



**THE EFFECTS OF GENTRIFICATION AND SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL TOURISM  
DEVELOPMENT IN THE BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN**

by

**MISHKAH BASSADIEN**

**Dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree**

**Master of Technologiae: Tourism and Hospitality Management**

**in the Faculty of Business and Management Sciences**

**at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology**

**Supervisor: Professor JP Spencer**

**Cape Town Campus**

**JANUARY 2017**

**CPUT copyright information**

The dissertation may not be published either in part (in scholarly, scientific or technical journals), or as a whole (as a monograph), unless permission has been obtained from the University.

## DECLARATION

I, Mishkah Bassadien, student number 207154511, declare that the content of this research represents my own unaided work, and that the dissertation has not previously been submitted for academic examination towards any qualification. Furthermore, it represents my own opinions and not necessarily those of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

.....  
**MISHKAH BASSADIEN**

.....  
**DATE**

## ABSTRACT

The study site is the Bo-Kaap area in Cape Town. Negative and positive changes within interrelated physical, social and economic spheres have resulted from gentrification, an urban development phenomenon. These changes need to be managed responsibly. This study problem sought to establish whether the traditional inhabitants of the Bo-Kaap are being replaced by a 'new generation' of inhabitants because of gentrification, and how negative and positive changes in the Bo-Kaap could be minimised and maximised respectively, through gentrification, by adopting a sustainable cultural tourism approach.

A historical background of the Bo-Kaap reveals the history, culture and religion of this area, and highlights the special customs and traditions within the Bo-Kaap as potential areas of sustainable cultural tourism development to mitigate gentrification.

A comprehensive literature review on gentrification and tourism as separate and interrelated development processes is presented. The literature review investigates gentrification and its effects as a phenomenon; the relative forms of gentrification across an international, national and local setting, refined to the Bo-Kaap; tourism and the nature of the industry and its development; and finally, tourism gentrification as an interconnected system.

A mixed methods approach was employed, using the triangulation method of combining quantitative and qualitative methodology. Thus a blended technique was employed combining quantitative and qualitative questions within the framework of the questionnaire. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions comprised questions of a qualitative nature. The target population was the residents of the Bo-Kaap area in Cape Town. A combined quantitative analysis of 262 self-administered and assisted questionnaires, and 15 transcribed in-depth interviews and focus group discussions conclude with a comparative analysis of both tabulated statistical findings and thematic presentations of results on the potential effects of gentrification. The study is concluded by recommendations for sustainable cultural tourism development to impede the negative processes of mass tourism and gentrification.

**Key words:** Gentrification, cultural effects, economic effects, physical effects, sustainable tourism.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to CPUT for the bursary, which has provided me with the financial assistance needed for the completion of a dissertation of this magnitude.

I would like to thank Dr Mark Boekstein for his guidance and assistance during the course of the data collection and analysis process.

I would like to convey a heartfelt thanks to my parents, friends and family for always keeping me in their prayers. I could not have achieved this without your kind support. Thank you also to the wonderful friends I have in the Bo-Kaap, for giving me kind words of inspiration. May the Almighty grant us the guidance to protect and conserve this colourful vibrant community for our future offspring to cherish for years to come.

I would also like to express my appreciation to the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Tourism and Economic Development, and the Strategic Development Information and GIS Department of the City of Cape Town for providing me with the relevant information and official documentation for this dissertation.

A huge thank you to all the respondents and participants who graciously gave of their time and provided invaluable input in the research, with a special thanks to all the organisations such as the Bo-Kaap Civic Association and the Bo-Kaap Cultural Heritage Gateway, as well as all the businesses that contributed valuable insight for the long-term benefit of the community. Special mention needs to be made of Mr Erefaan Ramajam for his continuous assistance throughout the research process.

I would like to thank my husband Saleem, for being patient with me and supportive throughout this project. Thank you for your constant encouragement and assistance in making this journey an easier one.

Finally, a sincere and heartfelt thanks to my supervisor, Professor John Spencer who has tirelessly supported me throughout this project. Without him, this project would have never been a success.

## **DEDICATION**

This research is dedicated to the community of the Bo-Kaap. May you revive the guiding light and inspiration that once enriched the fabric of its people, and remain a vigilant and ever-prospering beacon for communities faced with similar challenges across South Africa and the rest of the world.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION .....	II
ABSTRACT .....	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS .....	IV
DEDICATION.....	V
GLOSSARY .....	XII
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY.....	1
1.1 Introduction .....	1
1.2 Background to the study area.....	3
1.3 Problem statement .....	9
1.4 Research objectives .....	10
1.4.1 Demographic objective.....	10
1.4.2 Cultural objectives.....	10
1.4.3 Economic objectives .....	10
1.4.4 Physical objective.....	10
1.4.5 Tourism objectives .....	10
1.5 Key questions.....	10
1.6 Motivation for the research .....	11
1.7 Significance of the study .....	11
1.8 Research design .....	12
1.9 Ethical considerations .....	12
1.10 Structure of the study .....	13
CHAPTER TWO .....	14
LITERATURE REVIEW: GENTRIFICATION AND TOURISM DEFINED.....	14
2.1 Introduction .....	14
2.2 Defining gentrification.....	14
2.3 The effects of gentrification .....	16
2.3.1 Physical effects of gentrification .....	17
2.3.2 Economic effects of gentrification.....	20
2.3.3 Cultural effects of gentrification .....	23
2.3.4 Youth effects of gentrification .....	27
2.4 International gentrification .....	29
2.5 Gentrification in South Africa .....	33
2.6 Gentrification in Cape Town .....	35

2.7 Gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town.....	37
2.8 Tourism.....	43
2.9 Cultural tourism.....	44
2.10 Tourism planning and development.....	45
2.11 The cultural impacts of cultural tourism development .....	46
2.12 Staged authenticity.....	49
2.13 Sustainable cultural tourism development and maintenance .....	51
2.14 Tourism gentrification .....	52
2.15 Sustainable cultural tourism development and gentrification.....	56
2.16 Cultural community moves to mitigate negative gentrification and ensure long- term cultural tourism development.....	62
2.17 Summary.....	65
CHAPTER THREE .....	70
RESEARCH DESIGN .....	70
3.1 Introduction .....	70
3.2 Ethical considerations .....	70
3.3 Research methodology .....	71
3.3.1 Quantitative methodology.....	71
3.3.2 Qualitative methodology.....	71
3.4 Mixed methods approach: quantitative and qualitative research methodologies.....	72
3.4.1 Triangulation .....	72
3.5 Research techniques and tools .....	73
3.5.1 Reason for chosen techniques: interviews and questionnaires.....	74
3.5.2 Data collection process .....	75
3.6 Validity of the research instrument .....	76
3.7 Reliability of the research instrument.....	76
3.8 Primary and secondary data.....	77
3.9 Sampling methods .....	78
3.10 Population sampling procedure .....	79
3.10.1 The reasons for population choice.....	80
3.11 Study limitations .....	80
3.12 Summary.....	81
CHAPTER FOUR .....	83
QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION.....	83
4.1 Introduction .....	83
4.2 Research objectives .....	83

4.3 Demographic information on the Bo-Kaap.....	83
4.3.1 Age demographic profile of the Bo-Kaap.....	84
4.3.2 Community perceptions of change in the age profiling of the Bo-Kaap.....	85
4.3.3 Research objective of determining age profile of the Bo-Kaap .....	87
4.3.4 Responsible strategy based on age profiling of the Bo-Kaap .....	87
4.3.5 Summary of the age profiling of the Bo-Kaap area.....	88
4.3.6 Gender component of the Bo-Kaap.....	90
4.3.7 Racial composition of the Bo-Kaap community .....	91
4.3.8 Household occupancy in the Bo-Kaap.....	92
4.3.9 Status of education in Bo-Kaap households.....	94
4.3.10 Employment status of Bo-Kaap residents .....	95
4.3.11 Income status of Bo-Kaap residents .....	96
4.3.12 Research objective to determine demographic change in the Bo-Kaap .....	97
4.3.13 Sustainable cultural tourism development strategy to manage Bo-Kaap demographic changes responsibly.....	99
4.4 History and type of real estate ownership in the Bo-Kaap .....	99
4.4.1 Ownership history of the Bo-Kaap's real estate .....	99
4.4.2 Type of real estate ownership in the Bo-Kaap.....	99
4.5 Bo-Kaap real estate: motivation and consumption.....	100
4.5.1 Interest in Bo-Kaap real estate .....	101
4.5.2 Bo-Kaap offers to purchase.....	101
4.5.3 Reasons for refusing offers to purchase.....	102
4.5.4 Reasons for accepting offers to purchase .....	103
4.6 Likert Table depicting residents' sentiments and perceptions surrounding community life, gentrification, cultural change and sustainable cultural tourism development .....	104
4.6.1 Residents' perceptions of Bo-Kaap life and their relation to their community.....	104
4.6.2 Residents' perceptions of cultural change in their community.....	106
4.6.3 Residents' perceptions of gentrification and its economic effects on the Bo-Kaap household .....	107
4.6.4 Residents' perceptions of the economic effect of gentrification.....	108
4.6.5 Residents' perceptions of current cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap.....	108
4.6.6 Residents' perceptions of the economic benefits of cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap ..	109
4.6.7 Residents' perceptions of cultural benefits of cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap .....	109
4.6.8 Perceptions of sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap.....	110
4.6.9 Summary of the Likert Table 4.5 results .....	110
4.7 Physical change as a possible indicator of the effects of gentrification .....	113



4.7.1 Perceptions of physical change in the Bo-Kaap .....	113
4.7.2 Residents' perceptions of the reasons for physical change in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood .....	114
4.8 Economic change as a possible indicator of the effects of gentrification .....	116
4.8.1 Perceptions of economic change in the Bo-Kaap .....	116
4.8.2 Perceptions of the possible reasons for economic change in the Bo-Kaap.....	117
4.9 Perceptions of cultural impacts and change as a possible indicator of gentrification ....	118
4.9.1 Maintenance of cultural change in the Bo-Kaap .....	118
4.9.2 Perception of why culture is still the same in the Bo-Kaap.....	119
4.9.3 Perceptions of why the Bo-Kaap's culture has possibly changed .....	121
4.9.4 Youth strategies to combat cultural impact of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap youth ....	122
4.9.5 Western cultural influence on the Bo-Kaap lifestyle and youth .....	122
4.9.6 Sustainable cultural tourism as a method of salvaging cultural impacts.....	122
4.9.7 Decline in the Bo-Kaap traditions such as 'community neighbourliness' .....	123
4.9.8 Drugs and crime as a possible cultural impact of gentrification.....	124
4.9.9 Decline in Bo-Kaap traditions such as <i>Thikrs</i> .....	125
4.9.10 Residents' perceptions of the cultural impact of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap.....	125
4.9.11 Summary of the perceptions of the cultural impacts of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap	127
4.9.12 Research objective determining cultural impacts of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap ....	127
4.9.13 Traditions to be utilised for sustainable cultural tourism development.....	128
4.9.14 Methods of reviving old traditions to develop sustainable cultural tourism .....	130
4.9.15 Sustainable cultural tourism to minimise negative cultural effects of gentrification ...	131
4.10 Perceptions of the overall demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism impacts of new businesses in the Bo-Kaap.....	132
4.10.1 Perceptions of whether new businesses pose a threat to the traditional Bo-Kaap ...	132
4.10.2 Reasons for possible threat of new business invasion in the Bo-Kaap.....	133
4.11 Perceptions of current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap .....	136
4.11.1 Positive perceptions of current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap .....	136
4.11.2 Negative perceptions of current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap.....	138
4.11.3 Tourism and gentrification equals tourism gentrification .....	140
4.12 Perceptions of tourism authenticity in the Bo-Kaap.....	141
4.12.1 Perceptions of whether cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap is authentic.....	141
4.12.2 Perceptions of non-authentic tours in the Bo-Kaap.....	142
4.12.3 Summary of the perceptions of tourism authenticity in the Bo-Kaap .....	143
4.12.4 Research objectives established and sustainable cultural tourism strategy .....	144
4.13 Summary.....	145

CHAPTER FIVE.....	147
QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS.....	147
5.1 Introduction .....	147
5.2 Qualitative approach: in-depth interviews and focus group discussions .....	148
5.2.1 Defining gentrification: positive and negative aspects .....	148
5.2.2 Negative interpretations of gentrification .....	152
5.2.3 Positive interpretations of gentrification .....	156
5.2.4 The effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap community.....	159
5.2.5 Tourism change and tourism gentrification.....	167
5.3 Sustainable cultural tourism development: responsible gentrification in the Bo- Kaap..	173
5.4 Comparative analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data results. ....	189
5.4.1 Positive and negative effects of gentrification .....	189
5.4.2 Gentrification in the Bo-Kaap.....	193
5.4.3 Demographic effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap .....	193
5.4.4 Physical effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap.....	195
5.4.5 Economic effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap. ....	197
5.4.6 Cultural effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap.....	199
5.4.7 Current tourism effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap.....	201
5.4.8 Sustainable cultural tourism development .....	205
5.5 Summary of comparative analysis.....	206
CHAPTER SIX.....	211
CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	211
6.1 Introduction .....	211
6.2 Summary.....	211
6.3 Recommendations emanating from the study.....	212
6.4 International recommendations for responsible gentrification .....	214
6.5 Motivation and significance of research.....	218
6.6 Conclusion .....	219
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	222
APPENDICES.....	229
APPENDIX A: CPUT ethics committee approval letter .....	230
APPENDIX B: Letter of permission from cultural & heritage gateway.....	231
APPENDIX C: Letter of permission from bo-kaap civic association.....	232
APPENDIX D: Questionnaire covering letter .....	233
APPENDIX E: Questionnaire .....	234
APPENDIX F: Interview schedule .....	238

## LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 Changes in social and demographic profile of Bo-Kaap's inhabitants.....	42
Table 2.2: Inhabitants of Bo-Kaap's perceptions of change in the neighbourhood.....	42
Table 4.1: Demographic data on the Bo-Kaap population's households.....	85
Table 4.2: Perceptions of age profiling in the Bo-Kaap.....	86
Table 4.3: Demographic data: education and income .....	89
Table 4.4: Desire and reasons to buy and sell in the Bo-Kaap.....	101
Table 4.5: Likert Table: community perceptions on gentrification effects and tourism .....	104
Table 4.6: Perceptions of physical change in the Bo-Kaap .....	113
Table 4.7: Perceptions of economic change in the Bo-Kaap .....	116
Table 4.8: Perceptions of cultural change in the Bo-Kaap.....	118
Table 4.9: Cultural impacts of gentrification and potential sustainable cultural tourism.....	126
Table 4.10: Indirect demographic, physical, economic and cultural impacts of gentrification as a result of new-business ownership .....	132
Table 4.11: Perceptions of tourism development in the Bo-Kaap.....	136
Table 4.12: Perceptions of tourism product authenticity in the Bo-Kaap.....	141

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Historical map of the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town. Source: Pickard (1968:158-159).....	4
Figure 2.1 Rezoned map of the Bo-Kaap (2016).....	39
Figure 4.1. Type of Real Estate ownership .....	89
Figure 4.2. Years of Residency.....	90
Figure 5.1: Sustainable community development flowchart (Researcher construct).....	189

## GLOSSARY

<b>Terms/Acronyms/Abbreviations</b>	<b>Definition/Explanation</b>
CA	Bo-Kaap Civic Association
CBD	Central Business District
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CTP	Cape Town Partnership
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DEIC	Dutch East India Company
GDP	Gross domestic product
HWC	Heritage Western Cape
LCA	Las Caminos Antiguos Scenic
MNC	Multi-National Corporation
MoCA	Museum of Chinese in America
MOU	Memorandum of understanding
PDI	Previously disadvantaged individuals
SAHRA	South African Heritage Resources Agency
SMMEs	Small- medium- micro-enterprises
SWOT analysis	Analysis of Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WTO	World Trade Organisation

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

### 1.1 Introduction

This study focuses specifically on the Bo-Kaap area in Cape Town, and its local community, who share a largely common culture and heritage dating back to the slave era, when the Cape was colonised by the Dutch who imported high ranking political slaves, such as Tuan Guru and Sheikh Yusuf, from the Malaysian Archipelago in the 17<sup>th</sup> century (Cape Mazaar Kramat Society, 2001:10).

The descendants of these slaves form a unique cultural community who reside today on the slopes of Signal Hill, the area known as the Bo-Kaap, situated in the city centre of Cape Town. Dutch colonisers once housed the slaves in colourful Malay/Dutch architectural-styled houses, now a prime tourist attraction of the Bo-Kaap area. Donaldson, Kotze, Visser, Park, Wally, Zen and Vieyra (2011:4) noted that:

... (H)owever what remains is vibrantly alive, the brightly painted houses interspersed with the minarets of mosques all looking out across the bay and Table Mountain, backing up against Signal Hill and the sacred *kramats* on the summit.

These descendants were branded by the Apartheid regime as the Cape Malays, and they refer to themselves by this label. Robins (1998/99) refers to the Cape Malays as a 'dying race', as many of the original Cape Malay traditions have died out, due to a growing cosmopolitan Cape Town population with its varying cultural influences. Robins (1998/99:282) comments that:

South African town planning discourses have for a large part not been affected by multicultural discourses and continue to homogenise a highly differentiated population through centuries of racialised privilege and oppression.

In support of what could be termed a 'fruit salad' city of vibrant and unique multicultural traditions, as opposed to one melting pot where distinctive cultural traditions are diluted and lost, sustainable cultural tourism is likely to thrive. The challenge is how to preserve cultural distinctiveness without social construction of an ethnic enclave that is inclusive of 'the other'. Robins (1998/99:292) asks: "...how do we deconstruct such essentialising versions of multiculturalism without bending the rod too far in the direction of denial of cultural difference?" It goes without saying that tourism can only exist if it offers a uniquely special product and experience to overseas visitors to which they are not exposed in their home environment. Gotham (2005:1102), according to his definition of tourism, supports this sentiment:

... tourism may be a global force, it is also a locally based set of activities and organisations involved in the production of local distinctiveness, local cultures and different local histories that appeal to visitors' tastes for the exotic and unique.

This is especially true for tourists who are motivated by novelty.

Given the neighbourhood's physical and social significance, and its increasing tourist appeal, its unique historic individuality has been recognised by the National Government and it was designated a Provincial Heritage Area in 1999 (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:4).

A successful tourism framework can only exist if it satisfies all stakeholders involved, where control of most tourism ownership is cradled in the hands of the local community, and can only thrive with the support of the state and the private sector. The heritage of the Bo-Kaap should not be neglected, and must contribute to sustainable cultural tourism. According to Atkinson (2009:284), small town revitalisation suggests several possibilities which are similar to sustainable cultural tourism development and which can model itself as a blueprint for future sustainable tourism development in the Bo-Kaap. These possibilities are the promotion of diversification (i.e. tourism to craft manufacturer), downtown revitalisation and main street programmes, raising dedicated local taxes to invest in infrastructure, local business and job training and aggressive pursuit of state and federal grants, and professionally run business incubators. This ensures that benefits flow from grassroots level up, rather than marginal growth and majority of profits flowing into 'foreign' multi-national possession. Researchers note: the word 'foreigner' is used in its widest sense in the study, to denote a person or organisation not originally from a specific area.

The research is aimed at discovering the reasons for the possible decline in the Bo-Kaap's heritage, which could lead to solutions for its future preservation. The Cape Malay culture of the Bo-Kaap area, typically known as the 'Cape Malay Quarter' is a tourism gem, which may be slowly declining due to forces, including 'gentrification'. From a tourism research perspective, academia needs to fulfil a responsibility in uncovering what gentrification is, how this is affecting the community, and its link to developing sustainable cultural tourism for both future generations and tourists to enjoy economically, socially and environmentally.

Gentrification is a 20<sup>th</sup> century urban phenomenon, where higher income residents replace low-income residents. This is thought to have happened in the Bo-Kaap due to dramatic increases in property rates which wealthy foreigners can afford, forcing local property owners to sell and relocate to other suburbs. This leads to some capital investment injection mainly in terms of renovating homes and guesthouses, and therefore leads to some increased local demand, which affects business activity in an area, for example Aberdeen's economy which included transport and real estate (Atkinson, 2009:274). Gentrification could take the form of local businesses (eg. production and tourism) being displaced by foreign businesses. This took place in the small Eastern Cape town of Aberdeen, where gentrification was claimed to be slowly taking place (see Photo 1).



Photo 1:

A guesthouse in Aberdeen (a form of tourism gentrification).

Photographic source: Google Images [www.Aberdeen.org.za](http://www.Aberdeen.org.za). hofmeyer 0001-62 (2015).

According to Atkinson (2009:277): "(T)he more recent businesses had been set up particularly in the following sectors: groceries, bakeries, accommodation, restaurants...arts and crafts." New-build gentrification describes modern urban development in a heritage area as opposed to the rehabilitation of existing physical fabric, which may devalue the historical cultural tourism potential of an area (Kotze & van der Merwe, 2000:39). The effects of gentrification are explored further in this research in terms of how the local culture of an area could be threatened, since the Bo-Kaap community may have dispersed due to the urbanisation process. The effects of gentrification could impede sustainable cultural tourism in the process, since cultural traditions, lifestyle, history and heritage as a cultural tourism product is not only disturbed, but also not actively preserved and cherished for the benefit of future tourists and locals.

There is a danger of mainstream commercial tourism developing and further hastening the gentrification process. This may be prevented by developing sustainable cultural tourism which, may indeed slow down the negative cultural impacts of gentrification.

## 1.2 Background to the study area

The Bo-Kaap has a very special history, which has resulted in it evolving into the special heritage attraction it is today. It dates back to even before the Dutch colonised the Cape in 1652 (See Figure 1.1). Jan van Riebeeck was obliged to look to the East for the trade of slaves due to

competing slave trading companies in the West. Slaves were despatched from Coromandel, Malabar, Nagapalam and the coasts of India (Barker, Bell, Duggan, Horler, le Roux, Maurice, Rynierse & Schafer, 1988:49). Malays, Indians, Javanese and Arabians were the origin of the slaves brought to the Cape in the 1600s. There was competition in the east between Portuguese and Dutch sea trading companies to loot Far Eastern countries of their wealth and spices. Locals here formed a defence against the Dutch East India Company (DEIC). Political activists were captured and taken as slaves on board their ships, which arrived at the Cape. These slaves were to be used for hard labour in building the fort, today known as the Cape of Good Hope Castle (Cape Mazaar Kramat Society, 2001:10).

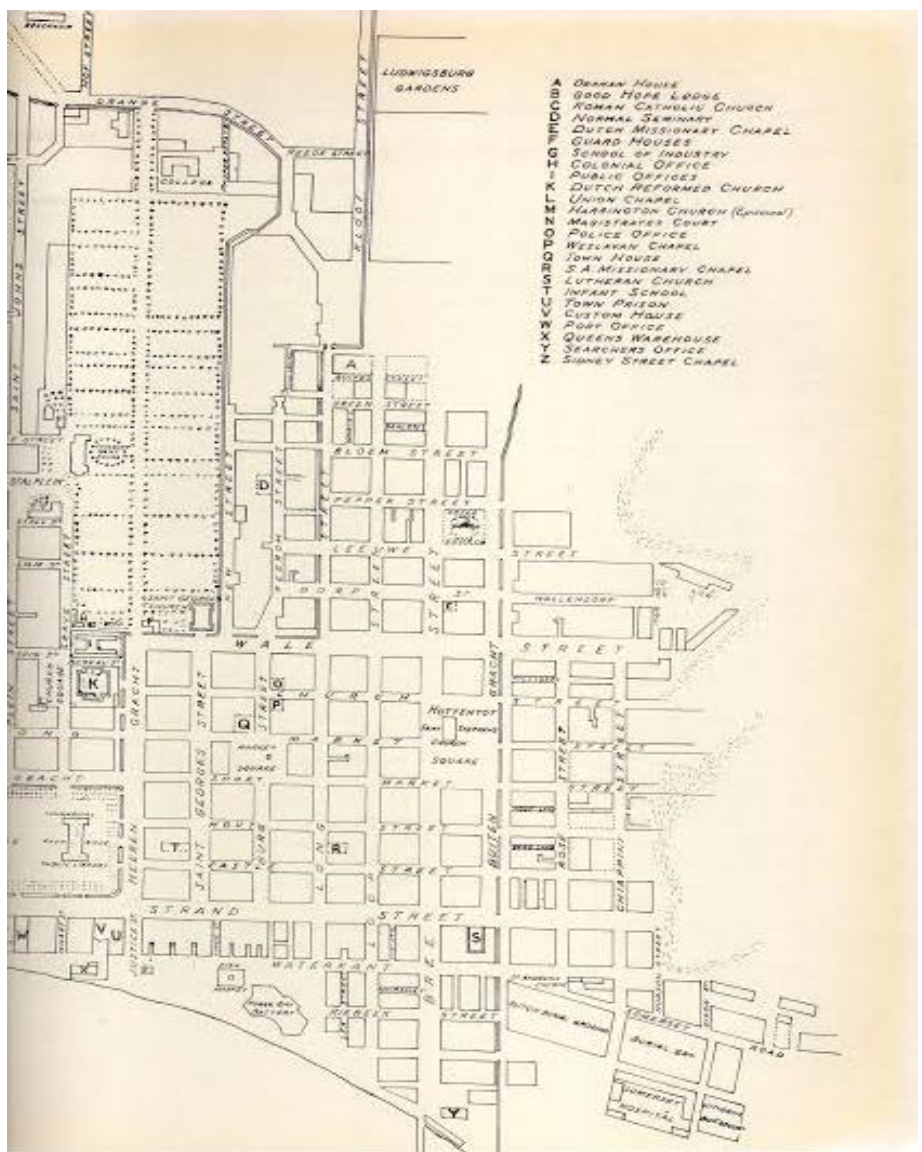


Figure 1.1 Historical map of the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town. Source: Pickard (1968:158-159)

According to Barker *et al.* (1988:50), slaves from Madagascar and the African coast were the least valuable, as opposed to the 'Malay' slaves who were the most expensive due to their skills



and suitable to all trade practices at the Cape. Once freed, many of them prospered commercially.

Many of the slaves were skilled craftsmen whom the Dutch exploited for their own benefit. The craft expertise shared amongst the slaves were carpentry, including fine art carvings, tailoring shoemaking, toolmaking, and confectionary. The slaves are responsible for constructing many buildings in Cape Town (Hutchinson, 2006:110).

Before Muslim slaves were freed, the Dutch banned them from practising their religion. Only in 1798 the Tuan Guru founded the first mosque which still stands today in Dorp Street in the Bo-Kaap (Barker *et al.*, 1988:50). According to Hutchinson (2006:3), a freed slave named Cordon van Ceylon bought the property on which the mosque was erected. It was the first formal centre of worship, education and dissemination of Islamic culture in South Africa. Davids (1980) reveals that Muslims had no political rights and the final abolishment of slavery in 1838 led to slaves having no alternative but to focus on religio-cultural activities such as the construction of mosques. The Auwal Mosque in Dorp Street is the first mosque in South Africa and acts as a "cultural ecological base for the grouping of Muslim community" (Davids, 1980:12). Islam was therefore a compass of growth and intellectual development, essential to the progress of the individual and the community. According to Islamic principle, the individual, the family and the community should be in sync with one another.

The Slave Lodge, the second oldest colonial structure in Cape Town, housed 9 000 male and female slaves, including the mentally ill. The slaves were later moved to the Company Gardens and then released six years before the universal emancipation of slaves throughout the British Empire. Today it has become part of the National Iziko Museum in Adderley Street (Hutchinson, 2006:4).

The Bo-Kaap Museum is housed in one of the oldest residential houses in the area, designed by Jan de Waal in 1768. This was the first home of Abu Bakr Effendi, a Turkish Muslim scholar and prominent leader in the Cape Muslim Community, and was established as the Bo-Kaap Museum in 1978 by Iziko Museums, giving a unique insight into the cultural history of the Cape Malays (Hutchinson, 2006:6).

The 'noon gun' is one of Cape Town's many traditions (to remind the city's inhabitants of those who gave their lives in the Great War) and is situated at the top of Military Road, bordering the Bo-Kaap. The two cannons (main gun and back-up) are the oldest in daily use in the world. The 'noon gun' was initially located at the Castle but following complaints from residents, was relocated to the Lion Battery on Signal Hill, at the top of Military Road, on the 4<sup>th</sup> of August 1902.

The guns were originally used to indicate the time during the colonial era, when pocket watches were scarce. Today the noon gun is a historical site, synonymous with the Bo-Kaap (Hutchinson, 2006:6).

The culture of the slaves was developed from a unique blend of influences from around the Far East. The architecture, food, traditions, clothing, language and most of all the religion, became a distinguishing characteristic of the Muslim community of the Cape who were the ancestors of the political exiles enslaved by the Dutch colonialists in what is today known as Cape Town. This Muslim community was categorised as Cape Malay, hence the old name of the Bo-Kaap named the Malay Quarter. This was the beginning of the Muslim population and its belief which became entrenched in South African history. They evolved and dispersed across the country, as it is today (Hutchinson, 2006:6).

Once slavery was abolished, ex-slaves moved into the Bo-Kaap where horses which served the local community, were stabled in Rose Street. The area became known as the Malay Quarter, defined to the west by Dorp Street and Strand Street in the east (see Figure 1.1). The people living here were employed in the building, carpentry, shoemaking, tailoring and fishing industries. The Malay Quarter eventually became an overcrowded slum and blocks of sub-economic flats were built on Schotchezkloof, a DEIC farm on a terrace overlooking the Malay Quarter, to house the growing Muslim community from the Malay Quarter below. The brightly-coloured homes only started to appear after the City Council was obliged by provincial government to restore the area in the 1960s and 1970s. According to Hutchinson (2006:113), the colourful houses still remain today and colours are regularly changed. The only colour houses are not allowed to be painted, is white (See Photo 2).



