolulu Dainty Darkies, The Star Spangles, Cuban Minstrels and Hollywood Serenaders were some of the troupe names. There are currently more than ten thousand members (Cape Journal, n.d.). The New Year's Day Coon Carnival has been and continues to be one of the few specifically Coloured aspects of Cape Town cultural life.

On Black Friday (11 February 1966), District Six was proclaimed a White Group area. The next year the government claimed that the Coon Carnival processions constituted a traffic hazard and confined the carnival troupes to the Hartleyvale soccer stadium in Observatory, although it is suspected that the real reason was to inhibit the symbolic assertion of coloured ownership of and identity with inner-city Cape Town, particularly District Six (Swanson & Harries, 2001).

Young and old, men and women participated in the carnival and community ties were strengthened, creating a broader consciousness that crossed religious and cultural differences. It was also an expression of working class identity that was rooted in urban Cape Town (Swanson & Harries, 2001). While women did not actually form part of the troupes, they played an important role in making the costumes for the singers and dancers and baking for spectators and participants.

Many newspaper articles annually documented the joy experienced by the crowd and participants *"...a celebration of music, singing, marching and dancing as they owned the streets of Cape Town, if only for a day.."* Swanson and Harries (2001:74) quoting a former Coon member.

An article appeared in the "Drum" newspaper in February 1963 claims, so far correctly, that the *"...Coons, they have been here for a 100 years and about the only sure thing about South Africa's future is that they will still be in it another 100 years"* (Barton, 1963).

Even in 1963, the Coons were a controversial issue, with some people claiming it provided a false image of coloured people and raised questions about the proceeds of events. The legacy of the Coon's music was often used by slaves to soothe the depression arising from the solitude and separation from their home countries that they must have felt (Kassiem, 2011). There have been repeated calls for the tourism industry to market the Coon Carnival (Cape Towner, 2004).

Kassiem cautions that unless the Carnival becomes a unifying event, where people from all backgrounds share in the remembrance of a common history, it risks becoming a spectacle for tourists, and the minstrels diminish the real meaning of the Cape's slave heritage (Kassiem, 2011).
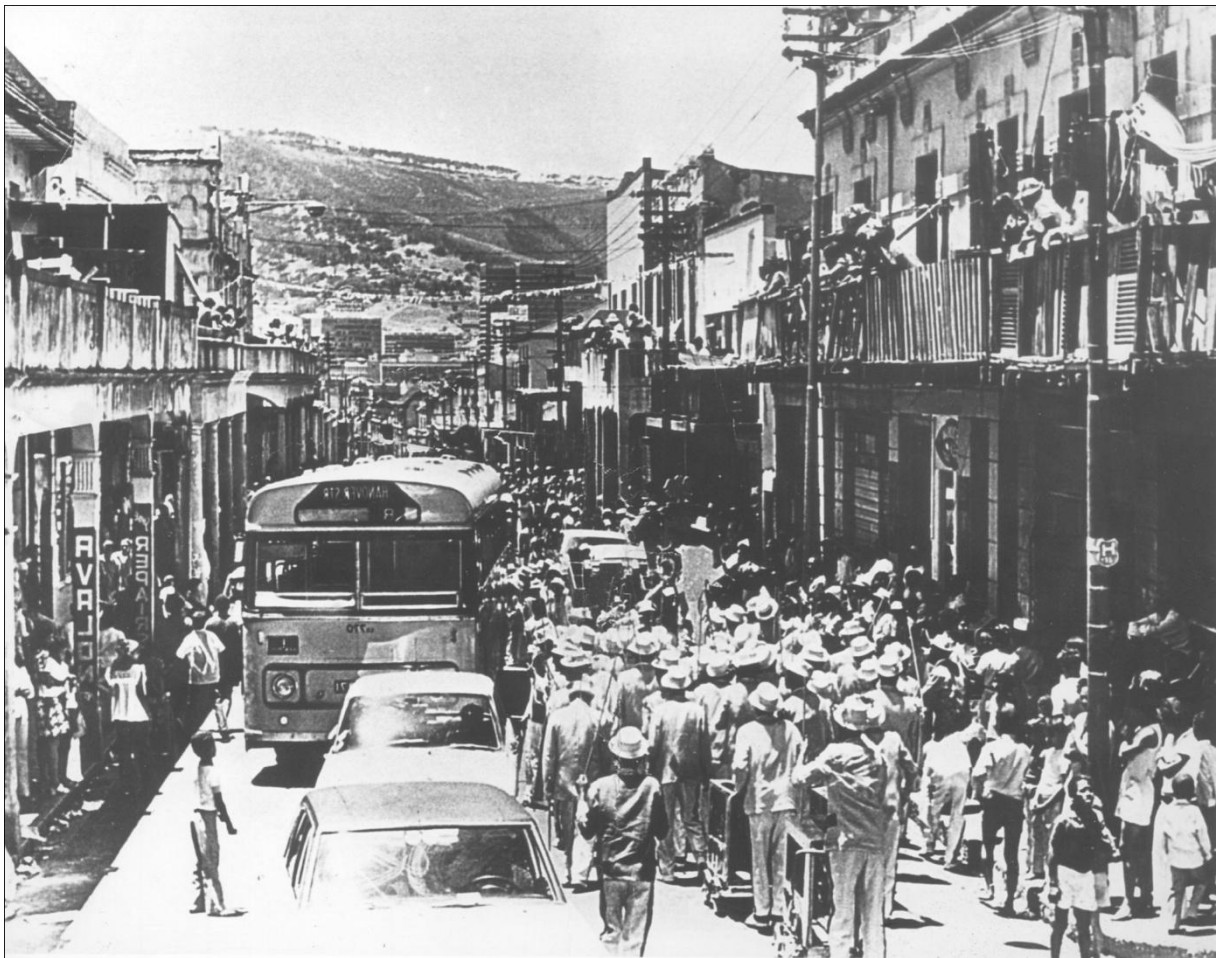
Figure 2.18: View of the carnival in Hanover Street (District Six Museum, n.d.)

Figure 2.19: Young painted faces (Schoeman 1994:64).

2.13.3.2   Jazz and District Six

Historical records indicate that District Six had a rich jazz music heritage and a wide range of popular dance band traditions (Bickford-Smith et al., 1999) as is described in the excerpt by Rasmussen: *"Jazz was played everywhere, both in the city and in the townships. Clubs, hotels, restaurants, cinemas, schools, town halls, civic halls and backyards provided scenes for big bands, vocal groups and smaller combos playing modern Jazz "* (Rasmussen 2001:7).

More proof of District Six's musical heritage is found in a *Sunday Times* article dated the 17 November 1974:

> *"Billy of Russell Street, District Six is the ambitious leader of the Willie Starlite Dance Band…now has swing dancers and party goers in dance crazy Cape Town in the throes of ecstasy. Billy had started the club twenty years ago"* (Jongbloed, 1974:86).

"Just Jazz", a jazz concert held in 1958, according to Rasmussen (2001), was the biggest jazz show Cape Town had yet seen, and in 1959 *"Just Jazz meets the Ballet"* was organised and was to become the first major musical event in the country, testament to a vivid jazz scene that flourished during the late 1950's and gave rise to The Epistles (Abdullah Ibrahim), South Africa's most famous jazz band (Bickford-Smith et al., 1999). Cape Town musicians were especially well known and would be involved in most of the country's "non-white" recordings, and had musical connections with the Black township of Langa, which is said to have boasted six big bands and ten vocal groups (Rasmussen, 2001).

Bands such as The Ronnie Beer Quintet were often mixed and played for mixed audiences (Rasmussen, 2001). Travelling photographer and jazz lover, Hardy Stockman, described Cape Town as having an atmosphere he had not encountered anywhere in Africa and observes how the venues were overcrowded, with *"white and black and everything in between mingling freely"* (Rasmussen, 2001). The regular jazz crowd was clued up on events but the public at large were ignorant. This was partially because organisers did not want to alert authorities and did not embark on advertising campaigns.

Figure 2.20: The Chris McGregor Septet, Zambezi 1962 (Rasmussen, 2001:92)

The Zambezi, owned by a Bombay Muslim, at 21 Upper Darling Street in District Six, was both a restaurant and a nightclub, and facilities included a number of stages which had good acoustics. The Zambezi had been a hub for the jazz crowd because of ... "*its reasonably priced Indian food and convenient location in District Six*" (Stockman, 2001:118). Another popular venue was The Ambassador, in the Main Road in Woodstock, with easy access to District Six.

The Sharpeville Massacre of 21 March 1960 did little to pacify the apartheid government and instead it culminated in strikes and protests being vehemently suppressed by anti-black legislation. The apartheid regime tightened its laws and enforced them more fiercely (Rasmussen, 2001), so mixed bands and audiences were made illegal and forcibly closed for disobeying the Group Areas Act. This destroyed the integrated communities which formed their musical base. Many musicians fled. Paul Meyer took Kathleen Enoch of the Eoan group with him to Europe, along with Cecil Barnard and trumpeter Lennie Lee. Dollar Brand, Beatty Benjamin and the Dollar Brand Trio made Switzerland their new home. The Blue Notes, a racially mixed band was invited to France to a jazz festival in 1964, where they stayed on (Rasmussen, 2001).

"Jazz continued to be played in Cape Town but the scene had changed drastically and many more bad things were to happen, including the final demolition of District Six, the stronghold of Cape Town jazz" (Rasmussen, 2001:8).

2.13.3.3   Jazz revival project

The District Six Museum embarked on a musical heritage project and together with Colin Miller (collection developer) has begun a project to document and archive the story of jazz in Cape Town. Miller has photographs of the bands playing with sailors during the 1940s-1950s (Dancer, 2000). The Navigators Den together with the Naaz and Mermaid was a jazz Mecca. There were many different forms of music in Cape Town such as the Malay Choirs, Christmas Choirs, "ghoema" rhythm (played on a ghoema drum) and even music with a Latin American influence, and the "boere conga." Dancer (2000), noted that the Cape Town jazz rhythm was definitive.

The District Six Museum currently hosts an annual square dance, the "Grand Dance" as part of the One City Festival (Cape Town Festival), reviving a tradition that was last seen more than 30 years ago (Thamm, 2000). The history of this local square dance can be traced to the beginnings of District Six when slaves began to copy European quadrilles. Rhythms were adapted, vocabulary changed and a "*vastrap*" sound gave it a unique *"Cape Town twang"* (Thamm, 2000). In 2003 the Museum advertised live celebrations of the music styles of Cape Town (Atlantic Sun, 2003), including traditional bands, Garth Erasmus, New Orleans Minstrel Troupe (formed in 1940), The Red Dazzlers, Droeland, and The Star of Calvary. Christmas Choir/Band and the New Orleans Nag Koor, the Princess Square Singers, and the District Six Museum Band (Anon, 2003).

2.13.4 Theatre productions

"District Six-The Musical" depicts the destruction of a community by the apartheid regime and was produced in 1987 by David Kramer and Taliep Petersen. It played more than 550 performances between 1987 and 1990 and was seen by over 350 000 people. Despite the South African Broadcasting Channel (SABC) banning of some of the songs at the time the songs continued to play on the radio. The musical re-opened in the year 2000 and broke the Baxter Theatre's record for the longest running production (Kramer, 2010).

"Kat and the Kings", another of Taliep Petersen and David Kramer's theatre productions is set in District Six in the 1950's. "Kat and the Kings" explores the journey of a teenager as he rises to become a singing and dancing sensation in District Six (Fugard Theatre, 2012). The Fugard Theatre is now housed in the Homecoming Centre of the District Six Museum.

"Kanna hy kô hystoe", produced by the well known artist and poet from District Six, Adam Small, opened at the Nico Malan Theatre (later the Artscape Theatre) in 1974 while it was still a "whites-only" venue. Small, specially invited, refused the invitation as no other people of colour could attend. The play depicts Cape Town slum life and the Group Areas (Western, 1981:156).

The play "Ghoema" produced by David Kramer and Taliep Petersen tells the story of the musical heritage of the early slaves, brought by the Dutch East India Company from the East. The ghoema drum is unique to the Cape and was originally made from small brandy vats with the bottoms removed, with goatskin vellum stretched over the top. Achmat Sabera has been making ghoema drums since 1965, and currently (2012) also makes bass drums and tambourines (Salie, 2005).

2.13.5 Artists, painters & photographers

Sandra McGregor, on her arrival from London in 1962, was attracted to District Six as an artist and painted for more than three years in the streets of District Six often surrounded by children watching her paint. She said of District Six "...*it is the most honest place I know…I wonder whether Cape Town people realise how unique this district is?*" (Manuel, 1964:7)

Figure 2.21: Sandra MacGregor (Ebrahim, 1999:73)

Gregoire Boonzaier, a famous artist depicts a romanticised, historic District Six in his work and was popular among the disenfranchised (Minnaar, 1996). Jansje Wissema, one of South Africa's celebrated photographers was commissioned by the Cape Institute of Architecture in 1970 to record buildings, street life and people of District Six at the time of demolitions. The collection ranks among the foremost of Cape Town's historical documents (Cape Institute of Architects, 1996). George Hallet has had a long career as a photographer and has his collection displayed in the museum (District Six Museum, 2012).

2.13.6 Authors and literature

Alex La Guma, born in District Six at No.2 Roger Street became famous with his first published book "A walk in the night" which depicted life in District Six. The book could not be sold in South Africa as it was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act, but was published in Nigeria (Anon, 1962). Richard Rive and Adam Small were among other prominent authors.

2.14   Cultural hubs

Historical records show that there were a number of cultural hubs in District Six, the most prominent of which are now further explored.

2.14.1 Bioscopes (Movie houses)

The cinema was a novel form of entertainment at the time. Movie houses were not just for showing the latest films but would even host beauty pageants, talent shows and musicals and played a special place in the recreational life of residents (Swanson and Harries, 2001). There were four movie houses including the Avalon, Star, National and British Bioscopes, and were affordable and accessible to locals.

Figure: 2.22: The National Cinema (Jessa, n.d.)

Figure 2.23: The British Cinema 1963 (Small & Wissema 1986:16)

2.14.2 Politics and the Liberman Institute

District Six was a hive of political activity, a place where many leaders and intellectuals who opposed apartheid and the Nationalist Government either lived or congregated (Schoeman, 1994). Cissy Gool, Dr Abdurahman, Naz Ebrahim, and Ben Kies publicly opposed white domination (Bennet & Julius, 2008), as did writers such as Alex La Guma and Richard Rive. According to Schoeman (1994) Abdullah Ibrahim learnt to play the piano here. The Nationalist government, faced with increasing international sanctions and rising fiscal debt was threatened by this activism (Swanson & Harries, 2001), and further pushed for the demolition of District Six.

The Hyman Liberman Institute was opened in District Six in 1934 in Muir Street by then mayor of Cape Town Louis Gradner (Manuel, 1967). The Institute brought about a significant change to the intellectual life of the area. It had a library hall, lecture room and a social room and offices for the librarian, all to facilitate discussion and debate. Plays were staged, lectures given and youth groups were organised, which served the working class of all denominations. The free private library grew a little intellectual group, known as the "Fifteen Group" and consisted of young working class men who held discussions on various scientific and classical subjects. The Hyman Lieberman Institute was bulldozed in 1979 (Manuel, 1979).

Debate and discussion thrived and the area was a formative site of learning for many as it gave rise to The African Peoples Organisation, The Teachers League of South Africa and the Industrial Commercial Workers Union. As early as 1906 the Social Democratic Federation organised 'hunger riots' in response to abject poverty in the area. The Stakesby Lewis Hostel was another known venue for political discussion (Bennet et al., 2008: 57).

Figure 2.24: Liberman Institute. (Bickford-Smith et al., 1999:84)

2.14.3 The Beinkenstadt Bookshop

Established in 1903 by Moshe Beinkenstadt, this bookshop (selling a variety of religious books and other unrelated items) was one of the last reminders of the thriving Jewish community in District Six (Hatogh, 1994). Situated on 38 Canterbury Street, Beinkinstadt's became an institution as it has been a source and supplier of all specifically Jewish requirements and a barometer of Jewish life in the city and was a precious part of the Jewish community of Cape Town (Boiskin, 1993).

2.14.4 The Seven Steps

This popular landmark, made of Table Mountain granite, each approximately 4 metres long, features in many stories and songs, is one of the few remaining landmarks which survived demolition and was situated on Hanover (now Keizergracht) Street (Robins, 1997). The Seven Steps features regularly in memories and recollections of ex-residents and it was from these steps that the Coon Carnival procession left every year (Robins, 1997). The steps led up to Hanover Square, but there were eight not seven steps as represented by a model in the District Six Museum.

Figure 2.25: The Seven Steps (District Six Museum, n.d.)

2.14.5 Hotels, bars and restaurants in District Six

There existed a few hotels (which often included a pub and restaurant) which catered for a varied clientele and included among others, the Stakesby Lewis Hostel in Harrington Street (Bennet & Julius, 2008: 56), the Rose and Crown Hotel in Hanover Street (Le Grange, 2008:17) and the Cheltenham Hotel (District Six Museum, 2012).

The Castle Bar in Canterbury Street was built in 1901 as an outlet for South Africa Breweries products. It was originally known as the Silver Cloud Pub. The Tielman Roos Liquor Act No. 27 of 1928 advocated that pubs could not exist independently without offering at least 10 rooms of accommodation and it then became known as the Silver Cloud Hotel. The Castle Bar and Hotel continues its operation in 2012 (Jonker, 1994). Other bars or taverns included the Hollytree Inn in Caledon Street, the Borough Inn in Hanover Street, the Rob Roy and City Arms in Tenant Street (Herzberg, 1966). The already mentioned Zambezi and many other cafes and restaurants served a variety of dishes to varied social classes of patrons.

2.15   Exhibitions

Numerous musical, art and theatre exhibitions have been organised since the destruction of District Six. A few are mentioned here to illustrate the continued interest in the area's cultural heritage.

A reconstruction of collective memory was exhibited in conjunction with the District Six Museum at the South African National Gallery (Dubow, 1995), a musical tribute in the form of a concert, Jayson Jay King's *"District Six Legends in Concert"* was held on 29 December 2010, commemorating the musical legends of District Six (Hathway, 2010). More than 70 Cape-based artists took part in a collaborative sculpture project that featured a large series of multimedia memorial sculptures erected at 50 points in the wasteland of District Six (Rutter, 1997).

2.16   Archaeology

The Research Unit for the Archaeology of Cape Town (RESUNACT) conducted a work and education programme in District Six. Two houses in Horstley Street have been excavated and some of the finds are on display in the District Six Museum. Many of the old tar and cobble streets are still in place under piles of rubble and much of the layout of old District Six still exists. RESUNACT creates public awareness in the District Six Museum, and has set up an area for the display of maps, photographs, and objects from the excavation. There is a

sandpit filled with objects on the balcony of the Museum where school pupils can learn about archaeology (University of Cape Town, Department of Archaeology, 2005).

According to the DFD6 (2011), the entire area of District Six is an archaeological site and thus a potential source of historical information, but given the restitution driven urgency to develop the area, and high costs, a large scale archaeological study seems impractical (DFD6, 2011:35).

The District Six Museum, The City of Cape Town and the South African Heritage Resources Agency are part of an archaeological team which will agree on a programme to develop the identified sites of archaeological merit as outlined in the Heritage Impacts Assessment, and which includes Horstley Street/ Memorial Park, Lydia Williams School, Tenant Street, Stuckeris Street and Little Hanover Street (DFD6, 2011:38).

2.17   Lessons learnt

Having conducted the historical aspect of the study, the following lessons which should be applied to tourism development in the redeveloping District Six include:

- Recognition that District Six has an extremely interesting and rich history. It remains a sensitive area of discussion for ex-residents, politicians and civic society in general. The hurt and repercussions of forced removals still remain. District Six has become a symbol of forced removal for all of South Africa.
- Varied opinions and viewpoints on nearly every aspect of life, heritage interpretation and redevelopment in District Six exist. It is important to note that many literature sources were written during and post demolitions, and therefore are emotionally charged and may contain some bias.
- District Six had a diverse wealth of both tangible and intangible cultural and heritage resources prior to demolitions. An opportunity deserving further investigation exists to regenerate some cultural aspects and utilise tourism as an economic and social development driver in the area.
- The District Six Museum is the leading functionary of memory preservation and presentation in the area. Tourism development must be conducted in conjunction with the Museum so that the integrity of the heritage is maintained and commercial exploitation thereof is prevented.
- The redevelopment process is a slow and difficult one. Any tourism plan should recognise that land restitution is the primary concern in the area. That a tourism plan should be implemented together with the redevelopment process should however not be excluded from consideration.

2.18   Conclusion

The large number of newspaper articles, tributes, photographic exhibitions, art exhibitions, theatre productions, music and dance evenings, the extraordinary work of the District Six Museum and the planning of the redevelopment committee indicates that District Six is not lost and forgotten, but that it is alive and well in the minds and hearts of the scattered District Six community. It is evident that the spirit of District Six remains fiercely cherished.

The important role music played, particularly jazz and traditional music, in the everyday lives of the citizens of District Six should be highlighted so that tourism development initiatives effectively utilise this and other relevant art forms as a tool for cultural regeneration and artistic expression.

The historical aspect of the study makes it evident that District Six was culturally rich and robust, providing a solid basis from which cultural heritage and creative tourism could be developed.

2.19   Summary

This Chapter provided a historical overview of District Six describing its early settlement and development, subsequent razing and land restitution process. A discussion of the heritage interpretation and presentation appropriate for the area is presented. Furthermore, the Chapter provides a review of the formation of the District Six Museum, its function and current visitor numbers statistics. In addition a review of the declaration process and heritage impacts assessment was conducted.

Lastly, the Chapter summarises the areas' main cultural heritage assets which existed prior to its razing. These include buildings of architectural significance, prominent individuals, performers, authors and musicians. The significant role music played in providing a source of artistic and cultural expression for this community was discussed. In addition, cultural hubs such as academic centres of learning, bookshops and movie houses were further investigated. It was concluded that the rich cultural heritage which existed in the area provides a good basis from which cultural heritage tourism could be further developed.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses in detail the research methodology designed to best address the problem statement and find solutions to the key research questions posed. Closer examination of the research methodology would ensure the integrity, scientific validity and acceptability of the research findings.

A brief definition of the concept of research is provided, followed by a discussion of general research design principles. A comparison will be drawn between quantitative and qualitative research techniques, followed by a description of the research design applicable to achieve each research objective. As each objective requires a different method of enquiry, these will be discussed in detail individually. Following this, data collection methods and techniques, the questionnaire design, and the sample selection are clarified.

3.2   Definition and description of research

Accurate information is an important resource. Research can be defined as the process in which scientific methods are used to expand knowledge in a particular field of study (Welman & Kruger, 1999:2). According to Mouton and Marais (1994) it is an essential part of being human, to strive continually to better our environment and oneself and define social science research, as:

"...*the collaborative human activity in which social reality is studied objectively with the aim of gaining a valid understanding of it"* (Mouton & Marais 1994:7). Simply put, research is concerned with gathering data that can help answer questions about various aspects of society and thus enable understanding (Bailey, 1987). The purpose of research is mainly to describe how things are or define the nature of the study object, to explain why things are the way they are, and the relationship between things that cause change and predict phenomena such as human behaviour (Welman & Kruger, 1999:18).

Bless and Higson-Smith (2000:6), identify the characteristics of research as empirical, systematic, logical, replicable, transmittable and reductive. Each research project must have a clearly stated research goal and a research design that informs how the data will be gathered, analysed and interpreted. Bailey (1987) describes research then as a system of interdependent but related stages.

3.3   Qualitative research versus quantitative research

Qualitative research uses qualifying words or descriptions to record aspects of the study, while quantitative research relies on measurement to compare and analyse different variables (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000). Mouton and Marais (1994) describe a quantitative research approach as research in the social sciences that is highly formalised and controlled, with a range that is more exactly defined. In terms of methods used, it is relative to the physical sciences.

Qualitative research can be distinguished as a less formalised approach, where the scope and procedures are less likely to be defined. Comprehensive studies, in most cases, will use both methods and cannot be classified as either strictly qualitative or quantitative (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000). Furthermore, research is a process that consists of various stages and phases which could be characterised by either qualitative, quantitative, or mixed approaches (Mouton & Marais, 1994). Welman and Kruger (1999) elaborate that while qualitative approaches utilise research procedures such as participant observation and unstructured interviews, they produce quantitative results. Conversely, data collection methods such as focus groups, case studies, documents, archival data and panel interviews which allow for quick quantitative analysis, also provide qualitative information.

In order to determine the potential for cultural heritage tourism development in District Six, both qualitative and quantitative research approaches were used.

3.4   Research design

Leedy and Ormrod (2001:91) define the research design simply as planning. It provides the overall structure for the procedures that the researcher follows, the data that the researcher collects and the data analysis that the researcher conducts. Mouton (2006) explains that the research design is a blueprint for how you intend conducting the research. This would include deciding on the kind of study you will be doing and how best the type of study will answer the questions you have formulated.

It is important to distinguish between the research design and the research methodology. While the research design focuses on the end product, has the research question as its point of departure, and focuses on the logic of the research, that is what kind of evidence is required to address the research question adequately, the research methodology is an operational framework which focuses on the research process and the kinds of tools and procedures to be used. The point of departure in research methodology is specific tasks (data collection or sampling) and focuses on individual steps in the research process, and the procedures to be employed.

The research design impacts on the total success of the study and can be classified into three categories: exploratory, descriptive and causal (Hou, 2009:20). The purpose of exploratory and descriptive research is to determine whether or not a phenomena exists, and to gain familiarity with such a phenomena by gaining a broad understanding thereof (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000). This type of research does not start with a specific problem but instead intends to find a problem to be tested (Welman & Kruger, 1999).

Providing a historical background and context for this study required some exploratory research. In addition, the research study required insight and understanding into the subject matter of cultural heritage tourism, to determine problem areas for further investigation. The current trends and debates in cultural heritage tourism were then further described to determine relevance to the District Six case. According to Hou (2009), causal research design is concerned with determining cause-and-effect relationships and examines this link between two or more variables. The four principal methodologies, according to Leedy and Ormrod (2001), depending on the research objectives are as follows:

- The historical method, which is appropriately applied to data that is in literary form or documentary by nature.
- The analytical survey method, which is appropriate for data that is quantitative in nature and requires statistical assistance to extract their meaning.
- The experimental method, which is appropriate for data derived from an experimental control situation in which two separate groups are involved, the one group being the control group, while the other group is the experimental group.
- The descriptive survey method, which is appropriate for data that is derived from observational situations, and which may lie buried deep within the minds, attitudes, feelings/opinions, or reactions of people.

The research methods selected for this study include a historical study, literature review, comparative analysis and model building study. The research problem statement will now be provided so that a clear description of the relevant issues facing cultural and creative tourism development in District Six can be addressed. This is immediately followed by a detailed discussion of each research method chosen to achieve the respective research objective.

3.5   Research problem and objectives

The research problem is complex and has a broad range of objectives which are exploratory, descriptive and theoretical in nature. The main research aim is to determine the potential for developing cultural heritage tourism in the redeveloping District Six. South Africa and Cape Town currently experience a weak cultural heritage tourism sector despite their rich cultural heritage resource base and increasing global demand. This is, among other reasons, largely due to the poor integration of cultural and heritage resources into mainstream tourism and the inability of government leaders and the private sector to recognise the value of the sectors economic potential. The opportunity to develop cultural heritage tourism in District Six has not been formally recognised or researched. The potential contribution of tourism to the long term benefits of economic empowerment, cultural regeneration and repatriation, deserves further investigation.

3.5.1   Historical study

A historical study was conducted to achieve the research objective namely an historical overview of District Six, and an assessment of its heritage and cultural assets.

The research design classification is empirical, making use of mainly textual secondary data streams. A narrative analysis was provided to reconstruct the past as accurately as possible and provide a chronology of events which occurred in District Six. Sources for historical studies include locating existing sources such as documents, newspaper reports and relics in which past information has been preserved (Welman & Kruger, 2001). This exploratory, historical descriptive research reviewed a relatively large body of books and journals published on District Six (predominantly after demolitions and forced removals).

The District Six Museum is a valuable source of information and has comprehensive historical resources including documents, newspaper reports, photographs, relics and artefacts. The museum maintains a well stocked library, which includes a number of self-published books. Many of the books, journals, newspaper articles, official and unofficial documents detail the cultural aspects of life and provide valuable information for the assessment of forced removals and the cultural and heritage assets which existed prior to demolitions. The DFD6 (2011) provided a comprehensive historical background and detailed Heritage Impact Assessment, an audit of heritage buildings, sites and areas of interest.

There may be some limitation in this form of study as the analysis of historical documents can sometimes be open to interpretation and the understanding and judgements of the authors (Mouton, 2006). Further limitations outlined by Welman and Kruger (1999:180) include excessive dependence on these secondary information sources and influence of

personal biases and favourite convictions. In addition, the inability to refute the explanations of events that took place, or the deliberate concealment thereof, gives rise to potential error. The research topic is emotionally charged and is sensitive, and has the potential to present different points of view of the same historical event.

3.5.2 Literature review

An overview of the existing literature will be provided in order to gain insight into the descriptive, theoretical and conceptual research problem statement and research objectives.

Literature reviews form part of a non-empirical, secondary data design classification, and are derived from information which already exists and fills the need for a specific reference to some point. Secondary data can usually be found quickly and cheaply and assists in the diagnosis of the research problem, developing a sampling plan, formulating an appropriate research design, testing certain hypotheses and interpreting data with more insight (Hou, 2009).

To demonstrate that current economic and tourism policies support the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six a review of relevant economic and tourism policies and tourism frameworks include The White Paper on Sustainable Tourism Development (1996), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution in Tourism Development Strategy (GEAR), the Responsible Tourism Policy for the City of Cape Town (2003), the Tourism Development Framework for the City of Cape Town, The National Department of Tourism's National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012), and Parliamentary Portfolio Committee workshop documents on developing a national strategy for Cultural Heritage Tourism Development (2010), among others.

The second study objective, gaining insight into the subject of cultural heritage tourism and critically analysing current trends and debates, will be achieved through the review of secondary data streams including books, journals and internet sources. Preliminary sources include Grobler (2008) titled "*The impact of politics on heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa*"; Dieke (2010) titled *"From Apartheid to a managed revolution: Tourism Development and Transition in South Africa"* as well as Goudie, Khan and Kilian (1999) *"Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Identity beyond Apartheid."*

A review of literature on the relatively new concept of "creative tourism", a subset of cultural tourism, will provide insight into the potential contribution this form of tourism could make to economic development and cultural regeneration in District Six. Sources include those by Smith (2009 & 2007), Evans (2005) and Ohridska-Olson and Ivanov (2010).

While this form of non-empirical design classification does often lead to theoretical insights it is limited in that it only serves to summarise and organise existing information. Even a critical review does not produce new empirical insights (Mouton, 2006). It will therefore be necessary to test these new insights with an empirical study.

3.5.3   Comparative study

The research objective of identifying a cultural heritage site with a similar history and socio-political conditions, from which tourism development in District Six could learn, will be achieved by conducting a comparative study of recent heritage rehabilitation and tourism development plans in Genadendal, in the Overberg region of the Western Cape Province. The comparative study will identify common challenges and opportunities and may provide valuable insight for cultural heritage tourism development in District Six.

This empirical design classification makes use of both primary and secondary sources of information. A comparative study will allow for both deductive and inductive approaches to be used to answer the historical, causal and descriptive questions posed (Mouton & Marais 1994). These lessons learned, based on the findings, will then be applied to the District Six case. A comparative study focuses on the similarities and differences between groups of units of analysis (Mouton, 2006). A comparison of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development (Cooper 1993; Goudie et al., 1999; Turok, 2000) as well as the reconstruction/ conservation of Genadendal (du Preez, 2009) are relevant literature sources.

3.5.4   Model building study

A model building study was conducted to develop a theoretical model for cultural heritage tourism in District Six. The model recommends solutions to problems such as lack of capacity and skills, funding/investment, public participation and participant engagement.

The study will answer the questions of theoretical linkages and coherence between theoretical positions, as well as questions related to the explanatory and predictive potential or theories (Mouton, 2006:176). A model building study will allow the researcher to make predictive claims, provide conceptual coherence, provide a simplified understanding of the complex nature of tourism development and management, and refine existing theories posed by the research problems listed above (Mouton, 2006).

A review of existing cultural/heritage tourism models will be conducted and an appropriate model will then be selected and its theories and components applied to the proposed study. Ismail's (2008) research on developing a normative model for cultural tourism on the Cape

Flats will be evaluated as a basis from which a theoretical model for developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six will be developed.

Dallen and Boyd (2003) provide a spectrum model which discusses the "layers" or levels of experience, in heritage tourism as well as a general model for heritage tourism. The National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, 2012) proposes a model for heritage tourism development which includes a product development component.

The limitation of this research method is that the theory developed may be ineffective, if claims on reality that may be vague or conceptually incoherent, inconsistent and confusing, are made (Mouton, 2006:177).

3.6   Empirical survey

A research project is augmented by an empirical survey of a representative sample from a given research population, which pertains to the research area, and is investigated by various means of data collection, such as a questionnaire (Ismail, 2008) or interviews. The empirical survey constitutes the primary data stream in a research project and is exploratory, descriptive, causal, and/or action-related in focus (Mouton, 2006).

An empirical survey was conducted for this research study in the form of structured personal interviews. Interviews investigated respondents' opinions and gave insight into developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six. Data was collected by visiting respondents at their place of work or home. The advantages of personal interviews include flexibility and adaptability, a higher response rate and high degree of control. Disadvantages include a higher cost in terms of preparation and application (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2000; Welman & Kruger, 1999) and anonymity is hard to maintain. General guidelines outlined by Welman and Kruger (1999) include avoiding any indication of affiliation with some or other group, to dress appropriately and avoid bias.

3.6.1   Questionnaire design

Structured interviews were conducted from an interview schedule of previously compiled questionnaires and the responses recorded by means of a dictaphone. In order to avoid errors and ensure validity of the questionnaire, the following factors were considered in its construction. The questionnaire was as brief as possible, using simple, clear and unambiguous language, and the provision of clear instructions (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). It was pre-tested in order to ensure that questions were accurately sequenced. Leading,

sensitive or threatening questions were avoided (Bless & Higson-Smith, 2004; Mouton, 2006) thus ensuring that the questions are relevant to the respondents (Bailey, 1987).

Considerations when developing and constructing the interview schedule included choosing judiciously between open-ended and closed-ended questions, being as brief and focused as possible, the respondents' literacy levels, and sensitivity to the subject matter being studied (Welman & Kruger, 1999). In addition bias was avoided. Respondents' anonymity was respected and confidentiality of the responses assured. Therefore no biographical information was requested.

Cognisance of the sensitive nature of the research and associated ethical considerations related to the collection of the primary data was assured. Respondents remained anonymous and could refuse to participate in the survey or exit the interview at any time. Permission from the District Six Beneficiaries and Redevelopment Trust was sought to administer questionnaires (see Addendum B). Furthermore the questionnaire was approved by a registered statistician and research supervisors at the CPUT prior to administration.

3.6.2   Introduction of bias

While particular attention was given to the research design in order to safeguard against distortion and maintain the integrity of the data, it must be acknowledged that bias may have influenced the final report either through pure chance, the random nature of the sample selection or the emotionally charged nature of the subject matter. Failure to recognise the possibility of bias would be naive and demonstrate an immature approach to serious research as some level of bias is inevitable in many social research studies.

3.6.3   Response population

Respondents consisted of heritage and tourism practitioners at local and provincial government level, heritage agency (SAHRA), representatives of the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust, returning residents and claimants, tertiary institution representatives (CPUT, UWC, UCT), consultants in drafting the DFD6, District Six Museum Trustees and selected private sector development consultants. Participation was on a voluntary basis and, in order to ensure confidentiality, participants' were not required to include biographical information on the questionnaires. A total of 20 institutions and individuals were identified for consultation. As all the respondents identified as the population group took part in the study there is no need to identify or discuss sampling.

Hereafter, the data is interpreted by applying methods of thematic data analysis, a common form of qualitative data analysis.

3.6.4   Thematic data analysis

Thematic data analysis focuses on identifying themes within data and recording patterns which are associated to a specific research question. Themes represent a level of patterned response (Descombe, 2003). The themes then become the units or categories of analysis. Familiarisation with data, generating initial codes, searching for themes among codes, reviewing themes, defining and naming themes, and producing the final dissertation are the six stages of thematic analysis.

Thematic analysis is advantageously flexible and allows for engagement from various methodical backgrounds. Its flexibility is also its disadvantage as a wide variety of interpretations of the themes may emerge diluting reliability, however planning for monitoring themes and code tables throughout the process mitigate this dilution.