Photo 2:  
A typical depiction of tourists taking pictures of colourful houses in Chiappini Street, Bo-Kaap.  
Researcher's own photograph (2015).

The tangible heritage of the Bo-Kaap community, which still stands proud, is the unique historical architecture. The mosques are outstanding examples of this architecture, built by free Muslims and Muslim slaves to serve as places of worship in the Malay Quarter (Hutchinson, 2006:21)

The Cape Malay culture has always been largely based on its food and spices. Its origins stem from the spice trade conducted by the DEIC in the Malaysian Peninsula. The slaves and these spices were brought to the Cape on the ship *De Voetboog*, from Ceylon. Slaves incorporated these spices into their cooking for slave masters and families (Hutchinson, 2006:21).

Food is seen as key in celebrations and feasts, and is connected to rites of passage and religious festivals. This includes *Ramadaan*, *Eid*, *Tamat*, *Ghadat*, *Khorbaan*, *Moulood* and *Doopmaal* (Hutchinson, 2006:29). *Ramadaan* falls in the 9<sup>th</sup> month of the Muslim lunar calendar. It is considered the holiest month of the year where fasting (abstaining from drink and food from sunrise to sunset) is compulsory. After sundown foods such as dates, koeksisters, samoosas and soup are consumed to break the fast. The tradition of exchanging cookies before the break of fast started in the Bo-Kaap centuries ago and is still practised in the Bo-Kaap and parts of Cape Town and South Africa today (Hutchinson, 2006:36).

The music of the Cape Malay culture was a medium of expression and recording history through song. Petersen (cited by Hutchinson, 2006:90), states:

You can compare the birth of Ghoema music in the Cape with the creation of blues in the US, Samba in Latin America or Creole music in the Caribbean. All these types of music have one thing in common: slavery.

As an antidote to oppression, music and dance were used to positively channel feelings of despair and entrapment into enjoyment, happiness and laughter. In the Bo-Kaap a special kind of music developed from the influences of the Malay slaves, indigenous people of the Cape, the Dutch and other European settlers. The word *Ghoema* denotes a drum with fitted animal skin and originates from the Swahili word for drum, *Ngoma*. Ghoema music includes a rich tapestry of classic Dutch folk songs (Nederlandse liedjies) born from the slave labourers, similar to the Jamaican slave music which developed into what is today known as Reggae music (Hutchinson, 2006:90). This is ultimately an example of the triumphant human spirit creating unity through music against all odds. Music was also used as a clever means of communication amongst slaves, where they would 'sing' important messages encoded with strong political and social overtones. This information would be disseminated to fellow slaves in songs sung in the native Melayu language to fool the Dutch slave masters. Another opportunity for slaves to 'fool' their masters was on the 2<sup>nd</sup> of January or second New Year (2<sup>de</sup> Nuwe Jaar). This was the only day in the year on which slaves were given the day off. They would sing and dance and poke fun at their masters, wearing colourful costumes and painting their faces to disguise their identities. This has evolved into what is known today as the Cape Minstrels or '*Nag-troepe*' singing on the streets of Cape Town every second day of the New Year. Malay choirs comprise gentlemen in red fezzes, singing folk songs and playing their banjos. This tradition is rarely practised in public spaces within the Bo-Kaap today (Hutchinson, 2006:90).

Cultural dress has evolved over time. Traditional dress was a symbol of cultural identity. Everyday dress included *kaparang* shoes (wooden soled open toe sandals worn in the rice fields in the Far East) and a *toding* (conical hat) worn by men. In 1861, the red fez was introduced by Turkish missionaries, which eventually replaced the *toding* (Hutchinson, 2006:112). Today women still cover their hair with head scarves because of Islamic tradition, but not in the same fashion as their ancestral slaves.

Sports, particularly rugby, form a huge part of Bo-Kaap culture and has been a favourite hobby of the male youth for generations in the area. Many sporting legends hailed from this area as a result of this. One such legend is Faghmie Solomons (known as Fluffy Solomons) who was a rugby star in the Bo-Kaap while growing up. He became the captain of several local teams and received honorary awards for dedicated service to South African Rugby (Hutchinson, 2006:133).

Solomons also excelled in cricket. Another sporting hero from the Bo-Kaap was Basil D'Oliveira, who was not allowed to play cricket in South Africa because of the apartheid policies. Born and bred in the Bo-Kaap, D'Oliveira relocated to Britain to play cricket for England. The Apartheid government went to great lengths to prevent him playing on South African soil and went as far as refusing to play against the English national cricket team since D'Oliveira was on the team (Hutchinson, 2006:127).

As a result of the Bo-Kaap being the origin of social and intellectual development in the Cape, it is no surprise that the evolution of multiple ideologies on Islam and heritage have emanated from this point, resulting in a predominant heritage gene pool of heterogeneous classes and perspectives. Economic disparity is therefore prevalent in the Bo-Kaap, which could be further aggravated by gentrification (see Photo 3).



Photo 3:  
Bo-Kaap economic disparity. Sub-economic housing against a backdrop of high income households perched on the hill behind.  
Researcher's own photograph (2015).

### 1.3 Problem statement

Changes have taken place in the Bo-Kaap through gentrification and these needs to be managed in a sustainable manner through cultural tourism development. Changes in any community are inevitable, but if managed responsibly, can be positive and progress can occur. This could result in a community benefiting and developing on a physical, economic, cultural and tourism level.

The study thus seeks to establish whether the traditional inhabitants of the Bo-Kaap are being replaced by a new generation of inhabitants because of gentrification in the area

#### **1.4 Research objectives**

The objectives aim to address the problem stated above, and are categorised according to problem areas, namely demographic, cultural, economic, physical, and tourism objectives.

##### **1.4.1 Demographic objective**

Establish whether the elderly population has stabilised as a result of youth settling outside of the area as a possible result of gentrification. This will indicate whether the youth population has declined due to gentrification.

##### **1.4.2 Cultural objectives**

Establish whether the racial, traditional lifestyle, and cultural composition of the community has been replaced as a result of gentrification. This objective should outline the associated cultural displacement. .

##### **1.4.3 Economic objectives**

Explore whether economic change in the community is a result of changing demographics due to the municipal rate and rental increases. This will define the source of economic pressure in the community.

##### **1.4.4 Physical objective**

Establish whether the physical aspects of any cultural historical fabric have been changed. This refers to heritage sites of significance, which could possibly be changed through urban development in the Bo-Kaap.

##### **1.4.5 Tourism objectives**

Establish whether a local tourism authority would aid local youth and community cultural survival and cultural preservation, by investigating whether tourism has contributed to positive cultural impacts on the community or damaged the social wellbeing of the community.

#### **1.5 Key questions**

The key questions are aimed at revealing what the demographic, cultural, economic and physical impacts on the Bo-Kaap community are, as a result of gentrification and commercial

tourism development. Answers to these questions will assist in arriving at solutions to community growth using sustainable cultural tourism development as a tool to slow down the negative changes and increase the positive impact brought about by gentrification.

These objectives and key questions can best be answered by analysis of data gathered on the aspects of demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism of the Bo-Kaap community. It is the intention of this study to establish to what extent gentrification is taking place in the Bo-Kaap, and whether the process can be managed responsibly to promote the potential cultural tourism of the area to the community's advantage.

## **1.6 Motivation for the research**

The motivation for this research is the desire to consolidate the body of knowledge on gentrification of the Bo-Kaap, and the researcher's deep interest in anthropology and tourism, as well as a passion for preserving heritage and using cultural tourism as a driving force, leading to a concern for development of cultural tourism which is sustainable, and therefore first takes care of its own community in the process. This constitutes holistic development, which covers all economic, cultural and environmental spheres of the community. Once the community and culture is protected through cultural tourism enterprise, tourists themselves would be more satisfied with their expectations of receiving an authentic, sustainable form of cultural tourism. The area is, however under threat due to processes of gentrification and mainstream tourism. Robins (1998/1999) confirms that change is inevitable, cultural difference is inevitable, homogenisation of culture due to globalisation is inevitable, as are urbanisation processes. The forces of change and globalised culture are inevitable, but these changes are manageable in a responsible manner, by making room for different cultures, by celebrating and preserving the Bo-Kaap heritage without intolerance of 'the other' or promoting racialised poverty. The youth should therefore play a pivotal role in harnessing their own cultural identities through conserving the unique aspects of the Bo-Kaap, while embracing change and diversity simultaneously.

## **1.7 Significance of the study**

Visser (2002:419) claims that gentrification in the Bo-Kaap threatens the heritage of the area and that there is a lack of research on the effect of these processes in South Africa and its neighbourhoods.

Research into the effects of gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development is crucial in finding methods of either raising the standard of living to a level where residents can afford the increased property value, or decreasing property rates so that locals can afford to remain in the

area. This could be achieved by heritage tourism enterprises under the control of the inhabitants of this unique historical district of Cape Town. Displacement of locals by foreigners could possibly then be prevented, a situation which is deemed the precursor to increased property rates, and therefore gentrification of urban processes.

The significance of this study is that it should add to the academic arguments surrounding gentrification, and should create awareness around heritage conservation and sustainable tourism potential in the community. It could provide a platform for policy-building surrounding sustainable tourism practice in this heritage area. It could provide more employment opportunities and, as a result, a more cohesive youth structure where drugs, theft and teen-pregnancies need not be a soft option. This could ultimately result in sustainable tourist satisfaction motivated by authentic tourism and not fabricated commercialised culture or mass tourism.

### **1.8 Research design**

A blended technique was used, combining quantitative and qualitative questions within the framework of a questionnaire, which was included in the quantitative survey. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions comprised questions of a qualitative nature. The combined quantitative and qualitative data obtained from the survey was quantitatively analysed by coding responses into close-ended categories, while the information obtained from the qualitative data collection was analysed through a qualitative approach.

### **1.9 Ethical considerations**

The Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) research committee granted ethical approval for the study (Appendix A).

Letters of permission were obtained from two community leaders, Bilqees Baker—Chairman of the Bo-Kaap Cultural Heritage Gateway (Appendix B), and Osman Shaboodien—Chairman of the Bo-Kaap Civic Association (Appendix C). These letters granted permission for the research process to be conducted in the community.

A covering consent letter (Appendix D) accompanied all questionnaires (Appendices E and F). The covering letter explained the aims of the research and the respondent's role in the process. The letter informed participants that their participation is voluntary and that they may withdraw from the research at any time and for any reason. It also stated that participants may omit questions that they do not wish to answer and that strict confidentiality of all responses would be maintained.



The project does not deliberately mislead participants in anyway, neither cause physical or psychological harm nor discomfort. Respondents were adults over the age of 18, and did not include school children, people with learning and communication difficulties, patients, people in custody or people engaged in any form of illegal activity. The study did not involve any external institution from which special permission would be required for research to be conducted on its premises. Participants were debriefed at the end of their participation in the study.

### **1.10 Structure of the study**

**Chapter One:** Introduces the study and sketches a general background on the Bo-Kaap and its culture. The problem statement and related problems are stated, as well as the research objectives and key questions. The motivation for and significance of this research is explained. The research design is described and the ethical considerations for the study are addressed. The chapter concludes by outlining the structure of the study.

**Chapter Two:** Literature review: This chapter discusses gentrification by definition, its forms and contexts, and positive and negative impacts. The discussion addresses the possible effects on physical, economic, demographic and cultural spheres within gentrified communities across the world. Gentrification is explored on an international level, and then refined to a rural context before focusing on this development process in the greater Cape Town area and the Bo-Kaap in particular. Tourism, as a stand-alone development phenomenon, is explored before tourism gentrification as a combined interrelated process can be fully understood. Finally gentrification and tourism are examined as an interrelated phenomenon. The combination of these two processes form a single, yet complex development phenomenon called 'Tourism Gentrification'.

**Chapter Three:** Research design: both quantitative and qualitative approaches are discussed, before exploring a mixed method approach of combining quantitative and qualitative methodologies, focusing on methods and the benefits of triangulation. The chosen research techniques and tools are discussed. Interviews and questionnaires were utilised in the data collection process.

**Chapter Four:** Quantitative data analysis and data interpretation

**Chapter Five:** Qualitative data analysis and data interpretation

**Chapter Six:** Conclusion and recommendations

## CHAPTER TWO

### LITERATURE REVIEW: GENTRIFICATION AND TOURISM DEFINED

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses gentrification by definition, its forms and contexts, and positive and negative impacts on the physical, economic, demographic and cultural spheres. The concept 'tourism' is discussed and the interaction of it and gentrification is explained.

#### 2.2 Defining gentrification

Gentrification is experienced and perceived through multiple lenses and is therefore defined differently across the academic community. One of the main gentrification research specialists in South Africa is Gustav Visser, who states that gentrification is a complex urban process that has proved difficult to explain (Visser, 2003:81). A discussion on a range of interpretations of what gentrification means and entails follows from Visser's (2003) article.

Visser (2003:82) describes Ruth Glass' definition of gentrification as a social reflection on references to London in the early 1960s:

... one by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes, upper and lower...once the process of gentrification starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed.

This epitomises the possible effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap where the cultural impacts are more so heightened by the displacement of the community members and their inherent culture. (Visser, 2003:82) reiterates Glass' statement in saying:

...in the course of a decade or two, the original population is replaced by a population of a different social class, culture, income level and lifestyle.

According to Visser, Glass' description of gentrification focuses on the social procedure, on which gentrification thrives (Visser, 2003:82).

Visser (2002:420) cites Kotze's (1998) definition of gentrification, which centres on the actual process itself and claims:

...in more measured terms, gentrification has come to mean a unit by unit acquisition of housing which replaces low-income residents with high income residents, and occurs independent of the structural condition, architecture, tenure or original cost level of the housing (although it is usually renovated for or by the new occupiers).

Badyina and Golubchikov (2005:115) provide a similar definition of gentrification by describing the evolution from apartment-by-apartment to house-by-house and then to block-by-block elite housing reconstruction as part of the gentrification process.

Gentrification may be viewed as an urban process of regeneration but not as an improvement, rather as the deterioration of displaced communities who find themselves entangled in this urban phenomenon. Perez (2002:49) compares gentrification with urban renewal, where gentrification is even happening one building or one street block at a time. In actual fact, it is more a referral of deterioration from the physical city to the social realm of the original local city inhabitants. What is clear is that an existing economic disparity is further intensified, which is physically embodied by a stark contrast between old derelict buildings and structures, and new-build office blocks and renovated homes (Garside, 1993:30). This is because of the strong possibility that old residents are unable to maintain their properties as a result of an increase in rates caused by new residents who are able to afford to renovate their old homes once they have moved into the heritage Bo-Kaap neighbourhood, which Bures and Cain (2008:3) refer to as upgrading. Several theorists, such as Slater and Badyina and Golubchikov, contend that urban renewal is positive development for some and negative on communities who find themselves to be collateral damage in the urban gentrification process (Slater, 2004:304; Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:115).

Hutchinson (2006:2) focuses more on the cultural aspect of gentrification within his definition:

Gentrification is defined as a process by which middle class people take up residence in a traditionally working class area of a city, changing the character of the area. By this means deteriorated neighbourhoods experience urban restoration and an increase in property values, along with an influx of wealthier residents. Gentrification can change the demographics of neighbourhoods and may include the displacement of lower income residents.

As a result of affluent residents moving into areas, these communities undergoing gentrification are typically characterised by a mix of decayed and modern refurbished houses and buildings. This was the beginning of a slow process of neighbourhood rejuvenation in Woodstock, as the new coloured middle class began to renovate and securitize their homes (Garside, 1993:30).

New-build gentrification is another dimension to this already neo-liberal urban process. According to Visser and Kotze (2008:2567), it is less related to gentrification of residential neighbourhoods and displacement of residents through the renovation of existing homes, instead, it is centred on the conversion of old derelict buildings into new office blocks or development of new physical structures such as office blocks, apartments or hotels. Yutar (2001:1) reveals that new-build gentrification finds its way to the Bo-Kaap as well in the form of garish multi-storey office buildings, factory shops, advertising agencies and trendy loft apartment blocks (see Photo 4).



Photo 4:  
Bo-Kaap - Rose Street, the boutique hotel and apartments for sale.  
Researcher's own photograph (2015).

Patch (2004:169) initiates his dialogue on gentrification as a post-industrial society economy centred on service, which leads to the formation of a new social class. The combination of economic transformation, class reformation and new cultural demands creates the material conditions feeding the particular consumption needs of the new social class. This contributes to the renewed urban process we know as gentrification, or as Sze (2010:59) notes, a new approach to the size and depth of the economy. Visser (2003:82) on the other hand, observes the first art galleries in a working class neighbourhood as a classic sign of imminent gentrification, while Patch (2004:169) argues that artist amenities do not instigate initial spurts of gentrification but rather feed off an existing financial interwoven network already in place. One can then deduce that it is a relationship of a dialectical nature, in other words, it is tricky to distinguish a simplistic cause and effect dynamic.

### **2.3 The effects of gentrification**

To understand the effects of gentrification, the factors which cause it need first to be examined. "Perhaps surprisingly, this issue has received little coverage in the literature, which has more often queried the explanation rather than the effects of gentrification" (Atkinson, 2003:2347).

According to Warde (1991:225) the causes of gentrification were the preference for living near central points of the city to avoid long-distance commuting, the demographic changes signifying

increase in births and new household patterns of behaviour, and new trends in consumer behaviour. Gentrification is also a product of revolutionised occupational structures, especially in relation to gender roles, with new meaning to cultural and material human expression in society. The fact that property prices in the inner city may be higher than in suburban locations, it is relatively low in reference to the advantages of accessibility. The rent gap has contributed to this feature, where properties in the inner and capital cities are profitable (Warde, 1991:225). These causes of gentrification have consequently influenced the characteristics of the impacts of gentrification on both the physical, cultural and economic spheres of spatial cities.

Gentrification and its effects are interdependent, where physical, economic and cultural spheres cannot exist on their own. Therefore changing effects in the physical fabric offset changes in the economic status quo, ultimately affecting a society and the lifestyles within. Gentrification can be caused by social change or it can effect social change. It can also cause economic change, where change can exacerbate it further. It can even be caused or accelerated by its original residents. The physical, economic, demographic and cultural effects of gentrification are therefore an important point of discussion in departing from the basic definitions of gentrification. To truly understand the meaning of gentrification it is prudent to explore the different impacts it has on the immediate physical surroundings, economy and society.

### 2.3.1 Physical effects of gentrification

The physical effects of gentrification can be described through an interconnected web of primary and secondary physical and cultural and economic effects.

Nil Uzun (2003:363) sees the 'onslaught' of gentrification as a result of the "post-Fordist" production era which shifted its focus away from a "Fordist" industrial mode of production to a service-oriented economy, increasing professional corporations, administrative and technical occupations within the city centre, central to the new global urban system, and resulting in the physical transformation of the city. Nil Uzun therefore saw this economic change as a valid impetus to not only spur on the growth of a neo-capitalist urban structure but one which commanded a social system that would adapt and develop into a revised economic profile to complement this new physical corporate configuration. The physical effect of the city later related to social characteristics supporting the recreated structures. Social polarisation in terms of income and occupational status was a consequence of the change in this corporate formation, where the economic profile comes in the form of a new middle class made up of mostly professional single people or young couples without children.

These cultural support structures feed into the urban structure leading to the outcome of rapid growth of gentrification, where the further physical effects of gentrification are usually the secondary wave of urban development. Depending on the theorist, the initial effects are either the result of the displacement by urban elite and middle classes (Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:115), where the initial physical effects would be urban redevelopment of structures to house the elite or, according to Nil Uzun (2003:363), the physical and economical structures embedded in the city are the initial effects of gentrification, where the secondary physical effects are the further urban regeneration to assist the middle classes in their displacement.

The physical effects of gentrification on an area are therefore primary tangible changes visible to the eye, once this urban process starts taking effect. The motivation behind urban regeneration is to transform the physical fabric of the city, usually from one that is derelict and not visually appealing. Urban regeneration involving physical transformation is usually characterised by cleaner, attractive designs, consequently raising real estate values. This proves true in the Bo-Kaap context where "yuppies" prefer to make their home in old historic houses near to central urban multiple service amenities, later to be renovated, escalating the rates and exacerbating the gentrification process further (Poking, 2013). Nil Uzun (2003:363) underpins Poking's statement: "In part, the changing lifestyles and cultural preferences were expressed through old houses, especially in the inner city, being bought and refurbished." New, or additions to buildings, provide specific aesthetic facilities leading to some types of service delivery (Warde, 1991:225).

This encapsulates the essence of the argument that gentrification may protect the tangible heritage of an area yet forego the intangible social elements which intrinsically enhance the physical fabric of the area, so the joviality of historic heritage neighbourhoods ceases to exist without one or the other. This is one of the chief reasons why the historic Bo-Kaap is a residential tourist attraction, as opposed to historic De Waterkant not falling within the tourist gaze (Poking, 2013). According to Visser (2002:422), De Waterkant was once inhabited by Cape Muslims who suffered forced removals and have been replaced by wealthy gay gentrifiers (see Photo 5).



Photo 5:

Loader Street, De Waterkant. Contrast between old and new of the same architecture. This was part of the old Bo-Kaap which can be compared to the current traditional homes in the Bo-Kaap today. Researcher's own photograph (2015).

This makes sustainable cultural tourism all the more vital in conserving community lifestyles which bring memory and life to historic physical fabric as a measure against the negative physical effects of gentrification which, through capital-led physical preservation, causes communities to disintegrate because of economic pressure.

Ontong, director of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA), confirms this in his heritage impact study on the Bo-Kaap when he states:

...it is currently threatened by gentrification and inappropriate development both commercially driven and private ownership and property development. Couple this to external pressures and the concomitant decreasing investment in the older fabric then it is clear that there is an increasing pressure on a socially, economically and physically fragile environment (Ontong, 2011:2).

The interrelationship between physical and social fabric is highlighted when Ontong describes how the cultural influences from the places of origin of the slaves, influenced by climate,

economic and technological factors, as well as its consequent materiality, shaped the architecture of the Bo-Kaap as it is today (Ontong, 2011:8).

Ontong quotes Achmat Davids, a sociologist and historian specialising in Bo-Kaap history and heritage, who felt that the quality of the housing was not an issue of gentrification, "...but had more to do with the expansion of the commercial enterprises to the west of the site" (Ontong, 2011:11). For example, the penetration of commercial interests influences the area between Rose and Buitengracht Streets. This is all due to middle class professionals investing in the urban design of an area, which increases property values, making it impossible for communities to remain intact. These physical changes offset increases in the municipal housing rates as a result of investments in the improvement and visually appealing property development in the residential area. This then becomes the source of economic change in the community where wealthy individuals, who are able to afford their standard of living, displace residents who are unable to maintain their standard of living. The economic effects of gentrification then become a significant issue within sub-economic communities where improvement is for the wealthy and an issue for the working class.

### 2.3.2 Economic effects of gentrification

From the theoretical relationship between the organisation of production and patterns of consumption, stem ideas on the economic effects of gentrification. Gentrification is quite fitting since the nature of it raises issues of property, production and profit simultaneously, and the subjects of group lifestyles and consumption patterns are raised. Theoretical debates therefore centre between producer-side and consumer-side accounts. It is therefore not surprising that social and economic dynamics within any environment are inextricably linked. No society can exist without economics for its survival and economics cannot be sustained without the social mechanisms on which they are based.

The economic effects are then well related to concerns surrounding changing consumption patterns and behaviour, with increased social inequality as a symptom of gentrification. According to Atkinson (2000:307):

Gentrification-induced displacement may occur when pressures on the housing market from affluent groups create inflated rents and prices which can push out the low paid or unpaid overtime.

However, Warde (1991) focuses more on private construction and engineering industries pocketing from urban development projects. Warde believes that gentrification is about the reconstitution of private capital through the support of building industries. Warde (1991:225) therefore specifies the economic link to the social circumstances of gentrification, which assists in uncovering the economic spin on the effects of gentrification.



Prince and Williams (2002:1) look at how gentrification and its ideals of commercialisation and growth influence the general psyche of the community, producing a certain economic consciousness and behavioural tendencies, which accompany it. Gentrified neighbourhoods possess trendy yet edgy characteristics contrasting with original neighbourhood values such as community networks and sentimental attachment, which are destroyed by developers who hope to 'sanitise' and commodify these residential spaces (Prince & Williams, 2002:2). This suggests that social roles within the community are very much shaped by the economic status of the group or individual. Consumption behaviour and lifestyle is a dictator of this, which either separates or unifies people or groups. These variances in consumption behaviour range from new residents in the area to the original local elite social circles and some from the middle classes who aspire to progress socially and financially by transforming their images into modern, trendy personas of themselves. Communities therefore need to be wary of financial opportunists coming from both outside and inside the area (Poking, 2013).

It may be possible to minimise the negative economic effects of gentrification by creating community platforms. These platforms could, according to Londt (2014), assist in instilling cultural pride and awareness in communities, enabling them to withstand economic pressures in terms of replicating elitist consumption behaviour. The issues of systemic inequalities of urban society, upon which gentrification flourishes, are far more crucial than the conceptualisation of gentrification itself, where the needs of the project will begin to address these issues (Atkinson, 2003:2349). Community platforms could be managed responsibly, with locals deriving economic benefit from conserving and managing their own culture, instead of being commodified by multinational companies. Presently, most national tourism ventures in the Bo-Kaap are 'commodifying' the culture of the Bo-Kaap for their own gain without consultation of the local communities. This causes further economic upheaval, where an example is a 'non-Bo-Kaap' tour operator-owner who warned local cultural cooking demonstration tour guides against starting their own businesses, claiming that she owns Bo-Kaap 'Cape Malay cooking' tours and has 'patented rights' over it (Anon, 2013a).

The economic downswing of the Bo-Kaap culture, being sold as a consumer product by multinational corporations (as a result of gentrification in the area), causes gender dynamics to change while adapting to the changing economic environment. The cultural displacement of families through gentrification has forced women to increase their attempts to maintain their living situation in their family neighbourhood, or face the alternative of relocating to an unfamiliar environment (Prince & Williams, 2002:2). This can be confirmed in the Bo-Kaap where more females are determined to pay the increasing municipal service rates so that they can remain in their own neighbourhood. Women are entering the workforce and choosing to become self-

employed entrepreneurs, who generate a secondary source of income to supplement the family income. This ranges from hosting international cultural home-stay students, community market stalls, and Cape Malay food demonstration tours, to selling traditional koeksisters on a Sunday morning (Baker, 2013). A big concern is that some of these ventures are not Bo-Kaap community-owned so the bulk of the profits are being drained from the area (Shaboodien, 2013). This sums up community tourism-related ventures, which prove sustainable cultural tourism to be the potential saving grace of the economic pitfalls of gentrification.

Warde similarly looks at gender and gentrification but focuses more on gender as a causal dynamic of this process. Apart from class relations, gender dynamics also has an influence on the gentrification process, where social restructuring occurred due to the change in circumstances within the household, in the event that both household members combine paid and unpaid work process (Warde, 1991:230). The economic mechanism of labour within the social realms of society is integral to its daily operation and the way in which it relates to migratory patterns of consumption. In other words, social changes such as shifts toward matriarchal values, as opposed to patriarchal dominance in society, can lead to changes in divisions of labour, affecting the nature of economics.

According to Teo (1994:130), the local host population's imitation of tourists or newcomers' product consumption, different to the traditional goods they usually consume, is theoretically known as the 'demonstration effect'. The consequence of cultural consumption practices dying out is that local markets selling hand-made goods, produce or crafts are no longer supported by the local market, causing economic disequilibria in the area (Poking, 2013). Local industries are therefore not supported and sustained, and as a result cannot diversify their supply networks within the community. This causes a lack of income multipliers in the area, where local income is leaked out to foreign-controlled regions.

A community profile where local people are not empowered and social justice is forgotten in the wake of gentrification, exists in the small town of Aberdeen in South Africa, to which one can refer when examining the economic effects of gentrification. Albeit not situated in an urban context, it did suffer negative economic effects from gentrification, and may be even worse due to a lack of infrastructure and a long distance from any amenities. The gentrification debate has been an ongoing one due to the dual economic effect it has on residential towns, typically being economic investment, capital, skills and development injected by middle class in-migrants, yet the economic benefits of this do not spread across the local economy (Atkinson, 2009:286). Atkinson (2009:287) states that "Gentrification promises to add to the local economy, but huge social inequalities may continue or even intensify." Economic trickle-down is therefore idealistic

and can actually cause the reverse effect, where currency flows out of neighbourhoods owing to pressures of new residents' property investments causing housing maintenance bills to skyrocket. For example, Aberdeen's economy had received a boost because of the skills and capital brought by a wave of middle class in-migrants, but their impact had not been felt throughout the local economy (Atkinson, 2009:282).

Economic injection from wealthier classes moving into areas can either boost or break a community. If not utilised smartly it can further breakdown the community, causing inflation in municipal service rates, forcing residents to leave their own communities in search of more affordable areas to live. In the case of Aberdeen, poor rural-urban linkages cause this, where there are limited opportunities for local income diversification, and there are limited opportunities for small-scale farming, manufacturing or production, resulting in local economic stagnation. These are the potential negative economic effects of gentrification where, if managed responsibly, it can alleviate the economic problems within the area (Atkinson, 2009:282).

### 2.3.3 Cultural effects of gentrification

According to Visser and Kotze (2008) and Donaldson *et al.* (2013), gentrification may be linked to heritage and tourism development. The effects that gentrification has on the societal aspects of an area could be largely linked to the cultural behaviour or lifestyle of the influx of new residents moving into an area. This would impact on the local population in the area in terms of changing their lifestyle/behaviour, which would make up the cultural component of the residing community. It is a process of resettlement and social concentration, a process of displacement of one group of residents with another of higher social status, entailing new patterns of social segregation (Warde, 1991:225).

This is tantamount to the beginning of the wear and tear of the community fabric as more members of the community are no longer interested in emulating modern elite consumption patterns but prefer to intermingle with the wealthy. Due to their aspirations to become more powerful and esteemed in the area, local community members start severing neighbourly ties and shun communal social circles. 'Community well-being has been described as dependent on the interrelationship between individuals, family and external forces or conditions' (Colburn & Jepson, 2012:290). If one looks at the more likely outcome the consequence is that communities start disintegrating due to Western ideals of individualism which filters down to the community more than actual economic benefits, causing a dampened spirit on a once unified cultural expression stamped by the heart of the community. Gentrification is an outer force causing the exodus of traditional (descendants of the Muslim slaves) residents and the influx of new residents, which can disintegrate social networks within the community (Colburn & Jepson,

2012:290). That is why the changes that come alongside gentrification can be managed in a responsible way that communities feel further empowered to adapt and reinterpret their own culture without losing its original framework qualities for the sake of surviving in an ever-transforming social landscape.

Some of the new foreign residents in Bo-Kaap have offered their organisational expertise to support community growth as this has been the main reason for them relocating to the Bo-Kaap (New Resident Group, 2013). This indeed supports Prince and Williams' earlier theory that even the gentrifiers themselves find that they are drawn to working class diligence and neighbourly concern through their working class kin (Prince & Williams, 2002:2). Colburn and Jepson (2012), who conducted a social impact assessment of gentrification on small fishing communities in Florida USA, state that capital injection can either benefit locals or further stifle their economic status, and goes further to say that the increasing capital influx and land value eventually alters the cultural landscape of the area and community (Colburn & Jepson, 2012:290). Atkinson (2000) proposed this in his article, which explored the negative social effects of gentrification on displaced communities in central London, and notes that gentrification causes the community's living conditions to worsen because once wealthier residents move in there is less of a need for developing public transport facilities, while local authorities do not feel the pressure to subsidise leisure facilities, good libraries and basic service provision (Atkinson, 2000:320). The essence of Atkinson's concern is that despite some scholars, such as Prince and Williams (2002) who believe that gentrification can be the saviour of the 'backward', local residents are actually condescending, where these local traditional communities have survived and maintained healthy relations within social community networks that have been the backbone of the social structure for decades.

Gentrification and its introduction of new residents' norms and behaviours can lead to a weakening of cultural pride, in that indigenous residents aspire to break away from their cultural roots and behave in a similar fashion to the more recent in-migrants. As the influx of new residents increase, a slight transformation in the cultural character of the area, where services start weakening causing residential social networks to expand since the standard of living becomes difficult to maintain as higher income groups demand a high level of service provision (Atkinson, 2000:307). Teo (1994) terms this behaviour as cultural assimilation and cultural drift. Two possibilities can occur: cultural assimilation in which there is a replacement of a set of cultural traits or values with another, or cultural drift in which there is phenotypic behaviour, i.e. visible change in behaviour resulting from interaction between host and guest (Teo, 1994:130). This runs parallel to Colburn and Jepson's statement that the character and flavour of the community is transformed and swallowed by globalisation and its societal norms. For example,

the community's perspective of local cultural occupational lines become more negative as their identities linked to these roles are fragmented as a result of it not being able to sustain economic well-being in the community (Warde, 1991:225; Colburn & Jepson, 2012:290).

This occurs in the Bo-Kaap, where the cultural fabric has been destroyed in terms of local historical family businesses such as carpentry and upholstery enterprises not being able to continue in the area as a result of the increase in housing and municipal rates as well as business taxes, due to gentrification. This is to the dissatisfaction of long standing local families in the area whose pride and heritage stem from their established trade and artisan skills passed down from one generation to the next. As a result the local residents are forced to foster new occupational lifestyles which bring lowered job satisfaction threatening the cultural and psychological well-being of individuals and close-knit family networks in the community (Anon, 2013c).

The cultural effect that gentrification has on communities has thus been one where cultural occupation has been affected, forcing transition into other forms of employment to support gentrification and its rapid urban development process along coastal community shore lines (Colburn & Jepson, 2012:292). These cultural changes as an off-spin of the economic orb is further examined where 'psycho-social' well-being within communities also suffered along with the changes in cultural lifestyle patterns, which precede it. If these changes are managed responsibly it is possible to increase the positive effects and social well being of the community in the face of gentrification.

Londt and Prince and Williams confirm that this could be the underlying reason for being drawn to close-knit communities (Prince & Williams, 2002:2; Londt, 2013). The new middle classes, however, possess a revolutionised set of characteristics, where individuals are more flexible in their norms and belief systems as a result of liberal education, where some may view their moral codes as hedonistic. They therefore do not strictly abide by any community's sense of respectability, where loyalty to any neighbourhood would restrain their desires of freedom. In light of this, new middle classes are therefore more likely to relocate whenever they wish, since allegiance to any community would be perceived as too much of a controlling and confined environment (Warde, 1991:228). This could be of concern to the Bo-Kaap community as well since this may indicate that new middle classes moving into the area may be less likely to invest in the cultural security of the community and more likely to further disrupt the social and psychological comfort of the neighbourhood.

What is actually occurring, also in the Bo-Kaap, is that the new social milieu prefers to keep to themselves in their inner global circles, preferably separate from the locals, offending community circles in the process, which could possibly incite resentment. What is clear is that although gentrifiers perceive themselves as part of the global elite community, where they are commonly drawn to certain areas within the community apart from the local residents, social tensions still arise between gentrifiers and original residents despite this separation (Atkinson, 2003:2348). Ontong (2011:3) confirms Atkinson's statement that:

Gentrification is another facet of the problem. This has obvious implications as most of the people who enter the area don't necessarily mesh with the overarching cultural practices.

Atkinson views 'social tectonics', supported by Slater (2004), where he describes local social relations within gentrified communities as strained, reflecting varying degrees of social antagonism between local groupings and newcomers, with very minimal instances of newer residents reaching out to communities (Atkinson, 2000:322). This is signified by diverse groupings living in the same social space, yet living physically and socially past each other in divergent settings. This is, disturbingly, the position in the Bo-Kaap where elite boutique hotels and guesthouses on Rose Street, the most gentrified section of the Bo-Kaap, are rallying campaigns to stop crime perpetrated by locals in the area. What is ironic is that the cycle of gentrification causes this, and increases crime further due to racial aggression, and vice versa. This view is supported by the fact that whenever a 'foreign white' resident moves into the Bo-Kaap, within a few days, they undergo 'Bo-Kaap initiation', where vagrants break into their homes and steal their belongings, where local homes on the other hand are relatively safe (Bo-Kaap Neighbourhood Watch, 2013).

Another cultural feature of gentrification is race, where history shows that most communities who are displaced tend to be non-white and from a working class background and most likely to be affected by economic forces of gentrification as well. However, very little research has been done on the racial discrimination of gentrification. The racial dimension of gentrification has often been acknowledged, but has been generally under researched in the literature (Atkinson, 2003:2347).

However, there is room for positive growth if more attention is focused on adapting to these external social forces rather than fighting them. Change is inevitable but it can be controlled through responsible measures initiated by communities experiencing gentrification. Positive social effects could be drawn from these forces to help further develop local communities through up-skilling and training workshops, which are discussed in Chapter Five in more detail. Another aspect, which the cultural facet within the community comprises, is the demographic

changes as a result of gentrification. The prime examples of these changes are the youth impacts of this global urban process encroaching neighbourhoods.

#### 2.3.4 Youth effects of gentrification

Gentrification has a huge impact on the demographic character of a location. In the circumstance of the Bo-Kaap, gentrification has resulted in a ratio increase of older local residents as younger residents are forced to relocate and settle their new families elsewhere, while new modern younger couples, which Poking refers to as 'yuppies', are replacing these young local middle class families (Poking, 2013).

The impact of gentrification on the younger population (diverting away from the adult and elderly demographic) is that the increasingly ascending age profile of the residents, tends to be young adults (30+) and seniors (50+) as opposed to the typical youth age groups of 12 to 35 years. The dichotomy between these two age groups is a widening gap, not only chronologically but also in terms of varying needs and interests. The ratio of seniors to adults will rise to extraordinary levels, which will impact on varying aspects of community life, including the seniors and adults whose needs are divergent (Myers & Ryu, 2008:18). This is a cause for serious concern as the youth form a significant percentage of the local community and are deemed to be the future leaders of the community.

The lifestyles and preferences of adult gentrifiers influence the way their children are raised, which is a key indicator to what the future preferences and behaviours of youth in the area will be. The link between family life cycle stage and household formation is examined, where the lifestyle preferences of gentrifiers are considered. This affects the child-rearing practices and the social life of young gentrifiers, who raised a new generation of gentrifiers in the process (Atkinson, 2003:2349). Local youth are influenced as a result of cross-cultural youth interaction and this changes the cultural fabric of the area. The end goal is not to preserve cultural lines, but for both youth groups to adapt and evolve without losing their heritage (Poking, 2013).

The impact of gentrification on the youth is not only demographic in nature, but also a 'psycho-social' issue. Many of the younger generation feel saddened by the inevitable, that they would be forced to make their homes elsewhere and not be afforded the opportunities of the rich to be able to settle in their ancestral home. Nil Uzun's 2003 study on the implementation of a community urban regeneration project in Turkey revealed that there were social problems: "Cultural pressures driving population out of the area had an especially negative impact on the younger squatter generation, pushing them to pessimism and disillusionment" (Nil Uzun, 2003:373). The crucial question to ask is where does the future of the community lie if the youth

do not grasp the immense responsibility with which they are entrusted, to lead the community to future stability? The role of the youth cannot be defined if its population is dwindling due to gentrification, which again leaves the community's cultural dynamic at peril. This would inadvertently lead to anger and resentment as well as other concomitant youth social problems.

In the Bo-Kaap, social youth problems are on the rise but this cannot be attributed solely to gentrification, making it a multi-faceted issue, e.g. media, peer pressure. Youth are perceived by some residents to have assimilated into the middle and elite class, and as a result have become attracted to commercial Western values, contradictory to traditional and religio-cultural community norms, e.g. *Mouloods*, *Tamat*, *Thikrs* (Davids, 1980:24). The conservative dress code of young girls has changed into more revealing clothing often seen on the elite youth 'parading' in the area. According to Khan (2013), this aligns with Sheikh Abubakr Gabriel's 2013 study, which proves that the dwindling *thikr* (prayer circles) in the mosques and surrounding areas have accelerated social youth problems since *thikr* were a buffer against external Western social peer pressure. Social youth problems have always existed world-wide, caused by multiple factors such as media, peer pressure, globalisation and gentrification. However, statistics show that *thikrs* in a community form a social platform for cohesion and community spirit. Sadly with the decrease in *thikrs*, protection of the youth against temptations is diminished (Khan, 2013).

One respondent in this Bo-Kaap study mentioned that the increase in youth involvement in drugs, crime and 'clubbing' is due to youngsters being exposed to Western influences. Some respondents believe that crime levels have increased rapidly due to gentrification causing the disintegration of a once-unified, close-knit community spirit, which was about caring and protecting one's neighbour. This once provided a safe haven for the youth and instilled a positive support network during youth difficulties, such as peer pressure (Anon, 2013b). However, these negative Western influences could be controlled and cultural ties with the community maintained.

Apart from gentrification impacting on the youth dynamics of an area, it also shapes the housing market, in that if the youth do not sell their homes, this will halt the negative cultural and economic effects of gentrification. However, if the youth do put their homes on the market, a situation could arise whereby an excessive number of houses are for sale, buyers are spoilt for choice, resulting in deflation in house prices. This indicates that the youth factor has a powerful influence on gentrification, but not always vice versa. The youth should be involved in community participation and planning, of increasing youth pride-based activities in the area to safeguard their, and their future generations' interests.



## 2.4 International gentrification

As already stated, international gentrification is an attribute of globalisation and the way in which it operates across the world. However, gentrification differs according to changing environments and circumstances, where physical, economic and social effects may vary, yet be comparable at times.

Lees (2000:390) recognises a trend in gentrification within the post-recession context of London. Her ideas on gentrification are of a geographical nature, where her research specialises in gentrification and its relative forms and contexts due to varied special localities. Lees comments on the urban rebirth by Visser (2003:80), and adds that the economic revival in the late 1990s has helped to fuel urban regeneration encapsulating gentrification in locations such as the 'East End' and Clerkenwell in London (Lees, 2000:390). Geographers have associated urban rebirth and urban pioneers with the gentrification process where the media portrayed negative images such as urban guerrillas and class wars once again (Lees, 2000:390). Atkinson (2003:2346) concurs with Visser and Lees in his statement that:

There is some evidence to suggest that many of the more deprived major cities in the UK are pursuing gentrification as a strategy of renewal, albeit one that is more likely to avoid social responsibilities than to deal with the structural causes of regional and city and economic decline and poverty.

The embryonic stages of gentrification had therefore commenced in the UK, which later hatched and swept across the globe, remodelling itself across time and spatial context, to produce a myriad of physical, cultural and economic effects.

Ireland has experienced gentrification mostly in the Temple Bar within Dublin's inner city. The Temple Bar is a sign of Ireland's urban progression in the European and world global order, where it has undergone rapid transformation from being a run down, dilapidated part of Dublin to a star-studded, modern, upmarket part of town, filled with high-end restaurants, galleries, lounges and boutiques (Kincaid, 2005:26). Kincaid goes further to say that sub-urbanisation, gentrification and inner city renewal in the 1990s in Ireland, produced and damaged the kind of spaces that created memoir writing, quintessential to Irish literary culture. Transforming landscapes necessitates a literary record of a cultural community's story across the timeline. This comes in the shape of urban literature as inner city communities evolve due to their altered environment. Similar to what Lees indicates, it is about physical and geographical change, which influences the inhabitants' altered social experience.

There are two dominant approaches evident in these literary memoirs, one emphasising the negative images of Ireland denoting metaphors of poverty, daily struggle, alcoholism, abuse, limited opportunities for upward economic mobility, and economic and cultural isolation from the

rest of the world (Kincaid, 2005:39). The literary memoirs in contradiction with this are imageries of tight, close-knit community spaces forced to the periphery of the city to make room for modernisation, at a social cost (Kincaid, 2005:39). What this suggests is that literary versions accentuating the romanticised family-orientated Ireland would be opposed to modernisation and gentrification, where literary memoirs of an old poverty-stricken Ireland would support the further urbanisation of Ireland, including gentrification, which accompanied it.

In Hollywood, USA, gentrification is of a similar nature but carries with it unique characteristics because of its specific history as a backcloth. Gentrification in Hollywood is fuelled by the production of movie-making images, celebrity signatures and trademarks. Curti, Davenport and Jackiewicz (2007:68) accentuate gentrification in Hollywood as dependent on the movie-making industry as the backdrop: "...practices of Hollywood image makers... whereby buildings for movie sets and productions are themselves created with no end to dwelling". These images are transformed into consumable goods, enhancing property commercial value in its progression. Hollywood thus becomes an entity only accessible to the elite, just to be gazed at from the outside since they are imagined consumer goods, which fuel the star-gazing process and in turn further separates Hollywood as a residential area from the working classes (Curti *et al.*, 2007:68).

However, gentrification in Sydney, Australia, is in the hands of working class musician stars. In Marrickville the decline of live venues was caused by many factors, including increased legislation surrounding the regulation of entertainment, alternate revenue streams replacing live music venues, and rising rents that have forced venues to close down, which equates to gentrification (Gibson & Homan, 2004:80). What this eventually results in is speculative investment and development of residential areas. This essentially transforms the character and symbolism which this space holds, creating the 'vibey' atmosphere filled with musicians, fans and activists sharing low incomes, economic backgrounds and political power. By contrast, contemporary gentrification reshapes the essence of the identity of these places by replacing it with middle to elite classes and their high incomes supporting capitalist ideals (Gibson & Homan, 2004:81). Gentrification within the Sydney context is thus one that has modified the musical culture due to the physical fabric being reworked and regenerated, which has supported it for many years. This has caused higher rentals for other venues to reboot, making it tricky to conserve the original life and culture of these spaces.

The effects of gentrification in Tokyo manifest in office blocks and businesses and high-rise apartments being developed, where the re-urbanisation of the city centre is not by families but mainly by middle class households such as young single women and childless couples (Lutzeler,

2008:298). These specific profiles move to the city for mostly practical reasons of convenience and ideal location as opposed to lifestyle-related reasons. Most of the major urban remodelling and rehabilitation projects are site-specific to the brownfields location or newly reclaimed land at the waterfront (Lutzeler, 2008:298). Central Tokyo is therefore undergoing gentrification at a different pace through new-build gentrification. The re-urbanisation of central Tokyo is characterised more by circuitous, steady and spatially removed displacement of residents, which fits into the mould of new-build gentrification (Lutzeler, 2008:298). The government is thus focused on plans for central Tokyo, including multi-functional and attractively designed urban spaces, housing for permanent residents, and preservation and recreation of a vivid city centre (Lutzeler, 2008:298).

Gentrification as a result causes population segregation within the central city, and attractive and affordable city accommodation passively forces the out-migration of lower working classes and the influx of wealthier elite. High concentrations of residential segregation in the city, based on class and income, a by-product of gentrification, cause other social problems in Tokyo. Rapid concentration of elderly people and low-income households in large public housing estates in more unappealing sectors of Tokyo is a social urban phenomenon to contend with (Lutzeler, 2008:298). This is not a consequence of displacement of these individuals as occurring in other cities undergoing the urban renewal mentioned earlier, but rather not spreading different classes of populations evenly across newly developed urban residential areas, because of affordability of high-valued property rates. This causes rapid growth of new-build gentrification in central Tokyo, as well as refashioned apartment complexes.

Slater enters into the gentrification discussion by assessing whether the gentrification taking place in South Parkdale in Toronto, Canada, is of an 'urban emancipatory' nature as indicated in previous research executed in Toronto and other Canadian cities (Slater, 2004:304). He cites Caulfield (1994) who was of the opinion that gentrification is a middle class reaction to the repressive institutions of suburban life. People who live in the city thus tend to be creative in their expression, where they view their city lifestyles as a diversion from the shackles of conservative suburban culture (Slater, 2004:304). In other words, Caulfield was of the opinion that gentrification was a source of cultural freedom for the middle classes who could be free to explore city life, away from conservative suburban norms. What is ironic is that the neighbourhoods they gentrify within the city are conservative in nature as well, where middle classes practise liberating lifestyles, disrespecting their new neighbours in the process. Slater (2004:304) opposes Caulfield's view and focused on the oppressive nature of gentrification, where suburbanites displace the urban working class enabled through municipal and provincial policy. Slater, however, does agree with Robson and Butler, (cited by Slater, 2004:320), who

advocate that gentrification is about improving the well being of incoming residents by exploiting the local residents. This causes the economic disparity between the two groups resulting in social tension called social tectonics.

While Visser observes gentrification within an Apartheid and post-Apartheid context, Badyina and Golubchikov provide a glimpse into the post-socialist gentrification context within Moscow, Russia. Similar to Slater, Badyina and Golubchikov (2005:115) clearly present the origins of gentrification as physical structural development attracting the social elite, stating that:

A building constructed as luxurious from the very beginning and the 'appropriate' social milieu became increasingly important factors for so called "elite housing" which came to connote deluxe accommodation for the new rich.

In other words, Moscow, similar to Hollywood, presents a stark example of elitist capital, engineering modern upper class development, and gentrification, where most cases of gentrification involve middle to upper class displacement of lower working classes. Moscow's historic inner city housing was then most definitely impacted as echoed through Bridge's (cited by Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:114) definition of gentrification, namely that: "...gentrification encompasses redevelopments that involve large-scale corporate investment as well as more piecemeal sweat equity/small builder renovations of historic inner urban housing".

Lees (2000:390) notes that gentrification, depending on its locality, is different and cannot act as a measure for another city. He expresses concern that some cities that reign successfully in gentrification, such as New York (See Photo 6) and London: "...cannot act as a blueprint for civilised city life for other less Westernised cities to follow, lower on the developed global hierarchy". Lees' belief is that one size does not fit all, and is relative to its geographical context, taking into consideration the countries' unique economic and social landscape.



Photo 6:  
Greenwich, New York, USA. One of the earliest instances of gentrification in the world.  
Researcher's own photograph (2015).

## 2.5 Gentrification in South Africa

Africa as a continent does not reveal much experience of gentrification. Comprised of only developing countries, it is not surprising that gentrification has not developed as much due to a slow degree of globalisation in Africa. The different time periods and forms of gentrification thus become central to the topic of gentrification. Visser (2002:421) notes that gentrification took place in South Africa within a post-Apartheid context, which proves to be divergent to other nations around the world.

Early instances of gentrification to be found in South Africa are particularly in the cities of Johannesburg (Sophiatown), Durban (The Bluff area) and suburbs such as Woodstock and the Bo-Kaap in Cape Town. Visser's study (2002:421) focuses on gentrification in and around South African cities. The Blue IQ Project in Gauteng for example, aims to regenerate large parts of inner city Johannesburg, the transition of private rather than public capital to the inner cities. Newspaper articles entitled "Joburg face-lift is already paying dividends", "Durban's CBD is bouncing back", "Back to Town!", "Again becoming hot property", all reflect the gentrification trend in South Africa in the last decade (Visser, 2002:421). Low property prices, low municipal service rates, and low rentals attract investment and lure developers. The 'snowball' effect starts, eventually causing property values and municipal service rates to rise and rent gaps to increase significantly in South African metropolitan inner cities.

During Apartheid, the government encouraged suburban development, abiding by the decentralisation development policy that was made official in the mid-1970s. Britain and the USA had already started reversing their decentralisation strategies, experiencing rapid gentrification within their cities, resulting in suburban areas becoming depopulated. South African cities on the other hand suffered physical decay. Visser (2003:80) reports:

Decentralisation processes ...'white flight' from inner cities allowing for institutional capital disinvestments and sub-urbanisation of high order functions ... contributed to physical decay of South Africa's CBD and surrounding inner city areas.

Visser then looks at gentrification within a post-Apartheid context where the new democratic government adopted a neo-liberal economic policy of centralised development in and around the focal points of South African cities. This resulted in neo-urban renewal and regeneration, which aim to mend the physical decay of the city caused by suburban growth during Apartheid. The deterioration process was thus reversed through the introduction of several urban revival initiatives and programmes (Visser, 2003:80).

New-build or 'super-gentrification', now a trend in South Africa, is slightly different to neighbourhood gentrification. It does not improve an existing structure but develops a space 'from scratch'. The introduction of city centre improvement districts (CCIDs) and major infrastructural investment, including conference and transport facilities, are examples which appear to minimise the current process of decay in South African cities (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2586). An example includes the development of the Cape Town Waterfront, a multibillion Rand re-development project in Cape Town. New-build gentrification, on the other hand, supplants indigenous populations similar to urban regeneration. Visser and Kotze ponder whether the displacement of communities might not be cast in the same light as sites of international gentrification, but may have still been evident in the Apartheid era in the context of racial spatial manipulation where certain racial groups were displaced and placed in locations, usually along the city's outlying borders (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2587). New-build gentrification includes new-build and office conversion gentrification, and has not only been established in South African cities but also along the periphery, such as the townships, which is termed state-led suburban gentrification. A development regarding retail and office space is a move to suburban areas, away from the city centre (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2587).

Interestingly, gentrification has not been cultivated in the city of Bloemfontein in the Free State. It is postulated that although Bloemfontein still falls under the same national urban development framework, it does not have institutional capital to supplement the readily available capital, making it evident that the success of gentrification relies on both state and corporate involvement. The Bloemfontein development policy has established networks with global

institutions, which with the use of private capital, can produce global capital accumulation but not as quickly as cities with access to state capital as well (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2588).

## 2.6 Gentrification in Cape Town

Garside (1993) conducted the first empirical research on the gentrification process in Woodstock, a neighbourhood of Cape Town. In the case of Lower Woodstock, more affluent people from coloured middle classes started settling in Woodstock because of its proximity to workplaces in and around the city centre (see Photo 7).



Photo 7:

Roodebloem Street in Woodstock. Development and upgrade on the left side of the street versus the older and undeveloped right-hand side.

Researcher's own photograph (2015).

The resident population of the time was a working class white community employed in factories within and around Woodstock, a previously white area as designated by the Group Areas Act, No. 69 of 1955 (Garside, 1993:31). After The National Commission of Enquiries formulated in the Apartheid government took a decision that white municipalities had to decide on whether racially segregated areas could be desegregated, it was eventually decided that the ban on other races moving into Woodstock would be lifted (Visser, 2002:421). According to Visser, Garside noted that local working class inhabitants started renovating their dilapidated homes because of the middle classes migrating into the area and began to charge high rentals and selling prices for their homes, spiking municipal housing rates in the process. Upper Woodstock

followed, where the gentrifiers were more from a middle class professional background, displacing white blue-collar worker residents who could not afford the municipal rates any longer (Visser, 2002:421). Gentrification in the Western Cape is thus quite contrary to other sites around the world where displaced races and cultures are usually black or mixed race working classes. This supports Atkinson's (2003:2345) theory that gentrifiers sometimes originate from the same city.

Another neighbourhood in Cape Town undergoing gentrification is De Waterkant. This previously Cape Malay area was gentrified by middle class gay men, who in turn are now being gentrified by wealthier gay men from the UK and Germany. Wealthy classes, who initially displaced the original inhabitants of an area, are now being displaced by wealthier foreign tourists, continuing the gentrification cycle (see Photo 8). This forms the foundation for potential comparative research on gentrification and its link to tourist-led migration around the world (Visser, 2002:422). Similarly, in the Bo-Kaap, tourists often make reference to purchasing properties while on tour in the historical area (Kardas-Nelson, 2012:20).



Photo 8:  
Somerset Road, De Waterkant. Front view of the Cape Quarter Mall. Massive gentrification project. The stark contrast between old and modern is evident.

Researcher's own photograph (2015).

Rural gentrification is a feature of South African economic development where mostly wealthy white urbanites are purchasing second homes in rural areas or retiring to these villages. Visser (2002:422) reports that many debates centred on whether the economies actually benefit from



rural impoverished areas through rural gentrification or not. However, a lack of public funding makes it difficult to sustain livelihoods through decentralisation projects in some rural communities.

## **2.7 Gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town.**

The central focus of this study is the Bo-Kaap, a neighbourhood within the inner City of Cape Town. The only example of an inner city neighbourhood which did not experience evacuation by the Apartheid regime was the Bo-Kaap, as opposed to Woodstock and District Six, the earliest examples of gentrification in South Africa. Donaldson *et al.* (2011:7) describe the Bo-Kaap as a neighbourhood presence marked by an extricable link between the physical heritage elements including the painted houses, buildings, historic sites and cobbled streets and the social fabric interwoven by intangible community networks and relations. The authors aver that the tangible and intangible cannot exist without the other and together add to the quaint neighbourly district with 'touristic' appeal. Yutar (2001:15) describes the Bo-Kaap as: "...an indigenous architectural vernacular far removed from the impersonal and abrasive modernity that has become a universal feature of urban landscape worldwide". He goes further to say that the Bo-Kaap celebrates life the way ordinary people live, he expresses that it is a pivot which holds the socially interactive weave together and inculcates life into its people. These unique cultural and physical characteristics which are potential cultural tourism attractions of the Bo-Kaap, have slowly been eroded through gentrification. It is a concern that the steady degradation of the Bo-Kaap has intensified over recent years and resulted in the physical landscape undergoing large scales of disintegration (Yutar, 2001:15).

The first example of gentrification that took place in the Bo-Kaap was in Leeuwen Street. The owner, Abubakr Abrahams, of the Leeuwen Street Mansions, a block of flats, forced the occupants to either purchase the flats they were renting or to vacate the premises. The flats were offered to the occupants at market related prices, which were well beyond the tenants' means (Johnstone, 2001:10). This was a vulnerable point in Bo-Kaap, where the gentrification snowballing took effect as a result of escalating property rates after the Leeuwen Street Mansions were sold. This ripple effect is a form of passive removal of its working class people as a vantage point for the wealthy to relocate to the city. Anwah Nagia, Chairman of the Anti-Gentrification Campaign in the Bo-Kaap, (cited by Johnstone, 2001:10), states:

These are working class people who are forced out of the area to make way for rich people because this is prime land, and we are not going to allow this.

An antithesis to Abubakr Abrahams is a wealthy elderly gentleman by the name of Podmajersky who resides in a town called Pilsen in the USA. Podmajersky owns several properties, and out of

concern and love for his community, invested his money in land trust programmes to ensure affordable property for his people in his home town (Richardson, 2003:4).

A further example of gentrification occurred in Jordaan Street, which runs parallel to Buitengracht Street, bordering the edge of the Bo-Kaap. An old printing factory was converted into a jewellery manufacturing factory, now called Oro Africa. This caused local residents in the Bo-Kaap much distress due to both environmental and noise pollution. However, the Chief Executive Officer of Oro Africa claims that an environmental impact assessment was undertaken, with feedback received from the community. One of the community representatives, Nagia (cited by Johnstone, 2001:10), expressed the following:

...the noise from air conditioners in the factory disturbed the peace and it had become impossible to watch television or have a telephone conversation without shouting.

The community protested and took the bar owners to court, eventually winning the court case and the bar closed its doors in September 2012. This is the most recent example of gentrification besmirching the religious sanctity of the community. According to Johaar (cited by Kardas-Nelson, 2012:20):

It's more of an Islamic cultural objection that I have to gentrification, rather than there's a white person living next to me... if the community's culture and heritage were protected it did not matter who moved into the area.

Donaldson *et al.* (2011:10) reveals that Bo-Kaap residents were less concerned about cultural changes in the area but more worried that Islamic values were slowly eroding away as the community profile changes

The rezoning of the Cape Town CBD map has included Buitengracht Street and Rose Street within its' borders, which has once been part of the Bo-Kaap area (See Figure 2.1). According to Hendricks (cited by Kardas-Nelson, 2012:20) the revised map shows rezoning of the neighbourhood from one of residential historic character to a commercial business hub which ultimately destroys the history of its people, specifically on the borders of the Bo-Kaap (ie the Hilton Hotel). The legacy of the people of the Bo-Kaap would fade into historical obscurity and it would be a massive cultural loss if this heritage was preserved into the future. Traditional homeowners find this to be hypocritical as they have been prohibited from renovating their homes since the Bo-Kaap was proclaimed a Heritage Area in 1999, up until the rezoning (Anon, 2013c).