3.7   Summary

This Chapter explained the research design that was used to obtain the research objectives and answer the key research questions posed. This Chapter included a discussion of the empirical survey and relevant questionnaire design considerations, a description of the research population and an overview of thematic data analysis. The following chapter examines cultural heritage and creative tourism in more detail. The benefits these forms of tourism could have in contributing to cultural regeneration, economic and social development in the area are further evaluated.

CHAPTER FOUR

CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM

4.1   Introduction

This chapter provides the context in which tourism development in South Africa could occur. A brief historical overview of the industry is provided, together with an overview of current statistics, tourism trends and cultural heritage tourism development constraints.

This is followed by an introduction to cultural heritage tourism by discussing current definitions and industry debates and by examining perspectives on the impact of politics on heritage development. The complex nature of heritage development in the South African context is illustrated by reviewing criticisms of the development of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront. A review of cultural regeneration, cultural planning and cultural industry development mechanisms, which are worth being considered for implementation in District Six, will be conducted. After a brief discussion of the lessons learnt, a summary completes the chapter.

4.1.1   Overview of tourism in apartheid South Africa

Prior to 1994, South Africa was relatively unknown as an international tourist destination and priority given to the sector was low. A combination of the existing apartheid system and the conventional mass tourism market being fairly young (40 years of age), tourism activities were generally restricted to small scale domestic tourism, centred on servicing the recreational needs of White South Africans (Allen & Brennan, 2004; Goudie et al., 1999).

Most infrastructural elements, such as beaches, national parks, camping sites, cinemas and restaurants, were segregated, and displayed signs indicating that they were for "whites" or "non- whites only." Further segregation was often enforced informally (Goudie et al., 1999). Violent riots and protests such as the Sharpeville massacre (1976) and the Soweto uprisings (1978), together with international economic and political sanctions, further depressed the South African tourism market (Steyn & Spencer, 2011). International visitor arrivals (1987) were estimated at a low 339 307 overseas visitors (Allen & Brennan, 2004; Dieke, 2010). Despite poor visitor numbers South Africa had by then established a firm foundation from which the tourism industry could flourish, boasting relatively good infrastructure, quality and variety of accommodation, world renowned game and wildlife reserves, and a modern banking sector (Steyn & Spencer, 2011).

4.1.2   Overview of tourism in the new South Africa

South Africa in 1994 marked a transition from a racist apartheid society to a fully democratic union in one of the most internationally celebrated political changes of modern times (Dieke, 2010). The implication of this change on the tourism sector was massive, and represented a crucial watershed moment for South Africa's tourism development. Increased international popularity and media attention, improved political accessibility and business links, and the establishment of Nelson Mandela as an international icon, created significant demand for South Africa as a tourist destination (Steyn & Spencer, 2011).

The new government was quick to respond to this demand, and in the following years, developed the hallmark national tourism policy, the White Paper on the Declaration and Promotion of Tourism (1996). This was followed by, among others, the Responsible Tourism Handbook, the Accelerated Growth Initiative and Tourism Black Economic Empowerment Policies. Tourism has since become recognised as an increasingly important sector in achieving the Governments' goals of reconstruction and development (Allen & Brennan, 2004; Dieke, 2010).

The South African Tourism Planning Toolkit for Local Government (2009) describes tourism as South Africa's fastest growing industry, having impacts on the wider community, and the potential to alleviate poverty, create employment and make significant contributions to the Gross Domestic Product. The Toolkit suggests that tourism has grown so significantly that it has become South Africa's largest exporter and has even outperformed gold as a foreign exchange earner (Ivanovic, 2008). Goudie et al. (1999) observe that increasing emphasis has been placed on the role of tourism as a catalyst for social change and healing in South Africa.

Marschall (2005) describes tourism as the panacea for all ills associated with development, employment and income generation. Dieke (2001) observes that tourism has the potential to bring wider economic benefits from diverse markets to a region with otherwise limited economic potential. Developing countries, including South Africa have been quick to realise the benefits of promoting wild and exotic holiday experiences to First World markets (Goudie et.al., 1999).

Destination performance reports compiled by Cape Town Routes Unlimited for Cape Town and the Western Cape (November 2011), indicate there has been significant improvement within the sector, as tourism arrivals to South Africa are close to 2 million, with 285 913 arrivals to the Western Cape in the second quarter of 2011 alone. Tourists spent R4.2 billion during this period, with an annual growth rate of 5% (excluding 2010 where a marked

increase in tourism numbers was observed during the FIFA World Cup), a sharp contrast from the 1987 apartheid era statistics of 339 307 visitors (Dieke, 2010; Allen & Brennan, 2004). Tourism represents about R189.4 billion (7.9%) of Gross Domestic Product and directly and indirectly employs 919 000 people, or 7% of the country's workforce (NDT, 2010).

However, despite these positive changes, Goudie et al. (1999) argue that for many communities, the reality is very different, as the benefits of tourism brought no more than mundane, low-paid and seasonal jobs, instead of real empowerment. The South African Tourism trade, according to Allen and Brennan (2004), suffers from a near absence of community involvement. A lack of understanding of the sector is prevalent among large sections of the population. Little substantive change has occurred despite the grand economic policies of the state, and the professed concern of the private sector for community involvement (Allen & Brennan 2004).

A legacy of poor education, high unemployment rates, and a lack of business and marketing skills informs the opinion that previously disadvantaged communities and entrepreneurs will find it difficult to compete against well established companies. (Allen & Brennan, 2004; Goudie et al., 1999). Authors Marschall (2005), Dieke (2001) and Goudie et al. (1999), argue that other factors, such as increased privatisation of state assets and reductions in national tourism budgets are worrying. The trend that multi-national companies are becoming an increasingly dominant force in the South African tourism market is further cause for concern. Goudie et al. (1999), caution that there is a danger that the South African tourism industry will perpetuate, or replicate, past divisions and negative impacts.

4.2   Definition of cultural heritage tourism

Culture is defined by the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012), as a set of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features of society or a social group, and includes attributes of the society such as the art and literature it produces, societal lifestyles, social cohesion, value systems, traditions and beliefs (South Africa, NDT, 2012). The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) defines cultural tourism as movements of persons, essentially motivated by cultural reasons. These motivations may include study tours, performing arts, cultural tours, travel to festivals, visits to historic sites and monuments, folklore and pilgrimages (WTO, 1985).

The National Heritage Tourism Strategy (NHTS) (South Africa, NDT, 2012:6) cites the South African White Paper on Arts and Culture (South Africa, 1996), for its definition of heritage, as the collective total of wildlife and scenic parks, sites of scientific and historical importance,

national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature and music, oral traditions and museum collections and their documentation, which provide the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts.

Tangible heritage or heritage resources, in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999, includes any place or object of cultural significance which may be protected in terms of the Act such as a site, area or region, building/s or open space or archaeological, paleontological, rare geological artefacts or meteorites among others (South Africa, NHTS, 2012:7). Intangible aspects of inherited culture may include cultural tradition, oral history, performance ritual, popular memory, indigenous memory systems, and the holistic approach to nature, society and social relationships (South Africa, NDT, 2012). Cultural heritage tourism relates to the sustainable tourism activity that can be aligned to culture, tangible and intangible heritage (South Africa, 2010).

4.2.1   Current trends in cultural heritage tourism

Globally, cultural tourism has been identified as an effective tool from which socio-economic goals can be achieved. This idea has been endorsed by international and African policy making bodies such as the United Nations, Educational and Scientific Commissions, the International Monetary Fund, The Southern African Development Community and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Ivanovic, 2008).

Cultural and heritage tourism related products in South Africa are abundant and diverse, many of which have global significance. The eight World Heritage sites and its unique mix of cultures make South Africa a unique and exciting destination (South Africa, NDT, 2012), with a number of world renowned and successful cultural heritage tourist attractions already in operation (South Africa, 2010).

All travel involves a cultural element. Visiting historic sites, cultural landmarks, attending special events and festivals or visiting museums have always been part of the total tourism experience. Cultural tourism however is seen as offering deeper understanding, meaningful engagement for both the tourist and host community, and became recognised as a distinct product category in the late 1970's (McKercher & du Cross, 2002).

Cultural and heritage tourism is the fastest growing market within the tourism industry worldwide (South Africa, NDT, 2012; Grobler, 2008). According to Mckercher and du Cross (2002) cultural tourism has arguably superseded ecotourism as the new, trendy buzzword, or concept. As this form of tourism is closely linked to a nation's past, cultural and heritage products can contribute to making the tourist experience unique and memorable. Marschall (2005) emphasises an important point, namely that in post-apartheid South Africa many new

memorials, statues, museums and heritage sites have been created throughout the country and are a strongly emerging sector of the South African tourism industry. One of the most fundamental changes since political transition has been the recognition that African culture and political history are valid, and sought after components of South African tourism offerings (Briedenham & Ramchander, 2006).

Culture is expected to become a major tourist attraction, generate an income and contribute to poverty alleviation and development. President Jacob Zuma, during a tombstone unveiling of Klaas and Trooi Pienaar (a Khoisan couple who were sent to Vienna by an Austrian scientist, Rudolph Poch, in 1909) called for museums in South Africa to become less colonial, and transform into centres of heritage and expertise which respect all peoples and cultures (Zuma, 2012).

Ashley et al. (2005) cite statistics from South African Tourism which indicate cultural heritage products are highly desired by tourists. South African cultural product appreciation varies between foreign tourists but is generally high, with 85% of American tourists, 77% of Europeans and 60% of Asians being interested in this form of tourism. According to McKercher and du Cross (2002) 240 million international journeys involve cultural tourism, with between 35-70 % of international tourists fitting into a market which was once considered a specialised, niche activity, but has since developed into a high profile, mass market activity.

However, cultural heritage tourism products in South Africa are currently underperforming (Ashley et al., 2005, South Africa, 2010). South Africa's tourism products are largely positioned around 'Safari- type' experiences and natural attractions (South Africa, NDT, 2012), the rich cultural landscape and wealthy heritage being under-utilised. Ashley et al. (2005:3), quotes the South African Tourism Global Competitiveness study (n.d.) as follows:

"The cultural product needs to be more targeted, more authentic and more sophisticated."

The potential of cultural heritage tourism has not been fully exploited and is underperforming. Fewer tourists, despite expressing interest in cultural and historical heritage, have visited museums, experienced South African traditional food or been to visit a township (Ashley et al., 2005; Briedenham & Ramchander, 2006; South Africa, NDT, 2012). According to Ivanovic (2008) South Africa should use more of its cultural heritage potential to secure disadvantaged communities so that they themselves take ownership and become the primary beneficiaries of cultural tourism development.

4.3 Benefits of cultural heritage tourism

The National Department of Tourism, in formulating a strategy for developing cultural heritage products (South Africa, 2010), cites economic benefits of the cultural heritage tourism industry as the sector which has the highest yield, where tourists spend 38% more per day and stay 34% longer. Return on investment for government funded programmes could debatably, therefore be realised.

Cultural heritage tourism products spread economic benefits across broader geographic areas, through themed routes rather than single locations. In addition, cultural heritage tourism creates new markets for arts and crafts, mitigates tourism seasonality and encourages product adaptations (South Africa, 2010).

Ashley et al. (2005:3) observe the added benefits of cultural heritage tourism as the increase in the diversity of the visitor experience; the potential to rejuvenate communities; broadens the tourism base; improves sustainability for cultural and heritage places through higher public profile and the creation of educational awareness are among the many other benefits this form of tourism holds.

4.4 Cultural heritage tourism development constraints

The Tourism Planning Toolkit for Local Government (South Africa, 2009) acknowledges that the tourism industry has struggled to generate employment and development opportunities for local communities despite tourisms' potential for socio-economic development.

DEAT (2003a), Allen and Brennan (2004), Ismail (2008), Ivanovic (2008) and Dieke (2010) identify the challenges facing the South African tourism industry as follows:

- Access to ownership, jobs and income generating opportunities are limited
- Re-integration into the global economy is limited. New regional economic linkages within Africa are required.
- Inadequate resourcing and funding of tourism by the state.
- Short-sightedness by the private sector towards the nature and development of tourism products.
- Insufficient and limited training, awareness and education and integration of local communities into tourism.
- Inadequate protection of the environment through effective environmental management.
- Poor level of service standards.
- The lack of infrastructure in rural areas as well as inappropriate institutional structures, and

- Problems arising from crime, violence and corruption.

The Tourism Planning Toolkit for Local Government (South Africa, DEAT, 2009) suggests further constraints to meaningful development:

- Seasonal demand impacts significantly on employment.
- Macro economic and political factors such as the global economic crisis of 2008 which saw a decline in annual growth of tourism by 9%, and
- Lack of infrastructure, particularly public transport.

It is important to note that the current fragmentation of the tourism industry lies in the geography or apartheid spatial design of cities and towns, that is large distances between White and Black areas and restricted points of access. Goudie et al. (1999) argue that this factor perpetuates the very social divisions which South Africa needs to overcome. Compounding these challenges, tourism interventions within townships are fragmented and uncoordinated (Briedenham & Ramchander, 2006).

While the constraints to cultural heritage tourism development are similar to the ones facing conventional tourism, additional challenges for the sector exist. Globalisation, industrialisation and the influence of modern technology on behaviour has resulted in a dilution of authentic customs. General problems associated with the overburden on shared resources and services exist. Portions of a community may become dependent on tourism, resulting in a failure to be self-reliant, and a loss of traditional style activities occurs. Limited planning, inadequate infrastructure development, high levels of economic leakages, political divisiveness, and limited beneficiaries cause discontent within communities and impact development negatively (McKercher & du Cross, 2002:60).

The National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, 2012:10) identifies further challenges for the cultural heritage industry. Poor alignment and integration of cultural and heritage resources into mainstream tourism; under-representation in marketing efforts; not realising the value and impact of the sector's economic potential; a lack of an integrated framework and comprehensive data leads to fragmentation between heritage conservation needs and tourism development goals; the industry experiences a lack of revenue streams which mutually benefit culture, heritage and tourism, resources tend to be misrepresented through uninformed interpretation at tourist venues which compromise the integrity and authenticity of cultural and heritage tourism products.

4.5   The impact of politics on cultural heritage tourism

South African politics, both past and present, have profound impacts on the development of cultural heritage tourism products. South Africa's transition from an apartheid system to a democratic nation saw a marked increase in tourist numbers and seemingly limitless opportunities for positive change. The role politics in tourism plays within the South African context, as an instrument for economic and political change, is now further explored.

4.5.1   Issues and perspectives

Grobler (2008) describes South Africa's past as being unstable, characterised by military conflict, battles for supremacy, economic exploitation and cultural suppression. The politicisation of the past, therefore, has a direct impact on the cultural heritage of South Africa. The political ideology of a country is displayed through monuments and memorials and presents itself to the tourist as a reflection of this.

The following quotation explains this dichotomy of interpretation:

"The past occupies an ambivalent role in post-apartheid South Africa. For some it is seen as a vast reservoir of trauma and loss, while for others it can be mobilised as a source of pride and redemption" (Meskell & Scheermeyer, 2008:154).

Dallen and Boyd (2003) suggest that South African heritage excludes a Black African past and claim 97% of all declared monuments are representative of the values of a colonialist past. Goudie et al. (1999) argue that there has been a purposeful neglect of heritage sites dedicated to Black history and point out that Afrikaner mythology, along with its icons, dominates the South African cultural landscape, providing a Eurocentric approach and distorted view of Black cultural heritage.

This phenomenon is not unique to South Africa. Monuments, statues and museums legitimise the need for communities and people to identify and honour their origins. Therefore, such heritage sites are often biased to the group that is in political control at the time (Grobler, 2008). This bias is apparent in the prolific construction and declaration of new heritage sites, and name changes to places and streets to counter the one-sided depiction of history. Goudie et al. (1999) provides an example of this: the house of Sol Plaatje (32 Angel Street, Kimberley) was declared a national monument in 1992 and is the first South African museum dedicated to the memory of a black person. Plaatje, a founding member and first General Secretary of the South African Native National Congress (which later became the African National Congress) was a noted author, politician and activist.

Government policy stipulates that new heritage sites are to contribute to employment creation, poverty alleviation and infra-structure development by attracting large amounts of

tourists (Marschall, 2005). Marschall raises the question as to whether political agendas influence the development of new heritage sites. By hiding behind promises of economic development, influencing presentations thereof, interfering directly or controlling funding, political agendas may manipulate heritage site development (Grobler, 2008). This manipulation of cultural property and how it is presented to domestic and foreign tourists reflects the complex nature of socio-economic and socio-political agendas. Importantly, cultural sites are developed to define identity at a community and national level thereby contributing to nation building (Grobler, 2008).

The difficulty in developing an appreciation for Black heritage lies in the degree to which South Africa's heritage should be commercialised, as market sustainability and political integrity are often not compatible. How to represent the past and the present without compromising the integrity of the mainstream heritage industry as a romantic version of real events or sterile political spectacle should be considered.

The following case involving the "heritage" development of the (now world famous) Victoria and Alfred Waterfront in Cape Town further highlights controversial political issues.

4.6   The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (V&A)

The V&A Waterfront in Cape Town was redeveloped in the1990's and has become one of Cape Town's most successful tourist attractions. The V&A experience is designed to recall feelings of nostalgia, of a Victorian life of privileged leisure, as the era was seen as one of golden prosperity, romance, carnival fun and spectacle (Goudie et al., 1999). According to David Jack, managing director of the V&A, the downtown dockland succeeded in creating an "authentic" and "natural feel" adopting profitable postmodern forms and styles, almost exactly the same as waterfronts in Sydney or Baltimore (Cooper, 1993).

Opinions suggest this success has come at the expense of local communities and cultures (Cooper, 1993; Goudie et al., 1999; Jones, 2007). The strategy for developing derelict docksides is a common urban regeneration strategy and is well documented. Having been developed the world over since the 1970's, developments of this nature have grown in scale and complexity. It is no surprise then that controversial economic, social and political debates should arise, and concerns for social equity, heritage and conservation, conflict with profit oriented developments (Jones, 2007).

The lives of dock workers, slaves and marginalised poor who made up the social fabric of the era are not represented, in what Goudie et al. (1999) calls a 'sanitised' version of events. While the V&A promoted the development as 'unique' (offering both tourist activities and port

related functions), the V&A found it almost impossible to combine unpleasant, heavy port related activities with the glamour of the modern package, thereby appealing to more profitable and alluring luxury cruises and displacing local fishing and boat repair activities (Goudie et al., 1999).

Smith (2009:117) cites Cooper 1993's discussion of the V&A Waterfront dockland development schemes as "...*isolated landscapes of consumption, awash with gentrified cultural and recreational activities, which often fail to reflect the diverse cultural traditions of local people.*"

Smith (2009) describes these sites as places where the commercialised and internationalised *"could be anywhere"* sense of space experienced at the V&A Waterfront, stands in sharp contrast to the troubled heritage of the Black and Coloured townships. Cooper (1993) noted that given the City's history of spatial and racial segregation, it is surprising to encounter a contemporary version of a similar process, and argues that whatever diversity exists, it is certainly not local heritage. Jones' (2007:147) interpretation is conveyed as the " ...*domination of the private sector with deprived or community groups gaining little or nothing from the regeneration process."*

Turok (2000) is of the view that developments such as the V&A Waterfront polarise townships against affluent suburbs and reinforce spatial divisions rather than assisting in urban integration. This is being achieved through "enforced" separation from economic and social opportunities. These developments entrench and help to create a dual city of "have's" and "have-not's" (Jones, 2007). Either through default or intention, the controlled access and high internal security denies any scope for informal traders to sell their goods and services to high income consumers and tourists, causing further alienation and frustration (Turok, 2000).

4.7   Elements of cultural planning

Cultural planning origins were formed in the 1990's and its implementation, particularly in the context of cultural regeneration, have not been extensively researched (Smith, 2009). The aim of cultural planning is for government or planners to integrate cultural resources into the everyday lives of people and bring diverse benefits to a community, by transforming physical spaces (Mercer, 1991; Evans, 2005; Shaw, 2007; Smith, 2009).

Cultural planning should have the following characteristics (Smith, 2009:185):

- People oriented approach to development.
- Consultative and inclusive.
- Pluralistic and diverse.

- Promoting the importance of access and tolerance.
- Aiming to improve the quality of life.
- Recognising the importance of place and character of environment.
- Including tangible and symbolic aspects of culture, and
- Advocating creative approaches to development.

Planning for the regeneration of tourist destinations and spaces is a complex process but consists of the following main elements as outlined by Evans (2005:83).

Table 4.1: The main elements of cultural planning

Consideration of local, multiple cultures	Local cultures at the centre of and integral to planning Aesthetics discourse Takes account of cultural diversity Recognition of multiple histories/ heritages Multiple representations Recognition of hybrid and multiple identities Negotiation of the local versus the national and the global
Involvement and empowerment of local stakeholders	Democratic and community oriented Bottom-up approach Pluralistic, multi-stakeholder approach Predominantly "anthropological" in approach Local participation in the arts and cultural activities Fostering civic pride, a sense of local identity and ownership
Emphasis on everyday life practices	Emphasis on quality of life Awareness of intangible aspects of culture Access to public spaces (physical and psychological) New, more tolerant spaces for social interaction Spiritual and sacred spaces Place and culture inextricably intertwined Emphasis on place identity and place marketing Retention of local authenticity
Creative and experiential approaches	Creative approaches to development High levels of creative and "bohemian" indices Animation of cities through culture and creativity Space for fantasy Aesthetics discourse

Source: Evans, 2005:83

4.8   Planning for cultural regeneration

It is imperative for any tourism strategy in District Six to consider how tourism could contribute to cultural regeneration. Tourism development is likely to be threatened if all places start to look the same (Smith, 2009). Growing global cultural homogenisation and bland standardisation of heritage and public space with bland retail developments have become common place. For example, it could be argued that the growing locations of Kentucky Fried Chicken and McDonald retail outlets in many rural towns are creating standardised places, reducing character and authenticity.

Tourists, especially repeat visitors, are seeking authentic alternative experiences (Smith, 2009). Maitland (2007) observes that areas based on the fringes of cities (such as District Six) inhabited by local residents and characterised by more organic developments mean that they are more appealing than purpose-built attractions, as they offer an element of surprise while helping to maintain a sense of place.

Smith (2009) provides further analysis which indicates that approaches to urban regeneration differ in so far as the importance of the role of culture is afforded in urban regeneration planning strategies. An example of this is the concept of cultural regeneration, where cultural activities are integrated into a wider strategy; culture-led regeneration, where culture provides a catalyst for further developments and culture and regeneration, where cultural activities are less integrated, and often seen as an add-on. In the case of cultural regeneration there is a logical integration of new developments with the heritage, traditions, contemporary values and daily life of the local area.

Tourism development in District Six should consider adopting a culture-led regeneration strategy, the components of which are further described in the following table:

Table 4.2: Culture-led developments

Culture as a panacea for economic decline	Cultural industries can create jobs	Culture attracts investment and funding	Spending on culture boosts the (local) economy
Culture as a political tool	Culture as an expression of diversity	Culture gives voice to marginalised minorities	Culture helps create more accessible and safer spaces
Culture as a source for social good	Cultural activities can improve quality of life	Culture supports social integration and cohesion	Cultural activities can be educational
Culture as environmental enhancement	Culture supports conservation	Culture aestheticises space	Culture animates space
Culture as a commercial or business opportunity	Culture as a tourism product	Culture creates brands	Culture as entertainment
Culture as symbolic and prestige	Cultural flagship projects and events	Culture gives a sense of place and identity	Culture enhances internal and external exchange
Culture as everyday life	Culture as personal histories and heritage	Culture as everyday activities and practices	Culture as leisure and relaxation

Source: Smith, 2009:170

4.9   Developing cultural industries

Given the growing economic importance of the culture industry, it is necessary to invest in the sector to further business growth and employment opportunities. A general framework for developing cultural industries in District Six is now provided.

4.9.1   Cultural, ethnic and mixed-use quarters strategy

Urban regeneration strategies often incorporate cultural districts or cultural quarters for cities and consist of that geographical area which contains the highest concentration of cultural and entertainment facilities in a city or town (Wynn, 1992). This may include entertainment facilities, retail outlets and eating and drinking establishments, as well as cultural venues or attractions (e.g. museums, galleries, theatres) and can also include creative industries or spaces (media, design, technology) and creative individuals or groups. These cultural and creative spaces are often incorporated into mixed-use districts designated also for office space, residential, hotel, catering, retail and recreational use (Wynn, 1992:19).

Urban planning practitioners advocate the production of mixed-use spaces in regeneration. Sustainable regeneration is dependent on the ability of planners to improve quality of life by balancing the 'play', 'work' and 'live' elements of urban life (Murayama & Parker, 2007). An imbalance or neglect of an area in terms of its "live-ability" risks the commoditisation familiar in tourism and other mono-cultural usage of urban sites (e.g. major retail, leisure developments) which suggest that everyday life should be a priority when developing cultural quarters (Aiesha & Evans, 2007). Ethnic quarters (e.g. Chinatowns) become popular with residents and visitors and often feature in tourist brochures as cultural attractions. Gastronomy, shopping and festivals usually top the list of activities (Smith, 2009).

As noted by Shaw (2007:52), areas which once signified the poverty of marginalised urban communities are now being promoted to appeal to visitors with *"sophisticated and cosmopolitan tastes"*. He suggests that expressions of multiculturalism are increasingly being exploited as picturesque backdrops in order to animate urban areas.

A challenge exists in that developments may lead to an appropriation or invasion of social or living space (Smith, 2009). Culture is then no longer articulated by those who are indigenous or original inhabitants. Security risks or fear of displacement are also real. Areas may be globalised or hybridised to suit international tastes. The DFD6 (2011) warns against this form of gentrification and may be reluctant to pursue commercial strategies of this nature. Preventing owners from selling their homes for 10 years after taking ownership will be implemented as a mechanism to protect against the area's gentrification.

However, the long term economic benefits such as increases in house prices, business investment and tourist spending can be advantageous. In terms of regeneration, the clustering of certain groups can be highly beneficial to an area (Smith, 2009). With careful planning and management, the development of the cultural industries and visitor economies can help foster the role of ethnic and minority entrepreneurs as active agents of regeneration.

4.9.2 The role of the arts and festivals in community development

According to Bianchini and Parkinson (1993), the arts and festivals can help animate an area and enhance living space. The development of cultural districts and mixed-use areas in American cities such as Baltimore, Boston and Pittsburgh in the 1970's were successful in re-launching the image of downtown areas and boosted the local economy through art-related activities.

Arts activities can make a positive contribution to community life, attracting people to an area, creating a lively ambience, and improving safety on the streets. Smith (2007), quotes Fisher and Owen's (1991) reminder that the arts are an essential part of a city's identity, and that public art can contribute to local distinctiveness, attract investment, boost cultural tourism, enhance land values, create employment, increase use of urban space and reduce vandalism.

The arts typically suffer from problems of underfunding and under valorisation. According to Belfiore (2002), governments often take a tokenistic approach to the arts, exploiting their economic and social potential, but without adequate reinvestment and support.

Public spaces need animation, perhaps through the development of cultural festivals and the presence of public art. Increasingly areas of ethnic and cultural diversity are becoming popular areas of cities and the most attractive seem to be those with a high concentration of creative and bohemian people (Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004).

4.9.3 Development loans for cultural producers

Wynn (1994) advocated the establishment of a Development Loan Fund for small businesses and organisations working in the culture industry and observed that the fund was essential to stimulate production and enterprise activity in the sector. According to Wynn (1994) cultural producers, generally, have insufficient knowledge to develop their activities on a scale that would ensure their financial success.

Financial institutions are also less amenable to the needs of cultural producers as they are sceptical of its commercial potential (Belfiore, 2002). Public-private partnerships may be the answer. Could the Department of Arts and Culture in conjunction with major banks be the ideal organisations to administer such a fund? Such partnerships may assist in developing related business services, marketing and distribution.

4.9.4   Workspace studios

Workspace studios entail providing mixed, multi-occupancy, facilities with managed business services for artists and cultural producers. Here consideration is given to the property-led development of integrated managed workspace and exhibition space in cultural quarters. Wynn (1994) suggests developing spaces where cultural production and consumption co-exist, as in mixed-use developments, is integral to the development of the culture industry.

These workspaces would include managed business services on a collective basis such as shared plant and machinery, communal vehicles, meeting rooms, accounting services, office services and secretarial services. Rental costs are cross-subsidised and business management responsibilities are shared, while opportunities for commercial and creative 'crossovers' are encouraged (Wynn, 1994).

The formation of a committee, limited company, or similar organisation should be considered in order to progress the development of studio workspace for artists and cultural producers. This organisation would form a link between property developers, local authorities and others in ensuring that the requirements of cultural producers are encouraged and catered for (Wynn, 1994). Providing incubators for cultural producers in the form of workspace studios in District Six is relevant and should be considered.

4.9.5   Integrated marketing and telecommunications

The formation of a marketing committee or cooperative to provide marketing and distribution services for artists and cultural producers is established and integrated into the project. This provides much needed resources and knowledge to cultural producers who may not necessarily have the skills to maximise the marketing potential of their goods and services. Wynne (1994:8) cited the success of the Italian small business sector which owed its success to the proliferation of marketing cooperatives.

In addition, an integrated telecommunications network to promote and develop the culture industry will encourage "crossovers" in cultural production and enable cooperation between cultural producers. As part of the marketing function a communicative database and

published directory of artists and cultural producers is developed. This functions as a trade directory, and a similar database is created for exhibition space, galleries, venues and museums.

4.9.6 Skills and training

The National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, NDT, 2012:38) cites a skills audit conducted by the Department of Arts and Culture (2011) which illustrates a significant deficiency of skills and qualifications in the heritage and cultural resources. The quality of tourism management skills too needs improvement. While the Department has made another call for bursaries it emphasises that skills development and training must be met by the availability of employment opportunities to absorb new graduates.

New initiatives in training and education would underpin and complement the economic growth and expansion of both the tourism and culture industries in District Six (Dockery, 1994). Education and training should be considered as a cornerstone of success and a prerequisite for emerging cultural producers and entrepreneurs.

The importance of short courses, especially in business management, customer services and communication, would encourage a more business-like approach amongst artists and cultural producers. Considering the nature of future course provision, the cultural industry should be aware of the concerns of validating bodies such as the National Qualifications Framework. Attention must also be given to the ways in which courses and workshops in crafts, art, music, drama and dance workshops develop confidence, communication skills, initiative and knowledge amongst unemployed or interested people (Dockery, 1994). The way in which courses recruit and operate may need to be further examined.

According to Dockery (1994), a heightened awareness of the arts and cultural industries manifest itself in future demand, leading to increased employment opportunities in all areas of the culture industry. Specific links to skills and training organisations are further discussed in the business and functional linkages section.

Residents, who are interested in developing their own tourism or associated business, require training and guidance. Empowerment of the community through skills development is essential to any tourism plans success. In addition, participatory development planning, and the value of local indigenous knowledge (Briendenhann & Ramchander, 2006), is particularly important for cultural heritage tourism in District Six. Consideration should be given to creating an indigenous knowledge system for District Six.

4.10   Community based tourism (CBT)

Lapeyre (2010:757) defines community-based tourism (CBT) as *"... an activity which through increased intensities of participation, can provide widespread economic and other benefits and decision-making power to communities"*.

Literature on the topic indicates that there exist many advantages to CBT. These include the prevention of economic leakages outside of the community; income generated through tourism creates linkages for the local economy, and further improving the multiplier effect. Local inhabitants gain managerial and institutional capacity and skills which fosters a sense of pride and ownership (Lapeyre, 2010).

According to Smith (2009), Shaw (2004) and Evans (2005) theorists and tourism practitioners advocate an anthropological or community-based approach, to cultural planning. It is evident that the residents of an area are its most unique asset. A sense of place and animation is arguably created through and by the people resident in the area, coupled with the social and cultural programmes that are provided for and supported by them (Smith, 2009).

As a result, governments, donors and NGOs worldwide have been extensively promoting and supporting genuine community-based tourism initiatives. Steyn and Spencer (2011) observe that despite community involvement and empowerment being one of the primary objectives of the South African Government policy, the success thereof has been marginal, with benefits accruing to individuals rather than communities. Steyn and Spencer (2011) identify a lack of skills and a lack of awareness of the benefits and negative impacts of tourism.

Given the historical context and the existence of well-established community organisations such as the District Six Beneficiaries and Redevelopment Trust, a community based tourism approach would be essential and relevant for developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six.

4.11   Product development

"*Product development is a prerequisite for satisfying tourists' needs and changing demands as well as insuring the profitability of the industry*" (Komppula, 2001:2).

According to Heath (2002) tourism industries are becoming increasingly competitive, dynamic and impacted on by global issues. If South Africa is to realise the future potential of tourism as an economic development tool, and address the needs of poverty alleviation and job creation, there is a need for the tourism product to be optimised and to deliver high quality experiences through its product development strategies.

Heath (2002) advises that this optimisation is achieved through the creation of landmarks and symbols that capture the spirit of the destination. Financial decisions, especially concerning the nature and sources of the funding required for development, should be carefully thought through. Strategic decisions (e.g. public seed funding and bridging capital versus private investment), consideration of the organisation structure and the range of strategic human resource decisions must be considered in order to efficiently guide and co-ordinate processes development, management and operation (Heath, 2002).

Consistent research is required (South Africa, NDT, 2012), so that critical information can be gathered to gain insight into visitor needs and expectations so that products may be developed and marketed, by both private tourism organisations, and public tourism authorities (Heath, 2002). According to Komppula (2001), new products should not be based on developer's opinions, but on concrete market and consumer needs analysis.

The following paragraph identifies relevant (to the study) guidelines for developing tourism products, as outlined by the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism (1996), and cited by the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, 2012:41).

- Emphasise the diversity of the product of South Africa and not over-market nor over-develop the known attractions.
- Where appropriate, deregulate the industry to encourage wider access by previously neglected groups.
- Foster the development of community-based tourism products.
- Foster innovation and creativity in the products being developed.
- Local peoples and cultures should not be over-commercialised or exploited, and
- Highlight previously neglected areas of tourism development as a result of political influences, for example struggle related monuments and attractions.

While extensive literature is available on the types and models of product formulation and development relevant to tourism and services industries, it is beyond the scope of this study and will not be further investigated. Instead cultural tourism product development will be considered in terms of creative tourism, a niche form of cultural tourism.

4.12 Lessons learnt

Having reviewed the subject of cultural heritage tourism, industry debates, challenges and opportunities as well as the subject of creative tourism and the contributory role it could play in cultural regeneration in District Six, the following lessons were learnt:

- Tourism in South Africa during apartheid was segregated and centred on the needs of White South Africans. Visitor numbers were comparatively low, but the country had developed favourable infrastructure such as wildlife reserves, a modern banking sector and variety of accommodation.

- Post apartheid tourism is characterised by increased international popularity and the recognition by government that it is an important economic tool for growth, job creation and development.

- The South African cultural heritage tourism sector is weak and underperforming, despite its abundant and diverse cultural heritage resource base and globally being one of the fastest growing markets in the tourism industry.

- The impact of politics on the cultural heritage tourism industry is significant as a particular political ideology and country's values are displayed through the monuments and memorials it presents to the tourist. Cultural and heritage developments in the South African context must also contribute to infrastructure development, poverty alleviation, job creation and aid spatial and community integration.

- Utilising cultural planning elements for tourism development in District Six is suitable as there exists a strategic fit between the values of cultural planning and the development values of DFD6 (2011). This synergy is further explored in the policy development chapter (Chapter 5). Cultural heritage tourism development could contribute to cultural regeneration and assist in achieving the broader aims of social justice and repatriation.

- Developments which encourage cultural homogenisation and bland standardisation should be guarded against and instead authentic, alternative experiences should be supported.

- A culture-led urban regeneration strategy for District Six may be relevant and should be considered as strategy fits with cultural heritage tourism development and the goals of restitution and values of urban regeneration as outlined in the DFD6.

- While gentrification is a concern and should be guarded against, the development of a cultural quarter in District Six should be considered. Long term economic benefits can be realised and opportunities for community members to become active entrepreneurs and agents of regeneration is created. Cultural quarters cluster cultural services and entertainment and limit tourist activity to a specific area, thereby mitigating negative impacts experienced by those community members who do not have an interest or wish to be disturbed by tourism.

- It will be necessary to include festivals and arts activities in a cultural heritage tourism development plan for District Six. This is relevant given the area's rich artistic heritage, the need to animate space and contribute positively to community life. This strategy is in line with cultural regeneration strategies and the development principles of DFD6 (2011).

- The complex current economic climate may make attracting investment loans for cultural producers difficult. As such development loans for cultural producers should be made available through a partnership between the Department of Arts and Culture and major banks.

- Workspace studios are integral to the development of the culture industry as they manage business services on a collective basis and should be included in a cultural heritage tourism plan for District Six. The need for integrated marketing and telecommunications is also relevant and requires attention.

- The need for skills development in the areas where they are deficient is highlighted, particularly in the areas of culture, heritage and tourism.

- It is imperative that a community based tourism approach is adopted in District Six, as this has a general strategic fit with cultural planning strategies.

- Product development strategies must be based on consistent research and concrete market and consumer needs analysis.

4.13   Summary

This Chapter provided an overview of tourism development in South Africa and provides insights and debates into the subject of cultural heritage tourism. Urban and cultural regeneration strategies were reviewed and its relevance to the District Six case discussed.

An economic and social development opportunity exists within the City of Cape Town. Cultural heritage tourism, if planned correctly could contribute to the long term aims of cultural regeneration, skills development, job creation and social cohesion. Enriching and growing the country's cultural resource base is an added benefit, as is providing the returning residents of District Six with a means to recover a sense of pride and lost identity.

Cultural heritage tourism in District Six has many advantages over other forms of tourism development, is most appropriate given the area's history and current redevelopment challenges, as well as having synergy with the principles of the DFD6. At the very least, the potential which exists to develop an international icon into a new cultural tourist attraction deserves further investigation. The following Chapter discusses the subject of creative tourism and its potential to compliment a cultural heritage tourism plan for District Six.

CHAPTER FIVE

CREATIVE TOURISM

5.1   Introduction

Creative tourism has emerged as a "new" concept and niche form of cultural tourism. Creative tourism, a form of cultural tourism, may augment existing cultural heritage tourism strategies and requires further investigation. This form of tourism could be seen as more specialised and distinctive (Ivanovic, 2008). Definitions and descriptions of this tourism sector are provided, followed by a proposal of potential creative tourism products that should be developed as part of a broader cultural heritage tourism plan for the area. Creative tourism product development was informed by the historical study.

5.1.1   Definition and description

The economy is developing from a service-based to an experience based one (Richards & Wilson, 2005). The growing range of services means there is a need for differentiation, and this is provided by developing services into experiences. The following paragraphs explore the development of creative tourism industries, which can be used to augment traditional or existing cultural heritage tourism products and drive urban regeneration.

The concept of creativity, according to Richards and Wilson (2005:1213) is being inventive, imaginative, showing imagination as well as routine skills, and occurs when an individual steps beyond traditional ways of doing, knowing and making. Ivanovic (2008:91) similarly defines creative tourism as tourism which offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of holiday destinations where they are undertaken.

> *"Creative tourism involves more interaction, in which the visitor has an educational, emotional, social and participative interaction with the place, its living culture, and the people who live there. They feel like a citizen.....while creative tourism must be linked to culture, the particular cultural expressions will be unique to each place."* (UNESCO, 2006:2).

Ohridska-Olson and Ivanov (2010) define creative tourism as a form of cultural tourism which is directed towards an engaged and authentic experience, with participative learning in the arts, heritage or special character of a place, and it provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create this living culture.

These authors further describe creative tourism as travel directed toward an engaged and authentic experience, where the creative tourist finds traditional forms of tourism no longer

rewarding, and instead actively participates in courses and learning experiences, which are characteristic of the holiday destination where they are undertaken. Cultural industries are often based on tangible products such as works of art and museum collections and are often consumed passively by the public, while creative industries appear to be more imaginative, interactive and entertaining (Smith, 2009). The creative tourism industry relies on cultural resources to attract travellers to a destination. It is also a form of community development – by stimulating the creative industries, the local economy benefits, beyond the usual profits from tourism (Ohridska-Olson & Ivanov, 2010).

Creative tourism has a number of advantages over "traditional" cultural tourism. Richards and Wilson (2005:1215) describe these as including creative tourism's competitive advantage with its added value and scarcity, the sustainable nature of creativity as opposed to tangible cultural products, and increased mobility, while this form of tourism potentially contributes to the creation of social values, not just economic wealth.

5.1.2   Creating creative tourism destinations

Destination development requires creativity, and in order to survive in an increasingly competitive global tourism market, creative tourism should be given more attention (Smith, 2009). As urban areas are not seen as natural attractions, they are forced to opt for other experiential faculty, such as liveliness or ambience (Richards & Wilson, 2007).

Developing creative cities, therefore, requires creative leadership (in the form of creative governments) to encourage creative communities. Smith (2009) advocates enhancing cultural industry development by taking a more creative approach to include:

- Architecture and design: creative buildings and interiors can enhance the appeal of museums and galleries and may even create a major landmark or unique icon.
- Marketing and branding: there is a need to adopt a more creative approach to marketing and branding cultural sites so that they can compete in the global and domestic tourist market.
- Technology and interactive software: many cultural venues need to compete with other 'high tech', sophisticated leisure and entertainment attractions and may need to become more experiential and interactive.
- Commercial flair: many cultural industries lack commercial experience having been historically state subsidised and creative entrepreneurs can help to develop commercial ventures. Creative industries are largely subject to free market forces and have to be commercially oriented to survive.

Many different activities may be included in creative tourism such as cooking, wine making, painting, drawing, photography, wood or stone carving, pottery, sculpture, crafts, flower arranging, drama, dance or music (Smith, 2009; Ohridska-Olson & Ivanov, 2010). The most developed creative tourism network can be found in the city of Nelson, New Zealand, where Creative Tourism New Zealand has been established as a network of creative businesses offering products which have a wide range of creative experiences. These include bone carving, Maori language classes, native flora, weaving, felting, woodwork and New Zealand gastronomy (Richards & Wilson 2007:18).

Csikszentmihalyi (1996) notes the potential of creativity for cities lies not just in the ability to capitalise on heritage attractions but transform an existing domain into a new one, preferably a fantastical space with high levels of technological interaction (media, design, music, film, advertising, fashion) which tourists can enjoy. Creative cities need creative governments and creative leaders that encourage and support communities and emphasise the need to create visible, tangible examples of creative development in order to attract customers and convince planners and investors of their importance (Richards & Wilson, 2007).

The creative sector is directly linked to innovation, and women often play a key role in the development of creative industries, thereby contributing to employment and gender equity (Smith, 2009). It is further noted that:

- The application of creativity to develop and utilise the distinctiveness of an area is often a process that is managed to produce distinctive experiences for consumers and can be achieved in a number of ways: (Richards & Wilson, 2005)
- Creative spectacles which cater for passive consumption such as travelling art exhibitions.
- The development of a distinctive creative enclave.
- Tourists participate in the creative activities being undertaken and skills development or creative challenge can form the basis of the active tourist experience.

5.1.3   The role of creative tourism in urban regeneration

Tourism has often been used as an urban regeneration strategy. The most common form thereof is the use of sports and events tourism (such as for the London Olympics of 2012 which was used as a regeneration strategy in the East End of the City). Many tourism practitioners instead encourage a more creative approach. To prevent standardisation and serial reproduction and instead support cultural and community diversity, practitioners

(Richards & Wilson, 2007; Smith, 2009) emphasise the importance of avoiding homogenisation and serial monotony.

Smith (2009) cites a study by the City of Florida which indicates clearly that the most attractive and economically successful cities tend to be those with the highest number of artisans and creative people. Smith (2007) is convincing on the need for cities to have a *"people climate"* as well as a *"business climate."* To achieve this she advises addressing issues of inequality, intolerance, and safety as well as creating a vibrant atmosphere and an experiential economy. Emphasis should be placed on the strategic importance of community building, engaging in civic action and dealing with intangible issues relating to a sense of place, identity or integration (Smith, 2007).

It is however the responsibility of the destination to invest in the creative capital and social capital of its inhabitants. This may give locals a stake in tourism, becoming active producers of the tourism experience rather than actors in a show of staged authenticity (Richards & Wilson, 2005). Smith (2007) makes a strong point that many artists and creative projects have done more for social inclusion than business development or politics could ever do.

5.1.4   Caution

Caution should be taken when viewing creativity as a complete solution for urban regeneration as many challenges exist, such as its dependency on the tourist as a creative co-producer (Richards & Wilson, 2005), maintaining the creativity of creative clusters, gentrification and the sometimes exclusive and inaccessible nature of "creativity" (Richards & Wilson, 2007).

Gentrification is a threat, as original residents and artists may eventually be out-priced as demand for residential and commercial space in creative districts increase. The DFD6 (2011) has safeguarded against gentrification by advocating that claimants' homes remain in the family for at least 10 years, thereby mitigating this risk. It may be necessary to ensure then that the residents of District Six themselves be trained to become producers in the creative district in which they live.

Creative individuals need a creative environment in which to function, like-minded people to spark ideas and provide support but also a constant flow of new ideas and contacts. Creativity is therefore dependant to a certain extent on both bonding capital (which holds communities together) and bridging capital (which creates links between different communities). So the key question should be: what can a particular location add to the

creativity of the individual? How can you develop creative ways for visitors and residents to interact? Richard and Wilson (2007) affirm that without bridging social capital, these interactions are less likely to succeed.

5.2   Towards developing creative tourism in District Six

The preceding review of creative tourism literature clearly indicates that the opportunity for the development of creative tourism in District Six exists and can act as a principle tool for cultural regeneration. Existing creative organisations to which District Six could form links are now explored. This is followed by providing a list of possible creative tourism products, based on the review of literature and the evaluation of the cultural heritage assets which existed in District Six prior to demolitions (Chapter 2) and programmes and events which the District Six Museum has hosted.

Functional links to other creative organisations would cultivate the flow of ideas, facilitate integration, and lend credibility, support and expertise. Possible links are further discussed.

5.2.1   Creative City Network

To uphold cultural diversity UNESCO promoted the Creative City Network which allows cities to market their cultural assets on a global platform, making creativity an essential part of local economic and social development; sharing knowledge across cultural clusters around the world; building local capacity and training creative communities in building skills, cultivating innovation and technological expertise and promoting diverse cultural products in national and international markets. Themes include literature, cinema, music, craft and folk art, design, media arts and gastronomy (UNESCO, 2006).

5.2.2   Creative Cape Town

Creative Cape Town is a non profit organisation which communicates and facilitates the development of the creative and knowledge economy in the City. Its vision is to make the central city a leading centre for knowledge innovation, creativity and culture in South Africa. Creative Cape Town, launched in 2006 with more than 30 specialists from the creative fields to promote and manage Cape Town as part of a collaboration between the private and public sectors. Its strength, according to its website, lies in its ability to build dynamic partnerships within and outside of the city through networking information sessions and related support programmes (Anon, 2012a). These platforms for networking between dynamic individuals in Cape Town's creative industries stimulate innovative partnerships for economic and social

development and forms part of Creative Cape Town's Creative Cluster campaign (Anon, 2012a).

5.2.3   The "Fringe"

Marelize Barnard, a writer for Die Burger, wrote an article titled (translated from Afrikaans) "New project breathes life into Mother City Creative District." Barnard (2011) is referring to the 'Fringe' as a strategic initiative of the Western Cape Government which aims to position Cape Town as a premier environment for design, media and innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship. The boundaries of the "Fringe" are situated along Roeland, Darling, Buitenkant and Canterbury Streets and include Longmarket through Tennant Streets, falling just outside the boundary of District Six. The mandate of the "Fringe" is to:

- Facilitate incubators and shared spaces for young designers and creative business.
- Facilitate innovation through industry support, prototyping facilities and the collation of associated services, and
- Showcase design talent, providing access to markets and providing public awareness.

To achieve this, a careful mix of hard and soft infrastructure, public and private investments and tenants committed to design innovation and collaboration, with a focus on sustainable practices (Anon, 2010b).

Already forming part of this creative community is the Cape Craft and Design Institute, the Cape Town Fashion Council (who have jointly opened a training facility in Harrington street called the Creative Enterprises Training Unit) as well as the Faculty of Design at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT), the Cape Town School of Photography, Open Innovation Studio which provides a social entrepreneurship environment and the Cape Town Central Library which has one of the best art and music collections in the country (Anon, 2010b).

Architecture between the periods of 1930-1950 will also form part of the initiative (Barnard, 2011) In addition small and medium sized retail, design and information and communication technology (ICT) establishments such as Charlie's Bakery, Dias Tavern, 38 Special, The Assembly (Club), The Fugard Theatre, The Book Lounge and the Kimberley Hotel are among others who support "the Fringe." (Anon, 2010b)

The "Fringe" has however been criticised by the District Six Museum. Many sites falling within the heritage framework of District Six have not been acknowledged (for example the Beinkenstadt Bookshop and Holy Trinity Church). The reframing of District Six land may

constitute yet another land grab, this time under the auspices of "The Fringe". The Museum also criticizes the City for not including it in its consultative processes, perpetuating apartheid thinking. Re-imaging and rebranding an area which already has an identity speaks to gentrification and marginalisation (District Six Museum, 2013:2). Clearly, greater collaboration and public participation is required so that a supportive relationship between creative industries in District Six and the City should exist.

5.3   Potential creative product offerings

The rich and diverse cultural heritage of District Six facilitates the creation and development of a number of tourism products and may include but is not limited to the following:

- Ghoema drum and tambourine making.
- Traditional instrument music lessons.
- Square dancing classes.
- Urban food garden production workshops and tours (DFD6, 2011).
- Islamic calligraphy and music (Wilkinson, 2010).
- Malay choir classes.
- Afrikaans language classes (Cape vernacular).
- Archaeology workshops (Horstley Street).
- Indigenous games, and
- Kite making.

Other possible creative tourism products include storytelling, wooden toy-making, traditional food cooking classes, minstrel associated products (singing and costume design), and a traditional bioscope theatre.

5.4   Lessons learnt

Having reviewed the concept of creative tourism, the following lessons can be applied to the District Six case:

- Creative tourism augments ordinary cultural tourism and creates a competitive advantage over traditional forms of tourism. Creative tourism can contribute to the creation of social values and economic wealth. It is important that tourism development in District Six does not over-commercialise the heritage and culture of the area and instead maintains its integrity. Community members are able to become active producers of the tourism experience as opposed to sterile staged authenticity.

This factor is especially relevant for tourism development in District Six. Residents can be viewed without sympathy and better engage with the tourism process.

- Creative tourism is sustainable and has a wide variety of applications. Creative tourism can augment cultural and urban regeneration strategies. The historical study indicates that there once existed a high number of artisans and people with creative flair in District Six. It is therefore appropriate that a creative tourism strategy be included in an overall tourism plan.

- Leadership from government in creating creative precincts is essential in order to attract tourists and convince planners and investors of its potential benefits. It is the responsibility of the City of Cape Town to invest in the creative and social capital of returning residents to District Six. Cape Town has been designated as the World Design Capital for 2014, which indicates that the benefit of creative industries is being recognised and may be gaining momentum. The timing to attract investment and support for this development strategy in District Six is right.

- There already exist a number of functional links to other creative organisations which could facilitate integration, lend credibility, support and expertise to creative tourism development in District Six. The "Fringe" is one such potential functional link as sections of the precinct border District Six. However greater inclusivity and collaboration is required. This highlights the urgency for both land restitution and a clear tourism plan to be developed, as District Six runs the risk of being excluded from current creative and other development plans.

- The potential to develop an array of exciting creative tourism products, to augment a cultural heritage tourism product offering exists. These products should be based on activities which existed prior to demolitions so that the production of creative tourism contributes to cultural regeneration and indigenous knowledge systems.

5.5 Summary

The potential to develop creative tourism as part of a broader cultural heritage tourism plan in District Six should be recognised. The contribution this sub-sector can make to social values, urban and particularly urban regeneration should be highlighted.

The following Chapter will review regulatory support and encouragement for cultural heritage tourism development in District Six by reviewing current tourism and cultural heritage development policies. In addition, DFD6 (2011) is assessed to determine whether the development principles are aligned with cultural heritage tourism development in the area.

CHAPTER SIX

POLICY SUPPORT FOR TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

6.1   Introduction

The South African tourism industry, set on being developmental in focus, requires strong direction and leadership in creating a foundation that creates a sustainable, competitive, and profitable tourism sector. It is a national priority that the sector becomes equitable and brings direct benefits to local communities, while mitigating its negative impacts. Guiding policies and frameworks, relevant to developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six, are now further examined.

6.2   White Paper on the Declaration and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (1996)

The purpose of this pioneering policy document was to set out broad guidelines for tourism development in South Africa. The document's guiding principle rests on the creation of a new tourism economy through the promotion of "responsible tourism" (Ismail, 2008). The White Paper advocates that tourism should be private-sector driven while government will provide the enabling framework to encourage growth. Community involvement and empowerment of neglected communities (Steyn & Spencer, 2011) will form the centrepiece of this development policy and will be underpinned by sustainable environmental practices.

The White Paper promotes the use of tourism as a developmental tool (Dieke, 2010). This means tourism must be made a strategic economic and employment priority, markets should be liberalised and foreign investment encouraged through sustainable development practices, eliminating barriers to growth by improving infra-structure, eliminating crime and developing industry appropriate skills (Steyn & Spencer, 2011).

6.3   Tourism in Growth, Employment and Redistribution in Tourism Development Strategy (GEAR)

Growth, Employment and Redistribution in Tourism Development Strategy (1998-2000) is the successor to the 1996 White Paper and consolidates the objectives within the framework of a neo-liberal economic policy agenda. The major objective of GEAR is to push South Africa's competitive advantage of its natural and cultural resources and complement global trends towards alternative tourism, realise tourism's potential catalytic role for major infrastructure

improvements, stimulate linkages with other production sectors and increase South Africa's value as an export earner (Dieke, 2010). GEAR policies suggest that investments in tourism should be from private-public sector partnerships, government grants, tourist levies and contributions through donor funds (Ismail, 2008).

However, GEAR, together with Black Economic Empowerment policies have been accused of creating pockets of affluence in a sea of poverty, perpetuating the divisions between the rich and poor. A new growth path in the National Development Plan (NDP): Vision for 2030 has been compiled by the National Planning Commission (2011) to address these shortcomings. The potential success of the ability to implement the new strategy has however been widely criticised. In addition, a review of the NDP finds almost no direct reference to tourism development, despite the positive benefits the country has derived and the growth potential the industry presents.

6.4   Black Economic Empowerment

Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies are intended to provide an enabling framework for the promotion of Black Economic Empowerment, define a strategic path forward; outline the need for all sectors to negotiate their own charter and scorecard; and defines the use of the term "black" (South Africa, DEAT, 2003b). BEE is able to give businesses guidance on implementing their own transformation policies and measures without which they could not obtain operating licenses, nor would they become preferred business partners.

According to Dieke (2010:127) it is..."*the latest policy in the reintegration process and is a mechanism to rescue black South Africans from the 350 year long legacy of colonisation, economic exploitation, poverty and social degradation.*"

The challenge of BEE in the context of tourism is to change the nature of the industry from one that is predominantly 'white'- owned to one that is increasingly owned by the majority of South Africans (South Africa, DEAT, 2003b).

6.5   Responsible Tourism Handbook

The Responsible Tourism Handbook: A Guide to Good Practice for Tourism Operators (South Africa, 2003a) sets out a number of benchmarks to measure outcomes (Dieke, 2010). The Handbook provides practical guidance for the development of a responsible system of tourism for local communities, so that they may develop joint ventures in which they have a significant stake, build the appropriate capacity and have a substantial role in the

management thereof. The Guide stresses the need for the private sector to purchase locally made goods and services without compromising quality or consistency, while employing workers in a transparent and equitable manner from the local community (South Africa, DEAT, 2003a).

6.6   Responsible Tourism Policy for the City of Cape Town (2009)

This policy document was developed to market Cape Town as a responsible tourism destination, and as such supports the principles for responsible tourism as outlined in the White Paper (1996). The document acknowledges the positive economic, social and environmental impacts tourism has on the City and commits itself to adopting a Responsible Tourism approach. This commitment, in terms of developing responsible cultural heritage tourism advocates practices which are sensitive to culture, build pride, encourage social justice through accessibility for disadvantaged groups, meet consumer expectations for authentic experiences, maintain cultural diversity, and promote culturally sustainable tourism that enhances and protects the value of local lifestyles and heritage for tourism (City of Cape Town, 2009).

6.7   Cape Flats Tourism Development Framework (2005)

This Development Framework for the Cape Flats was officially launched by the Department of Economic Development and Tourism in partnership with Cape Town Routes Unlimited and the District Six Museum in 2005 (Ismail, 2008:34). The Department of Economic Development and Tourism for the Western Cape undertook a comprehensive feasibility study in order to explore potential cultural heritage tourism on the Cape Flats.

The Framework identifies a historical lack of tourism development which has resulted in the absence of tourism economic nodes on the Cape Flats (South Africa, DEDT, 2005:29). Important elements of the Tourism Development Framework include an evaluation of the type of tourist that should be attracted, infrastructural requirements, the protection of natural and cultural resources, the responsibilities of local government and document implementation strategy. Recommendations to address weaknesses and threats are also provided in the framework as well as new products proposed (South Africa, DEDT, 2005:2). Given its historical connection to District Six, The Cape Flats Tourism Development Framework for the Cape Flats should seek linkages with District Six that would augment both areas' tourism offering.

6.8   The National Heritage Tourism Strategy 2012 (NHTS)

Underpinned by the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (1996) and the National Tourism Sector Strategy (2011), the NHTS serves to provide a strategic direction for the development and promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa. The strategy provides a framework for the coordination and integration of heritage and culture into the mainstream of tourism.

The vision of the strategy is to realise the global competitiveness of South African heritage and cultural resources through product development for sustainable tourism and economic development. The mission of the strategy is to unlock the potential of heritage through responsible and sustainable tourism development and raise awareness of the ability of cultural and heritage tourism to contribute toward social cohesion.

The strategy has a number of aims. These include:

- Providing strategic guidance to integrate heritage and cultural tourism resources into mainstream tourism.
- Assisting with product development through diversification, creating strategic partnerships and the participation of local communities to create sustainable livelihoods at grass roots level.
- Raise education and awareness levels around the need to conserve heritage and cultural resources for sustainable tourism growth, and
- Formalisation of the sector (South Africa, NDT, 2012:4).

The strategy recommends the immediate prioritisation of a number of flagship projects for tourism development in partnership with the Department of Arts and Culture, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism and the relevant provinces to leverage funding and expertise. These projects include the further development and active promotion of the eight World Heritage Sites in South Africa and further sites which have demonstrated global significance and feasibility are identified as the National Heritage Monument as part of the liberation heritage of South Africa, the First Indigenous Peoples Project (Khoi San), and the Dinosaur Interpretive Centre in the Golden Gate Highlands National Park (South Africa, NDT, 2012:12).

The NHTS recommends, as one of its strategic research objectives that it should audit, identify and prioritise together with provinces, local government and the National Department of Tourism, potential heritage and cultural tourism products for future tourism development. This is relevant for the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six.

6.9   The Development Framework for District Six 2011 (DFD6)

The DFD6 is an important document from which tourism development in District Six must be evaluated. While the guiding principles support a formal tourism development plan, no such formal plan has been tabled. The plan instead makes allowance for further evaluation prior to development, at a later stage. As the framework is largely concerned with returning residents to the area tourism development is not an immediate concern.

However, the research will argue that the goals for repatriation and social justice and healing would be more easily attained and sustained by the development of a formalised cultural heritage tourism strategy for the area. Achieving social justice and restitution largely relates to achieving long term economic benefits, cultural regeneration, skills development and restoration of pride in a lost community. Properly planned tourism has its contribution to make, and therefore the following passages provide a brief overview of the document and describe the most salient development principles which are relevant to tourism development in District Six.

6.9.1   Vision and methodology

The vision of the DFD6 reads as follows:

> *'To provide restitution for those removed from District Six, through an integrated redevelopment which will result in a vibrant multicultural community whose dignity has been restored in a developmental environment, grounded in, and meeting the social and economic needs of the claimants, and the broader community that will contribute towards the building of a new nation'* (DFD6, 2011:24).

To determine the capacity of District Six to absorb urban development on the land earmarked for redevelopment the Western Cape Regional Land Claims Commissions Office in conjunction with the City of Cape Town, commissioned the Draft Development Framework Document for District Six (August, 2005). The framework was presented for comment by the claimant community. The document held restoration of land rights at its core and was a high level conceptual study.

The latest Development Framework (November 2011) offers more detail on the scale and nature of the project, informed by an interdisciplinary team of architects, urban planners, councillors and designers among other professionals. With restoration of land rights as a primary goal, this document aims to: "... *present the environmental, landscape and spatial approach and principles that would guide urban development in District Six with the primary objective of returning claimants to the land that they were displaced from...*" (DFD6, 2011:1).

The development framework reviews the development potential of District Six. Together with the Development Vehicle/Business Plan, it provides clear parameters and direction for appropriate land uses, makes provision for a variety of housing options, as well as conducting public participation to engage the claimant community and other stakeholders. In short, the development framework is used as a strategic planning tool to guide and coordinate the redevelopment process.

The vision is then essentially to rebuild a dispossessed community. This will be achieved by providing a mixed land-use development, which accommodates a range of housing types and will include opportunities for work, educational, social and public amenities to create a sustainable, vibrant community (DFD6, 2011).

6.9.2   The Special Development Vehicle (SPV)

"A special District Six development vehicle will be created – owned solely by the verified restitution claimants buying into the scheme – to manage and own the overall development, including valuable rental stock, retail and commercial space" (South Africa, NPC, 2011:3).

The homes being built in District Six cost considerably more than the available amount of money from government grants. The redevelopment of District Six makes allowance for the construction of an additional 1 000 homes or commercial units for commercial use, over and above the 4 000 homes built for claimants. The intention is that the income generated from these additional units will subsidise improved housing for claimants (South Africa, NPC, 2011).

Returning residents will pay between R225 000 and R250 000 for their new homes (not less than 90m²) and a share in the development vehicle. Claimants who cannot afford to contribute this amount will still receive equal housing but will not receive a share in the development vehicle (South Africa, NPC, 2011). This development vehicle will be owned and managed by verified claimants and will include valuable rental, retail and commercial space.

All claimants will not pay any municipal rates for 10 years and by law, may not sell their properties for 10 years, but are being asked to keep their properties for at least 15 years. The development vehicle safeguards against gentrification of the area in this way and claims that dividends from the scheme will be paid at least five years from the date of receiving title (South Africa, NPC, 2011).

According to the DFD6 (2011), the benefits of the development vehicle include accelerating redevelopment, preventing gentrification, displaying sensitivity toward the history and

memory of District Six, bringing working class people back to the city and creating business linkages with the central business district, Salt River and Woodstock.

> *"Restitution claimants don't just get a house; they get a valuable asset. And they get a share in the District Six development vehicle, which will own and rent out valuable residential and commercial property"* (South Africa, 2011:2).

6.9.3   Redevelopment design principles

The DFD6 (2011) makes it clear that the redevelopment of District Six cannot be about restoring the area to its original state and cites obvious historic, political and practical reasons (DFD6, 2011:32). However, elements of the historic urban fabric, reinstating the former street grid and building scale have been considered in the implementation of the new plan for District Six.

Le Grange (2008) advises that the redevelopment of the area should complement the conservation of the few remaining assets of cultural, architectural and historic worth. These remaining assets include the churches, mosques and historic street grid, uncovered from the rubble. The physical growth of the built environment should develop organically. Le Grange (2008) proposes that non-monumental ways of memorialising be discovered, given the imperative of fulfilling current development needs.

While it is outside of the research scope to examine the Redevelopment Design, it may be necessary to determine whether the space (architecture of the buildings, recreational space) will facilitate the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six. An in-depth Heritage Impacts Assessment (historical analysis) of the former area was conducted and has informed the DFD6 (2011) for the rebuilding of District Six (Le Grange 2008:12). Le Grange (2008), and DFD6 (2011), outline the suggested governing design principles. They are summarised as follows:

- Oppose modernist planning precepts and the short-sighted ambitions of commercial real estate development.
- Reinstate the historic street grid and fine grain character of the old District Six.
- Redevelop new Hanover Street as an activity corridor and the primary element of urban structure, in a reconfigured form.
- Protect and improve natural green linkages through the site, particularly mountain to sea links.
- A variety of small plot sizes were dominant in the district and land parcel sizes that acknowledge traces of the historic grid, with a variety of plot sizes and land parcel subdivisions will be provided for, and large-scale land parcels will be avoided.
- The positive qualities of the old historic area should be considered and reinterpreted

to accommodate private parking, private gardens, semi-public spaces, play lots, crèches and community facilities. Preservation and reconstruction of the historic street grid with consideration for outdoor pedestrian space, and streets to be designed as social places.

- Land use mix (residential, retail, commercial and semi-industrial uses) must contribute to the vibrancy of the area, with a range of building densities, catering for a range of lifestyles including students, single parent households and the elderly.

- Landmarks such as churches, mosques and new community facilities should be used as reference points to ensure legibility and to emphasise hierarchy of place. Previous landmarks should be honoured and similar building types should be developed on sites where possible.

- Edges of urban blocks which were attached residential and commercial property formed 'urban walls' that enclosed and defined streets fostering positive social spaces. Historically these edges made provision for transitional spaces between the private interiors of houses and public streets, through the use of colonnades, steps, balconies, stoeps, veranda's, gardens, low walls and special entrance doors and gates. (Creatively this may be an incredible space and provide the fantasy element in cultural heritage tourism development). The urban blocks should be animated and developed to make positive street edges and ensure the richness of the quality of streetscapes.

- Density of the new housing would increase due to the large number of families returning and buildings, two to three stories high, will be the norm and design will make provision for uniform heights to 'background buildings', control building depth and width and celebrate urban block corners, complementing the quality of the urban blocks and fine grain of the urban fabric.

- Retain historic views and sightlines up and down the streets of Devils Peak, toward Table Mountain, the sea and harbour, and the City centre. Make provision for focal points in precincts, neighbourhoods and block developments, and the prominence of nodes/gateways should be emphasised. The development of a cultural quarter or themed cultural heritage tourism route was explored earlier in this chapter.

- The possibility of community surveillance and the security of occupants should be ensured, permitting individual identity of homes and community institutions to be expressed.

These principles could facilitate the development of cultural heritage and creative tourism in District Six. The elements for a planned cultural heritage tourism product appear to be aligned with the vision and objectives of the DFD6 (2011), and may complement its overall strategy.

6.9.4   Heritage value and impacts assessment

The heritage value and historical significance of District Six was comprehensively evaluated in the form of a Heritage Impacts Assessment in 2003 and informed the redevelopment of the area to include (DFD6, 2011:34):

- The identification and celebration of public spaces that could be used to serve the memory of District Six.
- The preservation of existing places of worship and historic educational institutions.
- Sites of previous (now destroyed) places and buildings of cultural significance (churches, community halls, cinemas and markets).
- New public spaces.
- The selection and preservation of sites of archaeological significance.
- The remaining historic street grid.
- The acknowledgment of Hanover Street as a historic mixed-use 'activity corridor' and public place, and
- The establishment of a Memorial Park.

The elements listed above have some synergy and could facilitate the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six and will be further discussed in the next Chapter.

6.9.5   Commercial value

The location of District Six and its proximity to the City centre of Cape Town makes it a potential location for commercial uses which can be used to subsidise its development. Two nodes of commercial activity have been identified and commercial activity will be concentrated along the East City (Central Business District Fringe) and along new Hanover Street. Office space, small, medium and micro enterprise (SMME) and emerging businesses, informal trading, commercial accommodation, an indoor market, retail space and service stations will be considered (DFD6, 2011:46).

Hospitality land uses such as hotels will be considered depending on market appetite and interest. Potential for themed activities within the area will be explored to create unique experiences and link to District Six's historic past, for example jazz clubs and music venues (DFD6, 2011:46). Hotel and other short stay accommodation facilities-development fall within the classification of commercial operations and will be treated in the same manner as commercial office space (DFD6, 2011:94). It would be important to note that at this stage no (known) proposals have been submitted for the development of themed hotels, bars and restaurants which may be relevant for the development of cultural heritage tourism in the area.

6.9.6   Access and mobility strategy

The convenient location of District Six to public amenities and the public transport system hub of the Cape Town Station, (mini bus, rail, private taxi's and buses) indicate that many people will be able to walk or cycle to access these transport nodes. In addition the planned Integrated Rapid Transit (IRT) system will run along the edge of the site on Sir Lowry Road. In order to promote sustainable transport behaviour, preference will be given to the development of pedestrian and cyclist routes, while discouraging the use of cars through non-motorised forms of transport.

The DFD6 (2011:100), indicates that the moderate gradient in an east - west direction promotes the use of cycles as a means of moving through and around District Six. Streets are to be designed to make the environment safe for cyclists and pedestrians with a network of cycle routes being clearly marked and signposted, dedicated cycle lanes constructed and priority at traffic lights given to cyclists. In addition secure cycle parking, changing and showering facilities will be made available. The intention to implement safe, affordable and varied transport facilities in the area encourages tourism and associated development activities.

6.10   Lessons learnt

South African tourism and economic policy is developmental in focus and offers the following lessons:

- Tourism development in District Six is compatible with the broad principles of the White Paper on the Declaration and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (1996), as this policy encourages community involvement, empowerment of neglected communities, is underpinned by sustainable development practices and promotes tourism as a developmental tool.
- Black Economic Empowerment policies should support the development of tourism in District Six, so that ownership of the tourism industry is equitable. It is the view of the researcher that existing tourism businesses should not be merely transferred to black owners, but instead new markets and the industry at large should be grown and new opportunities for ownership created. Cultural heritage and creative tourism in District Six presents such a growth opportunity for the creation of a more equitable industry.
- Responsible and best practice guidelines for tourism service providers/operators are well established and promote a tourism industry which is in line with the principles of cultural heritage tourism development, such as maintaining cultural diversity, protecting the value of local lifestyles, and advocates practices which are sensitive to

culture, building pride and encouraging social justice. The Responsible Tourism Handbook (2003) and the Responsible Tourism Policy for the City of Cape Town (2009), encourages and supports the development of cultural heritage and creative tourism development in District Six.

- The Cape Flats Tourism Development Framework (2005) identifies that there is currently a lack of tourism economic nodes on the Cape Flats. As District Six is now intrinsically and historically linked to the Cape Flats, this development framework should consider, as a starting point, promoting District Six as a central focal point and economic/tourism development node/zone. Creating this link from the Cape Flats to the City relates to restoring a sense of belonging and identity, transcending apartheid spatial planning and promotes integration.

- The principles contained within the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012) are in line with, support and encourage, cultural heritage tourism development in District Six. The strategy (National Department of Tourism) should identify and further investigate the area as a primary site for future tourism development.

- Having evaluated the DFD6, it is clear that the principles and vision thereof support cultural heritage tourism development. However, as the primary goal of the framework is land restitution, no tourism plan has currently been tabled and the long term benefit of this opportunity has not been acknowledged. The Framework should consider including a cultural heritage tourism development plan in its overall framework as this form of tourism can contribute positively to the restitution process, provides further motivation for investment and augments the urban and cultural regeneration strategies contained therein.

6.11   Summary

An assessment of relevant tourism development and economic policy was conducted and an overview of DFD6, (2011) was provided to determine the urban design principles and philosophies against which tourism development in District Six should be assessed.

Development policy and frameworks must capitalise on District Six's inherent strategic advantages (such as the profile of District Six internationally) and work in harmony with market forces to build on recognised competitive strengths (proximity to the City, recreational facilities and tourist attractions).

Development efforts and initiatives of municipalities are usually reactive (Maitland, 2007). Instead, pro-active, workable objectives for sustainable community based tourism development (Shaw, Bagwell & Karmowska, 2004) should be established and become a major element of cultural regeneration and employment creation strategies (Maitland, 2007). It is important to note that while cultural attractions are an important social and educational tool, they need to be economically viable enterprises. Leadership from government at all levels, in making grand policies work and benefit citizens at a grassroots level is essential.

Integrated regeneration is required to realise the potential of the links between culture, creativity, economics, business and technology (Smith, 2009). The following Chapter explores possible business and functional linkages District Six could utilise to assist in integrating tourism into the broader economy.

CHAPTER SEVEN

BUSINESS AND FUNTIONAL LINKAGES

7.1   Introduction

In order to develop cultural heritage tourism in District Six, an enabling development environment will need to be nurtured. This enabling environment should consist of the elements which create world class tourism destinations and integrate the area into the broader economy. These include infrastructural components such as transport, banks and telecommunications, local government support and financial investment. Managerial expertise, training and education, and an effective communication strategy also require consideration. Furthermore, the development of products which create sustained demand, meet market requirements and community needs are important.

7.2   Business and functional linkages

The relationships and interactions between tasks, functions, departments and organisations that promote the flow of information, ideas and integration between them, in order to achieve a shared objective (Anon, 2012b) will bind the success of the tourism industry in District Six to other organisations. Comprehensive research conducted by Kirsten and Rogerson (2002), examines (among other elements) the opportunities and challenges which exist for outsourcing and business linkage development in the South African tourism economy, to promote the development of entrepreneurs and small enterprises. The research findings which are relevant to the District Six case and which require further consideration are further discussed in this chapter.