**Figure 2.1** Rezoned map of the Bo-Kaap. Source: Retrieved from Open Street Map (2016) prepared by the Researcher.

This neighbourhood is therefore undergoing transition as a result of having to make room for other cultures and businesses moving in as part of the mechanism of contemporary and new-build gentrification processes in the CBD. Donaldson's focus on gentrification in the Bo-Kaap is therefore of a cultural nature (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:7), which depicts two scenarios for the Bo-Kaap to follow.

The first scenario is that the community will have to re-organise itself and remain mostly residential, or oppose business development and maintain its current 'touristic' appeal (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:7). To achieve this, the political landscape needs to be reshuffled, where the physical boundaries of Bo-Kaap need to be demarcated through liaising with SAHRA at provincial and City level. According to SAHRA, the HWC can override City or provincial decisions to allow fluidity of processes; HWC is therefore dangerous in making decisions on behalf of corporate investment, thus a political model is a huge challenge with which Bo-Kaap community leaders need to contend (Ontong, 2013). The reason for this is that the HWC claims that the Bo-Kaap should not be preserved for Muslims as they were protected during the Group Areas Act (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:7). To avoid the political agendas at play it is best for the Bo-Kaap to unite in a common ideology of cultural pride more than a religious one. HWC are of the opinion that the majority of people in the Bo-Kaap are Muslim, and this is a by-product of Apartheid (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:7). However, this could prove to be a contradiction since the culture of the Bo-Kaap is primarily based on a strong Islamic history at the Cape, where a unique brand of Islamic customs have evolved in the area, based on the core principles and pillars of Islam (Davids, 1980:10). This unique Islamic heritage of the Bo-Kaap may be the basis of a future sustainable cultural tourism product offered by local youth in the community. This could be the forefront of a revived cultural identity based on the unique religious heritage of the neighbourhood adapted to a changing global context, while maintaining core religious principles (Ontong, 2013).

The second scenario postulates that gentrification is the solution to the future of the Bo-Kaap and it is viewed as an evolutionary process to which the Bo-Kaap will have to adapt. A neo-liberal approach will then be adopted by the Cape Town City Council to develop and commercialise inner cities, where only heritage buildings and natural scenery will remain (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:13). Donaldson describes how gentrification will unravel further, where new incomers with financial means will renovate their homes in accordance with heritage conservation guidelines and new businesses will start mushrooming, leading to a mixed use-area comprising residences, restaurants and shops (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:13). In other words, this residential area will physically and socially transform, yet the heritage and physical fabric will be protected and preserved. However, the historical slave-descendant community, whose ancestors helped build this physical fabric, will not enjoy the same protection. In this circumstance, the original residents of the area will eventually pass on, along with any remnants of heritage in their mental possession. If international scenarios are an indicator, the latter notion is almost a certainty (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:13). Toffa (2013) concurs that the special qualities

of the Bo-Kaap are not celebrated but rather neglected, and fears that the Bo-Kaap will become 'what once was' instead of 'what is'.

According to Donaldson *et al.* (2013:175), focus is on the interface between heritage conservation and urban regeneration. Three parallel urban development processes are taking place in the Bo-Kaap; neo-liberalism spilling over from the City centre into the Bo-Kaap, gentrification, and the attempt to conserve both the physical and living heritage of the Bo-Kaap. These three urban processes are urban policy shifts in relation to urban change in Cape Town, changing social geography in the Bo-Kaap, and heritage conservation which is limited by financial constraints and under pressure to gain long-term returns. For example, the museum in the Bo-Kaap is not interpreted and controlled by the locals themselves since funding is sourced from government, thus influencing historical representation. This may impact on how heritage is sustainably managed to slow down the negative impacts of gentrification (Shaboodien, 2012).

Table 2.1 presents the social and demographic changes brought about by gentrification, similar to the cultural and youth effects of gentrification discussed in Chapter Two. Table 2.2 highlights the Bo-Kaap population's perceptions of development and gentrification, in terms of the cultural change in the area.

As discussed earlier in the Chapter, the cultural effects of gentrification concur with the neo-liberal urban policies on which it thrives. Table 2.1 shows that the social geography in the Bo-Kaap has changed, where the percentage of the 50+ age group has increased significantly in the period from 1994 to 2011. Fewer married people and an increase in unmarried couples living together (interpreted as the area losing its Muslim character), as well as a decline in households coupled with an increase in education levels, signify a community undergoing gentrification (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:178). Overall, this table illustrates that there has been a change in the profile of the Bo-Kaap residents, where locals aspire to imitate Western lifestyles.

The perception of these changes amongst the community members is indicative of how gentrification has negative social effects on communities who fear not benefiting from urban change. According to the results in Table 2.2, one of the dangers is that the Bo-Kaap, whilst in the throes of gentrification, may fall under the radar of CTP's densification project, with which the community does not agree because of the limited space in the area. Once the heritage precincts within the city fall prey to densification, the urban landscape, in terms of extent, framework and locality, will become entirely modified (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:180). What is clear is that social tensions (a social effect of gentrification) between residents of divergent origins are more likely, due to these differences being perceived within the community.

**Table 2.1 Changes in social and demographic profile of Bo-Kaap's inhabitants**

Variables		1994 Study	2011 Study
Age	< 30 years	2.6%	1.7%
	31 – 50 years	60.6%	29.9%
	50 years	36.8%	68.3%
Marital Status	Married	84.2%	67.8%
	Unmarried	0%	11.9%
	Living together	0%	3.4%
	Widow/widower	10.5%	8.5%
	Divorced	5.3%	8.5%
Family Size	< 3 people	21.1%	33.3%
	4 people	21.1%	21.7%
	> 5 people	57.8%	45.0%
Education	< Gr 12	81.6%	71.7%

Source: (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:178)

**Table 2.2: Inhabitants of Bo-Kaap's perceptions of change in the neighbourhood**

Attitude towards people from other cultures moving into the Bo-Kaap area	Positive	16.7%
	Neutral	48.3%
	Negative	35.0%
Knowledge of Bo-Kaap inclusion in CTP densification planning:	Yes	41.7%
	No	58.3%
Reaction to densification planning	Strongly supportive	8.3%
	Supportive	6.7%
	Neutral	23.3%
	Opposed to	35.0%
	Strongly opposed to	26.7%

Source: (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:180)

The Bo-Kaap Revitalisation Strategy Phase 1, whose aim is to reconcile spatial, cultural and economic implications planned by the Cape Town City Council, was met with resistance by community members because they felt alienated from decision-making processes (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:181). More efforts need to be focused on salvaging the intangible heritage aspect of Bo-Kaap. It did not help the situation when the Ward Councilor, David Bryant, rejected a revised revitalisation strategy presented by the community through the Bo-Kaap Civic Association. The National Heritage Resources Act places too much emphasis on tangible heritage preservation instead of adopting a more sustainable approach of preserving both the community's physical and social resources as interrelated elements (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:182). However, it remains a concern that local government do not recognise that the majority of residents in the Bo-Kaap are Muslim and that the community is not respected due to government's reaction to the Bo-Kaap community's cultural practices. The sustainable conservation of the community is not

meant to exclude newcomers entirely, but to absorb and benefit from the interaction rather than changing and adapting to the new residents. Shaboodien (2013) declares that:

All interviewed residents expressed that, as long as they respect local hosts, it is fine for foreigners to move into the area. But they find that most of the new residents came to the Bo-Kaap with an attitude. They don't want to be disturbed by our call to prayer and they drink publicly.

## **2.8 Tourism**

Tourism is the largest and fastest growing industry in the world. It impacts on economic, environmental and cultural spheres. The World Travel and Tourism Council defines tourism as the one of the world's leading industries, which contributes over 10% of the world's gross domestic product (GDP). Tourism thus has a direct and indirect impact on the creation of over 200 million job opportunities across the world (George, 2008:3; WTTC:2006). It is overall a dynamic industry and is in a constant state of flux.

According to the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO), an international inter-governmental body of tourism has reached consensus on the conceptual definition of tourism, both widely accepted and cited by academic literature, worldwide. George quotes UNWTO's definition of tourism (George, 2008:3; UNWTO, 2004):

Tourism is defined as the activities of persons travelling to, and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited.

According to Lubbe, the World Tourism Organisation states that minimum length of stay, maximum length of stay, purposes of visits and distance (160 kilometres from home is definitive) from the place of residence to the destination should be included as elements in the demand-side definitions of tourism (Lubbe. 2003:49; WTO:1998).

The supply-side definition of tourism focuses on the producers of tourism perceiving tourism as an amalgamation of various processes and activities, and cannot singularly but partly, be defined as an industry, due to its physical tangible properties (for example, food and buses). It can also not be monolithically defined due to its intangible, perishable properties (services and experience, for example a plane ticket) that cannot gauge a quantitative output (George, 2008:4).

Lubbe (2003:49) opines:

The tourism industry comprises a combination of all relevant firms as well all the facilities that serve the needs of tourism as well as the needs of the locals and other markets.

Lubbe continues to provide a technical definition of tourism, which describes it as two types of businesses, one depending solely on tourism, and those businesses not depending entirely on tourism for revenue (Lubbe, 2003:49). It should be developed within a broader South African context as well, including regional and national policies and regulations on which to operate (Choi & Sirikaya, 2006:1281).

George examines tourism's close relationship with leisure and recreation, and surmises that tourism is distinctive as an activity only due to leisure and recreation as a motivation underlying tourism demand (George, 2008:4). The type of leisure as a tourism motivation becomes further segmented as a marketing exercise. This is categorised as the purpose of travel, where the behaviour is examined in terms of consumption patterns and tourism products experienced on the trip, while on holiday (Lubbe, 2003:49). Tourists' different purposes for travel lead to different forms of tourism to satisfy these varying tourism motivations. One example of this is 'cultural tourism'.

## **2.9 Cultural tourism**

Culture is a way of life and a set of common norms, values and code of conduct, which a social group follows. Both tangible and intangible elements, such as artefacts and dance respectively, form a complete picture of what a culture entails (Hughes, 1995:707). Cultural tourism as a concept is quite often applied to destinations whenever cultural resources constitute part of the product, regardless of the tourists' motivation behind it (Hughes, 1995:707). Du Cros (2001:165) notes that 'cultural tourism' is a constituent of cultural heritage tourism. It is signified by people from outside the heritage area or community, interested in unique lifestyles, traditions, art, history and religion offered by a community destination, which is a breakaway from their own home environment. The motivation to experience culture is what distinguishes it from other forms of tourism. Tourism products and services are composed of various cultures and heritage-related activities such as art museums, heritage buildings and houses, tourist learning centres and historic-based amusement parks and cultural tour routes (du Cros, 2001:165). Cultural tourism is an opportunity to experience a different culture and lifestyle away from home and its mundane daily routine. According to Smith, (cited by Hughes, 1995:707), another variation of cultural tourism is 'ethnic tourism', where a particular tribe, ethnicity or heritage community is experienced as an exotic way of life, similar to being transported in a time capsule away from any semblance of normality. Ethnic and cultural tourism is a growing trend around the world, due to a finer appreciation for unique cultural landscapes as a contradiction to globalisation and modern, stressful daily routines with which tourists from first world countries are burdened. According to City of Cape Town (2013:7), arts and culture also has an important role to play in stimulating Cape Town's tourism and events industries, which together with related service industries account for 17% of economic activity in the Western Cape.



## **2.10 Tourism planning and development**

Tourism development is viewed as a source of economic liberation for local and national economies worldwide. Academic circles are in agreement that tourism growth increases and improves job opportunities worldwide (Visser & Rogerson, 2004:210). Tourism development is often monitored according to national goals which need to be achieved, such as economic transformation, and therefore social development. The success of tourism development is quantified by its ability in achieving a variety of holistic community development strategies (Visser & Rogerson, 2004:210). A potential community development strategy to aid in the holistic development of the neighbourhood and its local residents should include responsible gentrification management objectives within its framework of development. Godfrey and Clarke (2000:1), on the other hand, focus more on the technical aspects of tourism development and opine that it cannot always be regarded as a tool for financial freedom if not managed, organised or planned efficiently. To build a sustainable tourism platform for sustainable tourism development, proper goal strategies and plans need to be designed whereby tourism can be well managed, which can be incorporated into a broader framework tourism policy. A key performance indicator of competitive sustainable tourism development is the protection and upkeep of the natural resources of the tourism attraction, as well as the provision of quality customer service, which adds to the visitor's experience (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:2). Choi and Sirakaya (2006:1284) agree with Godfrey and Clarke that tourism revenue needs to support the local industry and be reinvested into the improvement of infrastructure and the conservation of tourism resources for future generations to enjoy.

Tourism planning goes hand in hand with tourism development and is essential for its success. It prescribes goals and objectives, understanding the market environment, and identifying strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT analysis). Crucial factors such as cultural sensitivity, design of heritage site development, community lifestyle preservation, mass commercialism and involvement in community affairs should be addressed by planners and developers (Culbertson, Turner & Kolberg, 1993:365). Tourism planners, however, need to realise that there are limits to change that are acceptable to a community (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:3). Change therefore needs to be gradual and be based on community participation and decision-making. Change should not equate to rapid development, where communities and physical carrying capacities are not provided with enough time and space to adapt to development. Tourism planning involves building a strategy, which comprises objectives from which tourism plans flow.

Tourism opportunities and constraints need to be assessed. Once the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats are identified, goals and objectives need to be formulated according to the SWOT analysis (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:9). This is to improve on the strengths and minimise the weaknesses, optimise the opportunities and counteract threats. It is therefore crucial that the changes identified within a tourism SWOT analysis should take broader developmental changes into consideration when analysing the threats in the external environment, such as gentrification, which may be aggravated through attracting mass tourists as potential future gentrifiers. The information obtained from the tourism resource audit could assist in carrying out a SWOT analysis by identifying skills and strengths in the Bo-Kaap area versus resource weakness and challenges, during the planning process of tourism development within the community. A tourism development plan of the Bo-Kaap could be achieved once existing and potential tourism resources are identified, sustained and developed. These potential tourism products first need to be understood before they can be marketed. Tourism marketing does not solely focus on selling a destination, but rather emphasises the distinguishing properties of a destination which lure tourists to visit the area as opposed to competing destinations. Aspects to consider are the comparative price of the destination relative to other tourism locations, the ability to access the destination and the numerous techniques adopted to update, attract and persuade visitors. The marketing mix comprising product, price, place and advertising, would thus be utilised in the tourism marketing mix (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:11).

### **2.11 The cultural impacts of cultural tourism development**

Tourists in large numbers can influence host populations through their interactions with them. As a result the local cultural lifestyle slowly becomes altered due to exposure to Western, modern ideals and lifestyles. Tourism can affect social change in a local destination in terms of altering community traditions, values and moral code of ethics (Teo, 1994:126). This describes the effect on host communities as an outcome of direct or indirect host interactions and interrelationships (Teo, 1994:126). This is similar to social impacts of gentrification, where Colburn and Jepson (2012:290) describe how interactions with new residents, similar to tourists, act as a catalyst in breaking down social networks and communal traditions in the interaction process, since community well-being depends on the interactive networks among members and groups within the neighbourhood. Community gatherings and the nature of social interaction has changed, where Bo-Kaap neighbours are more motivated in pleasing their nuclear families than neighbours now considered to be strangers. The social interaction between the local host population and the tourist is therefore crucial in how the social impacts of tourism develop.

A variable influencing the social impact of tourism is the strength of the host population itself. If the local population is strongly rooted in their values, pride and cultural identity, it is highly unlikely that they would veer from their lifestyle and traditions to mimic their tourist counterparts. However, if a host population is not anchored by its cultural roots, its cultural lifestyles are more likely to be replaced by the cultural traits of tourists (Teo, 1994:130; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006:1284). Members of the community who have strong connections to a host destination, whether it be through time, sentimental value or financial linkage, are more likely to have positive views on cultural tourism development in their community than those residents who have fragile connections to the area, usually not originating from the local culture (Besculides, Lee & McCormick, 2002:316). Teo (1994:130) proposed this notion when he said that two possibilities could occur, namely "cultural assimilation" in which the original cultural traits or values are replaced with another, or "cultural drift" in which phenotypic behaviour is displayed, where the interaction between host and guest causes visible change in behaviour. According to Anon. (2013c) a community organisation in the Bo-Kaapis concerned that the Bo-Kaap's local population has become less rooted in their cultural traditions and are in danger of entering a process of acculturation, where the host replicates the external agent's behaviour, causing further gentrification of an area.

Sustainable tourism should therefore proactively protect and conserve the culture of the host community, where cultural revival programmes and activities should help sustain local tourism ventures in the community (Shaboodien, 2013).

Foreign workers imported into a country due to the labour intensiveness and diverse skills set of the tourism industry is a huge social impact of tourism development in Singapore, which has caused governmental concern due to high noise levels and littering. The host population perceive foreign workers to have a sense of entitlement over their local area, due to their disruptive and inconsiderate behaviour, where seating areas and pathways are taken over (Teo, 1994:131). This is very similar to complaints by the Bo-Kaap Civic that many of the new residents who move into the area act as if it belongs to them, making demands on the community, for example. preventing the mosque's 'call to prayer' (Shaboodien, 2013). Another major negative social impact of the influx of foreign workers due to rapid tourism development is the limitation of employment opportunities for locals. According to Teo (1994:131), locals are less upwardly mobile in monopolised areas and licensed operations. Tourism ventures in local communities such as the Bo-Kaap should therefore utilise local skills and employ local people in the community, rather than foreign imported workers. Anon. (2013a) reports that German students are currently working in hotels in the Bo-Kaap, where local youth could be provided with job opportunities.

Physical restoration is viewed as far more integral to the preservation of the city than intangible cultural heritage (Teo, 1994:132). Toffa (2013) relates this to the disintegration of the social fabric of the Bo-Kaap, which will be perceived as 'once was'.

An integrated approach in the Bo-Kaap as part of a broader community development strategy, where funding activities and markets need to be developed as a sustainable source of funding for conservation measures and programmes within the area. However, funding becomes a pertinent issue as national and local capital continuously leaks into foreign global companies. This problem is further exacerbated in the Bo-Kaap where national-based tour companies drop off busloads of tourists in the area for a few minutes to explore and take photographs. Tours running on tight schedules do not allow tourists to spend much time in the area and do not include local businesses in their itineraries, which could support economic linkages in the area (Anon, 2013a).

Tourism developers and community leaders should both provide a setting for local residents, where they can freely take part in the conservation of their cultural heritage and enjoy the achievements of their community goals as a collective unit (Besculides *et al.*, 2002:316). One example of such an arena would be a community centre, which could host a multi-purpose range of communal activities and programmes. According to several organisations in the Bo-Kaap area, including the civic leader Osman Shaboodien, there are no available community-owned venues in the area to share community responsibility (Anon, 2013b; Shaboodien, 2013).

Annoyance and irritation starts increasing amongst the locals due to increased pressures on infrastructure as locals and tourists vie for use of local facilities. A rapid increase in tourist numbers usually results in a transition from positive reactions to tourism to negative perceptions of tourists. Negative local comments are an indication of these sentiments, such as the view that tourists escalate prices and receive better services than the hosts do (Teo, 1994:133). The consolidation phase describes the tourism economy rapidly reaching its peak, where saturation of the tourism market represents the stagnation phase. Antagonism towards the tourists is more likely, but rare, since many countries formulate conservation and sustainable development policies and action plans to prevent the economy from reaching the stagnation phase.

Rejuvenation and revival of the tourism economy only occurs after rehabilitative processes are put in place if the stagnation phase is reached, which most of the time is prevented. If tourism does not expand at a rapid rate but rather at a steady pace, the development becomes more responsible, where challenges and issues become much easier to deal with (Teo, 1994:135). The tourism development model could be applied in the Bo-Kaap context, where the

development and consolidation phases could be managed responsibly by locals in line with sustainable development planning criteria, which could prevent the stagnation and rejuvenation phases from being reached in the area's development process.

Overall, these tourism development phases can be controlled and measured by a comprehensive and flexible tourism development strategy and action plan to ensure sustainable development in the long term. It starts becoming crucial to protect the existing resources and to evaluate the social impacts of tourism to maximise tourism income for the local economy (Teo, 1994:135). Tourism therefore needs to further investigate efficient models of sustainable tourism development based on social resources, which are seldom considered (Visser & Rogerson (2004:210).

## **2.12 Staged authenticity**

In South Africa, the national ideology of the 'rainbow nation' is utilised as a marketing tool by tourism organisations. These multiple cultures living side by side and apparently 'untouched' in the process are marketed as separate exotic groups on display, similar to a cultural zoo. According to Hammett and Jayawardane (2009:231), Nyoni's Kraal provides a space in which performance of the staged authenticity of benign multi-culturalism in South Africa is presented and consumed, where a socially constructed cultural theme park, perpetuating stereotypical, static images of Africa. Foreign visitors devour the city venue, which radiates an amusement park atmosphere (Hammett & Jayawardane, 2009:231). The concern is that these instances of staged authenticity could eventually reinforce racist typologies of previously oppressed groups, which gave rise to the racist segregation policies created by the Apartheid regime in the first place. Multiple South African cultural images are sensationalised and glorified for tourism marketing purposes, where the various racial categories previously inscribed by Apartheid become re-established identities through local city planning for tourism development purposes (Hammett & Jayawardane, 2009:231). However, Crumbaugh (2005:81) states that responsible tourists are interested in realistic authentic tourism experiences.

Even groupings in the Bo-Kaap were willing to recreate these fixed identities but were rejected by the community due to various multiple fluid identities in the area. Organisations such as the Forum for Malay Culture recommended that the Bo-Kaap be renamed the Malay Quarter, but the majority of Bo-Kaap residents opposed the suggestion as it was seen as a categorisation of Apartheid (Todeschini & Japha, 2003:207). However, the Bo-Kaap community needs to interpret all information regarding their history, culture and identity before deciding which history and identity to present to the world. Staged authenticity could be negative, if not interpreted by

cultural leaders themselves. The other danger is local elite overpowering community interpretations and not involving the community in decision-making (Shaboodien, 2013).

Sustainable stages of authenticity can ultimately be achieved by responsible output of information flow and education if applied in the context of Bo-Kaap. Education and training programmes for visitors and other stakeholders are significant in delivering accurate interpretations about a destination (Todeschini & Japhta, 2003:206; Choi & Sirakaya, 2006:1284). Tourism education and training's primary objectives include the increase of awareness in visitors and other stakeholders of the fragile nature of local community environment, both man-made and natural, and change their behaviour and attitude towards it (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006:1284). This suggests that a code of conduct should be impressed on tourists before a tour of the local community is undertaken. Many Bo-Kaap locals fear tourism since to them it equates to foreign people wanting to take over their homes (Anon, 2013a). Tourists must be educated on the impacts of gentrification and the need to respect the human heritage aspects of the area as well. This will ensure that tourist behaviour does not negatively impact on locals and locals are left with a positive sense of cultural pride and empowerment.

Staging involves the movement of the creation and re-creation of culture from one location to the next, which is adapted to suit the environment in transition, and is therefore not considered to be a fabrication (Chhabra, Healy & Sills, 2003:715). According to McCannell (cited by Grunewald, 2002:1018), the staged ethnic spectacle improvises the cultural pride and awareness arising from minority ethnic groups and provides a platform for ethnic minorities to rectify historical stereotypes and rather educate the tourist on past discrimination imposed on their community. Nobre (2002:123), on the other hand, concentrates on economic in-equalities when it comes to ethnic cultural needs, while Dwyer (2009:137) promotes growing 'cosmopolitanism' in local cultural authenticity.

This is similar to the Bo-Kaap experience, where the 'Cape Minstrel Carnival' is perceived by the elite to be staged caricatures of their community as being 'un-kept', whereas for the Minstrels themselves it becomes an evolved artistic expression of colour against banal 21<sup>st</sup> century economic oppression and a potential source of temporary financial freedom due to monetary exchange (Shaboodien, 2013). Evolved staged representations by local Cape Malay choirs in the Bo-Kaap may not be strictly authentic, but is a truthful representation of a historical tradition that has adapted according to the changing world environment (Shaboodien, 2013). McCannell's definition of staged authenticity indicates that culture is produced, however, he does not purport that staged authenticity is completely manufactured since it constitutes strands of the original ritual (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003:715). Responsible staged authenticity can thus be a source of

economic empowerment based on cultural development and progress among the Bo-Kaap community.

Responsible management of staged authentic cultural tourism products can be a guide for local tourism managers in the Bo-Kaap and be incorporated into sustainable cultural tourism development policy, where Cape Malay traditions are truthfully produced. However, the duplication of attractions decreases the chance of achieving economic tourism development (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:7). The Bo-Kaap therefore needs to look to other communities for tourism development guidance but needs to adapt its tourism framework to the unique physical and cultural landscape of the Bo-Kaap.

### **2.13 Sustainable cultural tourism development and maintenance**

Garrod and Fyall (2000:703) and du Cros (2001:166) agree that cultural tourism development needs to be regularly funded through sustainable sources of revenue to be successful for both communities and tourism businesses to benefit. Sustainable cultural tourism development consequently prescribes the involvement of communities and therefore at times can be phrased as 'cultural community tourism' (Simpson, 2008:1). In other words, the long-term success of cultural tourism development depends on sustainable economic development planning, which ensures that daily operation of sustainable tourism is continuously funded, where communities and stakeholders survive in the process. A measure of control to aid in supporting tourism infrastructure is the question of admission or entry fees.

Du Cros (2001) supports Garrod and Fyall's (2000) theory, claiming that co-modification of heritage, to some extent, is crucial to the overall success of the long-term survival of heritage. Co-modification of heritage is sometimes necessary to augment the tourism product to maximise tourism revenues for successful tourism development to take place. However, this needs to be utilised responsibly, where the economic spin-offs of co-modification of culture are re-invested in the maintenance of the heritage management framework, as well as the preservation of cultural resources for the long-term survival of the community's cultural tourism model.

One of the possible measures heritage managers could adopt is to conserve and invest in both the natural and cultural resources, as well as the local culture in possession of these resources. Sustainable cultural tourism should be based on the value and principle that it should provide a financial profit to local communities involved, which creates a purpose and an ideal environment in which to manage their heritage and traditional customs (du Cros, 2001:167). The only successful strategy to adopt, to develop sustainable cultural community tourism, is through co-operation with all stakeholders involved. The long-term preservation of community heritage for

future tourists and offspring to enjoy should become a collaborative effort between stakeholders, which is a basic tenet of sustainable tourism (du Cros, 2001:167). Heritage places with moderate to high market attractiveness, with low 'robusticity' to withstand wear and tear of high tourist numbers, require increased protection through visitation restriction and other controls. An example of such a heritage site in the Bo-Kaap is the Tana Baru heritage cemetery, which boasts an intriguing combination of religious, cultural, historical and natural resources that could form a basis for a dynamic tourism attraction. These various resource qualities require extensive preservation and conservation programmes.

#### **2.14 Tourism gentrification**

The notion of tourism gentrification was initially theorised by Gotham, who relates tourism gentrification to Vieux Carre, in New Orleans, known as the French Quarter. Vieux Carre has undergone rapid urban revival to supplement the growing tourism industry (Gotham, 2005:1100). This is apparent in the extensive establishment of modern refurbished hotels, guesthouses, restaurants, entertainment complexes, casinos and nightlife entertainment venues. Gotham (2005:1100) continues, stating that a direct effect of this is that residential communities are moving to the peripheries of the city due to escalating real estate property values caused by rapid tourism development, described as tourism gentrification.

Gotham (2005:1099) formally defines tourism gentrification as: "(T)he transformation of a middle class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues." Tourism gentrification is therefore a combined, yet singular, thriving and successful developmental process, the survival and growth of each being dependent on the other.

There are two reasons behind the nature of the tourism gentrification phenomenon. The dual mechanism of globalisation and localisation, which equates to new-age urbanisation and rehabilitative development processes, is the first reason behind this development (Gotham, 2005:1102). Gotham connects these urban processes to tourism development and notes that tourism development can be globalised mass commercial tourism development, or the alternative would be signified by localised tourism industries dependent on a grassroots community tourism approach, where tourism co-modification of place is more localised. The community views tourism as crucial to the local economy. However, it does not mean that the local people are forgotten, where the local residents and their kinship traditions are the backbone of the community. Tourism is just a means for creating economic opportunities based on the existing local pride in the community (Horton, 2000:251). Local motifs, symbols and



imagery representing the identified culture are marketed for local tourist consumption, and also adopted by private companies (Gotham, 2005:1102).

Crumbaugh (2005:81) adapts McCannell's (1997) concept of the 'tourist gaze', and speaks of Milenio Carvalho in Istanbul, which interprets cultural 'others' who resist the stereotypes that are quintessential to mass tourism marketing of cultural difference. Gotham then suggests that the twin process of globalisation and localisation is sprouting in Vieux Carre. Here multi-national and trans-national corporations with a special interest in entertainment, tourism and retail are investing in global economic systemised networks, which assist in capitalising the redevelopment of residential and commercial space (Gotham, 2005:1102). The growth of tourism with its wide-spread cultural and aesthetic changes, including the proliferation of advertising images and sophisticated marketing schemes, eventually seeks to create the demand for gentrified housing (Gotham, 2005:1103).

The second reason behind the nature of tourism gentrification is the concept of tourism gentrification itself, which is a challenge to traditional definitions of gentrification focusing on demand-side or production-side agents fuelling the gentrification process (Gotham, 2005:1103). Tourism gentrification as a concept is the combination of production-side and demand-side dimensions of gentrification, where oversimplified and monolithic definitions are evaded (Gotham, 2005:1103). This includes tourism as a driving force behind capital investment, and the financing of tourism and entertainment-related real estate projects and culturally commodified spaces, which fall under the 'tourist gaze'. The demand-side dimension of gentrification is included in the tourism gentrification concept, but focuses on the more recent globalised and revitalised spaces created through gentrification. These spaces embody the cultural spheres and communities affected by gentrification (Gotham, 2005:1103). Carpenter and Lees (cited by Gotham, 2005:1103) perceive this as "highly visual expression of changing patterns of consumption in cities". This indicates that the production side of both tourism and gentrification are similar and therefore the demand-side elements of both tourism and gentrification are related.