According to Kirsten and Rogerson (2002), there is a domination in developing countries of large enterprises which severely constrain broad-based SMME growth in the tourism sector. Instead, models which offset conventional ownership, deliberate changes to government policy which redistribute control and decision making among community members would better promote SMME development. Formally planned alternative tourism is seen as one such feasible model. Informal tourism enterprises also have an important role to play in alleviating poverty and improving the quality of life for poor communities.

Despite the sector being viewed by many as a nuisance, it is argued that the informal tourism sector is where opportunities for the poor are maximised and allowing access to previously

exclusive tourism markets are key to its success. Business linkages, subcontracting and outsourcing opportunities (furniture production, food and transport, laundry services) are suggested as important vehicles to upgrade the SMME and informal economy and allow new access to participate in the tourism economy (Kirsten & Rogerson 2002).

Successful linkages are however dependent on capacity, capital and expertise to fulfil the quality, quantity and timeline demands of big business. It is therefore vital that finance be mobilised and training and mentoring provided to enable SMME's to take advantage of opportunities. Further business and functional linkages relevant to developing tourism in District Six are examined in this chapter.

7.2.1   Tourism authorities

The mandate of South African Tourism (SAT), the Government appointed national tourism agency, is to market and promote South Africa as a preferred international and domestic tourist destination, and is guided by the Tourism Growth Strategy adopted by Parliament in 2001. Its strategies aim to promote the sustainable economic and social empowerment of South Africans by developing tourism into a leading sector in the economy, thereby creating jobs and redistributing wealth. One of SAT's key objectives is to promote South Africa's scenic beauty, diverse wildlife, eco-tourism and a variety of cultures and heritage. In addition to having a fully-fledged research unit, SAT participates in major international trade shows, advertising, public relations and direct mailing campaigns, and holds educational work sessions with international partners of South Africa's travel industry.

Responsible for destination marketing, visitor and industry services, Cape Town Tourism (CTT) is the City of Cape Town's official tourism organisation, and encouraging the involvement of disadvantaged communities is part of its strategic objectives as well as promoting responsible and sustainable tourism and improving the industries' competitiveness. As the first point of enquiry for over three million visitors a year, it provides a platform to market the City's tourism offerings, and as such is a source of relevant business information and facilitates access to tourism and promotion programmes (Anon 2009b). It is worth mentioning that the specific function of market intelligence, research gathering and dissemination is currently outsourced to the Western Cape Destination Marketing Investment and Trade Promotion Agency (WESGRO).

7.2.2 Training and education

A combination of educational resources should be integrated and mobilized for the use of returning District Six residents. These should include the provision of formal education, short courses and mentorship. Integrating the community by providing education to community members who are not directly involved in tourism should be considered, and heritage and tourism studies should be included in school curriculums.

Dockery (1994:72), recommends that a committee or forum which represents the institutions responsible for education and training in District Six should be established. The forum would decide on the needs of the industry, new educational initiatives, the sharing of resources and expertise, the development of community initiatives, links with technical and enterprise organisations, and the development of cost effective short courses. Responsible representatives should include tertiary education institutions, local authorities, the Department of Arts and Culture, the Department of Labour, and technical and creative organisations as well as selected members from the private sector (Dockery, 1994).

According to the DFD6 (2011:34) CPUT plays an important role as a centre of learning in District Six. As it occupies a large portion of the original District Six, optimisation of the use of CPUT should be considered. The use and sharing of both landholdings and building facilities needs to be negotiated. Allowance could be made to open the site with new pedestrian linkages and access points as well as extend its opening hours. The CPUT currently has a comprehensive offering in the Business Faculty (Business Management, Design, Cosmetology, Hospitality, Travel and Tourism) which would benefit the tourism and culture industry in District Six. It should then perhaps consider adding to its course offerings and aligning and improving its programmes to suit the specific needs of trainees in District Six.

Other organisations responsible for training in the culture, heritage and tourism industries, as identified by the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, NDT, 2012:24) include the Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP) and Tourism Mentorship Programme (TMP). These organisations provide support and development through funding and mentorship for small tourism businesses. In addition, CATHSSETA is responsible for ensuring tourism and hospitality industry training and development standards, provides funding, identifies current and future skills needs, develops strategic plans to assist to meet those needs, and promotes training that will meet the needs of employers and employees.

7.3   Cultural heritage authorities

Cultural and heritage authorities have an important role to play in the development of a cultural heritage tourism development plan in District Six, including the support they could provide in terms of finance, expertise and policy guidance and development. The South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) is tasked with the responsibility of coordinating the identification and management of national heritage resources. SAHRA is currently in the process of assisting the District Six Museum in documenting and archiving artefacts from the ruins in Horstley Street as well as managing the process of declaring District Six a National Heritage Site (Anon, n.d.b).

The Western Cape Cultural Commission (WCCC) is a statutory body that advises the Minister on the preservation, promotion and development of arts and culture in the communities it represents. Funding, coordinating registered cultural councils, and considering matters of policy as well as reviewing facility maintenance forms part of its mandate. The WCCC assisted in the restoration and conservation project in Genadendal (See Chapter 8) (Anon, (n.d.c).

Other cultural authorities which may have relevance in District Six include Iziko Museums, (responsible for collection, conservation and safe management of national heritage collections of declared museums), the National Arts Council (responsible for the development, promotion and support of the Arts), the Department of Arts and Culture (policy development and funding), the National Heritage Council, and the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority.

7.4   Cape Craft and Design Institute (CCDI)

The CCDI is an NGO established in 2001 in conjunction with CPUT and the Western Cape Government to develop the craft industry as an economic sector, and serves as a model for similar craft organisations in South Africa (Anon, 2005). According to the CCDI's website, 40 000 people are employed in the sector nationally, contributing R2 billion to the South African economy. The CCDI supports craft producers by providing product, business and market support. This includes providing the space where products can be developed and improved, providing training and learner-ships (creativity, business management, production and marketing) and assisting in defining craft-producers marketing plans and gaining access to markets through retail outlets, trade shows and local craft markets (Anon, 2005).

According to the CCDI crafting is a tool to gain access to the mainstream economy, which is relevant in District Six if the area is to contain a craft market as part of a complete cultural

heritage tourism product, and will assist to integrate this retail, creative and cultural producing space into the broader tourism network and economy.

7.5   Transport

The DFD6 (2011:96), as part of its mobility and access strategy, indicates that the new urban quarter, given its location, will encourage and support a cleaner, more sustainable approach to means of "getting around." These will include the existing infrastructure of the Cape Town Station, its suburban rail, bus terminus and comprehensive mini-bus taxi services. The newly developed Rapid Transit System station will be located along Sir Lowry Road with dedicated pedestrian and cycle routes allocated within the development. To promote cleaner and more sustainable choices of transport secure cycle parking, with changing and showering facilities for cyclists are to form part of all commercial building designs in District Six. Parking will be limited to 10% of land budget and the possibility of developing a multi-storey car park within the East City to provide a revenue stream and provide centralised parking, is being planned.

7.6   Telecommunications

In order for creative industries to thrive literature on the subject indicates that the use of technology is a key factor to drive and facilitate growth. Existing infrastructure for telecommunication services and networks already exists within the area and can be easily accessed (DFD6, 2011:118).

7.7   Hanover Street Spine

According to the DFD6 (2011:68) the current Keizergracht Street, the then Hanover Street, was the central activity corridor in District Six and will be reinstituted as such. Defined in the Framework as Character Area 1, the street will be narrowed from its current 32 metres width to just 17 metres. The new Hanover Street will be lined with 4 to 6 storey buildings, and the ground floor units will impact on the other quarters which border it, creating a vibrant and rhythmic streetscape. Indoor market space and special retail activities, coinciding with major pedestrian crossing routes will characterise the area. Corner building heights will be accentuated, particularly at commercial nodes where restaurants, cafes and entertainment venues could be located.

While this area encourages commercial activity, it may be relevant for tourism developers to pay particular attention to this character-full area, and facilitate the development of a cultural heritage tourism hub here.

7.8   Memorial Park

This Memorial Park is classified by the Development Framework as a character area and will be located between Constitution Street and Justice Walk. The Park is intended to play an important role in the redevelopment of the area and will memorialise the destruction of District Six. The design and management of the area will be conducted as a joint effort by the District Six Museum, the City of Cape Town and the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust (DFD6, 2011:70). This location should form an important link in the overall development of cultural heritage tourism in the area.

7.9   Related tourism products

District Six tourism should form links with other struggle-related attractions, thereby forming a marketable package which would integrate a matrix of sites.

Possible related products include Robben Island and The Slave Lodge. District Six forms an important link to the Cape Flats, for political interest tours combining other political heritage sites like the Gugulethu 7, Amy Biehl, Langa and Khayelitsha, the "Trojan Horse" killings (Athlone), the house in Albermarle Street (Ashley Kriel), among others (Athlone News 2011). The Cape Flats Tourism Development Framework (2005) should include further business and functional linkages with District Six.

7.10   The District Six Museum

The District Six Museum is the current leader in heritage interpretation in the area and would likely form an integral part of cultural heritage tourism and its development in District Six (See Section 2.11).

7.11 Lessons learnt

SMME development in District Six should be a development imperative, including providing the marginalised poor with access to previously exclusive tourism markets. Business linkages, subcontracting and outsourcing opportunities are suggested mechanisms to upgrade the SMME and informal economy and promote participation.

Training and education institutions should establish what the skills development needs for the area are, and develop short courses, mentorship programmes and other educational initiatives accordingly. CPUT was identified as a particularly important centre of learning.

Functional linkages which support the integration of District Six tourism into the broader economy exist and are well established, including tourism, cultural and heritage authorities. Transport and telecommunications in the area surrounding District Six is fully functional and plans to further develop these aspects within the area are underway.

The Hanover Street spine which has been identified as a central activity corridor by the DFD6 (2011) further supports the idea of developing a cultural heritage and creative tourism hub/quarter and should be considered here. The historical significance, location of commercial nodes and the urban design principles of this precinct (transport hub, location of retail spaces and restaurants and land use allocation) support this suggestion. High levels of tourism activity can then be limited geographically.

7.12 Summary

This Chapter explored potential ways in which District Six tourism could better be integrated into the broader economy and that of the City of Cape Town, Tourism in District Six, should not be planned in isolation and should instead seek to integrate planning with private firms, heritage and tourism and cultural organisations. Demonstrating that tourism in District Six will contribute to broader economic goals is a key success factor to gain confidence with planners and investors. The following chapter draws tourism development lessons from the town of Genadendal in the Overberg region of the Western Cape.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE CASE OF GENADENDAL

8.1   Introduction

The town of Genadendal is situated six kilometres outside Greyton in the Overberg region of the Western Cape and has undergone extensive rehabilitation and reconstruction of its heritage. This site has been identified as having similar socio-political and historic conditions to those of District Six. A brief historical overview of the towns' early development and subsequent degradation is provided. Genadendal's regeneration strategy, restoration, and implementation of a community tourism strategy is reviewed and compared to the District Six case. Lessons drawn from the comparison are then further discussed.

Figure: 8.1: Map showing position of Genadendal (Anon, 2009b:54)

8.2   History and culture of Genadendal

Genadendal, or the 'Valley of Grace,' is the first and oldest mission station in South Africa and was founded in 1738 by Georg Schmidt, a worker of the Moravian Missionary Society. (Anon, 2010c). At the time there already existed 13 farms in the vicinity. The farms, being managed by the Dutch East India Company (VOC in Dutch), forced indigenous Khoi tribes off the land, causing them to live in communities outside the Riviersonderend Valley in poverty and disarray (Anon, 2009b).

According to du Preez (2009), no church denominations other than the Dutch Reformed Church were allowed at the Cape, but in 1735 the Dutch Reformed ministers appealed for missionaries to do work among the impoverished Khoi. Schmidt thus began his work amongst the Khoi, who were by then approaching complete extinction (Anon, 2009b). In addition to instructing the Khoi in Christianity, Schmidt also taught the Khoi agricultural and literacy skills from books he ordered from Cape Town (du Preez, 2009). After seven years of missionary work, Schmidt was ordered to leave the country by the Cape Dutch Reformed clergy who disapproved of his baptising of Khoi followers (Anon, 2009b).

In 1792 the Moravians obtained permission to resume Schmidt's work and the number of inhabitants increased to the extent that the settlement became one of the largest in the Cape Colony (Anon, 2009b). In 1793 the construction of a house for the missionaries began, of which the living room became the first school and accommodated 25 pupils (du Preez, 2009) The town developed further with the building of the first church building (Middelhuis), a water mill and smithy which produced the first and popular pruning knife for vines which became known as Hernhutter knives. (du Preez, 2009) The town became an important refuge for both dispossessed Khoi and freed slaves after 1802.

Other achievements as listed by du Preez (2009:15) include:

- The first nursery school in South Africa was inaugurated in Genadendal in 1831 and is now known as the "*Gemeentekamers".*
- South Africa's first teachers' training institution was opened in 1838, and is now housed in the main museum.
- The first multi-span bridge in South Africa, the Breinbrecht Bridge, was built over the Sonderend River by the men of the Genadendal settlement in 1819.
- Genadendal has the oldest fire engine and pipe organ in the country as well as one of the oldest libraries prepared by Swedish theologian Hans Peter Hallbeck.
- Genadendal became the first industrial town in South Africa, practicing many trades including carpentry using indigenous woods, wagon building, tannery,

blacksmithing, copper-smithing, weaving rush mats, stuffing mattresses, the making of woollen hats, and the first printing press.

- A cellar was built and missionaries obtained a license to sell wine.

The development of the flourishing town and community was deeply affected by the unjust legislation of the Communal Reserve Act No 29 of 1909 for Mission Stations. Among other elements, the Act prevented Genadendal's inhabitants from obtaining property rights. According to Anon (2009b), Genadendal, with its strong religious background, industry and training, had the potential to develop into a centre of learning similar to Stellenbosch. By 1806 Genadendal had 230 houses, with 1 234 residents, compared to Stellenbosch's 93 houses (du Preez, 2009). Despite its potential, the Teachers Training College was closed in 1926, citing the obsolescence of tertiary education for "coloured" people, who only had to work on farms. The town became impoverished and degraded and began to stagnate, leading to a loss of community pride (Anon, 2009b).

Testament to the rich intangible heritage is the fact that Genadendal remained the norm for the establishment of other mission settlements in the Cape, thereby informing a nation-wide, rich architectural legacy. In addition the Khoi descendants and missionaries made significant contributions towards the use of indigenous, medicinal plants (du Preez, 2009:17). The development of a rich music tradition (the Basuinkoor or brass band of Genadendal celebrated its 150th birthday in 2007) and the contribution of its inhabitants to the Afrikaans language as well as the pioneering work by the Director of the Museum, Dr. Isaac Balie, who together with his staff have assembled one of the most authentic collections in South Africa (du Preez, 2009). Nelson Mandela, former President of South Africa, visited Genadendal in 1995 and decided to rename his estate on Groote Schuur in Cape Town to Genadendal in acknowledgement of the contribution of this Moravian settlement (Anon, 2009b; du Preez, 2009; Anon, 2010c).
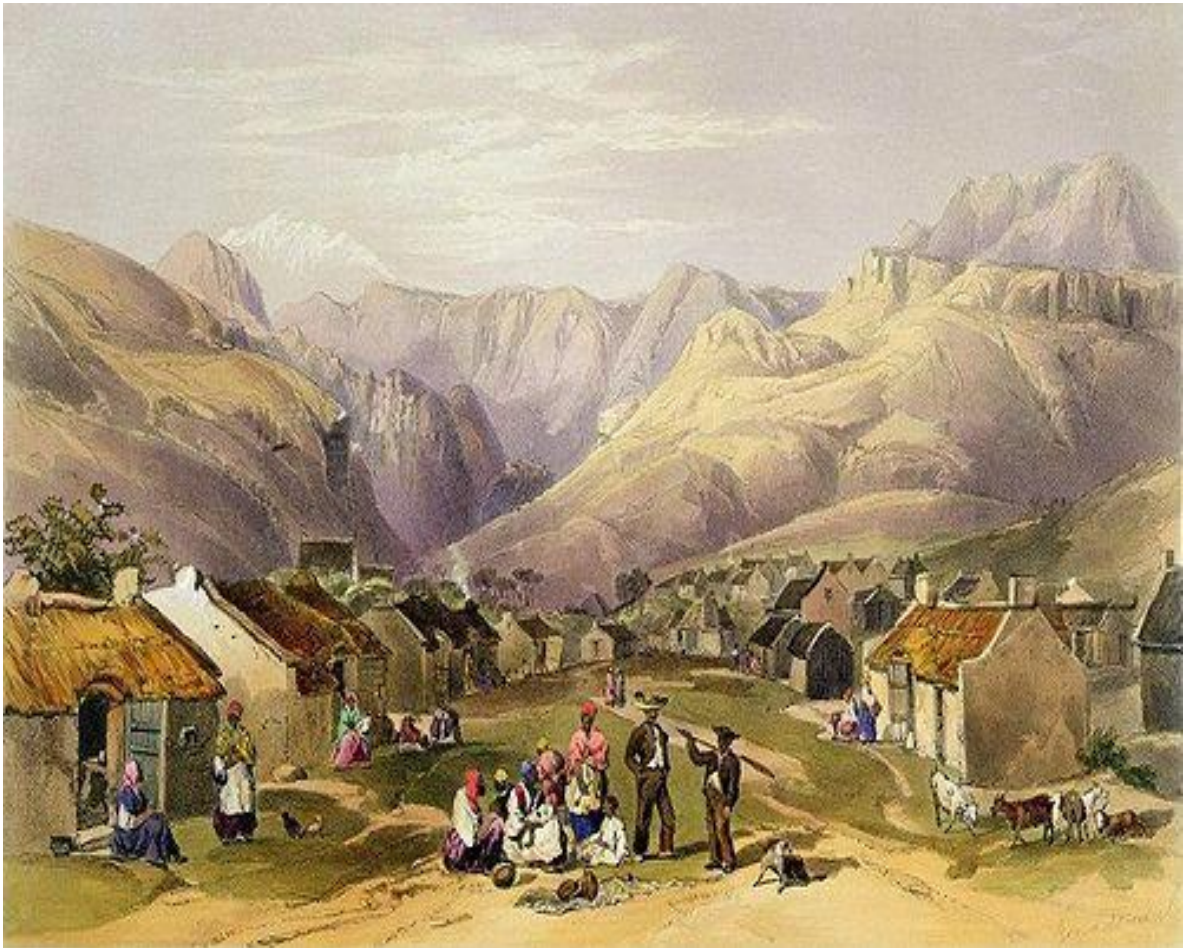
Figure 8.2: Genadendal during the first half of the 19th century (Anon 2009b:59)

8.3 Survey and the start of reconstruction

The lead consultant on the DFD6, Lucien Le Grange, was part of a task team appointed by the then South African Department of Environmental Affairs (1993) and the University of Cape Town to undertake a survey of all the significant mission settlements in South Africa. Le Grange, a conservation architect, urban planner and academic, highlights the importance of the role settlements played for refugees, dispossessed Khoi and freed slaves (du Preez, 2009).

Relevantly, the study also recorded common factors, planning principles, and challenges these settlements were confronted by. Similar to other historic mission settlements in South Africa, communities live in despair, subjected to economic deprivation, poverty, unemployment, a growing alienation from nature, and an absence of community pride. Despite the rich historic significance and welfare contribution of the Moravian Church, these circumstances are also true of the current community of Genadendal (Le Grange, 2009).

The community of Genadendal, together with the rural development agency in the Western Cape in 1997, commissioned the development of a community tourism plan which included

action plans around training, communication and marketing, improvement of the town and a clean-up programme, accommodation provision and management thereof, nature and cultural based tourism, and music as a tourist attraction (du Preez, 2009:18). A financial model for the planning of capital and operating costs of agricultural and commercial commodities that was to be produced and developed, as well as funding proposals, were submitted to the European Union (du Preez, 2009:18).

Importantly design work of the "werf" (main museum and tourist attraction) was given special attention as the heart of Genadendal and subsequent reconstruction design work took place with the mandate that it should be an attractive place for tourists; enhancing the sanctuary character and enhancing the "new werf" which incorporated the restaurant, printing museum, the weaving house, blacksmiths and mill. Hard and soft landscaping was implemented with the reinterpretation of old footpaths, transition zones and other interrelated areas (Roos, 2009:29).

8.4   Tourism development in Genadendal

Tourism development in Genadendal was planned according to the table outline below:

Table 8.1: The Business Plan Objectives and Achievements of the Genadendal Project 2002-2008

Restoration and technical repair of historic structures and landscape elements	• A Maintenance Manual was developed to ensure continued guidance on maintenance at the conclusion of the project. • Existing infrastructure was repaired and new infrastructure provided.
Improve future prospects for residents and traditional craftspeople through small-scale businesses focusing on cultural tourism and ecotourism	• Access facilitated for local entrepreneurs and businesses to Red Door Small Business Centre (Overberg Region) of the Western Cape Department of Economic Development and Tourism
Facilitate income generation for repair of commercial structures and use of traditional trades	• A Business plan for the werf was developed, recommending expansion of cultural tourism and related business to the benefit of local residents. • Training of local tradesmen with traditional skills and utilisation of those in the project (e.g. thatching and plastering)
Training in business skills and job creation	• Training of eight local residents in contract management and business plan development. Some of the individuals

	• trained set up businesses in thatching and are working in the Overberg region.
Development of historic trades, e.g. forging to make replicas of the Hernhutter knives	• At the initiative of the Genadendal Mission Museum a commercial blacksmith has established his business on the werf. As an accredited trainer he has employed a Genadendal resident as an apprentice.
Development of open-air recreation facilities e.g. mountain biking trails and hiking trails.	• Hiking and mountain biking trails are operational. Commercial opportunities to provide services on these routes should be explored. Five local residents were trained as eco-tour guides for Genadendal and surrounds.
Development of a campsite and sanitary facilities	• This development had to be shelved due to flood damage along the river bank.
Further development of the Tourism Information Centre with provision of Internet facilities and development of a website with provision of resources	• Infrastructure for commercial internet access is being developed. A Western Cape Mission Tourism Route was established. Overberg Tourism has facilitated access to their website for Genadendal with tourism products for the region highlighted.
Training for local craftspeople	• Training was provided for nine local residents in tourism guiding and for eight trainee craftspeople (thatchers) during the implementation of the project.
Marketing of cultural tourism to increase the number of visitors to Genadendal.	• A coordinated marketing strategy based on the cultural and historical significance of Genadendal was developed by the stakeholders (Genadendal Tourism, Overberg Tourism, Cape Town Routes Unlimited, Theewaterskloof Municipality, Overberg District Municipality, the Genadendal Mission Museum, the Western Cape Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport)
Conversion of existing buildings for long-term, income generating functions (e.g. guesthouses, tourism centre, backpackers.	• A number of existing buildings on the werf have been converted, including the Weder Guest House, and a variety of guest accommodation is available and ranges from luxury facilities to backpacker style and home-stays with villagers.

Source: Roos, 2009:114

According to Le Grange (2009) the implementation of the plan during the period of 2003-2008 had shown that conservation-related employment in Genadendal, such as job creation related to cultural tourism, due to capacity limitations could not by itself sustain the local community, and instead recommends that other forms of economic development opportunities should be pursued.

8.5   The Genadendal conservation and use plan

The Western Cape Cultural Commission, together with the Netherlands Government, financed the conservation project of the Genadendal Moravian Mission settlement in July 2002. The Genadendal Project goal was to contribute to the development and restoration of the greater Genadendal area (Le Grange, 2009).

The document "Genadendal: Conservation and Use Plan" was the main instrument used to implement conservation work and highlights many issues which may be relevant to developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six. The conservation work completed is evaluated in terms of the following criteria: impact on economic development; socio-cultural progress, and restoration of the physical environment. The Conservation and Use Plan detailed conservation policies for the greater Genadendal area, framed broad management principles and suggestions for cultural resource management as well as a basis to test management strategies (Le Grange, 2009). The plan was based on the particular principles of conservation being inseparable from development, integrated planning and the idea of 'development frameworks.' Lessons that may be learnt from the Genadendal Conservation Use Plan and applied to the District Six case in terms of these principles are further examined here.

8.5.1   Conservation and development

In order to ensure favourable economic and social conditions in the 'new' District Six community, the issue of conservation should be approached as being integral to development. Le Grange (2009) advocates that conservation, given low income levels, growing unemployment (particularly amongst youths), the decay of a sense of community pride, and an increase in social and health problems (HIV/AIDS, drug abuse), the conservation efforts must instil a sense of hope in the community. To achieve this employment generation, skills training heritage education and environmental upgrading action plans would have to be carefully monitored. In addition Le Grange (2009) proposed that the conservation and restoration work be consistently integrated with other development initiatives, such as enterprise development and cultural tourism.

8.5.2   Integrated planning and development

The Conservation and Use Plan advocated a holistic approach that integrates aspects of economic, social and cultural development, which translates to providing skills development and empowerment that ensures sustainability. Integrated planning should pursue different sources of funding and include a wide range of stakeholders (Le Grange, 2009). Relevant to the District Six case, the Genadendal Restoration Project was not only concerned with the completion of physical buildings but also focused on sustainability and community empowerment. This was to be achieved through strengthening existing community organisations and developing new ones, generating skills from the very start of the project and ensuring that it became an ongoing component of the entire project. Resource management and environmental concerns too became the responsibility of the community, and as such the community was to have planning and management input (Le Grange, 2009).

Despite this the success of community involvement in Genadendal was limited and the establishment of new community organisations were not realised. Le Grange (2009) cites complex reasons for these shortcomings, among them a lack of resources to drive the project locally on a day to day basis, and exclusion of certain families (based on income and heritage assessment) for the restoration of their properties may have produced cynicism, and work being conducted on individual buildings as opposed to collective assets such as roads and infrastructure may have contributed to the communities limited involvement.

8.5.3   Conservation development framework

The Conservation and Use Plan for Genadendal proposed that the framework for development and conservation be flexible in order to accommodate uncertainties and changes in needs as well as to have the capacity to be implemented in an integrated manner. Given the various facets of the development plan, transport, infrastructure and specific land use allocations, an adaptive approach would be more effective and feasible as opposed to the more traditional approach of a 'master plan' (Le Grange, 2009:40). This too would be relevant in developing a framework for cultural tourism in District Six. A framework for decision making would be equally important.

8.6 Challenges facing redevelopment and conservation

While redevelopment and reconstruction of Genadendal had operational challenges, the past and its values as well as economic, emotional and social values had also to be considered. Unlike Genadendal, District Six's development is to be entirely focused on its repatriation strategy, not reconstruction. The challenges which faced Genadendal, according to Roos (2009:23), may however be similar:

- The existence of many stakeholders complicating the planning process.
- Adoption by the people of Genadendal was slow, despite intentions of the project to be community driven.
- The indifference of the Municipality of Genadendal during the first three years of the project.
- The uneasiness of the Moravian Church about changes in the use of the site.
- The bureaucratic barriers from the South African Government regarding the housing subsidy, and
- The lack of management and the shift in focus of interest due to delays affecting the project.

The crucial role of local, district and regional government must also be highlighted, given their potential for funding assistance, sourcing required expertise and developing appropriate policies (Le Grange, 2009:47). He cautioned that ineffective communication and poor coordination between government departments should be recognised as a threat, as it could result in insensitive or inappropriate decision making. Moreover, over-arching regulatory policies are often not suitable for site specific, local conditions, emphasising the need for government officials to be better informed about heritage ideas and practices.

Roos (2009) recommends that redevelopment project objectives should include providing social sustainability, restore pride and provide a real perspective for the future for the people of Genadendal. These recommendations are relevant to cultural heritage tourism development in District Six and are values which any development in District Six should strive to achieve. Roos (2009) further elaborates by explaining that history, and its authenticity, makes it essential to identify the spirit of a place for residents and visitors alike. The success of a destination will mean more people will visit, resulting in further development, thus emphasising the need for the community to get involved, and have some level of control over planning and decision making. Roos (2009) also further recommends understanding the spatial and urban structure of an area so that new settlements are not developed in isolation, without awareness of the historical context. Historical context enhances social sustainability. Furthermore, effective management and monitoring, removing

bureaucratic barriers, growing entrepreneurship and employment, and creating revolving funds are essential to ensuring Genadendal is safe for the future (Roos, 2009).

Le Grange (2009) highlights the need for education which demonstrates how conservation (and heritage) can become part of daily life and contribute to the well-being of the inhabitants. Given the rich educational heritage of the area, local history programmes and environmental awareness should be included in school curriculums.

8.7   Lessons learnt

A number of important lessons should be drawn from the Genadendal case when considering developing and implementing a tourism strategy for District Six. These are presented as follows:

Addressing the legacy of inadequate education is a key factor in the successful implementation and sustainability of a cultural heritage tourism strategy for District Six. Training in business skills and job creation should be provided together with training in creative industries and cultural industries. Awareness of tourism and cultural heritage should be encouraged amongst the community, at schools and tertiary institutions. Establishing a cultural heritage library should be considered. This library could become a re-imagined Liberman Institute and assist in the education of scholars in heritage and cultural industries; provide important information resources for researchers; and provide space for debates and training workshops; providing a historical context which enhances social sustainability.

It could be argued that the broader District Six and Cape Flats' communities suffer from similar socio-economic dysfunctions as Genadendal and currently experiences high levels of unemployment, a growing alienation from nature, increasing levels of drug abuse, and a lack of community pride. A tourism plan should recognise these issues and address them so that a sense of hope is instilled in the community and a future perspective is provided. Strengthening existing civic organisations and developing new community organisations, preventing exclusion and encouraging overall community involvement should be prioritised in the tourism plan. Economic, social and emotional values are important considerations.

Similar urban design principles, that is hard and soft landscaping, places for public assembly, reinterpretation of old footpaths, transition zones and other interrelated areas should be included in the DFD6 (2011) to facilitate cultural heritage tourism. This includes providing new infrastructure and restoration and technical repair of historic structures and landscape elements. Furthermore, as with Genadendal, tourism plans in District Six should be based on the principle that heritage conservation is inseparable from development and should encourage integrated planning through implementing development frameworks. A holistic

approach which integrates aspects of economic, social and cultural development and ensures sustainability and empowerment is critical. Therefore, a tourism plan should be flexible to accommodate uncertainties and changes in needs. In addition, Genadendal tourism plans include a framework for decision making, equally relevant for District Six.

As District Six borders on the fringe of a conservation area and World Heritage Site (Table Mountain National Park) and open air activities, to encourage a greater connection to nature is relevant. Eco- tour guides should be trained; mountain biking and hiking trail tour operators should be established. Numerous established biking and hiking trails already exist and little infrastructure or capital investment will therefore be required to implement the project.

The importance of providing a technologically enabled environment was again highlighted during the analysis of the Genadendal case. Internet cafes, commercial internet access and the development of operator websites should be encouraged. Similar to Genadendal, a tourism plan could include internet cafes at tourism information centres. While Genadendal has converted a number of existing buildings for long-term income generating functions such as guesthouses and backpackers, existing infrastructure for this purpose is limited in the area currently zoned for redevelopment. Therefore the construction of new establishments should be considered.

A coordinated marketing strategy based on the cultural and historical significance of Genadendal was established. This principle should be applied to the District Six case and should include Cape Town Tourism, South African Tourism, The District Six Museum, WESGRO, the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Government, among others. A coordinated marketing strategy would improve marketing capability, prevent tourism and cultural heritage products being sold in isolation, and improve awareness and demand. Currently Genadendal struggles with issues of seasonality and demand.

As previously mentioned, the Western Cape Cultural Commission together with the Netherlands Government financed the conservation project for the Genadendal Moravian Mission settlement. Cultural heritage tourism developers should include similar entities in a targeted investment plan. Furthermore, planners should not limit the search for funding to local institutions and instead should target sources of funding to include international agencies such as the United Nations and World Tourism Organisation. Creating revolving funds would ensure economic sustainability.

Small scale businesses focusing on traditional craftspeople, culture and heritage should be encouraged through the facilitation of access to funding from government agencies such as the Western Cape Cultural Commission and the Western Cape Department of Economic Development and Tourism, among others.

Tourism development challenges faced by Genadendal provide important indicators to the possible pitfalls, District Six tourism development should guard against. These include the lack of consensus among participants, lack of management, low motivation and participation levels among community members, a lack of political will at local government level, and bureaucratic barriers stalling plan implementation. In addition, poor communication and coordination between government departments and a lack of regulatory support should be recognised as possible threats.

8.8   Summary

This Chapter comparatively examines the redevelopment of Genadendal's cultural heritage assets and the implementation of a tourism plan there. Genadendal experienced similar socio-political conditions to District Six and important comparisons were drawn from the Genadendal project. Integrating memory, heritage and development is challenging. These lessons should be applied to District Six so that the past can be harnessed to serve progress and development. The following Chapter presents the findings of the primary research undertaken.

CHAPTER NINE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

9.1   Introduction

Seventeen interviews, of the total of 20 individuals and organisation identified were completed. The duration of interviews varied, averaging one hour, the shortest being thirty five minutes and the longest two hours. Interviews were recorded via electronic dicta-phone and later transcribed. Not all questions were relevant to all respondents. Twenty themes emerged. These are presented and the findings discussed below.

9.2   THEME 1: POTENTIAL

The vast majority of respondents viewed cultural heritage tourism development in District Six positively. Despite some initial scepticism, the overwhelming overall support for further cultural heritage tourism development in District Six was unanimous. In certain instances scepticism arose from a fear that the commercialism of tourism may dilute the authenticity of the story of District Six. Other respondents were cautious of tourisms' role in the restitution process. Further scepticism arose from a lack of knowledge and awareness of cultural heritage tourism and how tourism can function to achieve socio-economic benefits. While some respondents were initially sceptical, they later felt more accepting of tourism, in particular, cultural heritage tourism. It was the personal observation of the researcher that many respondents were visibly excited about the new prospects and benefits tourism could bring to the area.

All respondents believed that the potential exists to further develop cultural heritage tourism in District Six. Furthermore, 76.5% of respondents indicated that they would be willing to serve on a community tourism planning committee for 10 hours a month. It is clear that these professionals think that heritage tourism can play an important role in economic development for the community, and believe that worthwhile opportunities exist for such developments, and deserve further investigation.

Scepticism is expressed in the following statement:

> *"There is no collective model for cultural tourism...The potential exists but it will be difficult. This is a unique model and shows how complex South Africa is*" (Respondent 15, 03.05.2013).

The following excerpt best describes a positive response towards the potential for further tourism development in the area:

> *"District Six is an icon internationally as it was one of the biggest barriers to separate development and was celebrated for its diversity in terms of race and class. Its history makes it a significant heritage site in Cape Town. All the historic layers indicate that it has relevance for the country and tourism will go some way in unpacking and going deeper into that history. From a socio-political point of view it is important to develop cultural heritage tourism in District Six"* (Respondent 14, 06.05.2013).

Other respondents reinforced this view saying:

> *"The tourism development potential of the area is enormous and presents an opportunity for community development. While tourism in the area does exist, it is under-marketed and great potential exists, to further enhance the experience. Demand is visible as the museum receives daily visitors and tourist buses are observed frequenting the area. Attracting a growing heritage tourism market should not be a problem,"* (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

> *"It can be a model of future heritage developments in South Africa. It sets the example, particularly with reference to the Special Purpose Vehicle. It's a great exercise in sustainability. All residents have a stake in this and it is a complete departure from what has been done before. A Unique Selling Point lends itself to a fantastic opportunity. It would be the number one form of tourism in the area"* (Respondent 15, 03.05.2013).

> *"People don't want to live in sterile spaces, they want to bring a certain energy back that ties people together, restoring the place and stitching it into the larger development "* (Respondent 1, 03.04.2013).

> *"The opportunity outweighs its barriers. Negative impacts can be mitigated if they are planned for"* (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

It is appropriate that cultural heritage tourism be implemented over other forms of tourism as it is aligned with heritage preservation and cultural regeneration processes. Cultural heritage tourism lends itself to a lighter, more humble tourism offering. Globally, it is tourism's fastest growing sector.

9.3   THEME 2: RESTITUTION FIRST

The need to prioritise restitution and social justice over tourism development emerged as a strong theme. While all respondents agreed that tourism, if aligned with the process could bring economic and social benefits, five respondents suggested that tourism is not the main concern in District Six.

> *"Tourism development is not a priority in District Six, restitution and social justice is, and should remain the main concern. Once this has been achieved the other factors of community cohesion, economic empowerment and perspective for the future will follow. It must become a space of emotional healing and tourism development must take this into account"* (Respondent 12, 23.04.2013).

It could be argued that tourism should be aligned with the restitution process, as an aid and catalyst to achieve the aims of economic development, repatriation and social justice. Respondents felt that tourism should not divert restitution, and instead should be planned simultaneously, not in mutually exclusive, isolated stages. 70.6% of respondents agreed that cultural heritage tourism could not ridicule the restitution process as expressed in the following excerpt:

> *"Tourism would support and enhance the restitution process and have important social and economic consequences, and create sustainable livelihoods"* (Respondent 2, 03.03.2013).

This theme highlights the need for government to prioritise the area's redevelopment, fulfil its commitment to restitution, and uphold the promises it has made to the community of District Six.

9.4 THEME 3: CAUTION

Two respondents voiced concern that tourism has its restrictions and cautioned that tourism development is not always the panacea of all social ills as it claims to be, and brings its own set of problems. This concern is voiced in the excerpt below:

> *"There is an element of tourism that is not empowering and encourages dependency- in this sense it has its limitations. It perpetuates the notion that the under-class are "servers" waiting on and cleaning up after those with money. Tourism cannot be the panacea of all social ills as it claims to be. If it can become a tool to make real productive employment instances occur then it has a purpose beyond itself. It must contribute to broader nation building and social development"* (Respondent 11, 18.04.2013).

The above statement emphasises the need for a community based tourism developmental approach. This will ensure tourism benefits flow directly to residents, strengthen civic institutions and empower people to make decisions about their own lives. This argument is emphasised in the following excerpt:

> *"Tourism must be developed from the bottom up to prevent commercialisation or commoditisation. This may ridicule a whole process of struggle"* (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

One respondent provided another relevant cautionary theme indicating that practical design of the tourism product should be considered:

> *"The possibility of windy conditions are high and it can destroy an outdoor event"* (Respondent 7, 09.04.2013).

9.5 THEME 4: COMMUNITY

Given the historical context of District Six, it is understood that the returning residents of the area should play a critical role in deciding on the scale, scope and nature of any development.

Community involvement emerged as a strong theme with 88% of respondents agreeing that cultural heritage tourism development in District Six should follow a community-based developmental approach, while 12% believed a multi-stakeholder approach would be better. All respondents agreed that the community should have ownership of tourism in District Six and this is highlighted by the following statement:

"Working with the community is an essential part of a successful plan. Administrators and functionaries are there to implement what the people have chosen. Tourism should be driven by government but owned by the community" (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013).

The importance of community consensus also emerged as a strong theme. It would be critical to ensure that effective public participation takes place throughout the consultation and development process. The following excerpt explains how the respondents view community participation:

"Community cohesion will be a challenge as pressure groups within the community exist. Antagonism may exist between those that have a vested interest in tourism and those that don't. They see the economic benefits tourism brings and those that view tourism negatively due to negative impacts such as increased noise, pollution and traffic. Beneficiaries of tourism are not always the ones who suffer the direct costs of tourism activity such as reduced privacy. Achieving this balance will be challenging and the community must decide and have consensus on industry activities" (Respondent 15, 03.05.2013).

Another respondent commented on the importance of developing civic institutions to strengthen community involvement.

"Institution building should be included in the list as they provide infrastructure and modernity which assists citizens in making and managing decisions that affect their own lives" (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

All respondents agreed that for tourism development, the community should have decision making authority and own tourism. All respondents agreed that a multi-disciplinary committee representing all participants should be formed to determine and manage a cultural heritage strategy for District Six. However, one respondent indicated that not all members should have decision-making power as some members would only provide guidance and consultative support.

The community of District Six should ultimately decide on the scope and type of tourism that should occur in the area. Community ownership, through effective public participation is a critical success factor. Administrative processes should be effectively managed with accountability and transparency. Petty squabbles should be set aside, and focus must be on making the project a success.

9.6   THEME 5: MUSEUM LEADERSHIP

Respondents were asked whether they believed that the District Six Museum should play a leading role in further developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six, to which a total of 94% of respondents agreed. Commitment to the District Six Museum and recognition of its leadership emerged as a strong theme and is emphasised in the following excerpt:

> *"The Museum already plays a leading role in developing tourism in the area, is an icon in District Six, and contains all the required information on landscape and heritage interpretation"* (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

Currently the Museum runs various community outreach programmes and heritage walks, again emphasising the need for Museum leadership:

> *"The Museum already offers some of these products in "Huis Kombuis" traditional food program as well as the Re-imagining Carnival workshop. Leadership must come from the District Six Museum"* (Respondent 12, 23.04. 2013).

> *"The walk must be developed and conducted in conjunction with the District Six Museum. The Museum already conducts heritage walks around the area and includes memories of the East City (10 sites with storytelling), Sunset Walk (4 sites including CPUT, Memorial Park, site of restitution, and Lydia Williams), Stories of Hope, and a Musical Walk (jazz encounters)"* (Respondent 10, 16.04.2013).

While it may be ideal for the District Six Museum to lead the implementation of cultural heritage tourism in District Six, it is currently struggling with funding and capacity problems, and will need to address these challenges and demonstrate economic viability before accepting more duties. The statement below emphasises the need for the Museum to access funds and expertise from both heritage and tourism donors/structures:

> *"The Museum currently struggles with capacity and marketing these products...The question must be asked why the passion and compassion of the museums work is not yielding desired economic returns"* (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

The role of the Museum in leading and managing cultural heritage tourism in the area is described by one respondent, who suggests a solution to funding and capacity challenges:

> *"The District Six Museum should be looking at how it could add role-players to its structures and act as the responsible structure for the cultural heritage tourism plan. This structure could then access different grants for different things."*

Another respondent suggested that the community should lead the further development of tourism with guidance from the Museum:

> *"The returning community should play a leading role with guidance from the museum to prevent any tourism plan being artificially imposed"* (Respondent 15, 03.05.2013).

The location of the Museum was investigated by asking respondents whether the Museum should move back into the centre of District Six to form an integral part of a proposed themed cultural heritage route, to which 23.5% agreed and 76.5% disagreed. The following arguments were put forward:

"The Museum is fine where it is. It is housed in a historically important building (Sacks Futeran where slaves were sold), passing traffic is good and acts as a good entry point and interface between the East City and District Six. Implementing satellite offices may be more relevant as well as smaller and travelling exhibitions" (Respondent 11, 18.04.2013).

"The Museum is already housed in the centre of District Six. Officially this was District Six land. The space where it currently exists is important as poor people once had a place in the City and the current location serves as a reminder of this. The intention of the museum is that the Horstley Street Memorial Park will house a visitor centre of some kind. The current location of the museum is still conducive to becoming the entrance point for the proposed themed heritage route/walk" (Respondent 10, 16.04.2013).

Furthermore, respondents were asked whether they believed a themed cultural heritage walk should include a tourism information office, to which 70% of respondents agreed. Those that disagreed believed the Museum could fulfil this function effectively.

Lastly, respondents were asked to comment on the role the development of the "Fringe," creative precinct could play in the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six. The "Fringe" is a strategic initiative by the Western Cape Government to develop a creative industry precinct in the City Centre. Only 65% of respondents were familiar with the new development and could therefore comment. Four out of eleven respondents were disillusioned with the development for the following reasons:

"The area demarcated as the Fringe is part of District Six land, has an identity and a particular history. Re-branding the area bordering District Six is another form of forced removal and land grab by the City of Cape Town. There are property interests here. The concept of a design precinct (design capital, design institute and animation schools), re-imagines the area in a very different way. The District Six Museum has not been consulted and included in this process, nor can it compete with the Fringe's branding/advertising capacity" (Respondent 10, 16.04.2013).

Another respondent argued that:

"The "Fringe" did not take the heritage plan into consideration" (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

One respondent believed that the "Fringe" creates a link from District Six to the City of an upgraded nature, a higher level of consciousness, care, maintenance and design.

Clearly greater collaboration between the Western Cape Government, the Fringe developers and District Six is required. It again highlights the importance of having a clear tourism plan for the area so that a defined basis for engagement can take place.

9.7   THEME 6: THEMED HERITAGE TOURISM WALK

The study examines whether a themed tourism walk or route would be appropriate for implementation in District Six. All respondents agreed that a tourism walk should be implemented. However some respondents warned against creating a themed Disney World environment which would *"make a joke out of the struggle heritage."* Some respondents voiced their opinions as follows:

"The story of District Six will remain compelling. A themed heritage walk will allow for the landscape and its meanings to be interpreted through audio, guide books and site interpretations. There is no substitute to actually walk through the site" (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

"A themed heritage walk would suit the site as different sites have importance and significance. Once you organise tourism along a themed route it shows good strategic planning, is attractive to investors, and the tourist. A route or walk will demarcate tourism to a distinct area and limits the geographic area of tourism to a certain precinct, allowing life to continue as normal for those who have no interest in tourism. A route protects the authenticity of the offering and is better controlled by community input as to what products they would like to present to the tourist. A route mitigates some of the negative impacts of degrading culture by allowing for authenticity to be staged" (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

"Creating a themed route may be problematic as it has connotations of Disney World. Memory must be presented in terms of its ongoing use and culture experienced through engaging with people" (Respondent 11, 18.04.2013).

Furthermore, respondents were asked whether the tourism walk should include a cultural quarter, to which 94% of respondents agreed. The one respondent who did not agree cited the following reason:

"Ethnicise-ation of history and the balkanisation of the City into ethnic enclaves should be prevented and instead something different should be done. For this reason a cultural quarter should not be implemented in District Six" (Respondent 12, 23.04.2013)

Further criticism of cultural quarters is expressed in the following statement:

"Tourism works with old ideas and can work in uncritical ways such as cultural villages i.e. they are institutions borne of conquest and colonialism. They freeze culture within the imaginaries of colonialism. The discourse of the question is centred in development studies (tourism as a set of services for development) and not set within the discourse or framework which seeks to understand what sort of knowledge is constructed" (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

The above statement indicates that the terminology used may be confusing. To mitigate this perception, the cultural quarter should be reframed as a cultural precinct. In addition, heritage and tourism practitioners should collaborate with the community to form a precinct of a high standard that is chosen, not imposed.

Respondents were asked which amenities/facilities they would like to see included in the area as part of a tourism route/walk to which 100% of respondents agreed to include jazz and music venues, cultural food restaurants, craft market, Horstley Street Memorial Park and tour guiding services. 94% agreed to include a traditional bioscope; 87.5% agreed to include themed accommodation and 70% agreed to include a tourism information centre.

The decision to include reconstructed buildings of architectural significance and themed accommodation is largely impacted on through consideration of practicality, available resources and heritage interpretation. Five respondents believed that the function of a tourism information centre could be effectively carried out by the District Six Museum, and resources should instead be allocated elsewhere.

Spaces for tourism retailers (crafts, curios) and cultural producers (performers and artists) should be made available in conjunction with spaces for informal traders. This strengthens the business case and creates opportunities for informal businesses to access markets they would have otherwise been limited to. Existing walking-route products, sold by the Museum, should be included and adapted to intersect the cultural precinct and retail area at some point in the walk thereby raising the commercial potential.

If the practicality is weighed and resources allowed for it, reconstruction of buildings of special interest or historical/architectural significance should be considered. It is generally accepted that any reconstructed building should not pay homage to colonialism or create a theme park feel. Instead, it should represent a space which held significance for the underclass, the liberation struggle, and help recall memory. Any reconstructed buildings should contribute to the restitution process, be aligned with the heritage framework and reflect the best quality in design and architecture. It should represent a monument which residents can be proud of. The Liberman Institute, Star Bioscope or Wells Square, may be examples of such sites that could be considered for reconstruction.

9.8   THEME 7: HERITAGE INTERPRETATION

A central emerging theme of critical importance highlights the need for development to address how the interpretation of the District Six landscape assists in recalling memory, avoids stereotypes, and interprets heritage without diluting or commercialising the story. The following excerpts best describe how respondents felt about this theme:

> *"The plan must assist in the acting out and recalling of memory. Therefore it must be a light and humble product where people live in areas of historical and cultural significance but it doesn't interfere with their lives. The product must provide an alternative way of telling the story of how human beings lived in this part of the world. The cultural narrative should not be policed. Stereotypes of coloured people and coloured dispossession, romantic cliché's or ideals must be prevented and tourism should see beyond just the koeksister/samoosa offering. Opportunities need to be structured, but the plan must present a model of how people can live together in the present day and give ordinary people as well as those who live on the outskirts of society a voice"* (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

> *"District Six is highly contested land and is fraught with difficulty. How do you rethink the landscape of memory to take visitors on an excursion of interpreting the landscape? The meanings of the landscapes are important- you can't just reconstruct a new landscape on top of an old one. Without the framework (heritage) you have a feeding frenzy of all manner of opportunism"* (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

A related emerging theme with regards to the interpretation of heritage includes a discussion as to whether buildings of special interest or architectural significance should be reconstructed. Only 47% of respondents agreed that this should be considered and even though they agreed, some had reservations. This dilemma is presented as follows:

"It may be ideal to reconstruct some buildings of special or architectural significance but it may not be practical given its expensive nature and limited resources for development" (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

"We should not attempt to recreate the past, instead it should be understood and its meanings and nostalgia interpreted through other forms of media such as videos, photography and animation" (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013).

"Eurocentric architecture and design were imposed on people in the past and did not include South African design, Indonesian or Malay architecture. For this reason reconstructed buildings will elevate and bear testament to that imposed culture. Instead underclass places of assembly such as The Fish Market, Liberman Institute, Wells Square (first slum clearing) and the Star Bioscope could be considered for reconstruction" (Respondent 4, 05.04.2013).

Displaying fragments of the past leave space for imagination whereas reconstruction gives a very literal interpretation of the past and doesn't allow for varied interpretations and meanings" (Respondent 10, 16.04.2013).

The above statements indicate that a combination of approaches may be relevant. Taking into account that it is important for heritage institutions to provide a future perspective, an entirely new well designed (architecturally) building(s) should be considered. Building(s) should be representative of the broader District Six community, and the community of Cape Town with its multiple and diverse opinions.

Further analysis indicates that the tourism product should be structured in a manner which presents heritage and culture appropriately through practical design. Respondents were asked whether themed (old style District Six furniture and fittings) accommodation should be developed to which 87.5% agreed, while those that disagreed argued:

"The integrity of the site should be maintained and not provide a romantic idea of the past in themed accommodation. Instead home-stays should be encouraged as this would give people a better perspective on contemporary culture, allow for greater cultural exchange and ensure the community are direct economic beneficiaries. The concern with home-stays, include difficulty in accreditation, ensuring guest satisfaction and safety of tourists" (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

Accommodation should be mainly home-stay based, reducing the level of investment needed and ensuring direct economic benefits and greater cultural exchange. Prevention of creating sterile spaces and serial monotony and homogenous serial reproduction is equally relevant.

9.9   THEME 8: HERITAGE FRAMEWORK

The importance of the declaration of District Six as a Grade 1, National Heritage site should be emphasised, as this framework will determine the nature and scope of tourism development in the area. The declaration of District Six will afford the Museum the opportunity to operate as an outdoor institution and control the integrity of the tourism product. This importance is expressed in the following excerpt:

"It is an opportunity for former residents to take control of their lives and have jobs inside a heritage institution. Authenticity is important to maintain the integrity of the tourism product...It

is important that formal protections place a legislative prescript to protect it for the future and make people realise the significance the area holds. Currently District Six is being declared a Grade 1 National Heritage Site and any future development will need to take this into account as development scope and direction must be informed by the heritage framework....The point of reference must be the heritage framework and one that involves the declaration of District Six and is shaped around questions of history, memory and culture...The museum is turned into an outdoor institution by operating within the heritage framework" (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013)

A marked heritage landscape which elevates cultural and heritage attractions through recalling memory, providing site guides, storyboards, travelling exhibitions, photography, animation and other monumental and non-monumental interpretations should be implemented. Heritage landscape interpretation and presentation should be the work of the District Six Museum and its contributors.

9.10   THEME 9: DIVERSITY

Five respondents expressed a need for any potential tourism product to be presented in a way that defies racial and social stereotypes and reflects the diversity which so offended the Apartheid Government. This view is expressed in the following statement:

"All Capetownians should be the ambassadors of tourism development in District Six. Apartheid made us think in terms of Black, White, Muslim, Indian etc. A generic and broader definition/form of community should exist so that it does not undermine what District Six represents or expresses" (Respondent 4, 04.05.2013).

A unified approach is needed so that the diversity of District Six is harnessed as a source of pride" (Respondent 3, 04.04.2013).

Four respondents expressed concern that it is the very diversity that the area wishes to celebrate that would become challenging. The following statement indicates that the decision-making process should be clarified and public participation mechanisms implemented:

"Ensuring that multiple voices are listened to and presented will be difficult. The District Six Beneficiaries and Redevelopment Trust is loaded with controversy. District Six must challenge preconceived ideas that it needs to fit in a box and should instead celebrate diversity of ideas...the project needs a strong driver, a champion who will represent its diversity" (Respondent 11, 18.04.2013).

9.11   THEME 10: CULTURAL REGENERATION

Related to the previous theme is the need for a tourism plan in District Six to contribute to cultural regeneration. All respondents agreed that the development of cultural heritage tourism and creative tourism could contribute to cultural regeneration in the area and is articulated in the following statement:

> *"Cultural regeneration is important. District Six provides stories for the South African public and remains one of the last vestiges from which narratives can be built which influence the contemporary discourse. For too long people have been exposed to Eurocentric and Americanised socialisation, and neglected to celebrate local heroes. Many young people are seeking some cultural input and only receive this through the movies and other media they are exposed to and almost distance themselves from local stories. Tourism could provide a platform from which people can voice the deep trauma and dislocation. Social cohesion must be built on the stories of these people and should be driven through social or cultural interest not commercial interest"* (Respondent 4, 05.04.2013).

9.12   THEME 11: POLITICS

Politics has, and will continue to play a major role in District Six. The influence of politics on potential tourism development was examined to determine whether the political will exists and what the most notable pitfalls might be. The complexity of the role politics plays are presented in the following excerpts. Some respondents believed politics would complicate development as expressed in the statement below:

> *"Tourism will have an impact on politics and vice-versa. Politics will play a huge role in the development of District Six... In the narrow sense there is an unwillingness of the Democratic Alliance to imagine spaces, within the inner-city, with poor people. It's important for the City (of Cape Town) to make people ruleable, turn people into ratepayers, a level of citizenship and display having a measure of control over their own lives"* (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

> *"There is a lack of political will. Getting approval from local and provincial government will be difficult. The unique selling point should be that a tourism strategy goes hand in hand with urban regeneration and assurance that the project will become sustainable"* (Respondent 5, 08.04.2013).

> *"Politics is a problem in all development plans- the project needs a strong driver, a champion who will represent its diversity"* (Respondent 16, 15 05.2013).

Another respondent believed the political profile of District Six and current economic development policies should support tourism development in the area:

> *"Politics should support the initiative. The representation is important- market to both parties (DA and ANC), bring them to a common place where the positive and negative is seen as non-threatening, while highlighting the positive fallout. The political will exists to develop good projects but District Six must not be used for point-scoring or political football. Politics between parties stall the restitution process. National government holds District Six in high regard and is therefore proposed a Grade 1 Heritage Site, the same level as Robben Island. These considerations have to be taken into account so that the value of tourism is raised"* (Respondent 1, 03.04.2013).

One respondent believed having a sustainable plan would reduce the role politics plays, while another identified internal political struggles within civic groups as a potential barrier to

successful development. Politics should support the initiative to achieve development goals and benefit the citizens of Cape Town.

9.13 THEME 12: LINKAGES

The functional and business linkages tourism in District Six would need to form in order to better integrate into the City and broader economy are critical. All respondents agreed that the private sector should support small business development in District Six by outsourcing certain essential tourism services such as laundry, catering and transport, and furniture production. This unanimous response again highlights the importance of creating successful business and functional linkages.

Interviewees were asked whether a developed cultural heritage product in District Six could form an important linkage to other struggle-related tourism products and areas of political interest on the Cape Flats. All respondents agreed, and below are excerpts which express these views:

> *"District Six must not isolate or out-brand what is happening in the townships but rather integrate it into its plan. The success will lie in demonstrating that tourism can be mainstreamed and be part of broader social and economic development in the Western Cape"* (Respondent 2, 03.04.2013).

> *"The geographical location has a point in that story line, gives the product a uniqueness that portrays its history and attracts special interest tourists. It provides a unique alternative product, the opportunity to be a convergent point in a matrix of key sites which are related to past and present struggles"* (Respondent 1, 03.04.2013).

Linkages with existing organisations were further emphasised. 76.5% of respondents supported the formation of a forum which represents the institutions responsible for education and training, while the remaining 24.5% disagreed. The consideration of utilising existing structures to leverage skills expertise over constituting a new forum was argued for. This opinion is emphasised in the following excerpt:

> *"Training structures already exist and there is no need to replicate them. Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Sector Education and Training Authority (CATHSSETA), the Tourism Human Resources Development sub-committee is in place and is facilitated by the Department of Economic Development and brings together all the relevant stakeholders of education, business, civil society and other relevant partners to discuss human resource issues impacting the Western Cape Tourism Industry....Many different funds are available and it's easier to have one structure (such as the District Six Museum) that would access and orchestrate these funds. How can you add structures to the District Six Museum to provide capacity?"* (Respondent 2, 03.04.2013).

It is also important to emphasise the importance of the individual to express the need for training and other resources.

9.14 THEME 13: TECHNOLOGY

Respondents were asked what role they thought information, communication and other technologies should play in the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six. Respondents agreed technology could become an increasingly important role-player. In addition, technology has a special application, as it provides creative ways to present heritage, such as animation and digital reconstruction. Another important application includes technologies contributing to creating safer environments, for example installing closed circuit television and number plate recognition cameras/software. These affirmations are expressed in the statements below:

> *"Technology is an important tool for research, marketing and advertising. Keeps you in touch with your market and creates platforms for customer feedback. It links the District Six to other museums around the world...Animation can be used as an exhibition tool to bring to life areas of heritage or cultural significance"* (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013).

> *"Should develop software applications which aid tourism such as application guided tours, provides up to date information on events, ease of bookings, allows tourists to connect to other cultural sites or museums around the world"* (Respondent 2, 03.04.2013).

> *"The area should have wireless internet connectivity. It provides a connection for the community and tourist. They are accustomed to having Wi-Fi when they travel in other parts of the world"* (Respondent 13, 25.04.2013).

> *"The City of Cape Town is rolling out fibre optic network and this should include District Six"* (Respondent 15, 03.05.2013).

The inclusion of technology in tourism development is a necessity as it has a broad range of benefits for both community members and tourists alike. A tourism development plan for District Six should therefore make allowances for significant investment in technology. Technology infrastructure, such as providing fibre optic cabling and safety equipment, should be a priority of local government. It could be assumed that the private sector (techno-industries) would be a willing and capable partner. Information, communication, and other technologies (ICT) should play an important role in encouraging the development of creative industries and improve the overall visitor experience, provide ease of booking, up to date information on events, keep the tourist instantly in touch, and add value to the environment.

9.15   THEME 14: CREATIVE TOURISM

All respondents agreed that creative tourism should form part of a cultural heritage tourism development strategy. All respondents agreed that the arts festivals and theatre can assist in animating and enhancing living space. Again, respondents unanimously agreed that implementing creative industries in District Six would raise the overall creative profile of the City (of Cape Town). Respondents qualified their answers by providing the following reasons:

> *"Learning in the traditional arts and crafts are important, it provides character, ambience and breathes life into cities. To understand the past you go to a museum, to experience the past you can visit creative spaces of production.... Speaks to past heritage but also provides new interpretations how heritage is re-imagined for the future"* (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013).

"Creative producers have traditionally had a more tolerant view of diverse cultures, religions than conservatives" (Respondent 15, 03.05.2013).

"It's another avenue of providing economic development opportunities and skills....Makes a complete package of what is being sold so that the visitor experiences a diverse experience" (Respondent 17, 04.04.2013).

Furthermore, all respondents agreed that they would support the implementation of workspace studios in District Six as part of a broader creative tourism strategy:

"It forms part of a mixed land-use pattern. The notion that people should live close to where they work should be encouraged" (Respondent 11, 18.04.2103).

"Incubator facilities for creative industries are essential. Cape Town will be the World Design Capital of 2014. This is in line with collective thinking" (Respondent 16, 05.05.2013).

In addition, respondents were asked to select from a list of creative tourism products they thought should be included for development, such as Ghoema drum making, traditional music, and dance and theatre classes. Respondents agreed to all the items on the list and even added some products (wooden toy making, story-telling and fashion design) for consideration.

One respondent suggested that the interpretation is important, as expressed here:

"All good ideas, but what is missing is that each of them should represent a terrain of struggle and should not be missed in the conceptualisation of product development" (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

While the above statement is relevant and deserves further consideration, conceptualising products around a certain theme may exclude some creative tourism products, for example wooden toy making or calligraphy. Again this argument represents the need for a balanced product which provides a future perspective. A clear plan on how the heritage landscape will be presented and interpreted and what meanings or knowledge is constructed will need to be developed. The general consensus that creative tourism should be included in a tourism plan for District Six demonstrates that this form of tourism has a good economic and strategic fit and is best suited, over and above other forms of development, to the ideals in District Six.

Jazz and music venues should be included as an essential tool for cultural regeneration, stimulating the arts and creating lively and vibrant spaces. This is also true of street theatre, art exhibitions and festivals which all assist in animating space.

Creative tourism, where the tourist together with the service provider co-produces the tourism experience, lends itself to a richer experience, longer visits and increased tourist expenditure. Creative tourism should provide a platform where producers and the tourist can engage on an equal level, preventing perceptions that activities related to tourism should create subservient servers, for example waiters and housekeepers. The creative tourism platform should allow for the open exchange of ideas which mitigates the perception that the people of District Six must be viewed with sympathy. Again, it is imperative that top-class

facilities that provide high tourist satisfaction levels and are a source of pride for locals, are implemented.

Including products and services that contribute to cultural regeneration through learning in the traditional arts and crafts is an important consideration. There exists a rich variety of choice of available creative products applicable to District Six. Specific product-mix and product strategy will require careful evaluation before implementation. It may be relevant that the product mix be conceptualised to represent areas of struggle. However, this may exclude certain non-related struggle products such as urban food gardens, development workshops, or square dancing. Equally relevant is that a future perspective should be presented through the product choices made.

Workspace studios compliment the mixed land use pattern and create creative business incubators, and provide the creative space for cultural producers and the tourist to co-create the tourism experience. Workspace studios should be implemented as well run, high quality facilities and provide all the necessary equipment to produce a world-class experience. Environmentally and socially responsible behaviour, together with a safe environment, should be encouraged. The arts, festivals and theatre (formal and street theatre) should be encouraged as these enhance living space and can assist in animating the area.

9.16   THEME 15: REGULATION

An important emerging theme points to the need for strict regulation which would ensure tourism benefits reach those they were intended for. Corruption and collusion should be prevented through effective regulation, monitoring, and evaluation processes. Partnering with organisations that share similar value systems and demonstrate the appropriate economic and strategic fit should receive priority. Respondents highlight this theme in the following excerpts:

> *"A memorandum of understanding must clearly stipulate operating procedures between partners. There should exist a delicate mix. You do not want the funder to determine the type and scale of tourism in the area. There needs to be a fair balance"* (Respondent 4, 05.04.2103).

> *"Tourism in District Six should be regulated so that consultative and jurisdiction rights are provided for people to operate in this space (e.g. a tourist council) so that you ensure access to big tourism operators, and procreation multinational companies or those who are only interested in financial gain are limited. Heritage sites are sometimes seen as means to make money by big operators and can then be subject to corruption from outside forces. Regulation should benefit local people. When people need jobs they can easily be manipulated into supporting a particular development or selling their land rights. Development must be carefully controlled so that real empowerment is realised through the creation of meaningful jobs and its potential for the future realised. Models that have worked need to be researched"* (Respondent 12, 23.04.2013).

"The regulation of tourism should be managed in such a way that you are able to control the procreation of multinationals and big operators. The industry needs to put in consultative and jurisdiction rights for people to operate in this space" (Respondent 14, 02.05.2013).

"Caution should be taken and criteria for funding and donations should be contracted legally and included in initial agreements" (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

"Ensure funding goes to implementing projects, not bureaucracy, corruption or salaries. Public participation i.e. involving people so that they are part of the process is important" (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013).

The discussion on regulation points to the need for a tourism policy for District Six to be developed. The policy should be aligned with the residences social compact (a code of conduct all returning residents should adhere to), have a clearly stipulated memorandum of understanding, develop service level agreements, and standard operating procedures. Clear lines of authority and responsibility should also be established.

9.17   THEME 16: CONFIDENCE

The need to instil confidence in potential investors, donors, politicians, community members, and relevant participants emerged as a major challenge to successfully implementing a tourism plan for District Six. The need for projects to demonstrate sustainability, have effective public participation and consensus were again highlighted. These arguments are presented in the following excerpts:

"As with arts, culture and heritage, donors and banks are hesitant to fund tourism, and perceive it as a risky sector. The need to in-still confidence is critical. There needs to be an assurance that the development will be of benefit to tourists and there will be a return on investment...economic opportunities must be sustainable and there is a need for consensus among participants from the start" (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

"Not much confidence. Precedence of health, education and land restitution does not afford funding for tourism development in District Six" (Respondent 12, 23.04.2013).

"At the moment the Museum is the only point of reference, therefore there is not much confidence" (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013).

The need for proper planning and targeted skills and investment programmes would be essential in mitigating this lack of confidence. Respondents were asked whether they believed tourism in District Six should be properly planned for, or occur organically. 76.5% of respondents indicated that tourism should be carefully planned for, while 23.5% indicated that tourism should occur organically:

"Planning is important so that the creation of a tourism precinct is not done in isolation. Planning provides a formal structure; so that the process can be motivated and driven...A study of skills shortfalls/skills needs analysis should be done. Working groups are applicable.... A targeted investment plan is needed so that resources can be leveraged for specific programmes" (Respondent 2, 03.04.2013).

"If it is not planned tourism in District Six will be left open-ended. It should be as specific and scientific as possible" (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013)*.*

"Negative impacts can be mitigated through planning" (Respondent 17, 24.05.2013).

The remaining respondents believed that some level of planning was applicable but cautioned against strict planning, citing reasons of imposed sterility, and difficulty in making the plan "live". Instead they propose a more balanced and flexible approach, but exactly how this approach would be implemented remains unclear. It must therefore, again be highlighted that without a clear actionable tourism plan, it would be difficult to gain confidence and garner support and funding.

9.18   THEME 17: EXCELLENCE

It is critical that any tourism development in District Six be of the highest quality. Consistency of the tourism product was also highlighted. The following excerpt describes the importance of this theme:

> *"Tourism must not be developed in a corny or cheesy way- a really good product is needed. It must not be artificial as people must live there. You don't want people visiting District Six out of sympathy. Have top class, well designed architectural buildings, world class cultural food restaurants that is service, offerings and products that make people feel proud, a process people will want to be a part of and improve. It must not be a koeksister/samoosa mentality."* It doesn't have to reflect our understanding that may be attached to the underclass experience. Require really good champions to drive the cause and understand the premier level of product that needs to be presented"* (Respondent 16, 15.05.2013).

> *"There has to be consistency in the offering (frequency and quality) as this allows tour companies to sell products in advance and is a relevant factor in gaining their support"* (Respondent 15, 03.04.2013).

High quality architecture, top class facilities, and amenities for use by locals and tourists (museums, heritage institutions, restaurants, accommodation and areas/places of recreation) should be developed.

9.19   THEME 18: CPUT (CAPE PENINSULA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY)

The role of the CPUT, which occupies a large portion of District Six, was examined to determine how it could better serve the returning community. While some respondents criticised the institution, others were hopeful of the positive role it could play as a centre of learning. The diverse opinions of respondents arising from this question are presented below:

> *"CPUT is seen as a rogue institution on the landscape of District Six and many residents harbour animosity towards the institution and want its removal. Parts of peoples' homes were used in the physical building of Technikon (as part of architectural theme). The Technikon's display of mural artwork which displays images of District Six are obscene and were not done in consultation with the District Six Museum, nor the community. The CPUT should retrieve from its archives (maps, relics, artefacts, photographs) and be open about the role it played in destroying the area and present it to the District Six Museum. The Museum previously boycotted the exhibition held by CPUT on District Six"* (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

"The CPUT will need to go through a process of self criticism and reconstruct its vision to include District Six. The CPUT is too bureaucratic when making decisions. There may be cost and capacity concerns but the CPUT has the capacity to draw resources" (Respondent 6, 09.04.2013).

"The CPUT should provide rebates, bursaries and scholarships to interested community members. Community members should be given priority to study at the institution, particularly matriculated graduates. Allow access to its facilities by opening up access points and thorough-fares. This will go some way in healing past wounds. The CPUT must be sincere in the restitution process. Ultimately, the community must take ownership of the institution" (Respondent 7, 09.04.2013).

"CPUT short courses should be structured to serve the community better. Former residents and indigenous knowledge must be recognised as an important resource" (Respondent 15, 03.05.2013).

"The CPUT is willing to serve the community. All the community needs to do is ask. It should be seen as an opportunity. An opportunity to increase property values, develop residences for students, and assimilate youth into tertiary education institutions must be realised. The CPUT has a mosque and a church which lends itself to a diverse religious mix and diverse offering for students all over the world further developing the tourism mix" (Respondent 13, 25.04.2013).

Considering the above statements, it may be appropriate for the CPUT to release from its archives any photographs, relics and maps it holds in its possession to the Museum. Also relevant is the need for the institution to tailor-make specific short courses and workshops relevant to the identified skills shortages. These gaps will more than likely require specific knowledge transfer which current courses do not make allowance for.

In addition, giving priority to young graduates who live in the area, provide fee rebates, bursaries and scholarships to interested community members may go some way in relieving animosity and serve the community better. Providing access to resources (library, sporting facilities, and spaces for community engagement), promoting access by opening walkway entrances and extending operating hours should promote a sense of ownership amongst community members. CPUT students should be orientated and inducted into the historical and political significance of the area and be encouraged to conduct research on their behalf, engaging with residents through its civic associations, service and product offerings.

9.20   THEME 19: DEVELOPMENT POLICY

It was important for this study to determine how relevant development policies would influence the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six. The DFD6 (2011) and the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, 2012) were examined to determine levels of encouragement and support these policies demonstrated. Respondents unanimously agreed that the development principles and characteristics of cultural heritage tourism share desired outcomes, are compatible with the design principles and should be integrated into the DFD6 (2011). Respondent comments are recorded as follows:

> *"There exists an overlap of principles and ideas. Tourism may be included but it needs another level of examination"* (Respondent 10, 16.04.2013).

> *"The mix-use land use, availability of open communal spaces, walkways, transition zones and recreational facilities encourage vibrancy and is conducive for tourism activity"* (Respondent 11, 18.04.2013).

> *"The planning model must include tourism and it is a vital component thereof. It will aid the goals of job creation and skills development"* (Respondent 3, 5.04.2013).

> *"It forms part of the bigger plan and should be included. Themes, memory, buildings of special interest and design of the heritage route appear compatible. It should definitely form part of the Development Framework"* (Respondent 8, 12.04.2013).

> *"Tourism should work in conjunction with the Development Framework - it should form part of the Special Purpose Vehicle that is being proposed and operate within those parameters as the Business Plan speaks to income generation through land-use"* (Respondent 12, 23.04.2103).

Many respondent tourism and heritage practitioners (academic professors and directors) were not familiar with the NHTS (South Africa, NDT, 2012) and only 41% of interviewees could make informed responses.

> *"Policy should not sit in ivory towers. There are people who work in the tourism and heritage industries and they are not aware of them. Policy should be communicated to the people they are designed to assist"* (Respondent 16, 15 05.2013).

However, 100% of respondents agreed that in principle (as no plan for District Six yet exists); the strategy is aligned and should support the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six. Respondents also agreed that the NHTS (South Africa, NDT, 2012) should identify District Six as a priority for development and receive funding and expertise.

"In broad terms it is currently a key focus of the Minister (of Tourism) to develop cultural and heritage tourism in South Africa... A proposal must be submitted to the National Department of Tourism" (Respondent 14, 02.05.2013).

9.21 THEME 20: FUNDING

Respondents were asked to indicate who they thought should provide funding and bridging capital for tourism development in District Six, of whom 59% preferred a mix of public and private sector funding, while 6% indicated private sector funding should dominate, and 35% said tourism should be government funded. The various arguments are presented below:

> *"Tourism in District Six should be state funded by a combination of state agencies that is, National Government, the Department of Arts and Culture, and local government agencies. Funds are available for the right projects. These projects must become self sustainable over time. Government provides funding for planning and site development. It is important that the public sector dominates so that the heritage is dominant and emphasised, that is heritage with economic development fallouts and not vice versa. The public sector must have overall oversight. The business plan must show how the dependency on government decreases over time"* (Respondent 1, 03.04.2013).