Donaldson, on the other hand, shifts his focus away from cities and explores the relation of tourism gentrification to rural areas. He conceptualises it as 'rural gentrification', and is of the opinion that rural gentrification is mostly the result of domestic tourism, where city holiday-makers make rural areas a 'home from home'. A component of South African urban tourism, which is not a research focal point in tourism academia, is migration and holiday house development stemming from recreational tourism (Donaldson, 2009:88). Tourism gentrification has therefore a rural dynamic to its geographical nature. To gain an in-depth understanding of its

slightly different distinctions, assortment and multi-faceted nature, research needs to be conducted across diverse geographical boundaries, concentrating on the importance of time and space as a contextual variable (Lees, 2000; Bures & Cain, 2008:3).

Donaldson (2009:88) believes that this new phenomenon of 'second home' development causes community problems such as economic upheaval and social disintegration. Although there is a misguided perception that second home development creates job opportunities in communities, in fact escalating property values exacerbate economic inequalities and result in further social exclusion. In other words, rural tourism gentrification signifies the rise in property values of rural real estate due to domestic tourism-led migration. Donaldson's 2009 study focuses on rural gentrification in Greyton. Phillip (cited by Donaldson, 2009:89) believes that small, micro and medium enterprises in Greyton create an economic catalyst for rural gentrification in the area (see Photo 9). The demand-side perspective of tourism gentrification within the rural context is slightly different to urban tourism, where agricultural communities are displaced through farmland conversion to residential uses. Rural gentrification therefore transforms the behavioural consumption in Greyton, where tourism replaces agriculture as the chief income generator in the area (Donaldson, 2009:89).



Photo 9:  
A resort development in Greyton, typical of tourism gentrification in the area.  
Photographic source: Google Images [www.greytontoday.wordpress.com](http://www.greytontoday.wordpress.com) (2015)

However, in the Bo-Kaap context, leisure-led tourism migration is a primary concern among community leaders, apart from it being urban gentrification as opposed to rural gentrification.

The Bo-Kaap case is similar to that of Greyton, where foreign tourists find Bo-Kaap homes to be attractive purchases while on holiday in the area. Many tourists who visit the Bo-Kaap are motivated to return and become second-home residents in the area (Kardas-Nelson, 2012:20). Tourism's survival depends on mass tourism marketing, which often practises commercialisation of culture into a package for consumption by tourists. These tourism revenues stream into a capital-led process of modern globalised development and tourism gentrification, where tourism is not only a symptom of capitalism but constitutes a huge dimension of multi-national capitalism (Crumbaugh, 2005:81). The use of cultural motifs and images by tourism marketers are intended to create the 'tourist gaze' which is later embodied in cultural tourism products, and consumed through the tourist's gaze in exchange for financial return. These cultural tourism products are romanticised images and symbols for the tourist to 'gaze' upon, which is termed as staged authenticity. According to McCannell, (cited by Crumbaugh, 2005:82), tourism adopts an agenda of utilising symbols, figures and icons—a fabrication of genuine culture and exotic manifestations of it (Horton, 2000:251; Crumbaugh, 2005:82). Donaldson found this in Greyton, where the research results show that local residents are interested in reviving pastoral activity as a romantic notion of the town to encourage rural tourism development, notwithstanding that Greyton has evolved into a tourism town (Donaldson, 2009:94).

Staged authenticity, which appears to be a symptom of tourism gentrification, stems from a heritage preservation discourse, which is the source of gentrification (Bures & Cain, 2008:6; Donaldson, 2009:94). Mass tourism and tourism gentrification both bleed the common symptom of staged authenticity, where there is a danger that heritage conservation rhetoric can be used to instigate further mass tourism and gentrification and increase cultural commodification in the process. Historical conservation should therefore assume a more responsible rhetoric, to aid in the upliftment of the community and not only the tourism private sector.

Heritage preservation has a strong link to tourism gentrification, with implementation of policies on the preservation of historic buildings, to satisfy tourism demand. Tourism capital flows thus assist in fuelling tourism establishments and real estate development, which forms the basis of gentrification. Donaldson agrees that historical preservation of Greyton's architecture has contributed to the touristic charm, attracting real estate investment and tourism gentrification, but forcing pastoral communities to find alternative settlements due to sky high municipal rates. Heritage preservation is commonly viewed as a catalyst to gentrification, where other academics argue that these two variables are not connected (Donaldson, 2009:90). Bures and Cain (2008:4) note that demographic change in communities due to gentrification is not caused by historical preservation, despite the fact that there is a link between heritage value and real estate

prices, where historical charm adds value to the visual appeal of the area. They believe that this still does not indicate that heritage preservation is a catalyst of gentrification.

Heritage preservation however, is vital to the preservation of communities since the intangible social aspects of historical communities are part and parcel of the physical heritage structures of an area. What this implies is that heritage preservation can either be the cause of community growth and revitalisation, if managed responsibly by communities, or be the demise thereof. The disintegration of communities can occur if heritage conservation results in tourism gentrification, forcing these heritage communities to relocate as a result of increased real estate value. In the case of the Bo-Kaap there is an imminent danger that historic preservation can be the cause of tourism gentrification in the area. According to Kardas-Nelson (2012:20) and Shaboodien (2013):

We don't benefit from increased tourism because there's no tourist infrastructure in the Bo-Kaap. People come in on buses, go to the museum and get on the bus and leave.

Cultural tourism therefore needs to be managed responsibly at grassroots level by the community, for the community's benefit.

## **2.15 Sustainable cultural tourism development and gentrification**

Sustainable cultural tourism development warrants a discussion on the significance of heritage and culture as a definition, a symbol and a framework for the development of tourism in communities. Furthermore, the concept of culture and its link to sustainable tourism development is examined in relation to utilising it as a platform to decrease the potential negative effects of gentrification within communities such as the Bo-Kaap. The use of cultural community models and initiatives to achieve this are discussed.

Before sustainable cultural tourism can be discussed, the term 'culture' needs to be unravelled in terms of the different dynamics surrounding it, especially since it is planned, organised and managed by different role players for various reasons in both tourism and real estate industries. If culture and heritage is not managed responsibly it may perpetuate gentrification in the process.

Culture, according to Kunzmann (2004:384), is: ... "a particular system of art, thought, customs, beliefs and all other products of human thought made by a people at a particular time". Warde (1991:225) defines culture as: ... "a gathering together of persons with a putatively shared culture and lifestyle, or at least shared, class-related consumer preference". Culture is used extensively in city and spatial planning, where the relationship between these variables is based on several dimensions. These dimensions include culture, which creates a distinctive image of a

city; boosts flavour to the identity of a city; improves the value of location; provides entertainment; enhances creativity and aids in local economic growth and bolsters employment opportunities (Kunzmann, 2004:384).

In essence, this assists in promoting culture and cities, not only for the purpose of global financification but local economic empowerment, where communities originating in these cultures also benefit from their own resources as opposed to the status quo, where MNCs use local cultures for marketing appeal. According to a hotel manager operating in the Bo-Kaap, the heritage of the Bo-Kaap area is used to market the location of the hotel. This is besides the fact that foreign-owned hotels do not invest in the community beyond Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) investment initiatives (Anon, 2013c).

Culture-led regeneration based on the discourse of heritage preservation is a significant forerunner to tourism and positive gentrification. Culture is used as a brand by city managers to enhance the identity, image and value of cities for marketing and investment purposes. The mode in which culture and heritage are both related to real estate and tourism is that it strengthens the identity and image of the city, which makes it attractive, boosts tourism value, and therefore draws tourists to live permanently in the 'new' tourism destination. This makes for ideal real estate opportunities and stimulates real estate industries. "Arts and culture has a key role to play in positioning Cape Town as a city of global significance" (City of Cape Town, 2013:7). Culture and heritage preservation as a discourse can therefore be perilous for the future existence of heritage communities. Alternative versions indicate that gentrifiers are continually progressing, desiring the warm hospitality of a working class neighbourhood, and having a degree of interest in the cultural heritage of the community (Warde, 1991:226). Culture can therefore be used as a development tool for the benefit of global tourism conglomerates and the demise of the heritage communities in the process, or the communities' tool toward self-empowerment of its individuals.

Culture is used to attract people into an area. However, the effects of gentrification are such that the original culture becomes diluted and eventually displaced by the people attracted into an area, specifically for its culture. The rehabilitation urban policy objectives in Ostozhenka in Russia include the restitution of heritage structures, where factually the historical charm of the area disintegrated, only to modify itself to suit the new neighbours (Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:115). Culture-led urban regeneration and heritage preservation is therefore all about promoting urban renaissance, and through refurbishing and renovating historic structures in aid of attracting tourists, escalates tourism gentrification in the process (Gunay, 2010:1173).

Once intangible culture is celebrated, the community in possession of the tourism heritage resources is protected, which results in increased community and cultural pride, making it easier to withstand the negative effects of tourism gentrification. What this suggests is that historic preservation should find a balance between satisfying the needs of the tourism economy by investing in the preservation of the urban fabric and economic development, as well as satisfying the needs of the community. The obstacle remains that local community leaders, developers and project managers need to maintain a fine balance between cultural community heritage and architectural conservation. If architectural conservation dominates policy strategies, there is a danger of gentrification expanding due to a correlation between heritage value and property prices (Ercan, 2010:856).

What should be avoided is culture becoming diluted through tourism gentrification, where original residents of the local culture start becoming displaced and the remaining original residents aspire to replicate the 'new' tourists' lifestyle. In other words, an integrated development policy should include programmes and activities to avoid social processes such as cultural assimilation and cultural drift, where mainstream capitalist culture swallows local ethnic group lifestyles, especially once a resource is developed successfully (Horton, 2000:2014; Besculides *et al.*, 2002:307). For sustainable cultural tourism to succeed and keep gentrification at bay, the livelihoods of communities depend on tourism development and therefore the tourism economy needs to be involved in stakeholder relations with the community for all role players and future generations to benefit in the long-term, such as for the Bo-Kaap.

For communities, including the Bo-Kaap to survive they need to accept that culture is not static and that sustainable cultural tourism should make room for cultural change within and outside local communities to evolve and survive. Basically a 'do or die' motto is a reality most traditional communities need to face, where either age-old traditions need to enter into a process of revision (due to ever-transforming global contexts) without losing its core unique qualities, or completely phase out if not willing to adapt to the changing environment (Bailey, Miles & Stark, 2004:63). Both the youth and older generation need to communicate a common understanding, acceptance and vision of this for future generations to enjoy their ancestral heritage for tourism gentrification to be more controlled and a balance needs to be struck between individualism and communalism through avoiding cultural assimilation.

Davids (1980:1) agrees that culture is an ingredient of a fluid social process and that the Bo-Kaap never was a homogenous ethnic group, but uniquely bound by customs including religion and location to reproduce a 'Cape Malay' culture, originating from Asia, yet adapted to the Cape. This does not imply that Bo-Kaap has remained pristine pure as a Muslim area after two

centuries of Islamic influence. There has emerged a new culture, an interesting blend of East and West, with which orthodox Islam may find many faults. What the Bo-Kaap does illustrate is the dynamism of human life and how Islam adjusts to accommodate its adherents in a changing environment and a non-Islamic culture' (Davids, 1980:1). It follows that Davids would support the notion that the Bo-Kaap culture is ever-changing and should re-adapt itself to globalisation and the influence of modern culture and development, including gentrification. Community leaders should take heed that remaining residents of the traditional Bo-Kaap need to accept that their heritage is a result of merging cultures and transformation along time and space, and so should be ready for the next stage in its growth, without losing its original character.

Tourism and economic development which is based on goals of economic transformation and social development, is needed to achieve holistic community development strategies (Visser & Rogerson, 2004:210). These tourism values are aligned to the tenets of a sustainable tourism model aimed at implementing responsible gentrification policies. This will be achieved by minimising the negative economic, cultural and physical effects of gentrification and maximising the holistic development of the Bo-Kaap environment. Tourism revenue must be reinvested into the improvement of infrastructure and the conservation of cultural tourism resources for future generations and tourists to enjoy (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006:1284). Investment in the development of physical and cultural fabric would be to the advantage and benefit of the community, and massive infrastructure such as the Hilton Hotel in the Bo-Kaap could be avoided (Anon, 2013c).

The devising of holistic goals and strategies and a tourism goal revision process (based on monitoring results of tourism objectives) are therefore integral to sustainable cultural tourism strategies for the overall development of the community (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:11). A local tourism authority or tourism policy and committee structure is needed to regulate and monitor the tourism development process in a community such as the Bo-Kaap. Community participation in collaboration with various internal and external stakeholders, could stem the harmful effects of gentrification (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:5). Successful tourism development planning, tailor-made for the Bo-Kaap, requires a SWOT analysis to identify weaknesses and threats, such as the negative effects of gentrification.

A tourism authority could plan to minimise these effects, possibly through maximising the strengths and opportunities within the area. To achieve this, a resource audit is needed, where a demand/supply network is identified to harness local income networks for the further development of business linkages. This could maximise the opportunities for the Bo-Kaap and in so doing, reduce the negative economic effects of gentrification. A tourism market analysis, coupled with a tailor-made marketing mix, will formulate guidelines to sustainable tourism

development, ensuring that the Bo-Kaap tourism destination community attracts the appropriate market and visitors who are satisfied with the product (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:9). This would curb the negative social impacts of gentrification by attracting responsible tourists capable of reinvesting in the cultural and sustainable economic growth of the community, instead of mass tourists who are likely to evolve into future gentrifiers of the community, which Teo (1994:133) refers to as 'touting'.

Communities need to be educated and made aware that they cannot depend solely on tourism for survival, as tourism is seasonal (Anon, 2013a; 2013b; 2013c). According to Godfrey and Clarke (2000:5), tourism should be supplemented by other economies to diversify the overall economy. Within the Bo-Kaap, tourism could be supplemented by business activities such as furniture-making, dressmaking, tailoring, Cape Malay cooking tours and catering (Poking, 2013). These activities would generate revenue during quiet, off-peak tourism periods, which would mean income for the community throughout the year. This income could cover the costs of housing maintenance and municipal rates, ensuring future survival of the community and allowing their offspring to remain in their ancestral neighbourhood. The positive economic impacts of tourism, such as employment, local entrepreneurship opportunities and foreign income currency, should be maximised to mitigate the off-peak season of tourism and the process of displacement encountered in gentrification.

Before the path of community-owned cultural tourism can be explored, the residents of the area need to enter into a process of 'community-visioning'. Jackson's 2006 study explored the island of Bruny, off the Australian coast, and the relationships between local and new residents and how this impacted on the economic and cultural development of the island. Jackson (2006:214) highlights that before the islanders could strategise toward sustainable tourism development, they needed to decide on a common goal through community-visioning, based on a grassroots approach, using bottom-up methods of management. Community visioning is a tool that has been employed by several islands worldwide. It is a process by which the residents within an area outline potential prospects for their community and agree on strategies and plans how to achieve this. The author further states: "Governments may find visioning a useful tool for sustainability, particularly in determining regional sustainability strategies" (Jackson, 2006:214). This paves the way for grassroots community participation in tourism, ensures bottom-up flow of economic benefits and empowers communities to remain intact, as opposed to being passively forced to relocate as a result of high municipal rates.

In the process of community-visioning, it is crucial for communities to guard against the local elite who voice their self-serving concerns and plans on behalf of the whole community, only



through the exclusion of the community. These plans usually lead to the downfall and disintegration of communities, despite agendas for so-called development and gentrification, which only serve the wealthy. The local elite are in positions of power within a community many of them are fearful of losing their reputation and recognition and have to fight to protect their status. As a result, they do not share in the community's common vision and goals for the greater benefit of all, since they are more concerned about preserving their personal wealth and power. Due to land ownership obtained through heritage estate wills, most of the elite gain from MNC resort tourism development as opposed to the local masses (Rodriguez, 1998:264).

The story line of the short film, *Die Tamat*, tells of a young white boy who befriends a Cape Malay boy and attends a Moslem school in the area, where eventually their families are forced to co-exist in harmony as opposed to the Malay youth assimilating to Western culture (*Die Tamat*, 2004). Strategies need to be implemented to ensure community encouragement and to prevent complacency amongst residents. An augmentation of small rapid achievements is crucial in developing confidence and impetus for future growth and activity in the community (Atkinson, 2009:287). This valuable strategy could be utilised in several community programmes and initiatives.

Community-visioning needs to take into consideration that their community tourism planning needs to be integrated, by involving various stakeholders in the process. A balanced approach for community leaders to adopt is for the integration of community goals and formulation into government policy. Community goals can be achieved more easily through co-operation with key role players in the industry. Preservation planning should include an integration of holistically incorporated goals connected to stakeholder objectives, alongside community input and ownership of initiatives. This should be in addition to community skills and resource programmes to help develop the potential growth of local residents with the guarantee of future stability of organisations, monetary and economic frameworks and consistent creative problem-solving (Ercan, 2010:855). Put more simply, a community tourism approach needs to be integrated alongside public and private sectors into a short, medium and long-term plan for all to benefit in a sustainable manner. The importance of cultural heritage needs to be understood and carried out into effective policies and consideration of culture within broader public policies through active integration of the owners in the process (Gunay, 2010:1184). Atkinson (2009:287) supports this notion, stating that: "...municipality needs to actively lobby provincial and national government departments to extend services and projects to small towns and areas... Institutional fabric is crucial". The Bo-Kaap community members need to therefore invest time in creating these institutional networks for physical, social and economic support.

Community-visioning can only be successful in sustainable cultural tourism if adapted to a diversity of community models, plans and initiatives to supplement sustainable tourism models, which could be implemented in the area.

#### **2.16 Cultural community moves to mitigate negative gentrification and ensure long-term cultural tourism development.**

The evolution of culture is inevitable but can be dangerous if not owned, controlled and interpreted by the custodians of the culture themselves. Cultural revival programme leaders should take cognisance of the fact that some cultural traditions need to be revised according to the needs and interests of the youth in the area, the Bo-Kaap in this instance. The youth of the community need to lead it responsibly into the future for their offspring to enjoy where cultural traditions can, in many cases, be utilised by modern society and therefore be adapted to suit the external changing circumstances. An ideal case in point is the Hispano re-introduction of lime plastering, to protect the unique adobe structures built during the Spanish colonial period (Hunner, 2001:39). As a preservation initiative, the 'Cornerstones Community partnership', based in Santa Fe focused their efforts on combining the preservation of both tangible and intangible elements of Hispano heritage. Their goals included the training of youth in the area on the artisan building skills trade, such as the ancient tradition of lime plastering of adobe structures. This was to assist in preserving the historic structures and prevent moisture from causing the historic fabric, as well as modern buildings, to crumble.

This initiative was based on a strategy of integrating economic empowerment, historical preservation, spiritual and cultural development due to awareness of historic value in their communities which aided in insulating cultural pride and identity. This assists communities in insulating youth against cultural assimilation, and would therefore argue that if youth and community members themselves physically protect historic buildings and houses, they would be less likely to 'abandon' their heritage by selling their properties for the highest bid. Therefore, if heritage preservation is balancing the needs of both physical and metaphysical features of culture, it is more likely to succeed in the long term. The demise and evolution of cities has depended greatly on the need for various architectural structures to suit different applications, where the systemic layout of the city has a strong impact on the psycho-social nature of the community (Rose, 1981:488). Ultimately it is about the preservation of heritage architecture along with heritage practices of traditional artisan trade culture, which preserves the tangible and intangible, interdependent and intertwined by nature. This creates a wonderful platform for sustainable heritage conservation where the continuous loop of physical and social weave is maintained within the community's fabric, maintained for future growth and benefit.

Sometimes certain brands of old traditions are relevant and superior to modern technology, such as the lime plastering artisan tradition mentioned earlier, where it can be adapted to improve current traditions. Rose (1981:477) therefore poses a valid question: "Does it include something new that further develops an older tradition?" An example of an architectural relic in the Bo-Kaap is the Stars Hall on Rose Street, named after and owned by the Stars Rugby Club. This historical building is currently under threat due to the Stars Rugby Club's title deeds contract, stating that the restriction of selling the hall (due to heritage value) will be lifted in the future. This is another issue linked to divergent interests among heritage control bodies such as the SAHRA and Heritage Western Cape, According to the civic body, steps need to be put in place to avoid this community property being sold by elite local leaders to protect the local heritage from gentrification destroying it (Shaboodien, 2012; 2013). The more cultural traditions saved, the higher the possibility of community strength and successful tourism development. Increased authenticity and pride aids in slowing down leisure-led migration and tourism gentrification as a result of this.

According to Hunner (2001), a reform initiative in New Mexico called 'The New Deal', encouraged communities to accept and take ownership of evolved cultural identities as spiritual and economic empowerment instead of it being imposed on them by historically colonial powers. Local public policy envisioned the preservation of a Hispanic village which was too linear in its processes, where the community itself could decide on realistic fluid cultural identities that would make room for change while valuing the heritage and traditional values of the village through public heritage programmes (Hunner, 2001:33). Alternative measures that could become politicised for long-term protection of the heritage area, include campaigns, community-land models and projects eventually securing sustainable tourism in the community by conserving tourism resources such as the intangible heritage.

A campaign called 'Affordable Housing Now' implemented in 2003 in Pilsen, Chicago, in the USA, had the objective to produce 1 000 affordable houses for residents (see Photo 10). This campaign aims to slow down gentrification (exemplified by the commercial franchises replacing traditional architecture shown in Photo 10) by education/training of residents on how to repair their homes instead of selling their homes and evacuating the community. The organisation aims to obtain older derelict houses and restore them, and build houses on unoccupied land which local residents will be able to afford to purchase or rent (Richardson, 2003:4). A major goal to be achieved in areas undergoing gentrification is to remodel and refurbish derelict houses inhabited by residents unable to afford the maintenance and upkeep of the properties, resulting in affordability of escalating municipal rates. Gopnik (2004:2) on the other hand claims: "...you build low-cost housing in small lots and then see that it's kept affordable". Therefore vacant

pieces of land in the Bo-Kaap are potential sites for development of affordable housing for original residents to be able to purchase homes in their own heritage area. However, a shortage of vacant lots and houses up for sale, have maintained exorbitant prices of homes and development on the up-rise (Richardson, 2003:4).



Photo 10:  
Pilsen, Chicago, USA. A rapid neighbourhood gentrification taking place within the suburbs of Chicago managed by the locals.

Researcher's own photograph (2015).

Niedt (2006:117) and Atkinson (2003:2345) also highlights the significance of hosting educational workshops in the community to provide residents with relevant information before making decisions on the sale of their properties. Property owners and families renting in the neighbourhood should be educated on the downfalls of urban regeneration, where sustainable development frameworks should be made public instead. Educational awareness workshops should therefore be launched in the Bo-Kaap promoting a concept of sustainable tourism as a mitigating tool to prevent the mutation of gentrification in the area as a potential community vision for all to follow.

Finally, no community tourism strategy or community development project can succeed without some form of funding to back up implementation. Several countries have meagre funds at their disposal to invest in the running of cultural attractions significant to communities involved (du Cros, 2001:166). Fundraising initiatives should form the basis of any community tourism-related activity, since it is pertinent to executing a tourism development strategy. According to Choi and Sirakaya (2006:1284), du Cros is correct in her theory and states that the dwindling amount of funding is a major issue in developing tourism in communities, particularly in rural communities and the developing world. Fundraising often needs to be a planned and managed by community organisations, where a history of efficient organisational development and transparency needs to be proven over a long period before investors can consider offering financial aid (Poking, 2013). Fundraising programmes therefore need to be initiated by the community to support a common vision, which warrants a degree of transparency as a measure of financial control.

Revitalisation projects could assist communities in adopting techniques, which could secure a steady stream of funding and income into the area for sustainable tourism and community programmes, and ensure sustainable economic and cultural community empowerment. Atkinson adapted small town or area techniques from the USA, where diversification was encouraged such as the production of tourism crafts, the restoration of the town's inner metropolitan centre as well as initiatives to revive streets within the area (Atkinson, 2009:284). Atkinson therefore promotes a small town economy revamp as long-term financial return by diversifying the economy and infrastructure. Atkinson supports Choi & Sirakaya in his claim that education is an investment, which safeguards local capital in the area (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006:1284; Atkinson, 2009:284). These revitalisation techniques and methods could be applied and adapted to both sustainable tourism and community development programmes mentioned.

## **2.17 Summary**

Tourism gentrification has been discussed at length, where tourism and gentrification are both components of an interrelated global phenomenon. Culture as a concept and tool has been explored to assist in understanding tourism gentrification and how cultural change can be managed responsibly through sustainable cultural tourism development strategy through minimising the negative cultural impacts of existing mainstream tourism such as gentrification as well as the further cultural effects caused by tourism gentrification. This depicts the nature of the cyclical relationship between tourism and gentrification as an interdependent process. Community-based participation to ensure successful cultural tourism strategies was discussed with a closer look at community land models and cultural revival programmes to build towards sustainable cultural tourism development for future generations to enjoy, which of course can

only be achieved through community generational growth in the area, as opposed to an ethnic diaspora caused by gentrification.

Gentrification as a concept has various interpretations within academic circles. Visser (2002:420) and Kotze and van der Merwe (2000) focus on the nature of gentrification by claiming that it is a unit by unit 'take over' of housing stock, replacing low income residents with middle to upper class residents. Ruth Glass, according to Visser, focuses more on the social nature of gentrification in terms of the original community's cultural characteristics changing due to the displacement of locals (Visser, 2003:82). Slater and Badyina and Golubchikov agree that urban renewal is central to the definition of gentrification, where for some urban revitalisation is positive, sprucing further urban regeneration through capital injection from foreign investors and real estate markets, increasing property value for the wealthy at the expense of the poor (Slater, 2004:304; Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:115). New developments, new office blocks, apartments or hotels signify New-Build Gentrification, as opposed to renovation or regeneration of existing structures (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2567). The effects of gentrification are a result of an interwoven web of cause and effect relationships, which are of a dialectical nature.

To truly understand the concept of gentrification, the physical, economic, demographic and cultural effects of this phenomenon were explored. The physical effects of gentrification are connected to the products of urban renewal strategies. The primary tangible changes are visually appealing, attracting developers and global capital in the process, which can be seen in housing renovation, usually in historic neighbourhoods such as the Bo-Kaap, known as incumbent upgrading and modern refurbished buildings (Warde, 1991:225). Nil Uzun maintains that a shift from a production-orientated economy to a service orientated one, resulted in the physical transformation of the city where the city centre's space is converted from factory based to administrative information centres (Nil Uzun, 2003:363). The physical fabric of an area is enhanced by its social intangible elements, where the social, technological and economy shape the architecture of the Bo-Kaap (Ontong, 2013). In other words the intangible social elements intrinsically enhance the physical fabric of the area and therefore to conserve the physical environment, the intangible culture needs to be preserved as well.

The cultural effects of gentrification are primarily the cultural genocide of the area, where social profiling and characteristics of the residents are altered as a result of changing demographic profiles, and the replication of the behaviour introduced to the local residents. This is a consequence of cultural assimilation and cultural drift where instead of new residents aspiring to become part of a close-knit community, local residents change to adapt to their new neighbours, altering the cultural landscape all the while. Traditional occupations are adjusted to suit the

needs of trans-national companies gentrifying neighbourhoods, such as fishing villages where traditional fisherman are forced to change their jobs creating job dissatisfaction, disrupting cultural and psycho-social well-being in the area (Colburn & Jepson, 2012:290). The destruction of community support systems along with it obliterating the heritage of neighbourliness based on community members' disappointment in their standard of living in comparison to their new counterparts, causes financial despair and relocation. This severs further ties in the community due to social tectonics describing the inherent tensions between new and local residents, which are the anti-thesis of a close-knit community's backbone (Slater, 2004:304).

These varying effects of gentrification result in multiple morphologies around the world as a result of altered time and spatial contexts (Lees, 2000:390). Gentrification was in its embryonic stages in London, where rapid gentrification spread across the world. Gentrification therefore started spreading to Europe and other parts of the world once it took effect in London. In Ireland, gentrification affected the social dynamics, where Irish literary culture transformed through perceiving cultural change in Ireland as a consequence of urbanisation and gentrification (Kincaid, 2005:39). Sydney saw the decline of music venues due to private rent control resulting in the open air music culture disintegrating (Gibson & Homan, 2004:80). Tokyo on the other hand experienced young, single women and childless couples gentrifying the city landscape being attracted to convenient lifestyles and newly remodelled apartments and new-build office blocks (Lutzeler, 2008:298). In Toronto Canada, Salter's 2004 study proved that gentrification was the end product of middle classes seeking freedom of lifestyle in the city centre at the expense of the inner city working classes who, instead of improving along with the new middle class neighbours, experienced worsening living conditions due to municipal policies supporting gentrification and its increased property values in the city. Changing spatial and time contexts are related to the geography of gentrification as well as where the post-socialist context of Russia caused capital led regeneration in the post-communist historical districts displacing lower working classes with the elite upper classes.

In the case of South Africa, in a post-apartheid context, gentrification in the inner city, such as culture-led urban regeneration, urban renewal and new-build gentrification is a result of reversing the decaying process caused by decentralisation policies of Apartheid, where the 'white flight' from cities led to suburban development. Woodstock, a neighbourhood in Cape Town, has undergone gentrification where working class factory workers were replaced by coloured middle classes, proving that racial lines of gentrification can be reversed (Visser, 2002:421). De Waterkant, on the other hand, experienced gentrification where wealthy gay men displaced local gay men, who in turn gentrified the Cape Malays who were originally from the area once falling within the borders of Bo-Kaap.

Gentrification in the Bo-Kaap first began with the 'Oro Africa' factory operating in Jordaan Street of the Bo-Kaap, and the Leeuwen Street Mansion owners selling the apartments, forcing local renters to vacate due to sky-high property prices they were obviously unable to afford. This is partly caused by a heritage preservation discourse which aims to preserve the buildings and physical fabric of the area, not encapsulating the human cultural essence that brought life to the architecture. This is opposed to the historical and trendy De Waterkant a future possibility for the Bo-Kaap versus a community vision that preserves its cultural lifestyle and identity to safeguard the neighbourhood in the long term.

Tourism is a development phenomenon and provides millions of jobs worldwide. It is defined as activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one year for leisure, business and other purposes not related to the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited (George, 2008:3). Cultural tourism uses culture as a motive for tourists to explore and visit a culture different to their own, which serves as escapism. Culture is a way of life with a distinct set of norms, values and traditions. Cultural tourism products include cultural heritage tours, heritage art galleries, museums, cultural cooking tours, also offered in the Bo-Kaap as a growing trend (Lubbe, 2003:96). The history and culture of the Bo-Kaap is very special and unique to the history of South Africa, which can easily be packaged as a cultural tourism product by the community for their cultural and economic empowerment. Communities therefore need to develop sustainable cultural tourism in the community for the majority of the local residents to benefit, as opposed to foreign controlled companies.

To ensure cultural empowerment, sustainable cultural tourism development guidelines need to be adhered to. Tourism development involves the protection of physical, natural and social resources in the area and provision of quality customer service, which adds to the visitor experience (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:2). Successful tourism development cannot be applied without proper tourism planning which prescribes goals and objectives, understanding the market conditions and identifying a carrying capacity; a SWOT analysis and a tourism resource audit. The tourism development strategy needs to be flexible and adapted to changing external conditions, where a tourism policy can be formulated by a local tourism body which will include a comprehensive resource audit and market plan for the area based on the SWOT analysis. This goes under constant review due to tourism developers monitoring and evaluating the process for goal and policy revision due to evolving circumstances. Sustainable tourism development can succeed if tourism is not the saviour of the community but a supplementary income to households to diversify local economies.



The positive impacts of tourism, that is job opportunities, cultural revival and historic preservation, need to be improvised and the negative impacts of tourism such as cultural assimilation and cultural drift, demonstration effect, fragmented social networks, foreign imported workers and touting (trans-national control over local resources) are decreased by balancing the costs and benefits in the best interests of tourism and the community (Teo, 1994:128). It is ensured by managing community and tourist interaction, according to the 'Doxey's Irridex', which coincides with Butler's development phase model. Staged authenticity is a negative social impact of tourism since it is commercialised for foreign interest, which can be reversed if re-interpreted by culture as a revived human expression for the group. Sustainable cultural tourism development therefore manages these negative cultural effects by developing sustainable financial mechanisms, that is, admission fees to sustain the tourism economy for all to benefit holistically, by applying developmental policies according to development matrixes that will capitalise on potential areas of development for community growth and protecting sensitive cultural areas.

Tourism and gentrification are both elements composed of a dialectical relationship, where both phenomena are inextricably linked. As a result of gentrification, tourism impacts could affect the host environment negatively, while tourism could also cause further negative effects of gentrification on the host. In other words, tourism potentially causes gentrification and vice versa. Tourism development could either exacerbate the gentrification process if based on commercial mass tourism principles, or it could reverse the negative processes of gentrification if planned and managed according to responsible and sustainable guidelines of development, where the negative effects of both tourism and gentrification are avoided through maximising the positive effects of tourism gentrification for the holistic development of all interrelated environments within the Bo-Kaap. 'Destination planning should strike a balance between gains and losses for the maximum benefit of destination communities', state (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:5). Sustainable tourism guidelines to development aiming to achieve sustainable tourism and responsible gentrification through these broad community goals, plans and strategies, include the establishment of a local tourism authority in collaboration with all stakeholders involved, which utilise techniques such as a resource audit to fulfil a SWOT analysis based on a tourism monitoring process of goal revision.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **RESEARCH DESIGN**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

Quantitative and qualitative methodologies are discussed separately, before exploring the mixed method approach of combining quantitative and qualitative research, focusing on methods and the benefits of triangulation. The chosen research techniques and tools are discussed, as well as the reasons for employing these options where interviews and questionnaires were utilised in the data collection process. Essential prerequisites critical to realising the success of the objective research include principles of validity and reliability. Primary and secondary data are examined as sources of information. An analysis of a variety of sampling methods such as probability, non-probability and systematic sampling is provided, before discussing the population sampling procedure utilised in the research, as well as the reasons for adopting this particular approach to sampling. Finally, the study limitations will be revealed, where potential control measures, which should limit the shortcomings of the research, are explored.

According to Maree (2007:30), research questions should be clear and self-explanatory and relate directly to the problem statement and research objectives, which can only be answered once the research objectives are understood (Maree, 2007:30), which are:

- What are the physical impacts or changes on the population of the Bo-Kaap.
- What are the economic impacts or changes in the population of the Bo-Kaap.
- What are the cultural impacts or changes in the population of the Bo-Kaap.
- What are the demographic changes (age) in the population of the Bo-Kaap.
- What are the sustainable cultural tourism initiatives or tourism development framework policies in the Bo-Kaap area.

#### **3.2 Ethical considerations**

The ethical considerations of this study are key to the research methods to be undertaken while investigating the topic of this study. This is significant in dealing with issues of confidentiality and protecting the identity of participants in the research process while familiarising the researcher with the ethics policy of the community and civic protectors of the area (Maree, 2007:42). This is assisted by relevant documents such as letters of consent issued by community leaders and obtaining permission to interview residents of the community. This ethical consideration has a professional and organisational function (Veal, 2006:70).

### **3.3 Research methodology**

Researchers decide on specific research methodologies, which are chosen according to the unique needs of their research questions and the nature of the topic of study. Research is divided into two categories, namely basic research and applied research. Basic research aims to investigate the observable fact and increase the body of knowledge surrounding the phenomenon, such as cause and effect relationships, as well as processes culminating in the phenomenon being studied (Merriam, 2009:3), which is the type of research used in this study.

#### **3.3.1 Quantitative methodology**

Quantitative methodology is a type of research which identifies the characteristics of an observed phenomenon or exploring possible correlations among two or more phenomenon (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001:191). Quantitative research operates on a process that is systematic and makes use of numerical data in an objective approach. Quantitative information is not used to change a situation being studied, nor is it intended to detect a cause and effect relationship (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001:191).

Quantitative methodology utilises several design studies such as correlation, developmental, observational studies, and survey research based on an inductive process of building theory. Correlation studies explore the extent of differences in one variable related to differences in one or more other variables, where developmental studies involve cross-sectional and longitudinal studies (Leedy & Ormrod, 2001:194).

Quantitative data analysis uses factor analysis and cluster analysis to interpret the data with precision. Factor analysis can be used to identify underlying elements within a dataset, or to confirm that a set of factors defined, termed a priori, is utilised for summarisation of data (Baggio & Klobas, 2011:42-43). Factor analysis, specifically in tourism research, exploits data summary usually reflective of tourists' attitudes, customer satisfaction and tourism impacts (Baggio & Klobas, 2011:44).

#### **3.3.2 Qualitative methodology**

In contrast to quantitative research methods, qualitative methodology forms part of an inductive process, where the researcher gathers data to build concepts, hypothesis or theories (Merriam, 2009:15). Qualitative research is practised in scenarios where it is difficult to say what the variables are, which ones are important, and how to measure them. This requires open-ended, inductive exploration implemented within qualitative research processes (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006:272). Qualitative questioning always poses questions as to why and

how occurrences take place, as opposed to what, where and who, which is commonly utilised by quantitative researchers.

The researcher is considered to be the primary instrument for collecting and analysing the data. This is because the 'human instrument' can extend responses further through verbal and non-verbal communication and respond immediately to clarify answers. Quantitative research does not allow the researcher to control large numbers of respondents' answers, where questionnaires provide questions with close-ended options, not allowing for data expansion. Qualitative questioning holds an interest in personal life and work contexts with a high tolerance for ambiguity (Merriam, 2009:17).

### **3.4 Mixed methods approach: quantitative and qualitative research methodologies**

The mixed methods approach or 'multi-method research' makes use of more than one approach to collecting and analysing data (Lapan & Quartaroli, 2009:244). Many debates surrounding the mixed methods approach were contentious in nature, where traditional scientists were of the opinion that empirical science requires a search for a universal truth and not several relative truths or interpretations, which has been the aim of its counter-research methodologies (Lapan & Quartaroli, 2009:244). Multiple methods of research involve two or more quantitative approaches, two or more qualitative approaches, or a combination of at least one qualitative and one quantitative method (Lapan & Quartaroli, 2009:244).

The potential benefits of using a multi-methods approach are that it aids in confirming validity (what is aimed to be measured is in actual fact being measured) of a study where the use of both quantitative and qualitative research measures such as a rating scale coupled with observation, are valuable in obtaining sufficient varied information (Lapan & Quartaroli, 2009:246). This does not only ensure validity of a study but also uncovers universal and relative truths about the phenomenon useful to both the physical and social sciences.

#### **3.4.1 Triangulation**

Triangulation is the use of more than one research method in a single study to achieve a more in-depth exploration of the phenomenon being studied (Veal, 2006:107). Triangulation can be utilised in two general ways, namely to provide evidence of validity of the measurement tool being used, that is questionnaires being able to produce sound data due to its strength in composition, or to better understand the human situation and events, by gathering the underlying nature of the human phenomenon (Lapan & Quartaroli, 2009:248).

This study also utilised quantitative information as a component of the mixed methods approach, since it could be used for social improvement, by providing a framework for community members to participate in project planning, monitoring, and the implementation process, which could facilitate a participative process with all relevant stakeholders in project planning and implementation (Singh, 2007:33). It is clear that the mixed methods approach helps the researcher to deepen his or her understanding of the phenomenon, where quantitative data has contributed to clarifying physical and demographic changes within the population. Overall this type of research equates to 'action research', where the goals of the study mainly focus on developing sustainable cultural tourism as a practical solution to the social problems caused by gentrification, which adopts a mixed methods approach of research to render the most intricate dynamic results to best apply in the cultural context of the Bo-Kaap.

### **3.5 Research techniques and tools**

There are several research techniques used in the mixed methodology, which are sometimes used in various combinations with each other. These research techniques (some of them specifically utilised in tourism research) are coupon surveys/conversion studies, intercept surveys, time-budget surveys, the experience sampling method, panel studies, longitudinal studies, media sponsored surveys, action research, historical research, textual analysis, Delphi technique, projective technique, the use of scales, meta-analysis, observation, content analysis of documents, questionnaire based surveys and focus group and in-depth interviews (Veal, 2006:101-106; Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008:117-128).

In this research, the projective technique was used in the focus group discussions, as well as the questionnaire-based surveys and the in-depth interviews. Scales, such as the nominal and Likert scales, were used as a technique within the questionnaires.

Questionnaires are the most popular method of data collection, where a predetermined, structured set of questions, are posed to gather relevant information from the sample population. Questionnaires can be categorised into self-administered or research-administered questionnaires. The former is characterised by face-to-face contact and the latter utilises postal, on-line or telephone contact to complete the questionnaires. Wording of questions needs to be simple with minimal technical jargon (Somekh & Lewin, 2006:183), for respondents to engage easily with the questionnaire through close-ended questions and tables, for example Likert scales, which are regarded as quicker to complete. A pilot survey was done to gauge whether the target sample understood the questionnaire. This gave the researcher the opportunity to amend and produce the final questionnaire (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008:126).

Interviews can be described as the collection of data through asking the respondent questions, listening and recording the responses. The researcher then has access to a diverse range of information and contextual experiences, which enables the researcher to explore themes, to fulfil the research objectives (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008:107). Interviews may be formally arranged, that is, interviewing the owner of a guest house, or it could be informal, that is, interviewing local residents conveniently to gauge attitudes and opinions of local communities toward recent tourism development (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008:107). There are four interview techniques: unstructured, structured, semi-structured and focus group interview methods (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008:107). Structured interviews are used when researchers prefer control of the topic through a standardised interview schedule, where the response to each question is recorded (Altinay & Paraskevas, 2008:113). Focus group interviews employ a number of respondents purposively due to their common background, history, environment or experience.

### 3.5.1 Reason for chosen techniques: interviews and questionnaires

The main motivation in choosing this specific research topic was to measure the effects of gentrification and the changes in the Bo-Kaap community, to apply the findings to facilitate positive social change as a result of new urban processes in the area, rather than regression of locals. Through sustainable cultural tourism development, tailor-made community projects could emanate from suggestions and recommendations from the results of this research, and thus implement a plan of action to solve community issues and the negative effects of gentrification which defined this research as 'action research'. The type of research chosen was a combination of methodologies within the questionnaires, such as close-ended and long questions, the use of scales to measure opinions via a Likert scale, and interviews to best suit the needs of the research topic.

The Likert scale was utilised in this study to measure the community's opinions and beliefs in a thorough manner, which assisted in establishing community change and community members' perception thereof. It would aid in designing a development plan to suit the needs and belief system of its people once the research was completed. The reason why these quantitative research techniques were chosen was because questionnaires provide a high level of valid data and was deemed the most efficient method of interrogating the sample of 262 houses. Questionnaires were both self-administered and assistant-administered, depending on which was most convenient for the participant. Questionnaires were designed to obtain basic information on the high number of household-families in the area. The survey sought a 95% confidence and validity level and to gain as much information as possible from the population in the area.

The more detailed answers provide further descriptions of the underlying dimensions of gentrification, change and tourism in the study area, which aided in consolidating numerical findings in the questionnaire (and vice versa, where questionnaire findings consolidated interviewee opinions and emerging themes), as well as providing further insight into the community's status quo as a means of improving community well-being for future generations through research application. Numerical findings provided a mind-map, where demographic and cultural change in terms of age, income and race were investigated.

Both structured in-depth interviews and focus group interviews were used, since the blend of the two techniques allowed the researcher to obtain detailed information from a sequenced set of questions within the structured interviews. This permitted comparisons to be made easily from the data. This was implemented alongside the focus group interviews, which provided a platform for open-ended discussion based on key phrases from the same line of questioning posed in the structured interviews, allowing free-flowing conversation, and revealed data which otherwise would not have been disclosed in the structured interviews. The projective technique was adopted as a small component of both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, and encouraged participants to think widely about possibilities and potential community tourism development about possible suggestions for sustainable cultural tourism development and responsible gentrification changes in the Bo-Kaap as a mitigating factor against its possible negative effects. The focus groups and interviewee targets included both community leaders who took an anti-gentrification stance, and pro-gentrification groups and individuals, to gather data representing both views in the area as a means of increasing objectivity and validity. To gain a better understanding of the different dynamics and varied social and organisational fabric of the area, focus group interviews had to be administered, as a very strong indicator of social action in the community is dependent on its group affiliations and organisations. To establish community dynamics and their relation to the effects of gentrification (that is social change), the inner psyche of community groupings needed to be examined.

### 3.5.2 Data collection process

Ten youth fieldworkers from the community were carefully instructed on how to approach potential respondents and assist in obtaining meaningful information. Each fieldworker was allocated two streets, to cover the large geographical area of the Bo-Kaap. Every second house was targeted on both sides of the street for equal representation. The survey was conducted over a two-month period, from August to September 2013, with each questionnaire interview taking about an hour. Before commencement of the interviews, a session was conducted with

the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT) statistician to prepare meaningful coding for possible responses.

Data of a more in-depth nature was collected through voice recordings of 15 interviews, including focus group discussions, of both community leaders and organisations. These individuals and groups were chosen according to the snowball sampling technique, which will be discussed later in more detail. The research technique used for the in-depth interviews were structured interviews, while the focus groups demanded the same questions, posed in a more probing fashion through the use of key words, where both interviews adopted the projective technique in a small section of the interview.

### **3.6 Validity of the research instrument**

Validity refers to the measure or instrument, such as the questionnaire, which measures what is supposed to be measured (Maree, 2007:147), in other words, the sample size needed to accurately reflect the sample frame or population. The study investigated the effect of gentrification and sustainable tourism development in the Bo-Kaap area, which constituted the residents' households or sample frame, accounting for 741 households (the population). The sample size of 262 then proved 95% validity, thus providing an accurate representation of the household population, which is referred to as 'external validity'. External validity is the degree to which results can be generalised to the entire population (Maree, 2007:151), which can only succeed if interlinked to the reliability of the study for both sample size and questionnaire to be accurate in investigating the research questions. Internal validity, on the other hand, refers to sufficient control over variables during an experiment, where the treatment of a problem caused a change in the dependent variable, that is, the new-build gentrification of the Bo-Kaap (Maree, 2007:151; Babbie, 2014).

### **3.7 Reliability of the research instrument**

Reliability refers to the consistency of the measurement tool, namely the questionnaire (Maree, 2007:147). High reliability is assured if the instrument used to measure data (the questionnaire) is able to produce the same results if the research is repeated on the exact same sample. Reliability is conceptualised as data being consistent. However, if replication of the same study does not yield the same results, it does not disqualify the findings, as there may be several interpretations of the same data (Merriam, 2009:221). In terms of this study the questionnaire was considered valid as it posed questions which answered the research questions and achieved the research objectives linked to the topic of study. According to Babbie (2014), it depends on how the questions are posed, where some questions would have higher reliability



than other questions, that is, "Did the Bo-Kaap's cultural traditions change in the last few weeks?" would carry less reliability than if one asked if the Bo-Kaap lifestyle had changed over the last 10 years. Reliability was ensured through posing clear concise questions, which assisted in answering the research questions accurately.

Trustworthiness is included here and refers to the researcher's personal morals and ethics when executing research. Characteristics such as honesty, the practice of non-biased interpretation of data, concern and empathy for all participants involved, and constant consideration of implementing sound, valid and reliable research practices, augments the integrity and competency of the research and the researcher. This is an indication of trustworthiness of the researcher and the findings, and therefore improves the likelihood that the research could be applied to social settings. Trustworthiness was mostly achieved through adherence to the code of ethics stipulated by research-based institutions, where, according to de Vos, Strydom, Fouche and Delport (2002:64), personal ethics during research processes included respect of privacy and trustworthiness. Trustworthiness was therefore imperative in producing reliable, valid and competent research data, which could be of use to the communities and Bo-Kaap society.

### **3.8 Primary and secondary data**

Primary data are new information collected in a research study, where the researcher can be termed as the 'primary user' of such data. In contrast, secondary data already exists and is collected for significant research purposes, and can therefore be used for subsequent research projects. The researcher then becomes a 'secondary user', where further analysis of this secondary data becomes known as secondary analysis (Veal, 2006:147).

Primary data are collected from original sources by the researcher, through direct observation, automatic collection of data (that is, clicks on links in websites), questionnaire surveys (online, printed or administered through the post, telephone, fax or email), structured and unstructured interviews, and case studies (Baggio & Klobas, 2011:6). Another example (not applied in this study) is experiments which are operated within a natural environment setting or a social or scientific laboratory (Diamantopoulos & Schlegelmilch, 2000:5).

Secondary data is used when theoretical or practical reasons do not require direct data collection (Baggio & Klobas, 2011:7). The main statistical data utilised for tourism-related research is from government sources, such as statistical bureaus, public tourism departments, international associations, private research companies and tourism industry associations (Baggio & Klobas, 2011:7).

The primary data used in this research was information gathered from families living in the Bo-Kaap, and was gathered through self-and assisted-administered questionnaires (according to the situation). The data pertained to the demographic status of families in the area, their housing stock, and opinions on the various effects of gentrification on the community. The most useful data could only be collected from the community households, which could best be achieved through a survey, targeting the majority of the community population. In-depth interviews were conducted as a primary data source, since community leaders and organisations could potentially convey meaningful information from first-hand experiences in the community, which was invaluable in the investigation of urban social processes and effects on the Bo-Kaap community. Secondary data was collected from a variety of sources, including academic journals, books, and even a locally-produced short documentary film on the Bo-Kaap.

### **3.9 Sampling methods**

In probability sampling the researcher is able to predict that all relevant segments of the population will be represented in the sample, where in contrast to this, non-probability sampling does not ensure that the researcher will cover each element within the population represented in the sample (Leedy, 1997:204-205). Probability sampling includes simple sampling, systematic sampling, stratified sampling and cluster sampling. Non-probability sampling comprises convenience, quota, snowball or purposive sampling methods (Leedy, 1997:204). Probability sampling, which employs simple random sampling, is where the units within the sample frame or population are labelled with numbers. Non-probability sampling design, such as convenience sampling, operates on the premise that there is no aim in controlling bias in the study, where it targets units, for example households, as it conveniently presents itself.

The method of sampling adopted for this study was systematic sampling. Most academic circles favour systematic methods of sampling since empirically the results are identical yet slightly more accurate than simple random sampling. However, the disadvantage of systematic sampling occurs if the arrangement of elements in the list could cause systematic sampling to be ineffective. Systematic sampling was chosen as the probability sampling method for the Bo-Kaap study due to the fact that, firstly, as a practice under probability sampling it ensured that most segments of the population were represented. This was very significant since the study aimed to reveal the effects of a phenomenon (gentrification) across the whole area of the Bo-Kaap, looking at sustainable tourism measures to control it. In other words, the research objectives included an understanding of the Bo-Kaap, to gain a deeper yet holistic understanding of the resident community. The aim of applying the findings to various sectors of the community and not a select few therefore required probability sampling. A deeper holistic

understanding of the community could therefore only be achieved through using both qualitative and quantitative research.

Systematic sampling of households was therefore chosen within an area that needed to represent a large majority to gain accurate insight into the social relation to housing stock and development in the area. According to Babbie (2014:2240), a larger sample creates smaller sampling errors than a smaller sample does. In other words, if a statement on the Likert scale is strongly agreed on by 99% of a bigger sample, it reflects a smaller sampling error than would be the case with a smaller sample. This specific probability sampling method was chosen because it was suitable for targeting a large number of households in the area (for which random sampling is also useful), and also provided a less-biased representation of the population due to higher accuracy levels when sampling. In this research, every second house on both sides of the streets was represented.

All the streets within the Bo-Kaap area were included in the sample, to gain a broad representation across the span of the entire residential community, so as to apply the results of the research to benefit the majority of the area. Every second house on both sides of all streets in the area was chosen to gain a larger sample and reduce sampling errors of bias. Both sides of the street chosen in the sample ensured equal representation of the area, which would influence interpretation on the phenomenon (gentrification) being studied, since the nature of the topic dealt with physical dynamics of the neighbourhood as well.

### **3.10 Population sampling procedure**

The population is a group of individuals, objects or items from among which the sample is taken (Singh, 2007:88). In this study, the population was the resident homes in the Bo-Kaap area. The sample size was vital in ensuring that the statistical findings were scientific and sufficiently accurate. A low margin of error to the confidence limits of the quantity measured in an empirical investigation is provided by a reasonable sample size. The population targeted in this study comprised the total of all Bo-Kaap households. The 'sample frame' would be all the units in the population, where each unit is uniquely numbered or identified. The sample represents the sub-group of the population, comprising a predetermined number, called the sample size, constituted of randomly selected sampling units from the population (Maree, 2007:147). The sample frame in the Bo-Kaap was made up of 741 households, where the estimated sample size was 262 households. A 95% confidence and validity level would then be attained, which refers to the accuracy of measurement to determine the sample size. The interviewees selected for the in-depth and focus group interviews (qualitative component of the investigation) were

knowledgeable and inhabitants of the Bo-Kaap area. All prominent community members, leaders and groups were chosen for this part of the study, using snowball sampling.

#### 3.10.1 The reasons for population choice

Family households of the Bo-Kaap were chosen as the population, instead of individuals sampled from the streets because the nature of the topic necessitated that housing stock in relation to cultural dynamics within the area, needed to be investigated so that research questions could be sufficiently answered. The household population was a crucial link to answering the research question, which consisted of all the sampling units (Maree, 2007:146-147). The other reason for choosing households as representatives in the sample was to minimise the chances of selecting several individuals from similar families as the study aimed to target as many family representatives as possible. This was required to reflect a broad, fair interpretation from the community as a whole, thus choosing every second house as a systematic method of sampling.

The interviewees selected from the Bo-Kaap population for the in-depth interviews and focus group discussions, were chosen from two factions, namely pro-gentrification and anti-gentrification, to gain both perspectives so as to increase reliability of results. Snowball sampling was used to select prominent community leaders who represented political, religious and cultural aspects of the community, as well as groups or organisations. This would provide a broad perspective on community activities and group affiliations. Both groups and individuals were chosen for the researcher to gather comprehensive information. This would assist in achieving the research goal of gaining a holistic understanding of the community, to best apply the findings for the benefit of the majority.

### **3.11 Study limitations**

The study was not limited in terms of the sample size since no restrictions were placed on it through systematic sampling. However, the research was limited where the Bo-Kaap population proved to be far more heterogeneous in character (specifically economic diversity) as opposed to previous assumptions of highly concentrated homogeneity. The large sample size allowed for the differences within the population. Stratification sampling would not be suited to this, since the research topic looked at the effects of gentrification across the entire residential area, not focusing on separate groupings, but rather the whole. Stratified sampling is based on the premise that a common set of variables are used to examine and compare the various strata in the population as single homogenous groupings. This is so the researcher could measure cultural change as a variable among the older traditional families but could not measure cultural

change among the new neighbours, thus stratified sampling would not allow for an objective sample of the entire Bo-Kaap population.

A concern, especially in relation to the interview schedule, was that there were more 'anti-gentrification' or 'proactive responsible gentrification' spokespersons willing to voice their opinion, as opposed to pro-gentrification individuals or groups. This made it extremely difficult to obtain equal representation of both views in the community. However, these limitations were mitigated by increasing the sample size and questioning economic and demographic differences in the quantitative section of the survey to determine trends along these differences. The limitations pertaining to the interviews were alleviated by examining interview outcomes and selecting the most applicable interviews from both groups. This ensured high levels of trustworthiness, reliability and validity.

### **3.12 Summary**

The researcher investigated the effects of gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap area in Cape Town, and applied a mixed methodology. This was best suited to examine the problem statement, help achieve the research objectives, and find solutions to the research questions. The chosen mixed methodology included triangulation, which involved both quantitative and qualitative methodologies. Questionnaires contained a combination of quantitative and qualitative questions and the blended technique of in-depth interviews and focus group discussions filled the qualitative component of the research methodology. Triangulation methods allow for the use of various techniques of data collection such as the combination of self-administered and assisted-administered questionnaires. The main benefit of triangulation is harnessing the strengths of all methodologies and techniques utilised in the research.

The projective technique was used within the blend of structured in-depth interviews and focus group discussions to gauge perceptions on potential development of community cultural tourism as a mitigating factor against negative gentrification in the Bo-Kaap. The data collection process involved 10 fieldworkers, where each fieldworker was allocated two streets to cover the whole geographical area of the Bo-Kaap. The data collection period lasted two months after consulting with the CPUT statistician, who prepared the researcher with meaningful coding for possible responses. The sample size of 262 questionnaires provided 95% validity.

Primary data collected during the study included information obtained from the questionnaires, interviews and focus group discussions, while secondary data was obtained from existing sources of data such as on-line electronic journals and books from libraries.

Probability sampling was used in this study, where units within the sample frame were labelled with numbers. Systematic sampling was adopted as a part of probability sampling, where odd numbers on both sides of selected streets representing the Bo-Kaap were included in the sample. Non-probability sampling was used through the use of snowball sampling, where interviewees and focus groups were selected according to referrals from the initial interviewees.

The population sampling procedure involved fieldworkers distributing to all houses in the Bo-Kaap area, where a total of 262 (houses) questionnaires were collected. No cost and time restraints existed because of a bursary awarded to the researcher. Fifteen representatives, including groups, were chosen to reflect a mix of both anti-and pro-responsible gentrification viewpoints, as well as leaders and organisations with pro-gentrification perspectives, were incorporated into the interview schedule. The reason for choosing households, as opposed to individuals as the target population in the Bo-Kaap area, was because it minimised the chances of selecting several individuals from one family, where the study aimed to represent the broader community.

Study limitations included the heterogeneous character of the population as well as the difficulty in obtaining data from gentrified households in the area. These study limitations were mitigated by the large sample size and the elimination of a number of 'anti-gentrification' interviews to reflect an equal representation within the study.

In the next chapter, Chapter Four, the data obtained from the questionnaires, interviews, and discussion groups is presented and interpreted.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION**

#### **4.1 Introduction**

This study was implemented in the Bo-Kaap area. With the data collection process complete, the quantitative and qualitative information gathered was coded into close-ended categories and quantitatively analysed using SPSS.21 statistical software. The purpose was to test the research aims discussed in Chapter One, as part of a deductive process. These results are summarised in tables, which are interpreted to answer and reflect on the problem statement, and research aims and objectives. The quantitative analysis of the tables presented in the data interpretation in this chapter provides a discussion on the demographic variables such as age, gender, race, family size, education and income, supplemented by the history and type of real estate ownership in the Bo-Kaap area. A glance into the local motivation for selling family real estate as one of the precursors to gentrification is also provided. The Likert Table offers a perspective into the residents' perception of the Bo-Kaap as a community, the lifestyle, cultural change and the economic effects of gentrification and tourism on the community. The rest of the tables provide an analysis of other perceived physical, economic, cultural and tourism changes in the Bo-Kaap area, as well as the potential reasons for these impacts on the community. Some of these tables are not based on multiple-choice questions in the survey, but reflect dominant themes, which were expressed in detailed answers to open-ended questions posed in the questionnaire as part of the survey. These include Tables 4.2, 4.7, 4.8, 4.9, 4.10, 4.11, 4.12 and 4.13. The rest of the tables reflect answers to multiple-choice options. Staged authenticity is also explored as a negative effect of tourism gentrification. The community perspective on methods of reviving culture as a platform for sustainable cultural tourism development is investigated as a potential source of maximising the positive impacts of tourism, to minimise the negative effects of gentrification.

#### **4.2 Research objectives**

The research objectives are to uncover demographic, cultural, physical, economic, and tourism changes taking place in the Bo-Kaap community, and how tourism and gentrification can be managed responsibly to mitigate the negative impacts of these changes in the Bo-Kaap area.