Another respondent made the important point that heritage institutions such as the District Six Museum should access tourism as well as heritage funds. Equally relevant are cultural donors such as the Western Cape Cultural Commission. Further analysis indicates that international donor organisations present further funding opportunities.

9.22 Conclusion

This Chapter presented the thematic data and findings from the empirical survey which consisted of seventeen in depth-interviews with seventeen relevant industry professionals and community representatives. These included representatives of local government, heritage and tourism authorities, educational institutions, and development consultants, the District Six Museum and The District Six Redevelopment and Beneficiary Trust.

The findings show that the development of successful cultural heritage tourism in District Six requires massive financial and emotional inputs from various regulatory, professional, commercial and community organisations and individuals. It was however determined that the potential to further develop cultural heritage and creative tourism in the area does exist.

It was further found that extended development of the tourism industry cannot occur if the restitution process is not treated as a priority. Land restitution can occur in conjunction with tourism development, but tourism development is dependent on the land restitution process being effectively executed.

The pitfalls of tourism development were highlighted in the findings as concern around the potential over-commercialisation of the area and commoditisation of heritage arose. It is important that tourism creates meaningful work, and direct ownership of tourism is accrued by community members, preventing community members' participation to be limited to servers, waiters and housekeepers. The findings indicate that this should be guarded against

by adopting a developmental approach which strengthens civic institutions, ensuring economic benefits are derived directly by community members and that the community are empowered to make their own decisions.

The findings indicate that the District Six Museum should lead the implementation of a cultural heritage and creative tourism plan in the area. This may also offer a solution to the current capacity and funding challenges it currently experiences by adding role-players to its structures so that it could access different funds for different things, for example heritage, tourism, arts and cultural funds could be accessed separately. The findings further indicate that the possibility of the Museum housing a tourism information office (as bookings of tourism products offer another possible revenue stream) should be further investigated. It was also found that the Museum should stay in its current location as it provides a good entry point and interface between the East City and District Six.

The findings show that a themed heritage walk around various sites of significance and a cultural quarter should be established. It is a concern that a themed cultural walk and cultural quarter could belittle the struggle heritage by creating a commercialised theme park and the development of ethnic enclaves should be prevented. The cultural quarter should contain jazz and music venues, cultural food restaurants, the Horstley Street Memorial Park, themed accommodation, a craft market, traditional bioscope and tour guiding services. The decision to reconstruct buildings of architectural significance would be determined through a consideration of practicality, available resources and heritage interpretation. This building should instead represent a space which holds significance for the underclass and help recall memory. Accommodation, if home-stay based would reduce the level of investment required, ensure greater cultural exchange and direct economic benefits accrue.

The importance of declaring District Six a Grade 1 National Heritage Site was emphasised, as well as preventing the creation of sterile spaces, serial monotony and homogenous serial reproduction. Findings indicated that the tourism product must contribute to cultural regeneration and be presented in a way that defies racial and social stereotypes and instead reflect diversity.

The findings show that having a sustainable plan would reduce political struggles and the political profile of District Six and current economic development policies should support the initiative to achieve broader economic development goals.

The importance of creating successful business and functional links to integrate District Six tourism into the broader economy was highlighted in the findings and emphasised the need to prevent isolation and replication of structures, and instead, where possible, use those functionaries which already exist.

The inclusion of technology in tourism development was found to be a necessity and would become increasingly important as a security, research, marketing, communication and exhibition tool. The findings show that the entire area should be enabled with wireless internet.

The research findings indicate that a creative tourism strategy, as part of a broader cultural heritage tourism plan should be implemented, as it would aid cultural regeneration and provide another avenue of economic and skills development and that it would raise the overall creative profile of the City of Cape Town.

It was further determined by the research findings that a tourism policy for District Six should be developed in order to prevent corruption, collusion and have effective regulation, monitoring and evaluation processes. Partnering with organisations that share value systems and demonstrate the appropriate strategic and economic fit should have preference. Creating legal contracts, establishing standard operating procedures, a memorandum of understanding, clear lines of authority, and responsibility and service level agreements are practical methods of ensuring the industry is regulated.

The need for sound planning and targeted skills and investment programmes would be essential in encouraging confidence in potential investors, donors, politicians and community members, and this was identified by the research findings. The findings also show that providing high quality architecture, world-class facilities, attractions, amenities and consistency (frequency and quality) in the product offering would contribute to creating excellence within the tourism industry and pride amongst the locals of District Six.

It has been identified through the findings that the CPUT should form the centre of learning and education for the community of District Six. This can be achieved by addressing the animosity felt by community members towards the institution through providing access to its facilities, study rebates, bursaries providing tailor made short courses and workshops to community members. The findings further show that, in principle, current tourism and economic development policy as well as the DFD6 (2011) support the development of cultural heritage and creative tourism in District Six as there exists an overlap of ideas and principles.

To ensure the protection of the Grade 1 Heritage Site and the integrity of heritage components, primary funding should be sourced from the public sector, with private funding as a secondary source of income. Targeted investment plans should demonstrate a reduced dependency over time and identify ways in which they will contribute to other social areas such as health, education and restitution. The research findings show that a targeted skills plan, together with a skills audit should be developed to address skills shortages.

The following Chapter examines models of cultural and heritage tourism and proposes a theoretical model for further tourism development in District Six.

CHAPTER TEN

TOWARDS A CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM MODEL FOR DISTRICT SIX

10.1   Introduction

Cultural heritage tourism is a complex subject with a number of influencing variables. This must be taken into account when effectively planning and implementing any tourism development. The following section attempts to provide a theoretical, conceptual model to be used as a foundation from which cultural heritage tourism development planning in District Six can take place.

Given the plethora of site specific tourism planning factors that need to be considered and a rapidly changing social, political and economic environment, the proposed model is intended to serve as a guiding management tool for tourism planning and implementation. Employing a community oriented approach in District Six is important to ensure the sustainability of an authentic and vibrant cultural heritage tourism-offering while maintaining the sites heritage integrity.

This Chapter commences by providing an explanation of model building theory and examines the types and approaches to model building, and is followed by a review of existing cultural and heritage tourism models and a proposal for a new model for cultural heritage tourism development in District Six is made. A summary and conclusions complete the chapter.

10.2   Model building

The heritage tourism experience is created and impacted on by various elements. How heritage is presented and interpreted, the role of politics in forming the heritage experience, levels of commoditisation, the product base, supply and demand, nature of the heritage landscape and how heritage resources and attractions are managed are all important considerations (Dallen & Boyd, 2003). According to Ismail (2008) active involvement of the community from inception to implementation must be included in the development of cultural tourism if sustainability of cultural offerings is to be realised. The model for cultural heritage tourism in District Six will attempt to provide a set of criteria which will form a general framework to assist stakeholders, government, private business and the community of District Six to successfully plan, develop and implement tourism initiatives in the area.

10.3   Definition and explanation

In developing a normative model for cultural tourism on the Cape Flats, Ismail (2008) provides a review of definitions of models, and cites Bobbit (1978:11) who stated that *"...a model is a representation of reality accomplished by abstracting concepts from a situation and depicting the way in which the concepts are related."* Hanekom and Thornhill (1983:66) noted that *"A model is defined as a physical representation of something which has a selection of characteristics, numbers or a structure or even indicates relations that are identifiable in the model",* and De Coning and Cloete, 2000:24) state *"...models is a representation of a more complex reality that has been oversimplified in order to describe and explain the relationship between variables, or prescribe how something should happen."* Furthermore, Ismail (2008) cites Bobbit (1978:12) who advises that the model's effectiveness and validity will depend on its representation of reality and predictive accuracy.

In addition, the models' ease of analysis will contribute to its value. Ferreira (1996) argues that the choice of a particular model depends on the site-specific factors being analysed, and the answers being sought relative to the specific case or situation (Ismail, 2008:231).

10.4   Types of Models

According to Ismail (2008) a number of analytical models have used the decision making process as a basis for their development. These analytical models are used in policy analysis and associated functions of policy development, administrative functions, organising, financing, personnel provision and utilisation, and the design of work procedure and determination of measures of control. These analytical models could thus assist and facilitate the description, explanation, understanding and planning of tourism initiatives.

Ismail (2008:238) asserts that models could explain why certain outcomes have been achieved, how they could be used to improve predictability and indicate how and by whom policy is made. These may focus on the entire policy process such as those in the systems model, or focus on one or more stakeholders within the process. In order to analyse the process of policy making using a descriptive or process-driven approach, functional, elite-mass, group, systems or institutional models may be utilised. Alternatively, the prescriptive or output and impact-driven approach to policy analysis includes the incremental, rational and mixed scanning models.

A more relevant model for developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six depicts the dependant relationship between commercial and social dimensions of tourism development. Ismail (2008) cites Lea's (1988:14) proposal of the enclave model which reflects the primary

return flows of tourists from tourist generating countries to key enclaves within cities and resorts. District Six, with its supporting network of local attractions, could be described as such an enclave. To avoid exploitation of the tourism product, the model suggests public ownership of the tourism industry be preferred and marketing should exclude intermediaries and instead be direct (Ismail, 2008).

The functional model of the tourism process describes the economic, physical and social impacts on the environment through a consequential phase, a dynamic phase which describes the movement of travellers to and from a destination and the static phase which involves the stay itself (Ismail, 2008). This author further observes that the document on Institutional Guidelines for Public Sector Tourism Development and Promotions in South Africa (1999) stipulates that social, economic and environmental conditions, historical development trends, existing institutional structures and constitutional dispensations, differ among tiers of government and spatial areas. Institutional structures should therefore be established so that they are relevant to the particular provinces' needs. Three broad institutional models are proposed, namely the mainstream government model, differentiated model and independence model.

With the mainstream government model, regulation and facilitation of all line functions are the responsibility of the government department. Substantial bureaucracy and government ownership of tourism characteristics exist with this model.

A market-driven approach, while facilitating government intervention where required, is termed the differentiated model. This model suggests that a government department is responsible for policy formulation, regulation and facilitation, such as intervention in air and road transport, operating standards, zoning, planning frameworks and immigration procedures which create a flexible and operational tourism environment which facilitates the involvement of the private sector.

The independence model, according to Ismail (2008), is where government hands over responsibility of its tourism function to a statutory body, tourism company or community association. Government will provide financial support but will have limited intervention in the policy direction and operational strategy of the organisation. High levels of private sector involvement, business promotion, limited responsible tourism strategies and limited influence over public services and infrastructure delivery are characteristics of this model (Ismail 2008). This author advises that, irrespective of which model is followed effective monitoring and control should be ensured through the correct structural design of the

legislative/managing body, regular audits, authority for decision-making formalised, regular consultation with stakeholders, and a structured business plan/financial plan followed.

10.4.1 Heritage: a general model

Given the complexity of heritage tourism, a general model of heritage tourism is proposed by Timothy and Boyd (2003:7). Approached from a behavioural perspective, the model suggests that heritage exists within two types of environments namely, phenomenal and environmental. The phenomenal environment includes natural phenomena and cultural or built environments that have either been altered or created by human activity. The behavioural environment is where the social and cultural elements within the phenomenal environment, is passed through a filter of human values.

The process of resources which exist as part of the physical (phenomenal environment) thereby becoming valuable or having some utilitarian function to a society (behavioural environment) is thus depicted. Heritage that is valued as a commodity is what is sold and marketed to tourists, and therefore heritage also takes on an economic function. The key outcome which lies at the centre of the model is the heritage experience, shaped by a mix of elements of supply and demand, the nature of the heritage landscape, the impacts heritage creates and how heritage attractions and resources are managed, how it is interpreted and presented, as well as the role politics plays in the forming of the heritage experience. The aspect of commoditisation features strongly within the heritage tourism experience and is also influenced by the product base, issues and outcomes. The following model presented in Figure 10.1, illustrates these interactions between heritage and heritage tourism.

While this model is relevant to the District Six case and provides a broad behavioural perspective and overview of the interactions which take place within the heritage tourism experience, it does not provide specific solutions to the funding, training, capacity and stakeholder engagement problems the site would experience when developing cultural heritage tourism.
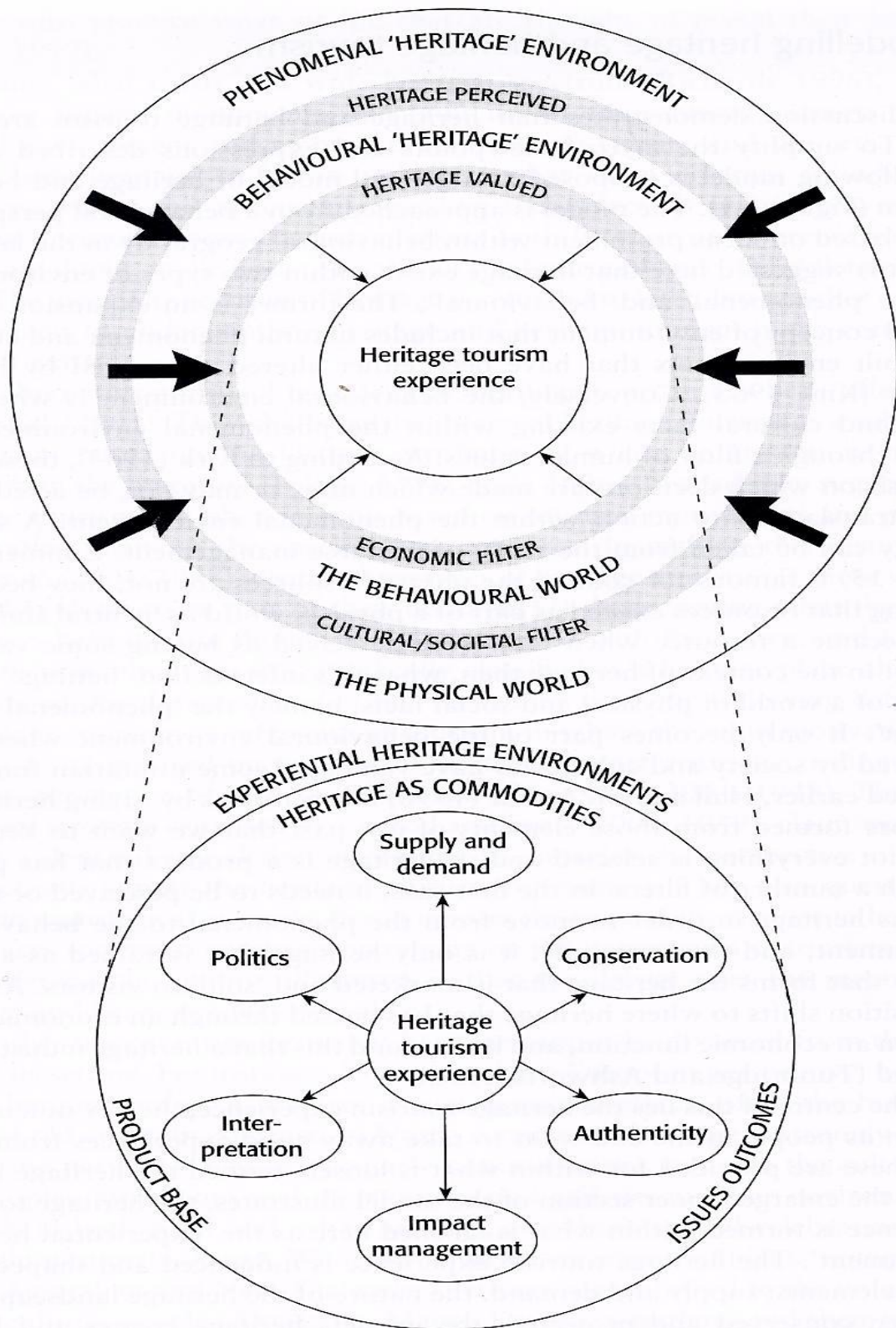
Figure 0.1: A general model of heritage and heritage tourism (Timothy & Boyd, 2003:8)

10.4.2 Heritage Spectrum model

It is also important to take cognisance of the various types of heritage experiences and heritage landscape which range from the natural to the built-urban and artificial. The model by Richards (1996), cited by Timothy and Boyd (2003:9), displays the similarities and overlap between heritage tourism and other forms of tourism such as ecotourism, cultural tourism and urban tourism. Due to the overlaps which exist, the model illustrates that tourism types should not be viewed as mutually exclusive (Timothy & Boyd, 2003).

This model illustrates that products such as mountain walks and cycling routes (eco-tourism), visits to urban food gardens and visits to other colonial sites all form part of the heritage landscape and should be included in an overall cultural heritage tourism strategy for District Six.
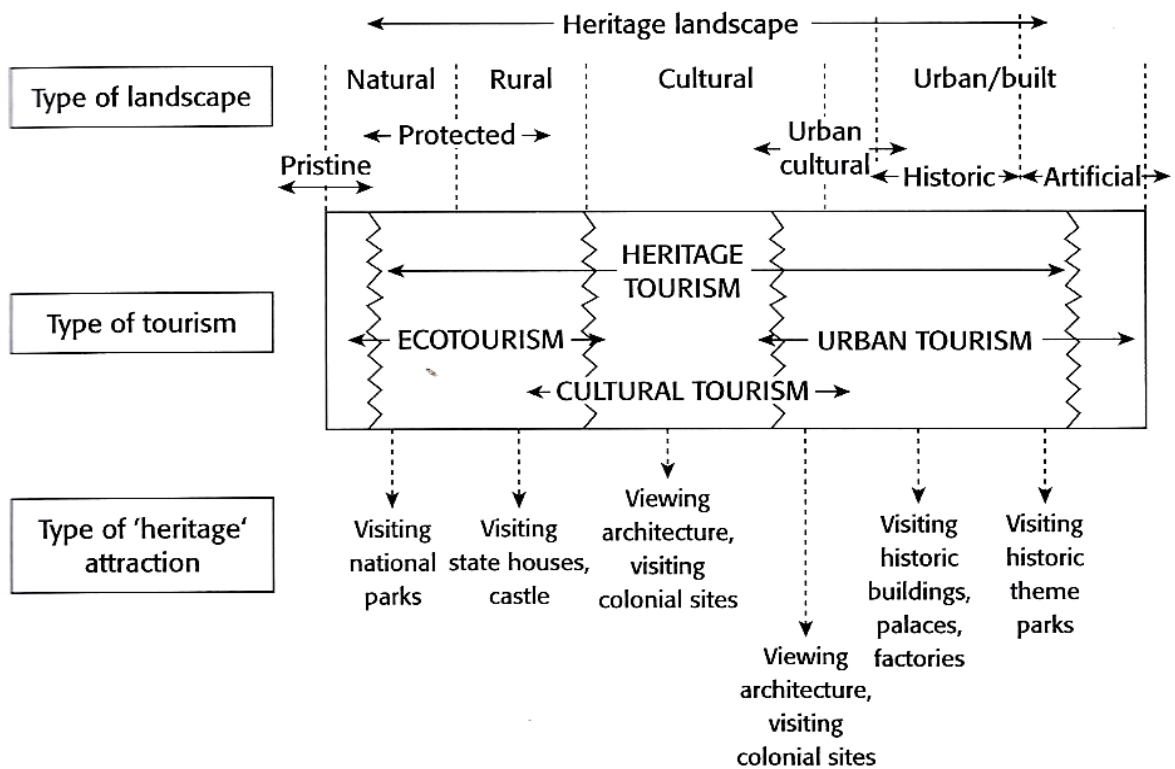
Figure 0.2: Heritage spectrum model: an overlapping concept (Richards, 1996 cited in Timothy & Boyd, 2003:9)

10.4.3 Heritage and Cultural Tourism Management model

According to the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, NDT, 2012:40) the National Heritage Resources Act No 25 of 1999 advocates that the finite, non-renewable, and non-replaceable nature of heritage dictates that South Africa's cultural and heritage resources be carefully managed to ensure their survival. In addition, there exists the need to establish a balance between conservation of heritage and development of tourism as the growing development demands and need for empowerment amongst South Africans puts pressure on resources.

The National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, 2012:40) identifies the lack of revenue streams which could contribute to heritage conservation resulting from the commoditisation of heritage resources, and notes that through tourism, activities are a major challenge. An integrated management approach which addresses both the needs of heritage resources and tourism products should be developed.

Pertinent considerations and guidelines relevant to developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six according to the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012:41), which cites the White Paper on the Sustainable Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (1996), include:

- Cultural resources that should be managed for the negotiated benefit of all interested parties within the community.
- Access to the management of cultural resources that should be as broad as possible within specific communities and should promote co-operation between all affected parties.
- Land use planning and development projects for tourism that should include the effective protection and sustainable utilisation of cultural resources.
- Emphasises the diversity of the product and not over-market or overdevelop the known attractions.
- Where appropriate, deregulate the industry to encourage wider access by previously neglected groups.
- Emphasise the development of products that offer good potential for development.
- Foster the development of community-based tourism products.
- Foster innovation and creativity in the products being developed.
- Developments that should be promoted are appropriate to the structures and strategies of provincial governments and local communities. Every attempt should be made so that local people and cultures are not over commercialised or exploited.
- Highlight previously neglected areas of tourism development as a result of political influences, for example struggle related monuments and attractions.

- Encourage both new and existing suppliers of tourism products to provide facilities for the disabled, and
- Consider the role of the private sector in the provision of tourism facilities and services.

The following general model for heritage and cultural tourism development is provided by the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, NDT, 2012). The model highlights sustainability and integration.
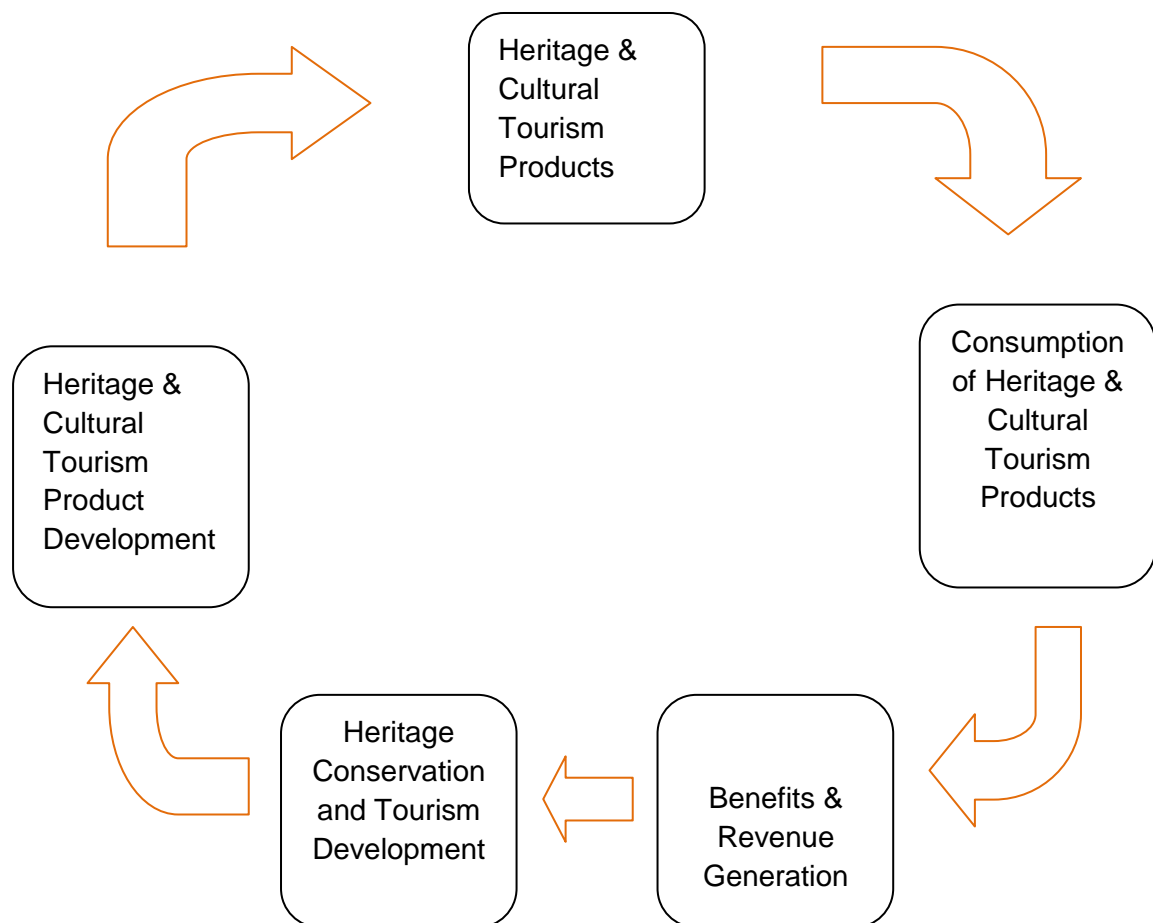
Figure 0.3: An integrated and sustainable Heritage and Cultural Tourism Management Model (South Africa, NDT, 2012:40)

10.4.4 A Normative model for cultural tourism on the Cape Flats

Easton (1965) developed the input/output transformational model design which Ismail (2008:262) used as the basis for a proposed normative model for cultural tourism on the Cape Flats. According to Ismail the model should be viewed from a normative perspective as a dynamic tool which is flexible and aims to change current dysfunctional situations, policies and implementation procedures into functional situations on the Cape Flats.

The macro external environment constituting the first stage of inputs include elements of the micro, macro and market environments, such as demographics, economic, technological, political, legal (government tourism policy) and socio-cultural tourism and represent external influences on the development of a model for tourism development. Community values, legal requirements, customers, competitors, distribution channels and suppliers influence the goals of promoting, developing and sustaining cultural tourism development, and forms part of the second input stage, the micro-internal environment (Ismail, 2008:264).

In the third and fourth input stages, the guiding principles are those which were identified in the Tourism White Paper (South Africa, 1996) as core criteria for the development of tourism frameworks, while the fifth stage, the conversion mechanism, is the management process for cultural tourism whereby change from the dysfunctional macro and micro environments can be effected, namely policy-making, planning, organising, leading and control mechanisms (Ismail, 2008:264).

The output or goal achievement stage is where effective and efficient criteria are implemented to achieve and promote the development goals, while the seventh and final stage is the feedback mechanism. The function of this stage is to repeatedly communicate any deficiency back to the macro and micro environments until the correct conversion mechanism can be implemented and a satisfactory outcome (output) can be achieved, or generate a new goal whereby the system recommences.

INPUT – MACRO EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENTS

Political	Environmental	Demographics
Economic	Educational	Technological
Socio-cultural	Health	
Legal	Statutory Policies	

INPUT – MICRO INTERNAL ENVIRONMENTS
(Normative internal environments)

From the Body Politic	Competition
From community values	Distribution channels
From rules of legality	Suppliers
Customer	

SWOT ANALYSIS

External Analysis   **Internal Analysis**
Opportunities   Strengths
Threats   Weaknesses

GUIDING PRINCIPLES

Core criteria from White Paper on Tourism 1994
- Tourism policy framework and strategy
- Social equity
- Economic empowerment
- Co-operation and partnership
- Local government institutional arrangements and funding

CONVERSION MECHANISM

Planning	Policy-making
Organising	Leading
Control	

OUTPUT – GOAL ACHIEVEMENT STAGE
Criteria identified to sustain and promote cultural tourism on the Cape Flats
- Support systems and promote investment in areas
- Tourism safety and security
- Tourism related infrastructure
- Tourism skills development and training programmes
- Sustainable tourism practices
- Marketing

FEEDBACK

Figure 0.4: Adaptation of Easton's (1979) input/output transformational systems model: Developing a normative model for cultural tourism on the cape Flats (Ismail 2008:265)

10.5 Proposed Model for Cultural Heritage Tourism Development in District Six

The proposed model for cultural heritage tourism in District Six shown in Figure 10.5 and discussed in the following paragraphs is adapted from Ismail's (2008) design for a proposed normative model for cultural tourism on the Cape Flats. The model seeks to provide a flexible framework from which cultural heritage tourism development, based on the results of this study, should take place.
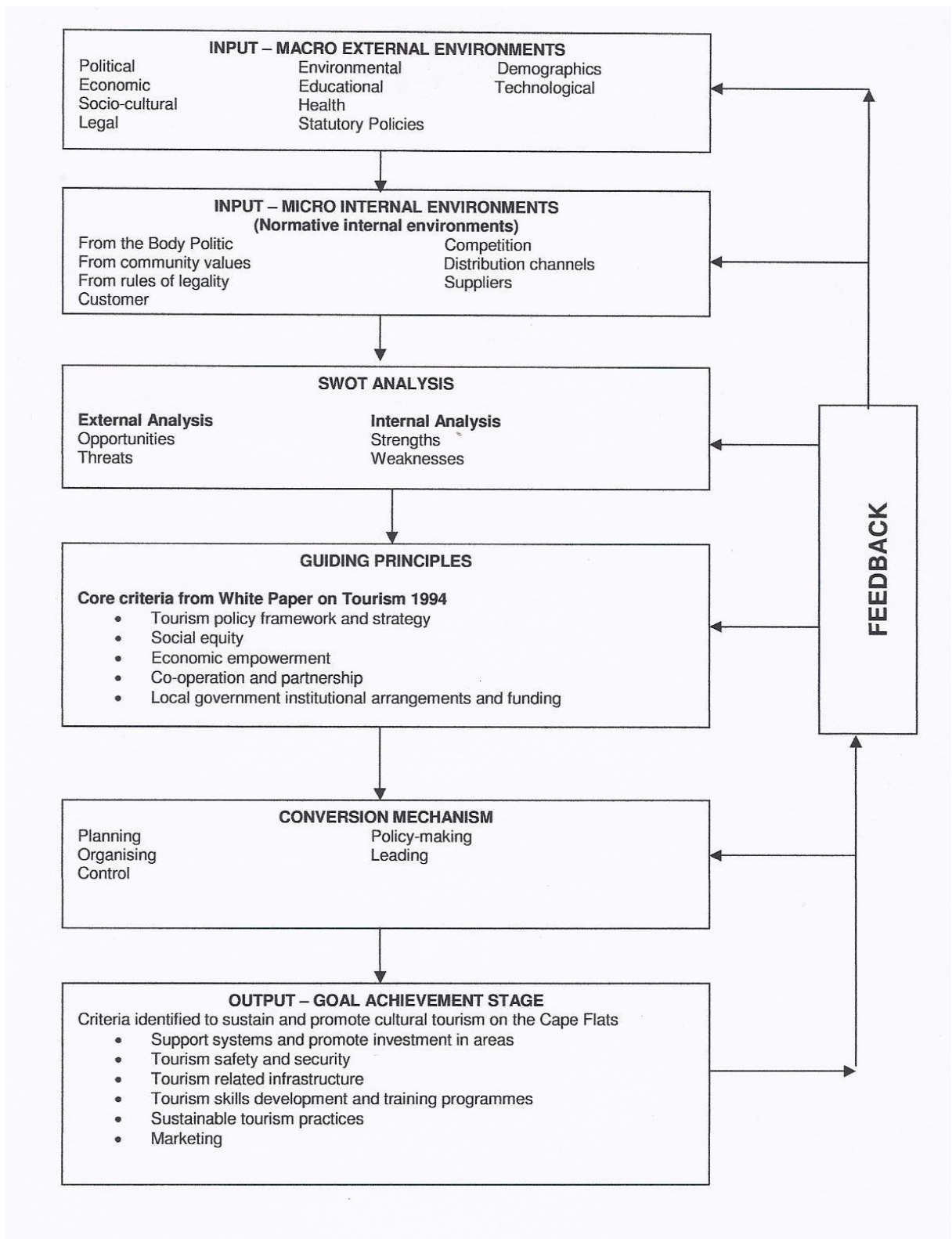
The framework is based on the presumption that tourism development will follow a community developmental approach, with inputs from multiple participants. These inputs should be viewed as supportive, from which funding and expertise could be drawn. While the tourism framework will be informed by various policies and participants, the community themselves will need to determine the nature and scale of tourism development and therefore not all participants should have decision-making powers.

The first and second stages of inputs comprise of the macro market influences beyond the immediate control of the tourism developers. However these influences can be planned for so that practitioners identify opportunities on which to capitalise on challenges that require mitigating measures. Current tourism development policy demonstrates that support exists for the development of tourism and specifically encourages cultural heritage tourism development. The heritage framework for District Six also indicates that the area is suitable for this form of economic activity. Given the unpredictable nature of the external environment, any development plan should be flexible and dynamic.

The third stage of inputs consists of those individuals, institutions and organisations that have a social or economic vested interest in growing tourism in the area. Again, these should be seen as consultative and supportive. Government funding and support should drive the process while private partners should demonstrate strategic fit and seek social gains and not just economic ones. Again, funders should allow the community to have final decision making authority.

The fourth stage represents selected individuals, institutions and organisations which form a task team or committee. This forum would formulate, in conjunction with the community, a comprehensive tourism framework and plan. The fifth stage of the framework constitutes the actual tourism framework for the area and should stipulate public participation procedures, the scope and scale of the tourism product, heritage preservation and representation strategies, and establish management structures. Furthermore, the tourism plan should contain a skills audit (resulting in a targeted skills programme) in relation to the specific

projects that were identified for implementation and a targeted investment plan. The tourism plan should also contain a cultural regeneration strategy for the area.

Informed by the tourism strategy a tourism product is then presented. Ongoing training and support through tourism education and mentorship will be required and should be directly linked to the tourism product. This would assist to ensure the authenticity and integrity of the heritage product. Greater collaboration between CPUT (given its location, history, education potential and capacity) and the tourism product will be required, as well as tourism and heritage education at school level, to ensure sustainability of the product and stimulate greater awareness of tourism. This represents the sixth stage in the model. Effective product development would accrue positive outcomes detailed in the seventh stage of the model.

It is proposed that a portion of funds generated through tourism activities should serve to support the District Six Museum's activities, strengthen civic associations and assist community projects not directly related to the tourism industry, such as health and sports projects. Creating further demand through effective marketing and further product development could benefit from income generated.

The final phase in the model represents a feedback mechanism which communicates to the tourism committee any deficiencies which may be improved upon to achieve satisfactory outcomes.