#### **4.3 Demographic information on the Bo-Kaap**

Demographic profiling of the community as an indicator of cultural and economic change in the Bo-Kaap area, is suggested in Table 4.1 below.

#### 4.3.1 Age demographic profile of the Bo-Kaap

According to data displayed in Table 4.1, youth from the ages 18 to 35 account for 33.1% of the residents in the Bo-Kaap, where middle-aged couples make up 42%, and the elderly, the smallest age group, comprises 24.9% of the Bo-Kaap population. The 0-17 year age group was not included as respondents who filled in the questionnaires had to be 18 years and older and more likely to study and live on their own. This data suggests that the youth are a growing age-component of the community, where younger couples and families are growing and remaining in their community, or wealthier families from other cultures and races are moving into the area with their children. Young couples and middle-aged families comprise 59.7%, the majority of the population apart from the very young and elderly group.

The 26 to 35 year age group makes up 17.7% of the youth, whereas 15.4% comprises the 18 to 25 year old group, a difference of 2.4%. This again reflects the growing number of young couples moving into the area and is suggestive of gentrification starting to take place in the neighbourhood (Donaldson, 2013:179). (On the other hand, this could highlight that the growing youth could stem from within the local community who are becoming financially empowered to afford the increasing living costs in their area. Data presented in Table 4.3 could support this theory). Thus gentrification could be growing, but only at a slow pace, since the dynamic community's multiple demands and contextual realities diminish the effectiveness of single contributing factors which would be sufficient to exacerbate gentrification to the point of rapid irreversible growth. According to Warde (1991:226), though almost invariably referred to as 'the new middle class', this term conceals several different answers to the questions, 'who are the gentrifiers?' or 'who' consumes gentrified housing?

However, the low percentage of the ageing population is in contradiction to Donaldson's Bo-Kaap study of 2011, where the results portrayed an increase in the ageing population from 36.8% in 1994 to 68.3% in 2011. His study also noted that the 31 to 50 year age group was larger than the elderly group, as depicted in Table 4.1. Donaldson's focus was on how the ageing population has increased over a span of 16 years due to local youth moving out of the area as a result of gentrification, which is shown in Donaldson's 2013 study (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:178), presented in Table 2.1 in Chapter Two.

In reference to the local youth who find it unaffordable to purchase homes in their own neighbourhood, Myers and Ryu (2008:18) agree that there is a growing disparity between the elderly population, who have higher incomes at their disposal than the youth, who have lower savings and investment returns to be able to afford to purchase houses.



**Table 4.1: Demographic data on the Bo-Kaap population's households**

<b>Age</b>		
18-25yrs	15.4%	33.1%
26-35yrs	<u>17.7%</u>	
36-45yrs	18.1%	42%
46-55yrs	<u>23.9%</u>	
56-65yrs	14.9%	
66-75yrs	7.7%	24.9%
Above 75yrs	<u>2.3%</u>	
<b>Gender</b>		
Male		48%
Female		52%
<b>Race</b>		
Cape Malay / Cape Muslim		68.3%
Coloured		26%
Indian		3.9%
Black		0.7%
White		1.1%
<b>Number of members per household</b>		
0 – 2		11.3%
3 – 5		51.4 %
6 – 8		25.3%
9 – 11		6.8%
12 –15		2.4%
Above 15		2.8%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015.

It also provides a clue as to why the results in Table 4.1 suggest the reverse, where the youth has increased and the older generation has decreased in comparison to Donaldson's findings. However, if one examines the data in Table 4.1 and Table 4.3 further below, local youth may be growing from a financial and educational standpoint, increasing the affordability of local homes by youth native to the Bo-Kaap area. This could thus result in the elderly population levels stabilising in relation to the increasing yuppie and local youth proportion living in the community compared to Donaldson's 2013 study.

These results should be discussed in collaboration with the Bo-Kaap community's perception of the ageing characteristics of their area.

#### 4.3.2 Community perceptions of change in the age profiling of the Bo-Kaap

The data in Table 4.1 above reflect that most of the Bo-Kaap community members are certain that there is a change in the age demographic of their neighbourhood population. This is supported by Donaldson's study (2011:10) which suggests that there was an increase in the ageing population between 1994 and 2011 when the study was implemented in the Bo-Kaap.

On the other hand, it is also supported by Table 4.1, which reflects the possibility that the youth population has increased, where the elderly generation has stabilised and started to decline over time. What is clear in Table 4.2 is that demographic change has taken place in the Bo-Kaap with regards to age profiling of residents in the neighbourhood.

**Table 4.2: Perceptions of age profiling in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Perceptions of whether there is a change in the age profiling of residents in the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Yes	56.1%
No	3.8%
Maybe / Somewhat	13%
I don't know	27.1%
<b>Perceptions of the reasons for possible change in age characteristics of the Bo-Kaap population.</b>	
Pensioners on the increase as youngsters move out of the area	12.5%
Increase in youth and influx of 'yuppies'	87.5%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015.

Table 4.2 is not completely congruent with Table 4.1, where the data display that there is a difference among multiple age groups in the Bo-Kaap area but the youth comprise a larger composition of the community compared to the elderly. This could also be the reason why 40.1% are not certain if there is a change in the age profile of residents, and therefore show an inclination towards agreeing that there is a change and speculating, thus unable to provide a clear answer. Not surprisingly, the lowest percentage of 3.8% suggests that there is definitely no change in the age characteristics in the area's population, where most respondents felt that they detected an age transformation in their community.

Table 4.2 also presents a gauge on what the reasons were for residents responding that they have noted change in the age characteristics of the Bo-Kaap community.

The data presented in Table 4.2 imply that 87.5% of respondents felt that there is a possible decline in the ageing population as a result of an increase in local youth and young up-and-coming middle class childless couples moving into the area. This is in opposition to 12.5%, who believe that the population's ageing characteristics are changing as the elderly sub-population is rising due to local youth moving out of the area.

This is in full support of the discussion surrounding Table 4.1, where data suggest that the smallest age group in the community is the elderly, since 59.7% of the Bo-Kaap community is made up of youth, yuppies and middle-aged families who have either moved into the area and or evolved and remained within their own community as a result of financial growth and liberation. This theory therefore replies to the research objective of discovering whether youth problems

have increased due to a decline in the youth population, and a sense of belonging becoming lost as a result of this.

The 87.5% of the community, who perceived that the ageing population is increasing due to an increase in youth and influx of young middle class couples, is thus congruent with the actual demographic results of the Bo-Kaap's population, which suggest that there is a small ageing population compared to a large youth and yuppie demographic in the Bo-Kaap area. Demographic change is therefore not taking shape in the form of a growing elderly population, if compared to Donaldson's study (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:10), but rather a growing youth population as depicted in Table 4.1 and Table 4.2. The demographic changes in the Bo-Kaap are underlined by the research objective of ascertaining whether the population within the area is ageing, resulting in a decline in the Bo-Kaap youth population, as reported in Table 4.2 above.

#### 4.3.3 Research objective of determining age profile of the Bo-Kaap

It also meets the research objective of clarifying whether there is a large ageing population versus a low youth population in the Bo-Kaap, which is a clear indicator of gentrification spreading rapidly throughout the neighbourhood. This assumption has been dispelled, where the research objective of establishing whether the age population in the Bo-Kaap is ageing as a result of a decline in the youth population, has revealed that the reverse has indeed occurred. Table 4.1 displays that the highest component of the population is composed of youth, while the lowest component of the population is made up of the older generation. These results could however be a reflection of a Bo-Kaap population undergoing the beginning phases of gentrification since the growing youth population may be a result of yuppies (young up and coming people) moving into the area, where the elderly population is beginning to decline. In other words, gentrification may not have spread to such an extent that the original neighbourhood is virtually unrecognisable. This was found to be the case in Woodstock and De Waterkant, while the Bo-Kaap was relatively unscathed by the gentrification process, according to Visser and Kotze in their comparative study of gentrification in the CBD in 2008 (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2583).

#### 4.3.4 Responsible strategy based on age profiling of the Bo-Kaap

This spells out possibilities of rethinking youth strategies in alignment with sustainable tourism and combating gentrification for the future sustainability of their offspring. There is therefore a wide disparity between the different age groups within the Bo-Kaap area and this was also found in the outcome of Myers and Ryu's study in 2008. This can impact on the design of youth strategies to satisfy the different demands of the different age groups within the area.

The social youth problems may not therefore have been caused by gentrification, which is clear since there is a growing youth population with not much change in the original cultural profile of the residents as reflected in Table 4.1. However, although these social youth problems are possibly not caused by gentrification, it does not change the perception and the strong possibility that youth problems are on the increase due to factors potentially linked to media and global social pressures. These could be tempered through responsible gentrification measures, where youth identity is developed further on their own terms, not only for the future survival of the community but for overall cultural and economic development of the youth within a fast-growing, fast-paced global arena.

#### 4.3.5 Summary of the age profiling of the Bo-Kaap area

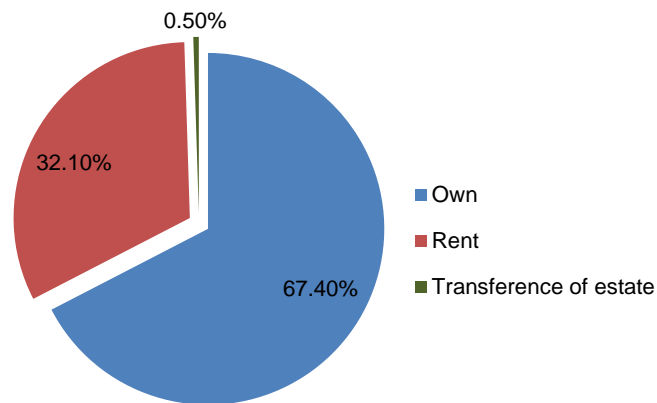
The increase in youth is not only the increase of yuppies moving into the area, as supported by Table 4.1 and 4.2, but also because of more local youth becoming educated, and therefore more able to afford purchasing homes within their community. In the past the youth relocated, which caused the number of youth to drop and the older generation to exceed them, as reflected in Donaldson's study (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:10). This is further supported by Table 4.3, which suggests that higher percentages of youth possess educational qualifications and professional occupations. Hence, it is a strong possibility that the increase in the youth population, and the decline of the elderly generation, may be because of yuppies moving into the area as well as young people from the area becoming financially able to start their families in their own community. This is a distinct possibility since it may be concluded from Table 4.3 that the Bo-Kaap community is a dynamic one, where despite commonality of heritage and core religious value systems, it reflects divergent income class brackets within its cultural landscape. It seems safe to say that gentrification may be slowly growing in the Bo-Kaap community, as can be seen by the steady increase of young couples moving into the area.

However, the growing number of yuppies is not reflected in Table 4.1 or Figure 4.1 and 4.2, which suggests that the predominant majority of residents living in the Bo-Kaap are directly linked to the original ancestry who founded this historical neighbourhood of the Bo-Kaap. Gentrification could thus be taking place at a nominal rate, where the increase in young new neighbours moving into the area is exceeded by local youth making the Bo-Kaap their family home.

**Table 4.3: Demographic data: education and income**

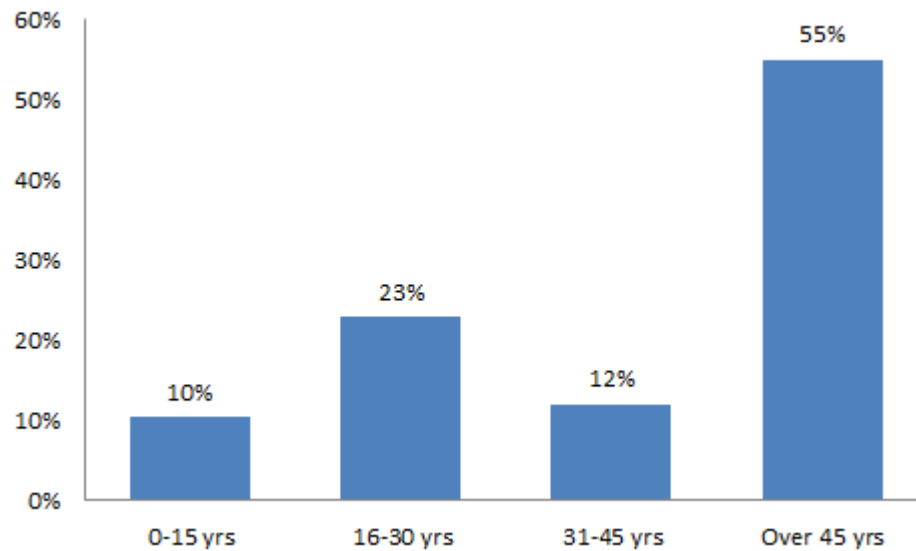
<b>Highest qualification in the household</b>	
0 - Grade 8	4.6%
Grade 9 - Grade 11	9.7%
Grade 12	35.1%
Diploma/Certificate	21.5%
Degree	19.9%
Honours	4.6%
Masters/Doctorate	4.6%
<b>Employment category</b>	
Artisan (mechanic; construction; plumber)	33.3%
Craftsmanship (tailor; carpenter; shoemaker)	7.4%
Self-employed	12.9%
White collar	24.7%
Professional (lawyer; engineer; doctor)	21.7%
<b>Monthly Income</b>	
R0 - R5 000	27.8%
R5 001 – R10 000	26.7%
R10 001 – R15 000	17.6%
R15 001 – R20 000	9.6%
R20 001 – R25 000	6.2%
R25 001 – R30 000	2.1%
R30 001 – R35 000	1.6%
R35 001 – R40 000	3.2%
R40 001 – R45 000	1.6%
R45 001 – R50 000	0.5%
R50 001 – R55 000	0.5%
Above R55 000	2.6%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015.



**Figure 4.1. Type of Real Estate ownership**

Source: Research construct for survey data, 2015.



**Figure 4.2. Years of Residency**

Source: Research construct for survey data, 2015.

#### 4.3.6 Gender component of the Bo-Kaap

Table 4.1 suggests that there are more females than males, which confirms the impression gained during the data gathering process. Part of the survey was done during the day, which could account for these results, because more females stay at home while males are at work. This suggests that women form an integral part of the gentrification process, especially with the influence of modern feminist ideologies prevailing within the households, resulting in women becoming more empowered in the labour force and as a result they are financially empowered to purchase homes located nearer to the city centre, for their own convenience. Most of these women are under the age of 30 and have solid careers based on high economic status (Lees, 2000:395). This enables women to successfully raise their families and uphold their careers at the same time.

The results in Table 4.1 are supported by Warde (1991:229), that the changes in demography in society in the last decade has impacted on the way in which gentrification has taken shape in and around urban centres. Warde states:

Gentrified enclaves in the inner cities resolve some of the pressures of women's dual roles, offer more diverse ways of carrying out reproductive work, partly because there is a concentration of supportive services, and a tolerant ambience.

The opinion of Lutzeler (2008:298) is congruent to Warde's statement when he expresses that current middle class households inhabited by unmarried women, move into the core parts of the inner city.

However, the higher percentage of women may not only originate from outside the Bo-Kaap, but could also result from young females from the community developing into modern women who choose to educate themselves and attain financial freedom to be able to live in their home area, as opposed to relocating elsewhere. This may be true since most residents are Cape Muslim, as illustrated in Table 4.1. The reason for this may not be because of gentrification, but because of women evolving within themselves in order to adapt to a modern environment. This is supported by Table 4.3, which suggest a value for development and progress being cultivated in the area. The danger therein is that once females become empowered they may feel the need to spread their wings elsewhere, not realising that they could grow within their own community and give back to their humble beginnings.

#### 4.3.7 Racial composition of the Bo-Kaap community

The racial composition of the area is tantamount to understanding the cultural effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap. This may be reflected by examining whether the local racial population is exceeded by new inhabitants moving into the community.

Table 4.1 reflects the racial and cultural profile of the community, where respondents who identify themselves as 'Cape Malay' make up the largest (68.3%) component of the Bo-Kaap, historically known as the Malay Quarters. Here, the descendants of the political slaves who originated from the Indonesian Archipelago were forced to settle, developing an everlasting Muslim community (Davids, 1980:16; Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:176). This contradicts the spatial powers perception of the religious and racial profile of the neighbourhood. Many residents feel strongly about being identified as Cape Malay, or Cape Muslim, while growing youth in the area, specifically educated youth and middle aged professionals, are against being labelled according to the Apartheid ideology that was imposed on them in the past (Toffa, 2013). Todeschini and Japha (2003:187) state:

How various and even bizarre were the ways in which they were constructed, thereafter to be imposed, rejected or assumed by the operation of coercion, choice, or unselfconscious acculturation.

Identity politics will naturally play out in the Bo-Kaap, however, it is clear from Table 4.1 that the majority of residents identify themselves according to these labels, whether it be politically correct or not. It is therefore crucial not to divide the community because of past labels but rather accept the subjective reality that they have come to experience, and not impose alternative labels because of a political environment, which has undergone a metamorphosis (Toffa, 2013).

What is also interesting is that those individuals in the community who identify themselves as 'Coloureds', make up 26% of the community, a considerable component, only second to the

'Cape Malay' or 'Cape Muslim' classification. In relation to what was discussed earlier, many of these 'coloured' respondents indicated that they are Muslim, and prefer to not label themselves as Cape Malay. Regardless of historical fact, it does not, however, dissuade from the reality that whether socially constructed or enforced, it remains a living authenticity to many residents of the Bo-Kaap (Todeschini & Japha, 2003), including those who identify themselves as 'Coloured Muslims'.

All of the above may be an indication that gentrification is slowly creeping into the Bo-Kaap but has not spread at a rapid rate, causing dramatic cultural transformation of the neighbourhood. The outcome of this study has gone against this assumption, where the predominant race and culture of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood have identified themselves as Cape Malay or Cape Muslim.

The overwhelming presence of the (perceived) Cape Muslim or Cape Malay identity in the Bo-Kaap is a huge advantage in preventing rapid negative effects of gentrification. The majority of residents could take ownership of their community and common heritage, and protect it for their future offspring to enjoy by developing and managing sustainable cultural tourism based on the broader community's decision-making. This is very significant in a community marked by inherent income and ideological differences, where common pride in culture and religion could withstand division because of these differences, as reflected in Table 4.3, which displays variances in income, education and employment. These variances, as well as demographic instances characterising gentrification such as a large female labour force component (in relation to employment variables displayed in Table 4.3), as well as demographic change, hint that gentrification may be non-existent, such as a large youth local population. This implies that only specific segments of the Bo-Kaap community have been affected by gentrification, while other factions of the neighbourhood have prospered economically and not been displaced as a result of gentrification, however, it may have not enjoyed cultural progress and development.

#### 4.3.8 Household occupancy in the Bo-Kaap

Household occupancy is another household demographic which could be an indicator of whether homes are influenced by gentrification in the neighbourhood. Table 4.1 reflects the rates of occupancy within the households of the Bo-Kaap, and displays a larger component of households inhabited by smaller families as opposed to larger families. According to Warde (1991:229), a typical gentrified family comprises two to three household members. The relevant data in Table 4.1 could reflect that gentrification is slowly making its way into the Bo-Kaap. Donaldson's study on gentrification in the Bo-Kaap explored the occupancy rate of households



as a possible indicator of gentrification, and the results suggest that there had been an increase in smaller families between 1994 and 2011 (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:178).

The largest percentage (51.4%) of homes in the Bo-Kaap are occupied by families with a maximum of three children, followed by families with between four and six children per household, which accounts for 25.3% of the Bo-Kaap population. Childless couples or one-child single-parent homes account for 11.3%, which makes up a larger percentage (6.8%) than very large families with 9 to 11 people living under one roof. Households of extended or multiple families sharing a home, account for 5.2%, including those that house over 15 family members. These living conditions fall in line with traditional family customs of married couples living with their parents and in-laws (Davids, 1980:27).

What is worth considering is whether there is a small yet established older generation, mostly elderly females, living in the Bo-Kaap, who may still hold the matriarchal control of larger families as a vital resource base to their survival. According to Warde (1991:231), patriarchal pressures remain, but the ways in which women adapt to them alters the everyday life strategies both of women living alone and of women in joint households. This is a transformation in gender roles where in the past extended families were controlled by patriarchal values. According to Davids (1980:27), the father normally acts as the patriarch of the extended family, with tremendous control and authority. In other words, old traditions of extended patriarchal families living under one roof may prevail, but does not mean it goes unchallenged in modern day society, and its urban phenomena such as gentrification. Warde (1991:229) states: "...gentrification overall ... in large part a result of the breakdown of the patriarchal household".

According to findings in the Donaldson *et al.* (2013:178) study on gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, the percentage of smaller families has grown by 12.2% since 2011, which is considered to be a common attribute of a community experiencing gentrification. Donaldson's 2013 study therefore supports these results and the view that, although the community is steeped in traditions of reciprocal kinship networks, the numbers of large families have begun to dwindle due to Western, smaller-family ideals. Donaldson *et al.* (2013:178) further confirms that families exceeding five members have decreased by 12.8% between 1994 and 2011.

These Western philosophies may also be characteristic of the gentrifiers who inhabit older, more traditional communities such as the Bo-Kaap, ultimately influencing the cultural dimensions of the neighbourhood. It therefore could support an assumption that the problem areas in the study are the demographic changes, which suggests broader cultural change within a community undergoing gentrification. The results reflected in Table 4.1 support this notion, since a

community undergoing the beginning phases of gentrification is marked by the growth of smaller families (Donaldson, 2011:10), and therefore suggest demographic and cultural change within the Bo-Kaap community.

On the other hand, if one reflects on Table 4.1, it is clear that there is a possibility that these demographic and cultural changes are not primarily a result of gentrification but more the result of a natural change within a traditional community evolving within a globalised society. It is also logical that this will take place in the Bo-Kaap, since it is highly complex in nature, given there is a history of different income brackets, educational value systems, and occupations, despite common racial and cultural identities within the community. This opinion is supported by Table 4.3, which reflects relatively high education, income and professional employment goals and values. Many of the traditionally working or middle classes may have evolved where the desire for smaller families has increased within their households as a result of media and the international environment, and not necessarily gentrification.

Another characteristic of a family inculcated with positive Western values is that their priority for their development is education.

#### 4.3.9 Status of education in Bo-Kaap households

The gentrified population presents a set of traits distinct from host communities, such as education (Donaldson, 2011:10). Table 4.3 clearly indicates that education is of growing value in the Bo-Kaap community, but not to the point where the gentrified population has replaced the entire existing traditional community. The highest single qualification in the household, which makes up the largest 35.1% of households in the Bo-Kaap, is Grade 12. This is an indication that the Bo-Kaap culture remains within the bulk of homes in the community, where education is not that much of a priority as other popular customs in the community. Nonetheless, the results are much more complex, where household graduate members (with diplomas/certificates and doctorate degrees as their highest qualification combined) make up a significant 50.6% of the Bo-Kaap.

This data supports the view that initial waves of gentrification have absorbed some of these cultural values, since one of the defining factors of gentrification is the influx of an educated class (Warde, 1991:226). This is also reflected in Donaldson's 2013 study, which shows an increase in higher education qualifications within households from 5.2% in 1994 to 11.7% in 2011 (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:178). However, the increase in educational qualifications may not necessarily be an indicator of gentrification, where the component of a new class in the community has replaced an existing one, but rather an existing class within the multidimensional

system of the Bo-Kaap community which has transformed itself by evolving academically and financially to suit their changing demands. It could also be traditional middle to high-class youth who have maintained their long-standing tradition of intellectual and economic mobility in their local community alongside their working class brethren, who are now slowly beginning to adapt to their changing environment and foster the survival of their offspring in their neighbourhood.

If one reflects on the results in total, it is clear that a combined 50.6% majority of Bo-Kaap households possess tertiary educational qualifications. This indicates a community that is evolving, since Donaldson's 2011 study suggested that only 11.7% of the Bo-Kaap population had obtained higher education qualifications. The research objective of establishing demographic change as an indicator of cultural change is thus achieved, where education is advised to be a reflection of social change in the community. However, this may not equate to gentrification as Donaldson (2011:10) perceives it, but could be an indicator of a community slowly developing from within rather than from outside. This is not to say that gentrification is disregarded as a contributing factor to cultural change, but that it may not be growing at an alarming rate, since cultural change could be taking place in the community apart from gentrification. It is therefore imperative that the local youth utilise their educational mobility for the benefit and survival of their community through potentially responsible development strategies such as sustainable cultural tourism. Gentrification is therefore beginning to chip away at the edges of the community, which although it appears to still remain intact, but needs to be capitalised on to prevent further negative effects.

#### 4.3.10 Employment status of Bo-Kaap residents

Table 4.3 reflects that the largest single employment category in the Bo-Kaap is artisans. Coupled with craftsmanship, specialised manual labour comprises 40.7% of workers in the Bo-Kaap area. This supports the fact that traditional occupations in this heritage community stem from the slaves who were brought to the Cape from the Malaysian archipelago by the Dutch colonialists. These slaves were outsourced because they were particularly skilled in artisan work, carpentry, upholstery, weaving and dressmaking. Skills have been passed down through the generations, where their descendants residing today in the Bo-Kaap are mostly involved in these occupations. According to Davids (1980:16), the early Muslims, as master builders, artisans, tailors, dressmakers, cooks, masons and labourers built Cape Town and converted it into a modern functional city on the one hand, and regarded it as the dome of Islam, on the other.

Gentrification has therefore not captured the community's traditional occupations. However, the high level of tertiary qualifications has resulted in a high level of white collar and professional workers originating from the Bo-Kaap area, accounting for a combined majority of 46.4%.

What is also clear is that there are diverse employment levels and categories, which are occupied by different members of the community. This suggests a heterogeneous neighbourhood with a slight propensity towards artisanship as a specific career, due to the area's history of skilled labourers enslaved by the Dutch settlers. Gentrification is therefore beginning to take shape in a diverse economic environment as opposed to a community marked by monotones of a working class. Lees (2000:395) states that the association between gentrification and the professional middle class is not an exclusive one and that some gentrifiers do not pursue a class-based housing strategy.

However, the 46.4% majority comprising white collar and professional workers living in the Bo-Kaap, suggests a community slowly undergoing gentrification, according to Donaldson (2011:10). At the same time, if one reflects on Table 4.1 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2, it advises that the higher percentage of youth in the area are not necessarily yuppies, which could indicate that the rise in non-traditional professional employment is a symbol of a community undergoing higher education due to evolved household traditions as opposed to gentrified households. The research objective of establishing whether demographic change has taken place as a signal of cultural change is thus clarified, where cultural change has indeed taken place in the Bo-Kaap community. However, these changes may not be a result of gentrification only, but because of a community adapting to an externally changing world. In other words, the local youth would be the first to be at a disadvantage if they lead their community into a complete transformation, which only suits the demands of the global community and not the needs of their own local community. This could be controlled if preventative measures are put in place to eradicate negativity born out of gentrification and its market economy pressures.

#### 4.3.11 Income status of Bo-Kaap residents

Households earning the lowest income levels make up 54.5% of homes in the Bo-Kaap, 27.8% of households earn up to R5 000 per month and 26.7% earn between R5 001 and R10 000 per month. This income category is a cause for concern for these residents when having to pay the rising municipal rates due to growing gentrification in the area. The problems of heritage conservation in Bo-Kaap are linked to the rise of real estate values and the rise in property taxes associated with this. Families begin to sell their homes the community starts to implode, with gentrification threatening one of the most unique heritage attractions in South Africa. The average income in the Bo-Kaap then falls between zero and R15 001. Homes earning above

average incomes (mostly R15 000 to R20 000 per month), account for 22%, while relatively wealthier households (5.2%) earn above R40 000 per month. There is a small dip in the percentage levels once households enter the R25 001 to R30 000 income bracket, but an increase at income levels reaching R40 000.

The data in Table 4.3 suggests that there is a predominant working class in the community and a large middle class. The smallest percentage of households in the community comprises the wealthy elite, as occurs in most neighbourhoods. However, although the working class is a large group in the community, the middle class forms a big component of the Bo-Kaap population and is a significant indicator of gentrification. They have more material resources than the working class, routine white collar groups and the petite bourgeoisie and financial resources and creditworthiness are a basis for their investment in housing in the first place (Warde, 1991:227). The only difference is that in the Bo-Kaap there is a relatively large percentage of middle class households originally from the community—so can this be classified as gentrification? Since these historic middle classes have not recently moved into the area, they have not increased the market value of the area as newer foreign middle classes have. Several theorists have deduced that gentrification is symbolised by a new middle class expressing housing consumption behaviour through social order via financial investments and state controlled measures (Garside, 1993:30). Lees (2000:393) expresses the opinion that gentrification displays itself in multiple forms, where cultural diversity becomes a freedom of expression for a select few. In the case of the Bo-Kaap, this may be true, where the local middle classes are less affected by high rates as opposed to the working class.

It is for this reason that the income levels in the community, as displayed in Table 4.3, fall predominantly within a low-income bracket, with a relatively large middle class. In light of these results it is essential that because of the high municipal rates caused by the initial wave of gentrification as recorded by Donaldson (2011), a sustainable tourism development framework needs to be implemented. This is because there is still a large low-income bracket in the community who would struggle to maintain their property rates and rentals in the Bo-Kaap area where, if residents were presented with tourism job opportunities, the standard of living could be raised, thus preventing potential gentrification from taking place.

#### 4.3.12 Research objective to determine demographic change in the Bo-Kaap

The research objective of ascertaining demographic change as a possible indicator of cultural change, as a result of gentrification, is met, where Donaldson claims that a larger middle class is an indicator of gentrification (Donaldson, 2011:10). Demographic change in the form of a predominant working class yet growing middle class is suggested, as a result of cultural change.