INPUT- MACRO EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT

- Political   Environmental   Demographics
- Economic   Educational   Technological
- Socio-Cultural   Health
- Legal   Statutory Policies

GUIDING POLICIES

- Grade 1 Heritage Framework for DISTRICT SIX (SAHRA)
- DISTRICT SIX Development Framework (2011)
- National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012)
- Responsible Tourism Policy for the City of Cape Town (2005)

FUNDING AND SUPPORTING ORGANISATIONS

- City of Cape Town
- National Department of Tourism
- The South African Heritage and Resources Agency
- The Department of Arts and Culture
- Cape Town Tourism (Promotion and Marketing)
- Business Linkages: Outsourcing & Private Sector Involvement

TOURISM COMMITTEE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM IN DISTRICT SIX

- District Six Redevelopment Trust
- Tourism and Heritage Practitioners and Professionals
- Community members
- District Six Museum
- Local Government Representatives
- Funding/ Training Representatives

TOURISM AND CULTURAL REGENERATION STRATEGY FOR DISTRICT SIX

- **Tourism Development Framework and Tourism Policy for District Six**
- **Planning; Leading; Organizing; Control (Management plan)**
- **Targeted skills and investment plans**

CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM PRODUCT

- Cultural Heritage Tourism Offerings
- Creative/ Experiential Tourism Offerings
- Jazz & Music Venues
- Heritage Walk/ Route
- Cultural Precinct Development
- Heritage interpretation/ memorialisation
- The District Six Museum
- Memorial Park
- Workspace Studios
- Accommodation
- Retail (Restaurants/Crafts Market/Curios)
- Transport Services
- Festivals/ Art/ Events/ Theatre
- Tour Guiding services
- Security Services

TRAINING AND SUPPORT

- Cape Peninsula University of Technology
- CATHSSETA
- Tourism Mentorship Programme
- Tourism Enterprise Programme
- Private institutions
- Schools

OUTPUT- GOAL ACHIEVEMENT

- New & Innovative Tourism Product
- Economic Empowerment
- Pride in Community
- Community Cohesion
- Social Justice/ Repatriation
- Social Sustainability
- Tourism Safety and Security
- Tourism Related infrastructure and Improved Aesthetics
- Attract Investment
- Improved Skills Development
- SMME Development
- Cultural Regeneration
- Perspective for the future
- Improved integration into the broader economy
- Improved Technological Environment

INCOME GENERATION

Museum Funding

Community Projects
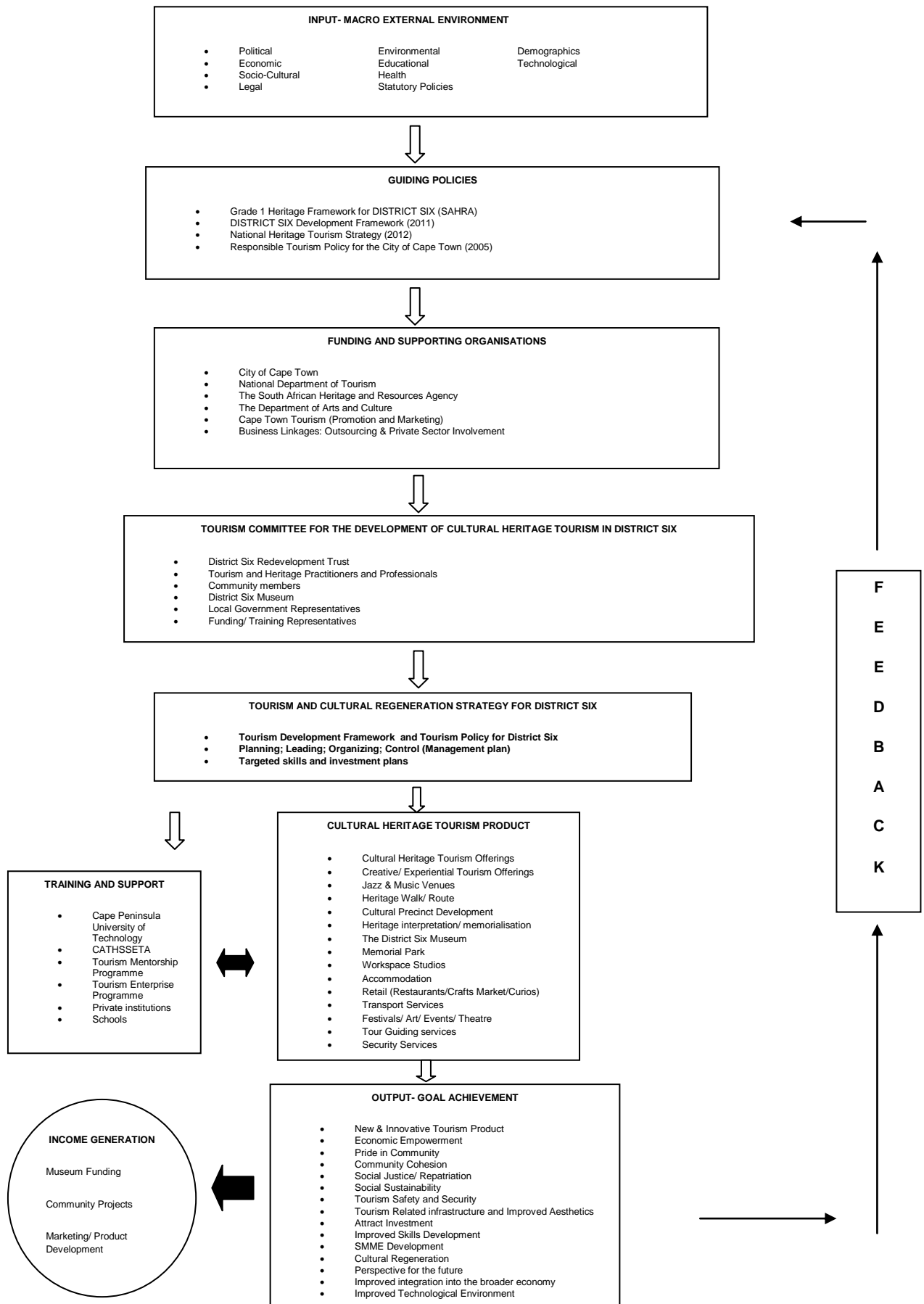
Marketing/ Product Development

FEEDBACK

Figure 0.5: Proposed Model for cultural heritage tourism in District Six

Source: Researcher's construct

10.6   Summary

This Chapter provided an introduction to model building, definitions and explanations. The chapter summarises existing cultural heritage tourism models and provides an overview of the normative framework for cultural tourism development on the Cape Flats. A model for the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six was then proposed. The cultural heritage tourism model for District Six provides a broad framework for development. Planning success is influenced by numerous factors, including the need for community consensus and a political commitment.

Given the difficult nature of the current restitution process, demand for funds, and expertise from other sectors such as health education and land restitution in South Africa in general, lack of existing research on new cultural heritage development models and the complex nature of economic/tourism development in general, a tourism plan for District Six will require strong champions to drive and motivate the process. The following Chapter presents recommendations based on the research findings and model building study.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

11.1   Introduction

For the successful implementation of a cultural heritage strategy for District Six specific recommendations should be considered. Cultural heritage and creative tourism development in District Six presents a number of social and economic opportunities which if harnessed correctly could aid cultural regeneration and assist in the restitution process. The following recommendations, based on the research findings, apply and will now be discussed.

11.2   Recommendation 1: Land Restitution

It is recommended that the restitution process, land claims and urban redevelopment should be fast-tracked. National government should drive the restitution process and fulfil its promise to complete urban redevelopment by 2015 (Anon, 2011). District Six, and its community members, should be recognised as a priority and treated with the urgency it deserves so that the process of healing and addressing past injustices can begin.

11.3   Recommendation 2: Develop a cultural heritage tourism plan for District Six

Crafting a cultural heritage tourism strategy for District Six should be developed by a team of multi-disciplinary professionals, consultants and community representatives. Government agencies at all levels should collaborate to provide seed funding and expertise, and motivate and drive the tourism plan. It is important that the urgency to include tourism as part of the overall framework be recognised to facilitate integration into broader economic development programmes of the City. This again highlights the need for government to drive the land restitution process with urgency so that the full potential of this opportunity is realised.

It is recommended that a cultural heritage tourism plan be implemented as part of the redevelopment and restitution process and be integrated into the DFD6 at both urban design and Special Purpose Vehicle/commercial levels. Current tourism and economic policies such as the National Heritage Tourism Strategy (South Africa, NDT, 2012) support and encourage cultural heritage tourism development in District Six. Policy should, however, be actionable, address social and economic dysfunction, and ultimately benefit those for whom the policies were developed in the first place.

11.4   Recommendation 3: Community-based tourism development

Tourism should follow a community-based developmental approach. This means growing the plan from the bottom up, ensuring active community participation, that is from the decision-making process to final implementation and evaluation. It is the community that should make the final decision on the scale and scope of tourism that should occur in the area. Benefits should reach community participants directly and prevent economic leakages through effective supply-chain management, and using local producers. Ownership for, and accountability of the tourism plan should rest with community participants. Administrative processes should be transparent with clear lines of responsibility and accountability. Internal politics and petty squabbles should be set aside and focus must be on making the project a success.

11.5   Recommendation 4: Skills development

Skills development and training should be instituted as a key success factor to implementing tourism effectively. Initiating job creation in the heritage, cultural and creative industries as well as ensuring delivery of world-class product offerings should be a priority.

Education, training and skills development in District Six should be developed in a number of ways. It is recommended that a skills audit and needs assessment be conducted to determine what skills are required to establish and sustain products being offered in the area. A targeted skills plan will need to address how each skills gap will be narrowed through either formal training, on the job training, workshops or mentorship.

Residents who possess related tourism and cultural skills should ensure these are passed on by conducting regular seminars and training workshops. Harnessing Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS), oral history and cultural traditions from former residents should be highlighted. Older generations should be viewed as treasures of information as they provide a good reference to validate information and authenticity. The skills plan should celebrate a diversity of ideas and promote cultural regeneration and social justice.

It is further recommended that the formation of an education committee consisting of multiple partners from various disciplines will be necessary. The committee must champion the targeted skills plan with ambition and drive, provide oversight and provide regular feedback to community members. It is recommended that the District Six Museum specifically establish a structure which could lead the skills development process and ensure heritage authenticity is maintained and presented with integrity.

However, existing structures such as the Tourism Human Resources Sub Committee which is facilitated by the provincial Department of Economic Development, should together with the District Six tourism planners, determine and implement a targeted skills plan for the area. Other supportive educational tourism and cultural educational structures should be utilised such as the Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP) and the Tourism Mentorship Programme (TMP) as well as the Culture, Arts, Tourism, Hospitality and Sports Sector Education and Training (CATHSSETA).

It is further recommended that CPUT should serve the people of District Six by becoming an increasingly important centre of learning for tourism and associated industries. The opportunity exists for the institution to address negative perceptions by the returning community, leverage resources, increase its property values, develop further residents for students, and assimilate youth into tertiary and training institutions. More importantly, the opportunity exists for the institution to address its role in forced removals and become actively involved in the restitution process. A display of sincerity is required and can be achieved by improved engagement with the District Six Museum and other relevant participants. The CPUT should consider developing tailor-made short courses and workshops (suited to the needs of community members), and offering study rebates and bursaries to returning residents. In addition it is recommended that CPUT provides open access of its facilities to community members.

Thirdly, ensuring sustainability of the project through education and continuous training should form part of a skills strategy. Awareness should be created at primary and secondary schools level and CPUT students should be orientated on the political and historical significance of the site and its significance in broader socio-political terms. It is important that individuals, cultural and tourism producers express their specific training needs and take responsibility for their development thereby ensuring funds and resources are used effectively and efficiently.

Fourthly, it is important that individuals used as educators (including tour guides) are skilled and knowledgeable about the context and content of District Six and do not dilute the meanings of the memory by providing only cursory understandings of the area. Tour guides should have some connection to the area, either having lived there themselves or have studied the area. It was further established in the research findings that tour guides should be remunerated for their services, with formalised training and payment structures as the Museum has experienced some challenges with volunteers who sometimes become despondent and unreliable over time. Quality assurance, accreditation and setting of standards could be ensured through collaboration with heritage, tourism and education authorities.

11.6   Recommendation 5: Designated cultural route and quarter/precinct

It is recommended that a cultural walk and tourism precinct should be designed and included as part of a cultural heritage tourism plan for District Six. The route should limit tourism to a distinct geographic area, demonstrate good strategic planning and be attractive to investors and the tourist alike. The walk and precinct must showcase the authenticity of the heritage offering and mitigate negative impacts such as crime. It is recommended that a section of the Hanover Street spine be designated for the development of a cultural hub/quarter as it limits tourism to a specific geographic area and has strategic fit with the commercial development of this character precinct.

Specific features of the cultural precinct should include workspace studios where places of the production and consumption of tourism offerings can take place, music and performing arts venues, a craft market with various retail offerings, traditional restaurants and a traditional bioscope.

11.7   Recommendation 6: Creative tourism

A creative tourism component should be included in a tourism plan for District Six as it assists cultural regeneration, provides additional economic and social development opportunities, improved product development and meaningful job creation. Creative incubators in the form of workspace studios should be established. Animating public spaces through the arts, festivals, exhibitions, formal and street theatre should be encouraged. The importance of providing music and jazz venues is further highlighted.

11.8   Recommendation 7: ICT based tourism development strategy

It is recommended that heritage, tourism and culture industries in District Six employ high levels of modern information, communication and other technologies (ICT) and be applied across business and service functions as far as possible. This includes rolling out wireless internet connectivity for the entire area, developing software applications for self-guided tours, including animation to bring to life exhibitions, and having the latest security technology (number plate recognition cameras and finger print access control).

11.9   Recommendation 8: Scope of participation

It is recommended that tourism planning for District Six not occur in isolation and instead include business and functional linkages that integrates its activities into the broader economy. This includes becoming a key site in a matrix with other struggle related tourism attractions, and forming partnerships with appropriate private-sector players and tourism/heritage/cultural authorities. Demonstrating that tourism in District Six will contribute to broader economic development goals is a key success factor in gaining confidence with investors and planning practitioners.

It is further recommended that greater collaboration and effective lines of communication between the development initiatives of the City of Cape Town and the District Six trustees be established to create a defined basis for engagement and prevent feelings of hostility and exclusions arising.

11.10   Recommendation 9: Funding and commercial inputs

Funding from government should be secured as the primary source of income. This ensures the continued integrity of heritage components and will ensure activities occur within the parameters of being a Grade 1 Heritage Site. A combination of state agencies that should be targeted include, among others, the National Department of Tourism, the Department of Arts and Culture, regional and local government agencies such as the relevant tourism and cultural development arms of the Western Cape Government and City of Cape Town. Tourism development for District Six should be included in government economic development plans across all levels.

Funding from the private sector should be secured as the secondary source of income. Considerations include placing importance on partnering with companies that display the appropriate strategic and economic fit, ensuring guidelines are established and agreements are contracted legally. In addition, the private sector should create new opportunities and support tourism and other small business development by integrating District Six into the City and broader business community. This is achieved by creating business linkages through the outsourcing of certain services such as catering, laundry, transport, and furniture production.

Enterprises operating in the area should be encouraged to contribute to further social and economic development in the area by donating a portion of profits towards heritage and tourism management agencies. This creates a culture of ownership, accountability and responsibility amongst all community members. Again, agreements should be contracted legally beforehand.

A targeted investment plan and programmes should be developed. The plan should demonstrate reduced dependency over time and allow for a diverse number of agencies to

be targeted. Targeted investment plans should demonstrate they will make tangible and concrete contributions to restitution, education and health care. Funding requests should not be viewed as being in competition with these related sectors. Investment plans should not be limited to local agencies and should also include international agencies such as the United Nations, the World Travel and Tourism Council and the World Tourism Organisation. Funds and expertise should be leveraged from cultural, heritage, tourism and arts institutions.

As the Museum will continue to play an important role in the area, it should ensure that initial agreements with donors include a management fee which the Museum may use to address funding shortages, and further its mandate.

Sterile spaces and serial monotony should be prevented. Clear commercial guidelines must be developed and included in policy and tourism plans. Preference should be given to medium, micro and small enterprises who offer authentic and unique offerings which contribute to cultural regeneration and assist in creating a sense of place. Corporate greed, overzealous commercial real estate development, and multinational dominance should be guarded against.

11.11 Recommendation 10: Development policy

It is recommended that a clear and informed tourism policy for District Six tourism development is established. Parameters of the policy should be informed by the declared heritage framework (Grade 1 Heritage Site and Conservation Management Plan) and codes of conduct (in line with residence social compact). Public participation, funding processes and procedures, lines of responsibility/accountability, criteria for donor and private funders, a memorandum of understanding, service level agreements, and standard operating procedures with investors, planners, managers and participants must be clearly defined and will guide the development within a legal framework.

It is clear that current national, provincial and local economic and tourism development policies theoretically support the development of cultural heritage tourism development in District Six. The challenge for District Six is to leverage these development policies so that they provide the expertise and capacity to make change happen. It is recommended that a formal proposal be submitted to the National Department of Tourism so that resources can be directed towards District Six. The National Heritage Tourism Strategy (2012) should recognise the potential of and identify District Six as a future site of development.

11.12 Recommendation 11: District Six Museum leadership

The District Six Museum should provide leadership and guidance in developing and implementing a tourism plan. The Museum should provide guidance when developing cultural heritage and creative tourism products, to ensure appropriate presentation of these offerings and that the heritage authenticity is maintained. Capacity should be improved by adding to its existing structures and accessing funds from arts, education, and heritage and tourism institutions as well as from tourism levies. The Museum should consider including a tourism booking and information office from which it could generate further income. In addition, it is recommended that a library, dedicated to heritage culture and tourism be established within the Museum. The library should further research, education and provide space for workshops, seminars and debate.

11.13 Recommendation 12: Status of tourism development

It is recommended that cultural heritage tourism development in District Six produces a superior tourism offering, of which community members and the citizens of Cape Town can be proud. Tourism amenities should exhibit high quality features and finishes, constructed buildings should showcase world class architecture, and cultural producers should be provided with excellent facilities, plant and machinery. Tourism walks and precincts, including retail spaces for craft markets and informal traders, must be user friendly and attractive. While high capital investment is required, it is necessary if tourism in the area is to realise the long-term goals of economic empowerment and job creation.

11.14 Recommendation 13: Model implementation

The general complex nature of cultural heritage tourism is further compounded in District Six by issues of land restitution, politics and the need for effective stakeholder engagement. It is necessary therefore that the tourism planning process is conceptualised in a manner which incorporates all the major elements, is easy to understand and provides a clear basis from which cultural heritage and creative tourism can be developed. It is therefore recommended that the proposed model (Figure 10.5), provided in Chapter 10, be implemented as a starting point for developing cultural heritage tourism in the area.

The model provides possible solutions to the current shortage of funds, capacity and skills required, sets out a legal framework for development, a basis for stakeholder engagement and a clear vision of the goals tourism in the area must strive to achieve such as providing a future perspective, improve economic and social opportunities, improve infrastructure and promote cultural regeneration.

11.15 Recommendation 14: Further studies

Further tourism studies should be conducted into the following areas:

- Resident' attitudes towards tourism in District Six. It is imperative that the returning community support the development of tourism in their area. This is especially relevant in District Six, given the legacy of forced removals and subsequent failure of the State to commit fully to the restitution process. An understanding of residents' concerns and perceptions and attitudes towards any tourism development will increase the chances of gaining community support and participation as an integral part of sustainable tourism development (Chen & Chen, 2010).

- Tourism impacts and demand should be measured. The economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism should be determined as part of the tourism development plan, allowing for negative impacts to be mitigated and opportunities to be harnessed appropriately. These studies should be conducted on an ongoing basis due to the complex nature of tourism and the impact of both internal and external environments, which constantly change. Tourism demand, when planned for, allows for companies and individuals to capitalise on opportunities more effectively though it's marketing and product development efforts and increase capacity when necessary.

- Further comparative studies into existing cultural and heritage tourism models and community-based tourism should be conducted, to establish best practice for tourism in District Six, ensure direct economic and social benefits to community members are maximised, and better inform the planning process by garnering the appropriate, up-to-date and relevant information.

11.16 Summary

Chapter One provided the research outline, research objectives and key research questions together with an overview of the research design to gain insight into the descriptive, conceptual and theoretical questions posed.

Chapter Two comprised of an historical overview of District Six and also assesses the cultural and heritage assets which existed prior to its destruction. Chapter 2 provided a basis from which the appropriateness of cultural heritage tourism was assessed, gave answers to questions of heritage interpretation, and presentation in relation to commercial tourism development and guidance in product development.

Chapter Three provided a deeper examination of the research methodology. A definition of the concept of research was provided, which was followed by a discussion of general research design principles. A comparison was drawn between quantitative and qualitative research techniques, and followed by a description of the research design applicable to achieve each research objective. As each objective requires a different method of enquiry, those were discussed individually. The data collection methods and techniques, the questionnaire design, and the sample selection was also clarified and included explanations on thematic data analysis

Chapter Four examined in detail the application of cultural heritage tourism, current trends and debates and the impact of politics thereon. In addition, the chapter examined the recent commercial Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development in relation to heritage development in the South African context.

In Chapter Five, the concept of creative tourism was explored, together with the possible contribution this sub-sector of cultural tourism could make to cultural regeneration and economic development.

In Chapter Six, tourism and economic development policy were examined to gauge levels of regulatory support for cultural heritage tourism development in District Six. It was necessary to examine the DFD6 (2011) to determine whether the current urban design principles were compatible with implementing cultural heritage tourism.

Chapter Seven explored ways in which District Six tourism could be integrated into the broader economy, examining those functional linkages and business associations that would assist in the plan's sustainability, developing confidence in investors and participants, and highlighting the significance of the site in relation to other related tourism products.

A comparative analysis of Genadendal restoration and implementation of a cultural heritage tourism plan was conducted in Chapter Eight. Genadendal experienced similar socio-political

and historical conditions as District Six. The challenges and opportunities of the Genadendal experience were extracted and lessons applied to the District Six case.

Chapter Nine presented the data and findings of the empirical survey (in the form of in-depth interviews) thematically.

Current theoretical cultural and heritage tourism models were examined in Chapter Ten. Based on these and the literature review a model for cultural heritage and creative tourism in District Six was proposed. It was important for the model to address challenges of funding and skills shortages and present solutions for stakeholder participation.

Finally recommendations based on the research findings were presented in Chapter Eleven. This chapter provided an overall summary of the dissertation and final conclusion to the study.

11.17 Conclusion

This study explored the potential for further development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six. The redeveloping area lends itself to a number of exciting development opportunities and possibilities. However, given the historical context of forced removals and the current demands for land restitution and social justice, few commercial developments are appropriate. The study therefore examines whether further development of cultural heritage and creative tourism in the area could address the long-term needs of job creation and skills development, and begin to rectify current dysfunctions in the economy related to equity and access.

The memory of District Six requires to be preserved for generations. It is equally important for heritage and urban planners to harness the memory of District Six to address dire current social and economic needs that exist within the communities it fortuitously created. While memory preservation is important, a future perspective must be clarified, planned for and ultimately realised. There exists an opportunity for former residents to take control of their lives by having meaningful work inside a heritage setting. This research presents a starting point from which cultural heritage tourism in District Six is further investigated so that it may contribute to healing and contribute positively to the country's cultural heritage and creative resources.

REFERENCES

Abrahams, S. 2001. *Recalling community in Cape Town: creating and curating the District Six Museum; a place of sanctuary. Cape Town:* Cape Town: The District Six Museum

Ackerman, M. 2012. Wit grondeienaars in 'Die Ses' ook geraak. *Die Burger:* August, 7 2012

Adams, H. & Suttner, H. 1998. *William Street: District Six.* Diep River: Chameleon Press

Aiesha, R. & Evans, G. 2007. VivaCity: Mixed-use and urban tourism. In Smith M.K. (ed.) *Tourism, culture and regeneration.* Trowbridge: Cromwell: 35-48.

Allen, G. & Brennan, F. 2004. *Tourism in the New South Africa: social responsibility and the tourist experience.* London: I.B. Tauris & Co Ltd.

Anon. (n.d.) (a). District Six. Wikipedia http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/District_Six [02 June 2012].

Anon. (n.d.) (b). http://www.sahra.org.za [12 August 2012].

Anon. (n.d.) (c). *Western Cape Cultural Commission* http://www.westerncape.gov.za/eng/your_gov/3576/public_entities/261/396 [21 August 2012].

Anon. 1962. Alex la Guma's First Novel- Banned by the Sabotage Act. *New Age:* August 9.

Anon. 1966. Minister tells of District Six plans. *Cape Times*: 11, October 10.

Anon. 1968. Understanding Group Areas*:* A guide for those affected by proclamations. Christian Churches Advice Office. *Cape Herald:* June 1.

Anon, 1979. The National Monuments Council negotiates to restore an entire street in District Six. *Monument.* 25 June 1979. Cape Town: District Six Museum

Anon, 2003. Entertainment. *Atlantic Sun*: 13, March 27.

Anon. 2004. Call for tourism industry to market Klopse Carnival. Staff Reporter Cape Town: *Capetowner*: 7 [15 January 2004].

Anon. 2005. The Cape Craft and design Institute *About* CCDI. http://www.ccdi.org.za/about-ccdi [02 August 2012].

Anon. 2009a. *Cape Town Tourism* http://www.capetown.travel/content/page/about-cape-town-tourism/ [21 August 2012].

Anon. 2009b. *Welcome to Genadendal- Enter Genadendal.* http://www.viewoverberg.com/Genadendal.asp [17 October 2012].

Anon. 2010a. The Redevelopment Beneficiary Trust- *Land Reform Beneficiary Verification.* http://www.districtsix.za.org/news/land-reform-beneficiary-verification [20 July 2012].

Anon. 2010b. *The Fringe* http://thefringe.org.za/about/ [26July 2012].

Anon. 2010c. *The Cape Country Meander Genadendal History and Culture* http://www.capecountrymeander.co.za/view-towncontent.aspx?townid=4&contenttype=History%20and%20Culture&nature-genadendal [17 October 2012].

Anon. 2011. *The Redevelopment Beneficiary Trust All claimants to be housed by 2015* http://wwwdistrictsix.za.org/news/all-claimants-be-housed-2015 [20 July 2012].

Anon. 2012a. *Creative Cape Town* http://www.creativecapetown.net/about/ [26 July 2012].

Anon. 2012b. *Business Dictionary* http://www.businessdictionary.com/definition/functionallinkage/ [21 August 2012].

Anon 2012c. *Tourism and Hospitality Education and Training Authority* http://www.theta.org [21 August 2012].

Ashley, C., Poultney, C., Haysom, G., McNab, D. & Harris, A. 2005. *Tips and tools for South African Tourism companies on local procurement, products and partnerships: Stimulating local cultural and heritage products*. South Africa: Overseas Development Institute & Business Linkages in Tourism. Pretoria

Aspirant, K.H. 1995. *The internally displaced in South Africa* http://www.law.kuleuven.be/jura/art/32n4/henrard.htm [13 March 2012].

Auala, S.L.N. 2010. *Local residents perceptions of community- based tourism: A survey of key stakeholders at Twyfelfontein Uibasen Conservancy in Namibia*. Unpublished Masters dissertation; Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Cape Town.

Bailey, K.D. 1987. *Methods of social research*. (3rd ed). New York: The Free Press.

Banjo, A. 2011. Hosting mega-sport events, expectations and perceptions: A review. *African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance*, 17(3):267-297.

Barnard, M. 2011. Nuwe projek will lewe blaas in Moederstad se kreatiewe soomgebied. *Die Burger:* 10, September 12.

Barton, F. 1963. The Coons tourists never see! *Drum Newspaper*: 21 February.

Bath, B. & Goncalves, P. 2007. Interpretative planning as a means of urban regeneration: Recife, Brazil. In Smith M.K. (ed.) *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration.* Trowbridge: Cromwell Press: 163-174.

Belfiore, E. 2002. Art as a means to alleviating social exclusion: does it really work? – a critique of instrumental cultural policies and social impact studies in the UK. *International Journal of Cultural Policy* 8(1): 91-106.

Bennet, B. & Julius, C. 2008. Where is District Six?: Between landscape, site and museum. In Bennet, Julius & Soudien (2008). *City. Site. Museum: reviewing memory practices at the District Six Museum*. Cape Town: District Six Museum

Bennet, B, Julius, C. & Soudien, C. 2008. *City. Site. Museum: reviewing memory practices at the District Six Museum*. Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Berelowitz, I. (n.d). *Early Jewish life in Cape Town and District Six*. Jerusalem: Telfeds.

Beyers, C. 2007. Land Restitution's "Rights Communities": The District Six Case. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 33(2):267-297.

Bianchini, F. & Parkinson, M. 1993. *Cultural Policy and urban regeneration: the Western European experience.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Bickford-Smith, V. 2001. Mapping Cape Town: from slavery to apartheid. In Field, S. (ed.) *Lost communities, living memories: remembering forced removals in Cape Town.* Claremont: David Philip Publishers: 15-26.

Bickford- Smith, V., Heyningen, V. & Worden, N. 1999. *Cape Town in the twentieth century.* Cape Town: David Philip Publishers.

Bless, C. & Higson-Smith, C. 2000. *Social research methods: an African perspective.*3rd ed. Lansdowne: Juta Education.

Boiskin, J. 1993. Beinkinstadt's 1903-1993. 39, *Jewish Affairs.*

Briedenham, J. & Ramchander, P. 2006. Township tourism–blessing or blight? The case of Soweto in South Africa. In Smith. M.K. & Robinson, M. (eds.) *Cultural tourism in a changing world: politics, participation and (Re) presentations.* Ontario: Channel View Publications: 124-143.

Butler, R. & Hinch, T. 2007. *Tourism and indigenous peoples: Issues and implications.*Oxford: Elsevier.

Butler, R. & Suntikul, W. 2010. *Tourism and political change.* Oxford: Goodfellow Publishing Ltd.Cape Institute of Architecture. 1996. *Jansje Wissema: photographs of District Six.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Cape Journal. (n.d.). The Coon Carnival. *The Cape Journal.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Cape Towner. 2004. Call for tourism industry to market Klopse Carnival. *CapeTowner.* January 15.

Cape Town City Council. 1966. Why District Six should be left undeclared. *Cape Times*: 10, March 18.

Cape Town Routes Unlimited. 2011. Cape Town and Western Cape Town Destination Performance Report. Cape Town: Cape Town Routes Unlimited.

Chen, C. & Chen, P. 2010. Resident attitudes toward heritage tourism development. *Tourism Geographies,* 81(4): 525-545.

Choi, H.C. & Murray, I. 2010. Resident attitudes towards sustainable community tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 18(4): 575-594.

City of Cape Town 2004. Tourism Development Framework Report. See South Africa. City of Cape Town

City of Cape Town. 2008. *Tourism Spatial Development Framework.* http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/tourism/documents/tourism_spatial_investment_fram ework.pdf. [10 May 2012].

City of Cape Town. 2009. *Responsible Tourism Policy for the City of Cape Town*: City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town. 2010. Draft Analysis of the Cape Town Spatial Economy- Technical Report. City of Cape Town.

City of Cape Town. 2012. *Term of Office 5 year Integrated Development Plan for the City of Cape Town.*
http://www.capetown.gov.za/en/tourism/documents/tourism_spatial_investment_fram ework.pdf. [10 May 2012].

Cooper, M. 1993. Access to the Waterfront: transformations of meaning on the Toronto Lakeshore. In Rotenburg, R. & McDonogh, G. (eds) *The cultural meaning of urban space*. Bergin and Garvey. Westport: Connecticut: 157-171.

Csikszentmihalyi, M. 1996. *Creativity flo and the psychology of discovery and invention,* London: Harper Collins

Dallen, T.J. & Boyd, S.W. 2003. *Heritage Tourism: Themes in Tourism*, Essex: Pearson Education Ltd.

Dancer, H. 2000. Preserving Cape Jazz Heritage*. The Mail & Guardian:* 7, September 22-28.

De Coning, C. & Cloete, F. 2000. Theories and models for analysing public policy. In Cloete, F. & Wissink, H. (eds). *Improving Public Policy.* Pretoria: Van Schaik.

Delport, P. 2001. Recalling community in Cape Town: *Creating and curating the District Six Museum; Sign posts for retrieval: a visual framework for enabling memory of place and time:* Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Descombe, M.2003. *The Good Research Guide. Open University Press.* http://scholar.google.com/scholar?hl=en&btnG=Search&q=intitle:The+Good+Research+ Guide#2 [17 April 2012)

Development Framework for District Six. 2011. *The District Six Beneficiary Trust: District Six Development Framework.* www.districtsix.za/org [14 February 2012].

Dieke, P.U.C. 2010. *From apartheid to a 'managed revolution': tourism development and the transition in South Africa. tourism and political Change.* Oxford: Goodfellow Publishing Ltd.

Distict Six Museum, 2013. The Fringe: Draft Framework District Six Museum comments. District Six Museum.

Dockery, L. 1994. Issues in Education and Training. In Wynn, D. (ed) *The culture industry.* Avebury: Ashgate Publishing Limited: 70-83.

Doman, A. 1990. BP's District 6 Housing Plans*. The Argus'*. December 14.

Du Preez, H. 2009. Genadendal's historical context and project set-up. In Du Preez, H., van Oers, R., Roos, J. & Verhoef, L. 2009. (ed.) *The Challenge of Genadendal.* Amsterdam: The Netherlands I.O.S. Press:11-19.

Du Preez, H., van Oers, R., Roos, J. & Verhoef, L. 2009. (ed.) *The Challenge of Genadendal.* Amsterdam: The Netherlands I.O.S. Press.

Dubow, N. 1996. District with a view of the bay*.The Mail & Guardian*: 10, November 24.

Easton, D. 1965. *A framework for political analysis.* London: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Ebrahim, N. 1999. *Noor's story: My life in District Six.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Evans, G. 2005. Measure for measure evaluating the evidence of cultures contribution to regeneration. *Urban Studies*, 42(5/6): 959-984.

Evans, G. 2001. *Cultural planning: an urban renaissance?* London: Routledge

Fagan, G. 1987. District Six: fitting the future. *The Weekend Argus*: August 22.

Ferreira, I.W. 1996. A normative model for managing orientation procedures for effective and efficient public personnel management in post – apartheid South Africa Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durban Westville (now University of KwaZulu Natal), Durban.

Fester, E. 2010. A typical Seven Steps members' morning. In District Six Museum Annual Report 2010/2011*.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Field, S. 2001a. *Lost communities, living memories: remembering forced removals in Cape Town.* Claremont: David Philip Publishers.

Field S. 2001b. 'I dream of our old house you see there are things that can never go away: Memory, Restitution and Democracy. In Field, S. (ed.) *Lost communities, living memories: remembering forced removals in Cape Town.* Claremont: David Philip Publishers: 15-26.

Fortune, L. 1996. *The house in Tyne Street: childhood memories of District Six.* Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Fugard Theatre. 2012. *What's On.* http://www.theefugard.comtheatre/item/68-comingsoon-kat-and-the-kings.html. [12 June 2012].

Fransen, H. 1996. *Last days of District Six*: *the architecture that Cape Town lost.* Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Geschier, S.M.M.A. 2007*.* So there I sit in a Catch-22 situation': remembering and imagining trauma in the District Six Museum. In Field, S., Meyer R. & Swanson, F. (eds.) *Imagining the city: memories and cultures in Cape Town.* Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Gifford G. 2004*.* Its heaven, says Dan, 82, after first night back in District Six. *Cape Times: 9, June 7.*

Goudie, S.C., Khan, F. & Kilian, D. 1999. Transforming tourism: Black empowerment, heritage and identity beyond apartheid. *South African Geographical Society*, 81(1): 22-31.

Gresshof, J. 1996. *The last days of District Six.* Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Grobler, J. 2008. *The impact of politics on heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa.* The Department of Historical and Heritage Studies, University of Pretoria: Pretoria

Groenewald, Y. 2005. One million forced from their land: more Black people thrown off farms in democratic South Africa. *The Mail & Guardian:* 7, September 2.

Gursoy, D., Jurowski, C. & Uysal, M. 2002. Resident attitudes: a structural modelling approach. *Annals of Tourism Research.* 29(1): 79–105.

Hanekom, S. X. & Thornhill, C. 1983. *Public administration in contemporary society–a South African perspective.* Pretoria: Southern Book Publishers.

Hartogh, D.K. 1994*. District Six.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Hathway, D. 2010. The 'City within a city" comes alive again. *Cape Times: 12, December* 21.

Harvey D.C. 2007. (Re) Creating Culture through Tourism. In Smith M.K. (ed.) *Tourism, culture and regeneration.* Trowbridge: Cromwell: 59-68.

Heath, E. 2002. Towards a model to enhance Africa's sustainable Tourism competitiveness. *The Journal of Public Administration*, 37(31): 327-352.

Henning, E., Gravett, S. & van Rensburg, W. 2005. Finding your way in academic writing 2nd ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Herzberg, A. 1966. District Six 100 years ago. *The Cape Times Weekend Magazine*: 5, April 9.

Hobe, T., Ewers, N., Fester, E. & Boase, J. 2010. In *District Six Museum Annual Report 2010/2011.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Hou, Y. 2009. An investigation into visitors' satisfaction with Port Elizabeth's heritage museums. Unpublished MTech dissertation, Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University: Port Elizabeth.

Hwansuk, C. & Murray, I. 2010. Resident attitudes towards sustainable community tourism. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism.* 18(4): 575-594.

Ismail, R. 2008. Development of a normative model for cultural tourism on the Cape Flats. Unpublished DTech thesis, Cape Peninsula University of Technology, Cape Town.

Ivanovic, M. 2008. *Cultural Tourism.* Cape Town: Juta & Company Ltd.

Jeppie, S. & Soudien, C.1990. *The struggle for District Six: past and present.* Cape Town: Buchu Books.

Jessa, F. n.d. The National Cinema. Unpublished private photograph collection: Cape Town.

Jones, A. L. 2007. On the Water's edge: developing cultural regeneration paradigms for urban waterfronts in tourism, culture and regeneration. In Smith M.K. (ed).*Tourism, Culture and Regeneration.* Trowbridge: Cromwell Press. 143-150.

Jordan, B. 1997. Picking up hope from the broken pieces of the past. *Sunday Times: 7,* September 28.

Jongbloed, B. 1974. Willie's Starlites set for Stardom. *The Sunday Times: 21,* November 17.

Jonker, P. 1994. *District Six.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Jurowski, C., Uysal, M. & Williams, D. R. 1997. A theoretical analysis of host community resident reactions to tourism. *Journal of Travel Research*, 36(2): 3–11.

Kassiem, A. 2011. Painted faces and sequinned suits mask true legacy of our city's forefathers. Cape Town: *Cape Times: 12,* December 30.

Kirsten. M. & Rogerson, C. M. 2002. Tourism, business linkages and small enterprise development in South Africa*. Development South Africa,* 19(1): 29-61.

Komppula, R. 2001. New product development in tourism companies-case studies on nature based activity operators. Department of Economics: University of Joensuu: Ghana.

Kotze, K. 2011. Art therapy acts as a conduit for healing. *Athlone News*: 3, September 28.

Kotze, P. 2009. Remembering District Six. *Peoples Post:4,* February 3.

Kramer, D. 2010. *District Six – The Musical.* http://www.davidkramer.co.za/popus/musical/dsix.thm [14 June 2012].

Labuschagne, P. 2010. Monument(al) meaning making in the "new" South Africa: Freedom Park as a symbol of a new identity and freedom? University of South Africa 25 (2): 112–124.

Lang, S. 2008. Mennies happy memories. Atlantic Sun: 7*,* December 4.

Lapeyre, R. 2010 Community-based tourism as a sustainable solution to maximise impacts locally? The Tsiseb Conservancy case, Namibia. *Development South Africa:* 27(5): 758-775.

Leedy, P.D. & Ormrod, J.E. 2001. *Practical research: planning and design.* 7th ed. Ohio, 555: Merrill Practice Hill.

Le Grange, L. 1996. *Last days of District Six*: *a sense of place.* Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Le Grange. L. 2001. Recalling community in Cape Town: *creating and curating the District Six Museum; District Six: urban place and public memory. Cape Town:* Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Le Grange, L. 2003. *Architect and urban planners District Six: Heritage impact assessment.* www.districtsix.za/org [14 February 2012].

Le Grange, L. 2008. Rebuilding District Six. In *City. Site. Museum: Reviewing Memory Practices at the District Six Museum.* District Six Museum: Cape Town.

Le Grange, L. 2009. Genadendal: conservation and development. In Du Preez, H; van Oers, R., Roos, J. & Verhoef, L. 2009. (eds.) *The challenge of Genadendal.* Amsterdam: The Netherlands I.O.S. Press: 37-49.

Lepp, A. 2012. Attitudes towards initial tourism development in a community with no prior tourism experience: the case of Bigodi, Uganda. *Journal of Sustainable Tourism,* 16(1):5-24.

Long, H.A. 2012. Tourism impacts and support for tourism development in Ha Long Bay, Vietnam: an examination of residents' perceptions. *Asian Social Science,:8 (8):28-41.*

Maitland, R. 2007. Culture, city users and the creation of new tourism areas in cities. In Smith M.K. (ed). *Tourism, culture and regeneration.* Trowbridge: Cromwell: 25-34.

Manuel, G. 1964. Artist, ONS artist, say the people of District Six. *The Cape Argus*: 5, August 24.

Manuel, G. 1967. *District 6.* Cape Town: Longmans.

Manuel G. 1979. Vanished cultural centre of District Six. *Cape Times*: 9, August 11.

Maree, W.A. 1966. *Cape Times*: 3, October 10.

Marschall, S. 2005. Making money with memories*:* The fusion of heritage tourism and identity formation in South Africa. *Historia*, 50(1):103-122.

McEachern, C. 1998. Mapping the memories: politics, place and identity in the District Six Museum. *Cape Town Social Identities,* 4(3):499-522.

McKercher, B. & du Cross, H. 2002. *Cultural tourism: the partnership between tourism and cultural heritage management.* New York: Haworth Hospitality Press.

Mercer, C. 1991. What is cultural planning? Paper presented to the community Arts Network National Conference, Sydney Australia, 10 October.

Meskell, L. & Scheermeyer, C. 2008. Heritage as therapy: set pieces from the new South Africa. *Journal of Material Culture*, 13(2):153-173.

Minnaar, M 1996. Brush with the law. *Sunday Life*. 16, August 11.

Mouton, J. 2006. *How to succeed in your masters & doctoral studies: A South African Guide and Resource Book,* 6th ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik Publishers.

Mouton, J. & Marais, H.C. 1994. *Basic methods in the methodology of the Social Sciences,* 4th ed. Pretoria: HSRC Publishers.

Murayama, M & Parker G. 2007. Sustainable and responsible leisure and tourism space development in post industrial cities? The case of Odaiba Waterfront City, Tokyo, Japan. In Smith, M.K. (ed). *Tourism, culture and regeneration*. Wallingford: CABI. 69-84.

Ngcelwane, N, 1998. *Sala Kahle*: *District Six: an African woman's perspective*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.

Ohridska-Olson, R. & Ivanov, S. 2010. C*reative tourism business model and it's application in Bulgaria.* Vizantia Enterprises: USA

Pinnock*, D. 1980.* District Six: Historical Vignettes*. The overfilling ghetto.* South African Outlook. University of Cape Town: Cape Town.

Popke, J.E. 2000. Violence and memory in the reconstruction of South Africa's Cato Manor. *Growth and Change*: (30):235-254.

Post Reporter, 1966. You name it- District 6 could do it! *The Post:* 1, February 20.

Prosalendis, S., Soudien, C., Marot, J. & Nagia, A. 2001. *Punctuations: periodic impressions of a museum. recalling community in Cape Town*: *creating and curating the District Six Museum.* Cape Town:The District Six Museum.

Rasmussen, L. 2001. *Cape Town Jazz 1959-1963: The photographs of Hardy Stockman.* Copenhagen: Hardy Stockman and The Booktrader.

Rassool, C. & Prosalendis, S. 2001. In *Recalling Community in Cape Town: creating and curating the District Six Museum. Cape Town:* Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Rassool, C. & Thorne, J. 2001. In *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and curating the District Six Museum;* A timeline for District Six: a parallel text. Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Raymond, C. & Brown, G. 2007. A spatial method for assessing resident and visitor attitudes towards tourism*. Journal of Sustainable Tourism*, 15(5):520-543

Reid, W. 1997. New District Six could become a major tourist drawcard. *The Cape Argus:3,* August 22.

Richards, G. & Wilson, J. 2005. Developing creativity in tourist experiences: a solution to the serial reproduction of culture? *Tourism Management,* 27(2006):1209-1223.

Richards, G. & Wilson, J. 2007. The creative turn in regeneration: creative spaces, spectacles and tourism in cities. In Smith, M.K. (ed.) *Tourism, culture and regeneration*. Towbridge: Cromwell: 12-23.

Robins, R. 1997. It takes just seven steps to bring back a bygone era*. The Cape Argus*: 8, January 13.

Roos, J. 2009. Value assessment at various levels of scale. In Du Preez, H., van Oers, R., Roos, J. & Verhoef, L. *The challenge of Genadendal.* Amsterdam: The Netherlands: I.O.S. Press: 21-35.

Rutter, K. 1997*. Artists' tribute to District Six. Cape Times*: 7, September 19.
Salem Moravian Brass Bands. 2007. *Salem Moravian Bands.*
http://salembands.co.za/index.php?page_name=album&gallery_id=30 [18 August 2013].

Salie, I. 2005. A new take on the history of our liedjies: Show reveals enormous impact slaves had on the Cape. *Weekend Argus Life*: 22, November 5.

Schoeman, C. 1994. *District Six: The spirit of kanala*. Cape Town: Human & Rousseau.

Sharma, B. & Dyer P. 2009. Residents' involvement in tourism and their perceptions of tourism impacts. Benchmarking: *An International Journal,* 16(3):351–371.

Shaw, S., Bagwell, S. & Karmowska, J. 2004. Ethnoscapes as spectacle: reimaging multicultural districts as new destinations for leisure and tourism consumption. *Urban Studies,* 41(10):1983-2000.

Shaw, S. 2007. Ethnoscapes as cultural attractions in Canadian "world cities." In Smith M.K. (ed). *Tourism, Culture and Regeneration.* Trowbridge: Cromwell: 49-58.

Skinner.2011. *The Arts as a healing tool*
http://www.artlink.co.za/news_article.htm?contentID=28099 [16 July 2012].

Small, A. & Wissema, J*.* 1986*. District Six*. Cape Town: Fontein Publishing.

Smith, M.K. 2007*. Tourism, culture and regeneration.* Trowbridge: Cromwell Press.

Smith, M.K. 2009. *Issues in cultural tourism*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Smith. M.K. & Robinson, M. 2006. *Cultural tourism in a changing world: politics, participation and (re) presentations.* Ontario: Channel View Publications.

Soudien, C. 2001a. *Recalling community in Cape Town: creating and curating the District Six Museum*. Cape Town; Holding on to the past: working with the 'myths 'of District Six. Cape Town: The District Six Museum.

Soudien, C.2001b. Holding on to the past: working with the "myths" of District Six. *Recalling Community in Cape Town: Creating and curating the District Six Museum. Cape Town:* The District Six Museum.

Soudien, C. 2008. *Memory in the remaking of Cape Town*. In *City, Site, Museum: Reviewing Memory Practices at the District Six Museum.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

South Africa. City of Cape Town, 2004. *Tourism Development Framework Report of Cape Town.* Cape Town: Government Printer.

South Africa. Department of Economic Development and Tourism. 2005. *Cape Flats Tourism Framework.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 1996. *The White Paper on the Declaration and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. 2003a. *Responsible Tourism Handbook: A Guide to Good Practice for Tourism Operators.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. 2003b. *Tourism BEE Charter.* Global Calendars and Publications: Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2009. *The South African Tourism Planning Toolkit for Local Government.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, The Western Cape Provincial Government and The City of Cape Town. 2011. *District Six Redevelopment at a Glance.* Cape Town: District Six Beneficiaries and Redevelopment Trust.

South Africa. National Department of Tourism, 2010. Proposed Approach to Developing a Culture Heritage and Tourism Strategy for South Africa in the context of Rural Development Presentation to Parliamentary Portfolio Committee Workshop*.* Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. National Department of Tourism. 2012. *National Heritage and Cultural Tourism Strategy. March 2012*. National Department of Tourism: Pretoria: Government Printer.

South Africa. National Planning Commission. 2011. *National Development Plan: Vision for 2030.* Pretoria: Government Printer.
South African History Online. 2010.http://www.sahistory.org.za/dated-event/south-african-government-passes-group-areas-act [21 March 2012].

Staff Reporter. 2011. Ashley Kriel remembered. *Athlone News*: September 28.

Steyn, J.N. & Spencer, J.P. 2011. South African tourism: an historic evaluation of macro tourism policies*. African Journal for Physical, Health Education, Recreation and Dance,* 17(2):178-200.

Stockman, H. 2001. Nostalgic recollections of a jazz lover. In Rasmussen, L. *Cape Town Jazz 1959-1963: the photographs of Hardy Stockman.* Copenhagen: Hardy Stockman and The Booktrader.

Swanson, F. & Harries J. 2001. Ja! So was District Six! but it was a beautiful place': oral histories, memory and identity. In Field, S. (ed). *Lost communities, living memories: remembering forced removals in Cape Town*. Claremont: David Philip Publishers: 62-80.
Thamm, M. 2000. Dance: Squaring up for a good time. Cape Argus, 9, September 11.

Thomas, A. 2001. Twenty five years later- The forced removals of Coloured people from Simon's Town: an interview with William Kindo*. Journal of African Studies,* 60(3):26-40.

Timothy, D.J. & Boyd, S.W. 2003. *Heritage tourism: themes in Tourism*, Essex: Pearson Education Ltd.

Tulleken, L. 2004. A remarkable South African. *Cape Argus:* 8, March 19.

Turok, I. 2000*. Persistent polarisation post apartheid? progress towards urban integration in Cape Town.* Department of Urban Studies, Urban Change and Policy Research Group: University of Glasgow.

UNESCO, 2006. Discussion Report of the Planning Meeting for 2008 International Conference on Creative Tourism, Santa Fe: New Mexico, October.25-27. [http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0015/001598/159811E.pdf]

University of Cape Town. 2005. *Archaeology in District Six.* Research Unit for Archaeology of Cape Town. Department of Archaeology: University of Cape Town.

Unterhalter, E. 1987. *Forced removal.* London:IDAF Publications Ltd.

Walle, A.H. 1998. *Cultural tourism: a strategic focus*, Oxford: Westview Press.

Warren, D. n.d. *The origins and early history of District Six to 1910.* Cape Town: District Six Museum.

Wellman, J.C. & Kruger, F. 1999. *Research methodology.* 2nd ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Wellman, J.C., Kruger, F. & Mitchel, B. 2008*. Research methodology,* 3rd ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Western, J. 1981. *Outcast Cape Town.* Cape Town: Human and Rousseau Publishers.

Wilkinson, V.C. 2010. Islamic calligraphy links cultures: international arts exhibition and workshop showcase Malay art. *Cape Times:* 25, May 18.

World Tourism Organisation. 1985. The states' role in protecting and promoting culture as a factor of tourism development and the proper use and exploitation of the natural cultural heritage of sites and monuments of tourism. Madrid: WTO.

World Tourism Organisation. 1998. *Guide for Local Authorities on Developing Sustainable Tourism.* Madrid: WTO.

Wynn, D. 1992. *The culture industry.* Avebury: Ashgate Publishing Limited.

Yoon, Y., Gursoy, D. & Chen, J. S. 2001. Validating a tourism development theory with structural equation modelling. *Tourism Management,* 22(4):363–372.

Zille, H. 2009. Time is running out for District Six: the injustice of forced removals is compounded by the endless delays in restitution and restitution and redevelopment. C*ape Argus*:9, July 8.

Zuma, J. 2012. *Our Museums must be transformed and decolonised.* www.policitsweb/view/policisweb/viewlea/page71656oid=318294&sn=detail&pid71656 [02 February 2013].

ADDENDUM A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE: EXPLORING THE OPPORTUNITES THAT EXIST FOR DEVELOPING CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM IN DISTICT SIX

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am a Masters' tourism student at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. My research investigates the opportunity to develop cultural heritage tourism in District Six.

Your participation in this interview schedule is kindly requested and will be valuable for my study. The interview will determine the potential for developing and implementing a cultural heritage tourism plan in the redeveloped District Six. Your valued co-operation will assist the researcher to assess the suitability of this type of tourism development, evaluate interest and engagement in such a venture.

The interview schedule has been designed to reduce the required time it will take to complete and includes yes and no questions, multiple-choice and open ended questions. Not all questions may be relevant to you or your organisation.

Any information received by respondents will be treated as strictly confidential and it will not be possible to identify individual contributions in the final report. In the interest of confidentiality, no biographical details are required. You may exit the interview at any stage.

Please direct any questions with regards to the research project to me – see my contact details below.

Thank You for your time and kind contributions.
Best Regards

Sirhan Jessa
Student Researcher (CPUT, Tourism Department)
Student number: 204255295
Tel: 072 2423312
Email: sirhanjessa@yahoo.com

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

AMONG RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVES, REDEVELOPMENT CONSULTANTS, RELEVANT TOURISM, CULTURAL AND HERITAGE ORGANISATIONS ON INVESTIGATING THE OPPORTUNITIES THAT EXIST FOR DEVELOPING CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM IN DISTRICT SIX

 APRIL 2013

ORGANISATION:

POSITION:

NAME:

INTERVIEW DATE AND TIME:

SECTION A: CULTURAL HERITAGE TOURISM

Cultural heritage tourism globally has been identified as an effective tool from which socio-economic goals can be achieved and is the fastest growing market within the tourism industry worldwide. These include sites of scientific and historical importance, national monuments, historic buildings, works of art, literature, music, oral traditions and museum collections and provide the basis for a shared culture and creativity in the arts.

1. Please answer YES or NO:

   The potential exists to develop and market District Six as a world class cultural heritage tourism attraction?

2. Please select one or more of the following options:
   In your opinion, developing cultural heritage tourism in District Six could contribute to:

   - Community cohesion
   - Social Justice/ Restitution
   - Improved skills and development
   - Economic empowerment
   - SMME development
   - Pride and restored dignity in the community
   - Cultural regeneration
   - Improved safety and security
   - Attract Investment
   - Create employment, particularly for youth
   - Provide perspective for the future

3. Should the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six include a themed heritage route/ walk?
4. Please select one or more of the following options:

   A themed heritage tourism route/ walk should include:
   - Reconstructed buildings of special interest and architectural significance
   - Tourist information centre
   - Jazz and music venues

- o   Cultural quarter
- o   Old District Six Themed accommodation
- o   Cultural food restaurants
- o   Craft Market
- o   Horstley Street Memorial Park
- o   Traditional Bioscope
- o   Tour guiding services

Please provide your opinions/ comments on the following statements/ questions:

5. The District Six Museum should move back into the centre of District Six to form an integral part of a proposed themed cultural heritage tourism route.

6. The District Six Museum should play a leading role in developing a themed cultural heritage tourism route.

7. Should tourism development in District Six be carefully planned for or occur organically?

8. Should the private sector support small business development in District Six by outsourcing certain secondary tourism services such as laundry, catering and transport & furniture production?

9. A developed cultural heritage product in District Six could form an important linkage to other struggle related tourism products and areas of political interest on the Cape Flats? (Slave Lodge, Gugulethu 7, Trojan Horse killings in Athlone, Amy Biehl, Langa and Khayalitsha and Robben Island).

10. Who should own tourism in District Six?

11. Why do you think a formal tourism plan has not yet been tabled?

SECTION B: FUNDING CONSIDERATIONS

In order to develop a robust and diverse cultural heritage tourism product in District Six, funding is required.

Please answer YES or NO to the following questions:

1. Should funding and bridging capital be provided by the public sector?

2. Should funding and bridging capital be provided by the private sector?

3. Should local government have the responsibility of financially supporting community tourism associations?

4. Should a Development Loan Fund for small businesses and organisations working in the tourism/ culture industry be established?

5. Would the Department of Arts and Culture in conjunction with major banks be the ideal organisation to administer such a fund?

6. Should a portion of profits generated from businesses who have received funding grants be paid to the managing committee for expenses, further product development, community projects and marketing?

Please provide your opinion on the following question:

7. What funding challenges do you foresee facing tourism development in District Six?

SECTION C: TRAINING AND SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

Training and skills development would be a critical key success factor in the implementation of a tourism development plan in District Six.

Please answer YES or NO to the following questions:

1. Should training facilities and funding be made available to interested community members who wish to become involved in tourism, hospitality and associated industries?

2. Would the provision of short courses such as business management, customer services and communication encourage a more business-like approach among tourism and cultural producers?

Please select one or more of the following options:

3. Providing skills and training should be the responsibility of:
   o   Individual
   o   Selected private sector members
   o   The Department of Labour

- o The Department of Arts and Culture
- o Technical and creative organisations
- o Local authorities
- o Tertiary Institutions

Please provide your thoughts on the following questions:

4. The Cape Peninsula University of Technology (occupying a large portion of District Six) should serve the people of the area by becoming an important centre of learning for tourism and associated industries?

5. What are the major barriers the CPUT will need to overcome in order to serve the District Six community as a centre of learning?

6. The Tourism and Hospitality Education and Training Authority (THETA), is responsible for ensuring training and development standards are met, identify current and future skills needs and develop strategic plans to assist the tourism industry. What role could/ should THETA play in District Six?

7. The Tourism Enterprise Programme provides support and development through funding and mentorship. Would TEP consider catering for the training and funding needs of tourism service providers in a planned tourism development in District Six?

8. The Tourism Mentorship Programme was established to accelerate the development of Black-owned tourism businesses by partnering with established industry leaders. Would the TMP consider catering for the specific tourism training needs of potential tour operators, accommodation and events managements companies in District Six?

9. What training challenges do you foresee facing the development of tourism in District Six?

Please answer YES or NO to the following questions:

10. A committee or forum which represents the institutions responsible for education and training is established to share resources and expertise, decide on the needs of students, link technical and enterprise organisations and develop cost effective short courses and workshops. Would you support the formation of such a committee or forum?

SECTION D: MANAGEMENT

The management of any tourism development plan requires input from various participants.

Please answer the following questions:

1. Should a cultural heritage tourism plan for District Six form an integral part of the DFD6 (2011)?

2. What challenges do you foresee facing the development and implementation of cultural heritage tourism in District Six?

Please answer YES or NO to the following questions:

3. Given the historical context, should tourism development in District Six follow a community based, developmental management approach?

4. Should a tourism committee or association be formed to determine and manage a cultural heritage tourism strategy for District Six?

5. Who should NOT represent such a committee or association?
   Please select one or more of the following options:

   - Community members
   - The District Six Beneficiary Trust
   - Selected private sector members
   - Local Government
   - The Department of Arts and Culture
   - The National NDT
   - Cape Town Tourism
   - The Department of Labour
   - The Western Cape Cultural Commission
   - The South African Heritage Resources Agency
   - Education Institutions
   - The District Six Museum

   Please answer YES or NO to the following question:

6. Would you be willing to serve for more than 10 hours per month on a community tourism planning committee?

SECTION E: CREATIVE TOURISM

Creative Tourism offers visitors the opportunity to develop their creative potential through active participation in courses and learning experiences which are characteristic of holiday destinations where they are undertaken. Creative tourism involves more interaction as part of a more engaged and authentic experience with participative learning in the arts, heritage or special character of place and it provides a connection with those who reside in this place and create a living culture, creating social values not just economic wealth.

Please select one or more of the following options:

1. Creative forms of tourism in District Six should include:

- o Ghoema drum and tambourine making workshops
- o Traditional instruments music lessons
- o Malay Choir classes
- o Square dancing workshops
- o Islamic calligraphy and music classes
- o Afrikaans language (Cape vernacular) workshops
- o Urban food garden development workshops
- o Traditional games and kite making
- o Archaeology workshops at Horstely Street
- o Traditional food cooking courses
- o Minstrel costume design

Pease answer the following questions:

2. The arts, festivals and theatre, can assist in animating the District Six area and enhance living space. Do you support this statement?

3. Workspace studios are the provision of a mixed, multi occupancy studio workspaces with managed business services for artists and cultural producers where cultural production and consumption co-exist and include shared rental, plant and machinery, communal vehicles, meeting rooms, accounting services and office/ secretarial services. Would you support implementing workspace studios in District Six?

4. Would the development of creative industries in District Six raise the creative profile of Cape Town?

5. Creative Cape Town is a non-profit organisation which communicates and facilitates the development of the creative and knowledge economy and attempts to make Cape Town a centre for knowledge innovation, creativity and culture in South Africa. Would you support a dynamic partnership between District Six and Creative Cape Town?

The "Fringe" a partnership between the City of Cape Town and Creative Cape Town seeks to position Cape Town as a premier environment for design media and innovation, creativity and entrepreneurship. How could District Six contribute towards achieving this goal?

6. What role should Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) and other technologies play in developing a creative industry in District Six?

7. How could the development of creative industries in District Six contribute to cultural regeneration in the area?

8. Would you support the inclusion of creative tourism as part of a cultural heritage tourism development strategy for District Six?

SECTION F: TOURISM POLICY

Tourism policy is formulated to guide overall tourism development. The following questions pertain to the role relevant policies play in supporting the development of tourism in District Six.

Please answer the following questions:

The Tourism Development Framework for the Cape Flats (2005) is a comprehensive feasibility study and explores the potential for developing cultural heritage tourism on the Cape Flats.

1. How is the development of tourism in District Six encouraged and supported by this framework?

2. The Framework identifies that a historical lack of tourism development has resulted in the absence of tourism economic nodes on the Cape Flats. How could tourism development in District Six address this absence?

3. Please select one or more of the following options.

   The National Heritage Tourism Strategy (NHTS 2012) provides strategic guidance for the development and promotion of heritage and cultural tourism in South Africa.

Would the development of cultural tourism in District Six:

- Raise global competitiveness
- Improve Product Development
- Integrate heritage and culture into mainstream tourism
- Sustain tourism and economic development

Please answer YES or NO to the following questions:

4. Is the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six aligned with the overarching principles of the NHTS?

5. Does the NHTS support and encourage the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six?

6. Should District Six be identified as a priority, receive funding and expertise for cultural heritage tourism development?

Please provide your thoughts on the following questions:

7. The vision of the DFD6 (2011) is to provide restitution for those removed from District Six, through an integrated redevelopment which will result in a vibrant multicultural community whose dignity has been restored in a developmental environment, grounded in, and meeting the social and economic needs of the claimants, and the broader community that will contribute towards the building of a new nation.

    Could the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six contribute to achieving this vision?

8. Could implementing cultural heritage tourism in District Six ridicule the restitution process?

9. Are the urban design principles of the Development Framework compatible with implementing cultural heritage tourism in District Six? Please motivate your answer.

10. Should the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six be included and form an integral part of the Development Framework? Please motivate your answer.

11. Does the Development Framework encourage and support the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six?

12. What role will politics play in implementing cultural heritage tourism in District Six?

13. Overall, would you support the development of cultural heritage tourism in District Six?

ADDENDUM B: PERMISSION LETTER

DISTRICT SIX BENEFICIARY & REDEVELOPMENT TRUST
No: IT2131/2001

"…..never , never , never again….."

District Six HomeComing Centre
28 Pontac Street
DISTRICT SIX
8001

Phone: 021– 462 3300
Fax: 021–

Mr Sirhan Jessa
c/o Cape Peninsula University of Technology
District Six Campus
District Six

3 September 2012

Dear Mr Jessa

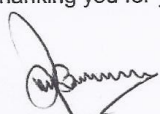**Your CPUT Student No. 204255295**
Masters in Tourism Course

We refer to the above and wish to advise that you contacted ourselves with regards to you doing a questionnaire with regards to District Six and tourism and that you needed to hand these questionnaires to members of the Trust for their input.

Permission is granted to hand members of the District Six Trust the questionnaire for their opinion .

Please note that whilst Trust members are free to answer these questions in their personal capacity, it should not be seen that these opinions are what the District Six Beneficiary and Redevelopment Trust have decided for Tourism in the area as the Trust have **not** discussed the issue of Tourist and Tourism for District Six which requires a much broader public participation process which would probably happen in the Functioning of the Special Purpose Vehicle (SPV) when it is finally in full operation.
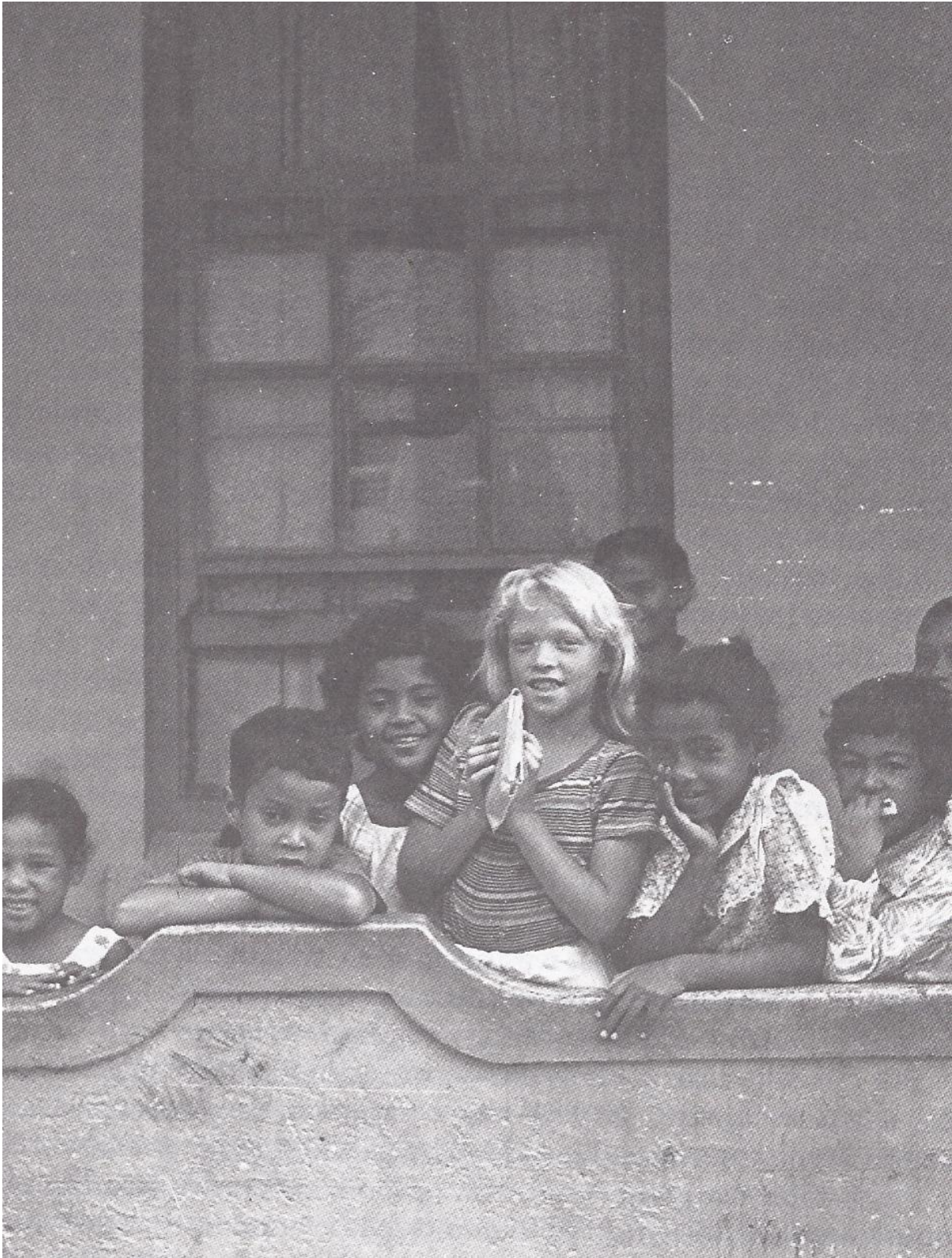
As District Six is a sensitive issue, any other questions outside the subject of Tourist and Tourism should be best dealt with by the media liaison officers of the Trust which are fully mandated for this function.
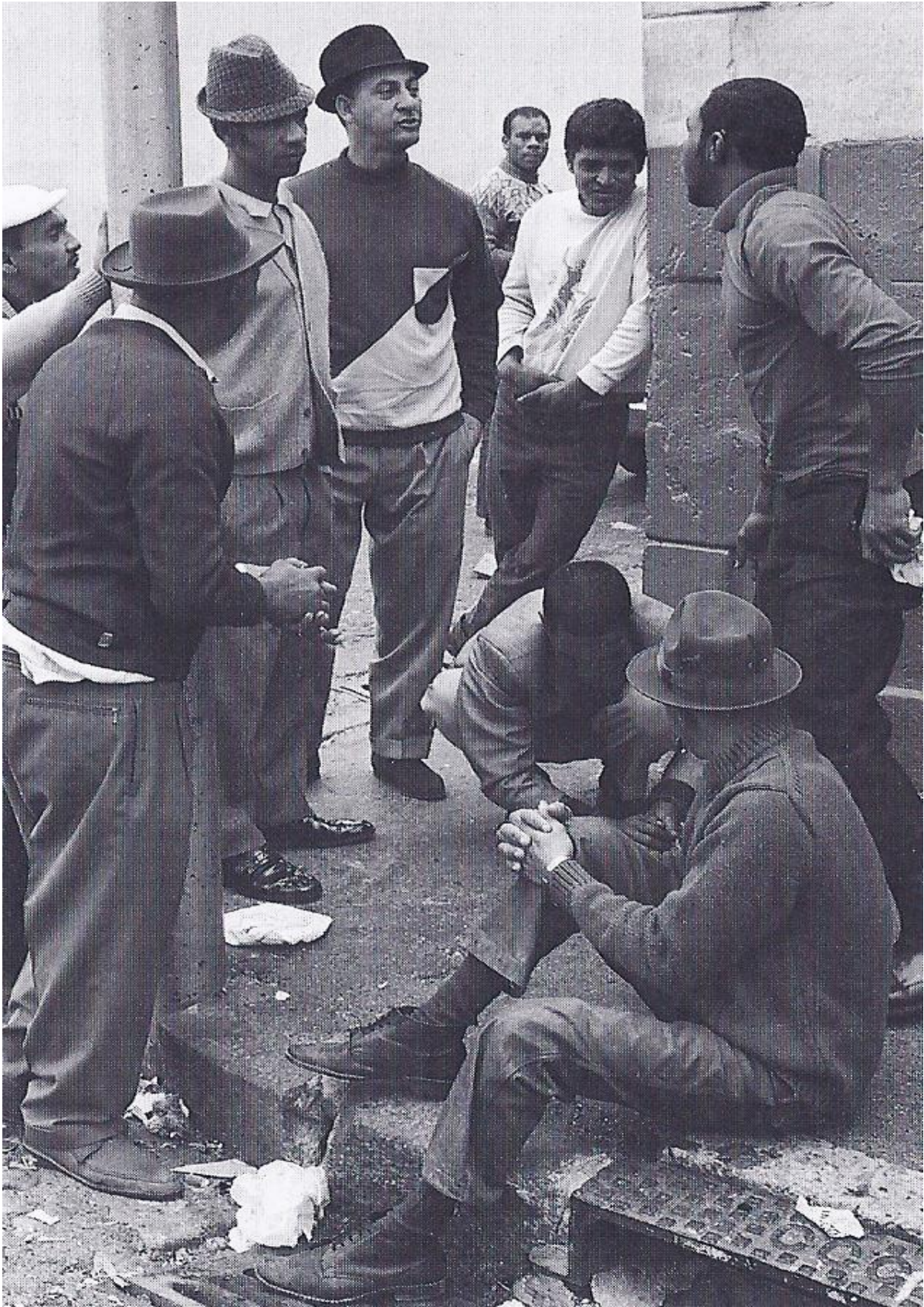
Thanking you for your enquiry.

Mr R Bester
For District Six Trust

1. Kids in William Street

2. Gangsters (Noor Ebrahim)

3. Fish Market (Noor Ebrahim)

4. Beikenstadt Bookshop (Janse Wissema)
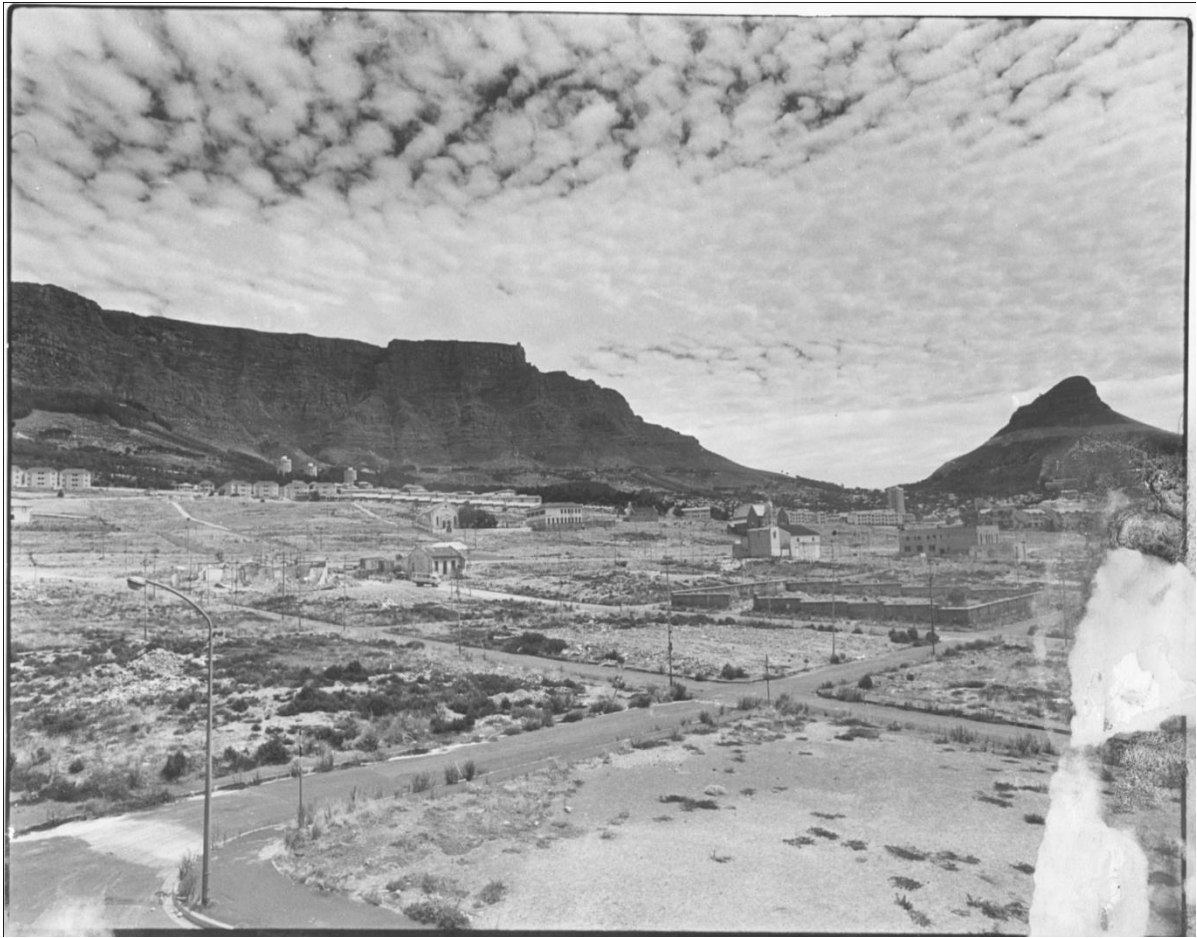
5. Kids playing (District Six Museum)

6. Eaon Group Hall (District Six Museum)

7. Cheltenham Hotel (District Six Museum)

8. Hanover Building (District Six Museum)

9. District Six after destruction (District Six Museum)

10. Corner of Summerhill and Shepard (District Six Museum)

11. Muir Street Mosque (Fakier Jessa)

12. Moravian Chapel (Fakier Jessa)