However, this cultural change could be unrelated to gentrification, and a growing middle class could be a result of an increase in education and professional employment (Table 4.2), in a predominantly young, traditionally working and middle class 'Cape Muslim' demographic structure (Table 4.1). In other words, demographic and cultural change is taking place, but primarily because of a community progressing apart from gentrification. Because of the demographic changes taking place within a largely local culturally-based demography, the Bo-Kaap is a community that is undergoing gentrification slowly, but not at a rate that it is the actual cause of cultural change.

The demographic changes may be the result of an increasingly globalised market economy, which could be a cause for future growth of gentrification and not necessarily the result of it. Conversely, this demography may have not changed but always existed as part of the history of the Bo-Kaap area, traditionally comprising different economic strata (Shaboodien, 2012; 2013). As a result, the Bo-Kaap demography could historically be composed of a substantial (albeit not major) middle class income bracket, which makes it particularly difficult for gentrification to blossom, contrary to predominantly lower income neighbourhoods such as Woodstock (Garside, 1993:32). This in essence is because gentrification is dependent on the replacement of a lower working class by a middle class (Perez, 2002:47).

Overall, the research objective of establishing whether demographic change is related to cultural change, underpinning gentrification, was a fruitful exercise. According to the demographic tables above, the results are somewhat contradictory, which leads to alternative possibilities of cultural change in the community, besides gentrification. This coincides with the results displayed in Visser and Kotze's 2008 study, which portray that although the Bo-Kaap is beginning to experience gentrification, it is still the least affected by gentrification in the CBD area, compared to other urban neighbourhoods (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2583).

There is, however, a threat where these Western ideals could invite gentrification as a result of the need to gain more material worth, as opposed to the traditional community value of neighbourliness. The current development and progress of the community, as suggested in the tables of demographic data of the community, is a positive factor on which to build. The youth need to customise their goals and success to the evolution of their own unique cultural identities without mimicking Western ideals in isolation of the core heritage, which is the basis of their identity. This could be achieved through sustainable cultural tourism development, an engine for cultural revival, eventually slowing down the potentially negative cultural impacts of gentrification.

#### 4.3.13 Sustainable cultural tourism development strategy to manage Bo-Kaap demographic changes responsibly

It is crucial that a sustainable tourism strategy be implemented in the Bo-Kaap, where the middle class can continue to grow from within the Bo-Kaap community, using a cultural tourism economic development platform. This will not only empower community members and youth to continue living in their neighbourhood, but also choose emotional attachments to their heritage above monetary gain if the opportunity presents itself. An increased cultural pride and awareness will automatically be cultivated as cultural tourism's economic benefits increase. This strategy needs to encapsulate the unique essence of this community to sustain it into the future for the larger community's long-term benefit, without excluding the marginalised sects, however wealthy or 'un-exotic' they may be. The main priority should, however, not exclude the local culture or the neighbourhood's working class, and the new inhabitants need to adapt to the lifestyle and culture of the host population instead of the other way around.

#### **4.4 History and type of real estate ownership in the Bo-Kaap**

##### 4.4.1 Ownership history of the Bo-Kaap's real estate

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 indicate that the Bo-Kaap is not a newly developed community but one of heritage value. The community's ancestral roots date back as far as the late 1600s to the Indonesian Archipelago. The 55% majority of resident-households in this heritage area are therefore descendents of a historic slave community who built the Bo-Kaap more than 45 years ago (Davids, 1990:12). Results show that 34.7% of respondents, who have lived in the area between 16 and 45 years, originate from the Bo-Kaap and have chosen to make the Bo-Kaap a home for their offspring as well. In total, residents living in the area for 16 and more years (originating from this community) account for 89.7% of households in this historic neighbourhood.

This coincides with the results shown in Table 4.1, which propose that the majority of residents are of so-called Cape Malay or Cape Muslim heritage, since historically the original residents, who were the pioneers of the Bo-Kaap community, were of Far Eastern descent, in particular the Malaysian Archipelago (Davids, 1980:31). Thus the families who have lived in the neighbourhood for 16 (possibly younger respondents) and more years, which make up the majority of families in the Bo-Kaap, are most probably of Cape Malay or Cape Muslim heritage.

##### 4.4.2 Type of real estate ownership in the Bo-Kaap

Figures 4.1 and 4.2 indicate that 67.4% of Bo-Kaap families own their houses. Besides heritage and years of residency, as depicted in Tables 4.1 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2, the permanent

ownership of more than two-thirds of the historic homes in the area suggests that the community is attached to a historic legacy of real estate handed down through the years. This hints at the fact that homes are not being rapidly traded in the Bo-Kaap. The remaining 32.1% of houses are rented by Bo-Kaap families, while 0.5% of the households are in the process of transfer of ownership to prospective buyers.

According to Donaldson, an increase in the transfer of ownership of houses is a symptom of gentrification. His comparative study of the ownership of homes in the Bo-Kaap between 1994 and 2011 reflects a slight increase in the transfer of ownership of homes and therefore houses being sold, increasing from 68.4% in 1994 to 70% in 2011 (Donaldson, 2013:179). It is apparent then that the Bo-Kaap is experiencing the initial wave of gentrification, however small it may be.

The demographic data suggest that the Bo-Kaap community comprises mainly younger families, women, residents of Cape Muslim heritage, with a higher percentage of smaller families, higher educational qualifications, more professional occupations, and of a larger working and middle class income bracket. The data therefore suggest that the Bo-Kaap is undergoing social transformation and although gentrification may be taking place at a nominal rate, it is not overwhelming to the degree that the tangible cultural landscape has altered. Although cultural change may have taken place as implied by the demographic data, it does not mean that the cultural or racial component has changed, as reflected in Table 4.1. The consequence of this is that the common heritage should be used as a unifying factor to both assist in accepting differences amongst the youth and sub-groups (several organisations) within the community, and embracing common values of neighbourliness. This could be engendered in a sustainable cultural tourism development strategy to be managed by the community. The development of religious and cultural identity is the basis of sustainable tourism income for the community and neighbourhood's long-term survival, since cultural lifestyle change is already taking place predominantly in terms of Western values from global environmental influences.

#### **4.5 Bo-Kaap real estate: motivation and consumption**

The following Table represents the Bo-Kaap residents' intention and motivation for either selling or not selling their properties. This reflects potential future gentrification and possible reasons for this occurring in the Bo-Kaap area.



**Table 4.4: Desire and reasons to buy and sell in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Potential real estate buyers' desire to view owner's property</b>	
Yes	22.9%
No	45%
Maybe	3.4%
I don't know	28.7%
<b>Potential real estate buyers offer to purchase owner's property accepted / refused?</b>	
Refuse an offer to purchase	91.2%
Accept an offer to purchase	8.8%
<b>Why refuse offer of purchase?</b>	
Family and neighbours (community)	59.3%
Heritage, history and Islam	26.1%
Convenience and safety	5.6%
Property value investment	5.6%
Rent income alternative to selling	3.4%
<b>Why accept offer of purchase.</b>	
Family expanding	12.5%
Bigger grounds	12.5%
Monetary gain	37.5%
To relocate overseas	12.5%
To afford rates elsewhere	25%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

#### 4.5.1 Interest in Bo-Kaap real estate

Table 4.4 reflects that 22.9% of Bo-Kaapers have intentions sometimes in the future to sell their properties, 32.1% of owners indicate that they may be interested in selling their houses, while 45% of owners have no intention of selling their properties. Although gentrification may have swept across the CBD, the Bo-Kaap is the only neighbourhood which has apparently resisted gentrification (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2583). This suggests that there is still the possibility of future gentrification taking place. The chances of this occurring in the next few years are minimal though, since of those homeowners who offered their houses for sale, only 8.8% accepted offers to purchase. This correlates with results shown in Tables 4.1 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2, which also reflect a community virtually intact. It is a positive indication that most of these residents in the Bo-Kaap, who appear to be of heritage descent, have no intention of selling their properties. The results in Table 4.4 therefore correlate with the results of Visser and Kotze's study in 2008, while contradicting Donaldson's findings in his 2011 and 2013 study on gentrification in the Bo-Kaap (Donaldson *et al*, 2011:10; 2013:178).

#### 4.5.2 Bo-Kaap offers to purchase

Table 4.4 provides evidence that over 90% of homeowners on the market in the Bo-Kaap were not satisfied with the value of their properties, which minimises the chances of rapid gentrification occurring in the next few years. There is also a possibility that many offers to

purchase were refused because of overpowering attachments to community and heritage and not only unsatisfactory property resale value, as might be assumed.

#### 4.5.3 Reasons for refusing offers to purchase

Table 4.4 shows that potential offers to purchase were refused by Bo-Kaap homeowners because of community and heritage sentiments, and 59.3% of homeowners refused to sell their properties because of a need to be near their family and neighbours. Heritage and Islam are strong motivators for residents retain their homes and remain in the community. Homeowners who hold this sentiment comprise 26.1% of households, only second to family and neighbours as the primary reason to stay. These results coincide with Table 4.9 which portrays that a majority of residents who believe that Islamic-rooted heritage and traditions in the community should be used as resources for potential cultural tourism development and that almost 20% of homeowners suggest that Islam be used as a method to revive old traditions and conserve culture within the community. It is therefore quite clear that the Bo-Kaap community perceives their Islamic identity as very significant to them and their neighbours. This is a huge positive factor for the community to develop and conserve further, since this strongly suggests that a platform already exists to build on community, culture and religion, which are strong emotive reasons for community members not becoming a part of the gentrification process.

A relatively low 5.6% of homeowners felt that the Bo-Kaap is an ideal safe location, and was a suitable reason to not relocate. This is confirmed by the data in Table 4.11, where residents advised that tourism to the Bo-Kaap is a concern, especially for the safety of tourists visiting their neighbourhood, resulting in specific security measures being put in place to protect current tourism growth in the area (Poking, 2013).

Slater's 2004 study in Toronto, Canada reveals that the value of convenience overrides safety in cases of gentrification in inner-city neighbourhoods, where new neighbours are not really bothered by issues of crime (Slater, 2004:312). Convenience and safety may therefore not be a mutually exclusive concept on its own, where gentrified neighbourhoods, such as the Bo-Kaap, could expect that new incomers may initially not be bothered by crime because of the convenience but eventually may put measures in place to increase the safety appeal of the neighbourhood. According to interviews with new non-local business owners in the area, who have worked closely with the local neighbourhood watch, crime levels have already declined as a result of their presence (Anon, 2013c). This correlates with interviews recorded by Slater during his study, where residents also claimed that they joined the local 'neighbourhood watch' to get rid of the local criminal element, and the situation in their area has improved a lot (Slater, 2004:321). Sustainable cultural tourism therefore needs to be used as a tool against

gentrification, where increased local tourism opportunities could reduce local crime in the community and therefore not depend on gentrification to do so.

A further 5.6% of homeowners were keen to remain in the area because of property resale value in the long term. Only 3.4% interpreted the Bo-Kaap as a potential for rent income as a deterrent to selling. These residents were most probably concerned with monetary gain more than wanting to stay because of emotional attachment to their community. Their reasons for monetary gain were therefore based on long-term returns, in contrast to the 37.5% who choose to sell their properties for monetary gain in the short term. This is reflected in Table 4.4.

Overall, 9% refused to sell their properties due to a potential long-term economic gain as a result of growing market value. Coupled with convenience and safety, 14.6% of these household responses were motivated to not sell their Bo-Kaap homes for comfort and money. 85.4% of these homeowners were more attached to their community, culture and religion as a combined reason for not accepting offers from potential buyers and not for individualistic reasons.

#### 4.5.4 Reasons for accepting offers to purchase

The results of the various categories within Table 4.4 complement each other, and depict that a 37.5% component of homeowners would accept a potential offer of purchase for monetary gain and not family and heritage.

Most homeowners would not refuse an offer to purchase because monetary gain is not sufficient, but because of an overwhelming sentimental value. For most of those homeowners who accepted offers of purchase, there was probably no sentimental value in the first place since monetary gain was the primary motivation to relocate. Monetary gain, coupled with other reasons, such as bigger grounds, encompass 50% of all respondents who opted to sell their homes. Other reasons, which appear to be financial pressures for selling the property, were the need for bigger space to accommodate growing families, the inability to afford the municipal rates as a result of gentrification, and 12.5% were willing to move in order to leave South Africa.

Basically there are two types of residents who are affected by gentrification. Table 4.5 reflects those residents who are more likely to move out of the community because of economic pressure and not because of greed or emotional detachment from the community, since 25% are willing to sell to accommodate their expanding family.

#### 4.6 Likert Table depicting residents' sentiments and perceptions surrounding community life, gentrification, cultural change and sustainable cultural tourism development

##### 4.6.1 Residents' perceptions of Bo-Kaap life and their relation to their community

The community's perceptions of their own collective identity and personal experience in relation to local tradition, change and cultural conservation, and how this may be threatened by rising property, rental and municipal rates, is crucial to understanding the cultural and economic effects of gentrification, as well as how cultural tourism in the community is understood, which could be a potential to mitigating the negative effects of gentrification. These dynamics are explored by measuring community perceptions and attitudes, which are reflected in Table 4.5. The respondents' perception of their community is mostly positive, where 50% strongly agree that they know all their neighbours and 47.3% of residents strongly agree that their community is a friendly one. There is a split in the results indicating that respondents both strongly agree and agree that they do attend community gatherings and events at 29.8% respectively, accounting for the majority of the residents.

**Table 4.5: Likert Table: community perceptions on gentrification effects and tourism in the Bo-Kaap**

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
I know all my neighbours.	50%	28.2%	15.7%	5.3%	0.8%
We attend community gatherings / events.	29.8%	29.8%	27.8%	8%	4.6%
Bo-Kaap is a friendly community.	47.3%	36.3%	12.2%	3.4%	0.8%
Social problems amongst the youth are on the increase in my community.	43.9%	30.9%	18.8%	5.3%	1.1%
Life in the Bo-Kaap has changed.	45%	38.9%	13.8%	0.8%	1.5%
There is a tourism regulation body protecting Bo-Kaap interests.	7.3%	18.7%	41.2%	20.2%	12.6%
Bo-Kaap tourism is owned by the local community.	3.8%	14.5%	34%	27.5%	20.2%
Bo-Kaap tourism is controlled by the local residents who make decisions.	2.7%	9.9%	35.8%	27.9%	23.7%
Bo-Kaap locals benefit economically and socially from tourism in the area.	5.3%	13.7%	28.3%	25.2%	27.5%
Tourism protects the culture and heritage of Bo-Kaap	16%	26%	31.7%	12.6%	13.7%
Practice and knowledge of my culture and heritage has decreased in the last 10 years in the Bo-Kaap.	23.7%	38.5%	25.2%	9.9%	2.7%
I pass down my traditions and heritage to my children.	44.3%	32.4%	20.6%	1.9%	0.8%
My parents have passed down their traditions to me.	53.1%	30.2%	14.5%	1.1%	1.1%
I respect Bo-Kaap culture and want it to be conserved for future generations.	71%	22.2%	6%	0.4%	0.4%

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
The historical and cultural tourism value of the area has changed in the last 20 years.	31.7%	38.2%	24.8%	4.2%	1.1%
The standard of living in my household has improved.	13.7%	35.9%	35.9%	10.3%	4.2%
The standard of living in Bo-Kaap has improved in general.	12.2%	27.5%	37.4%	16.8%	6.1%
The value of my property has increased in the last 10 years.	45%	32.1%	20.6%	1.9%	0.4%
The values of properties in Bo-Kaap have increased in general.	57.3%	33.2%	7.2%	1.5%	0.8%
My rental costs have increased in the last 10 years.	42.7%	25.6%	27.5%	3.4%	0.8%
The rental costs of property in Bo-Kaap have increased in general.	59.2%	29.8%	9.8%	0.4%	0.8%
Increases in rates make it unaffordable to maintain my property.	53.1%	20.6%	22.5%	3.4%	0.4%
Increase in rates make it unaffordable to start my own business	48.1%	16.8%	32.1%	1.5%	1.5%
I understand the meaning of the word 'gentrification'	26%	33.2%	30.1%	6.9%	3.8%
I would sacrifice a high increase in my income for a short period of time for the long-term economic benefit of the entire community, including myself.	17.2%	31.3%	41.9%	7.3%	2.3%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

Data on residents' perceptions of their own commitment and sacrifice to their community show that 41.9% of respondents felt that they were neutral or 'not sure' whether they would sacrifice their own short-term financial well-being for the long-term benefit of themselves and their own community. Although this is followed by 31.3% claiming to agree that they would sacrifice their financial well-being for the long-term success of the community, it is clear in comparison with some of the stronger sentiment responses to the other statements in the Likert Table 4.5, that most residents do not strongly agree to sacrifice their financial well-being for the long-term survival of their community, as they do with the other concepts surrounding their community relationships. That the majority clearly indicates neutrality on this matter, portrays a community somewhat united yet not totally committed to solving the broader issues of gentrification disintegrating their community.

Although residents may view their community as a friendly, united one, which is a positive perception on which to build, however, when faced with ideas of commitment such as attending neighbourhood gatherings and events or sacrificing themselves for the well-being of the broader community, respondents are less inclined to 'strongly agree'. This may eventually become a serious threat to the area, where individuals are more focused on their own success, even if it is to the detriment of their own community. The result of this could be the rapid spread of

gentrification, where financial returns for property resale trump neighbourly love and cultural sustainability. This will have to be prevented through cultural conservation and responsible gentrification strategies. Table 4.4 supports this notion, where monetary gain is the reason for residents accepting offers of purchase of their homes. According to Donaldson *et al.* (2013:186), the Imam of the Auwal mosque in Dorp Street in Bo-Kaap lamented that people in the area have shifted their focus away from community to capitalism.

A very small combined percentage of 9.6% 'disagreed' and 'strongly disagreed' with the idea of sacrificing their income for the greater good of the community. This is supported by Table 4.4, where data indicates that the majority of residents would not sell their homes because of emotional attachments to their community, heritage and religion. Shaboodien (2013) revealed in an interview that the Bo-Kaap community is still steeped in a tradition of assisting each other, called *kanallah jobbies*. There is therefore much hope and positive attitudes to develop further into meaningful community-owned strategies, which would safeguard the community's culture and religion (against gentrification) as the core of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. Culture is therefore a very important driving force in keeping gentrification at bay, where perceived change in local culture and lifestyle is imperative in underpinning whether the social effects of gentrification are recognised by the community and how this could aid in safeguarding future offspring's survival.

#### 4.6.2 Residents' perceptions of cultural change in their community

With regards to perceptions of community and cultural change, 45% of respondents strongly agree that life has changed in the Bo-Kaap; simultaneously, respondents are neutral or strongly agree that practice and knowledge of local Bo-Kaap culture has decreased over the last 10 years. This however contradicts the 44.3% of respondents who strongly agree that they do pass down their traditions to their children and a larger 53.1% who strongly agree that their parents have passed down their traditions to them. The residents mostly strongly agree (71%) that they do respect Bo-Kaap culture and want to conserve it for their future offspring. This is followed by respondents who merely agree to the perceptions discussed above, with a very low component of the population disagreeing and strongly disagreeing with these perceptions of respect for their community and heritage.

This clearly suggests that a large majority of the community passionately agree that they follow their customs and traditions and are loyal to their culture and religion, which they wish to pass down to their offspring. The only difference lies in individual perceptions of the rest of the community, where a mere 0.8% of the Bo-Kaap population disagreed with the belief that lifestyles have changed in the Bo-Kaap, while the majority strongly agreed that it had. Also, only

2.7% disagreed that practice and knowledge of culture and heritage has decreased over the last 10 years, while 38.5% agreed that it has changed. It is interesting to note that most of the community members perceive themselves as part of a greater heritage community, while they perceive the rest of the community members not to be a part of that community. There is thus an individual perception that they themselves are not changing, but that the community is changing and breaking ties with local culture and religion, despite the fact that most of their fellow residents feel that they also have not changed, whereas the rest of the community has. "Everybody blames society but we tend to forget that we are society" (Anon, 2013a). Many community members complain about the community not doing anything yet they themselves are complacent. However, most community members emphatically agree that their community is important to them, and not so sure if the rest of the community feels the same way.

#### 4.6.3 Residents' perceptions of gentrification and its economic effects on the Bo-Kaap household

Current perceptions of gentrification, real estate market value, and rental costs in the Bo-Kaap area are that the economic value of real estate has escalated dramatically in the last 10 years. The statement "the value of my property has increased in the last 10 years" elicited a response of 45% who strongly agreed, followed by 32% of respondents who agree that the value of their properties has increased in the last 10 years. Regarding the value of property in the Bo-Kaap having increased in general, 57.3% of respondents strongly agreed and 33.2% agreed. Rental costs have also increased in the last 10 years, according to 42.7% of respondents who strongly agreed, while 27.5% were not sure (neutral). The neutral responses could be due to the fact that these particular respondents could be homeowners in the area and not renters. However, 59.2% strongly agreed that rental costs of property in the Bo-Kaap have increased in general, followed by 29.8% who agreed. All these perceptions of increases in property value and rental costs are indicators of gentrification. It is not surprising then that 33.2% agree that they know what the meaning of the word 'gentrification' is in their neighbourhood. This could be the case since the economic effects of gentrification involve the increase in market value of properties, which result in higher municipal and rental rates in a neighbourhood, eventually causing a slow replacement of the working class community by a middle class social component (Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:2).

The perception of the economic effects of gentrification was also mentioned in the Likert Table 4.5, by measuring attitudes and perception on the effects of the increase in municipal rates as a result of gentrification, and the perceived standard of living as a knock-on effect.

#### 4.6.4 Residents' perceptions of the economic effect of gentrification

A 53.1% component is of the strong opinion that an increase in their rates makes it unaffordable to maintain their property, followed by 22.5% who felt unsure about this statement. Similarly, 48.1% were in strong agreement that their rates also made it unaffordable for them to start their own business, followed by 32.1% who were neutral on the issue. What one can deduce from this is that there is a strong sentiment in the community that the high rates have an impact on the maintenance of real estate, as well as the upkeep of other sources of income. The high municipal rates also have an effect on the standard of living in the community. There is a split in the results where 35.9% were neutral on whether the standard of living in their household has improved, and 35.9% agree that their standard of living has improved. This is followed by 13.7% who strongly agreed with the statement.

This could mean that there may be incongruent understandings on the concepts or statements presented in the Likert Table 4.5. It may also be that many Bo-Kaap residents are faced with the possibility of relocating elsewhere, where the rates are more affordable. On the other hand, many of the residents fall within the middle income bracket, albeit it not the majority as indicated in Table 4.3, where they can afford the rates and enjoy a high standard of living. However, this does not mean that they would not perceive the higher rates as an extra hurdle to maintaining their properties, and finding other potential avenues of income. The invaluable potential of living in a unique heritage area such as the Bo-Kaap makes it debatable to not capitalise on economic survival as well as community and cultural sustainability. The community's interpretation of sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap is therefore measured and analysed.

#### 4.6.5 Residents' perceptions of current cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap

Perceptions of cultural tourism development as a possible deterrent to the negative economic effects of gentrification, was also explored through the Likert Table 4.5. Sustainable cultural tourism development could be a potential source of secondary income for many of the households in Bo-Kaap. This could only be achieved if the local culture of the area is protected and conserved through tourism management for future generations to enjoy. According to du Cros (2001:166), this should ideally occur in a balanced way which will conserve the cultural significance of the heritage place so that future generations have access to such renewable resources. This could potentially be a long-term solution to the high rates, making it more affordable for local residents and enable them to continue staying in their neighbourhood.

On the matter of existing tourism development in the Bo-Kaap, most respondents were unsure about the status quo. The majority were neutral on whether there is a tourism regulation body protecting the Bo-Kaap's interests and were also neutral on the statements of the Bo-Kaap



community owning Bo-Kaap tourism and controlling decision-making processes in the tourism development process. This was followed by residents who disagreed with these statements. The lowest percentage of households responded that they strongly agreed that the Bo-Kaap community formally controls tourism from within its borders, indicating that there are predominantly negative attitudes surrounding current tourism development processes in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. This indicates that the community feels alienated from the process of designing a project which will affect their own neighbourhood, and unrepresented in the decision-making process' (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:7). Economic benefits commonly flow from sustainable tourism initiatives and therefore its success is measured by how much the community gains from its resources.

#### 4.6.6 Residents perceptions of the economic benefits of cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap

The economic benefits of tourism, as a treatment for the cultural effects of gentrification, needs to be established by the community. The largest group of respondents were not sure whether tourism does indeed protect the local culture and heritage of Bo-Kaap, but has a secondary following of community members who believe that tourism is, in fact, protecting the culture and heritage of the area. It could be that the community is not aware of who is managing their resources, or aware that it is not in their own control, but at the same time surmise that tourism is protecting their resources. This is in contradiction to sentiments that the community is changing and that historical and cultural tourism values have changed in the last 20 years (according to 38.2% of the respondents). There is therefore a perceived lack of knowledge surrounding the cultural development policy of their area.

However, 28.3% of respondents are unsure whether tourism benefits Bo-Kaap locals on a social and economic level, and is followed by 27.5% of households who strongly disagree with this statement. In other words, while most residents feel that the culture may be protected, they emphatically disagree that the community are gaining economic benefits from tourism in their area. Other long-term benefits include the improvement and conservation of valuable historical and cultural resources belonging to the community.

#### 4.6.7 Residents' perceptions of cultural benefits of cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap

The 38.2% of Bo-Kaap community members, who agreed that the historical and cultural tourism value of the area had changed in the last 20 years, are supported by 31.7% who strongly agreed with this sentiment. This could be linked to the fact that most residents feel strongly that in the Bo-Kaap the lifestyle, traditions and culture of the community have changed. Waning authenticity is therefore a cause for concern as gentrification begins to mushroom in the area. It is necessary

that local Bo-Kaap culture be protected through sustainable tourism measures as a deterrent against the negative social effects of gentrification.

#### 4.6.8 Perceptions of sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap

It is apparent that perceptions surrounding Bo-Kaap tourism policies are mostly neutral or unsure, followed by a second component who disagree that sustainable cultural tourism development is taking place in the community, and should therefore be harnessed according to sustainable guidelines managed by the community themselves. The fact that most community members are neutral towards issues of community ownership strongly suggests that there is a lack of initiative and control over the resources. They believe that the culture is changing and that they do not benefit from tourism in their community.

#### 4.6.9 Summary of the Likert Table 4.5 results

The Likert Table results highlight that the Bo-Kaap community have multiple perceptions of cultural change, the economic effects of gentrification and the role of tourism in cultural conservation of the area. The community does, however, share common beliefs surrounding their community relationships, as well as property and rental values, and opinions surrounding current tourism management in the Bo-Kaap and social benefits as a result of this.

The Bo-Kaap community feels that their community is neighbourly. According to Donaldson *et al.* (2012:187):

There is a sense of unity and community in the neighbourhood, evident by a walk around the area and noticing that most inhabitants know each other by name, know each other's families, and have close relationships.

This coincides with the data provided in Table 4.4, which shows that the majority of residents who have refused to sell their properties, have done so because of a desire to be surrounded by their neighbours, and because they feel a strong connection to their community. A common problem on which the community strongly agrees is that youth social problems are on the increase. They feel that the culture has evolved in the Bo-Kaap and that knowledge and practice of traditions has started to diminish over the years although they themselves still adhere to local traditions, which is supported by the data shown in Table 4.1 displaying a dominant heritage community. Donaldson *et al.* (2012:178) suggest that this community is undergoing change with regards to education and family size. The culture and Bo-Kaap society can be further threatened once local custodians of the original heritage begin to move out of the neighbourhood due to increases in property value and concomitant rising municipal rates.

A very significant 87.7% of Bo-Kaap residents feel strongly that the property value and rental costs of their properties have increased in the last 10 years, while 57.3% believe this of Bo-Kaap properties in general. The perceived economic effect of the increase in rates is that it becomes unaffordable for residents to maintain their properties and build on secondary sources of income to assist in managing the new economic demands of their real estate. The economic objectives of ascertaining whether households have enough disposable income to invest in the maintenance of personal property or starting a new business is replied by the possibility that it may be true for low income bracket households, while the middle class may perceive it to be a slight financial issue. Gentrification is thus either a perceived or potential threat for some of the Bo-Kaap families, and needs to be managed responsibly by the community members themselves. This aids in confirming the research objective to understand whether economic change is a result of rental and municipal rates increases in the Bo-Kaap area. The Likert Table results thus suggest that the community strongly perceives that economic change is due to rising rental and municipal and rates.

The standard of living decreases for some families and improves for other residents, depending on the nature of the sub-community (Anon, 2013b). This correlates with Table 4.3 results as well, which implies that the Bo-Kaap community is characterised by a predominantly working class, a large middle class and a small high-income bracket of a specialised artisan and professional occupation-based culture. However, it presents a social landscape made up of diverse income brackets and occupation levels. In a community as dynamic and complex as the Bo-Kaap, the municipal rates may be an issue for most households despite varied income brackets, where the standard of living may not have an overall negative impact on some social classes in the community, as opposed to the working class. The economic objectives of investigating whether economic change in the community is a result of a lowered standard of living, is thus reached, where the data in the Likert Table 4.5 suggests that most residents feel strongly that their standard of living has worsened due to the increase in municipal rates. However, most residents do not earn large enough incomes to enjoy a high standard of living in general, since only 5.2% comprise the local elite (Table 4.3). The standard of living in the Bo-Kaap in general is therefore strongly perceived, relative to an individual frame of reference rather than a collective one.

This may be an entirely different context when analysing the community's perspective on cultural tourism development as a tool for cultural conservation. Cultural conservation as a guideline of sustainable tourism development has the potential of slowing down the negative effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. This was found to be the case in Santa Fe in Mexico, where cultural tourism assisted in reinforcing the town's cultural identity against the

effects of cultural assimilation, which was imposed on them by a colonial presence in the area (Horton, 2000:264).

The Bo-Kaap community views current tourism policy in the Bo-Kaap as questionable, and is of the opinion that there is no formal local tourism authority protecting the interests of the community. This qualifies as a response to the research objective of exploring whether a local tourism authority in the area exists which would protect the economic interests of the community, and therefore feel that tourism is not owned, managed or controlled by local Bo-Kaap leaders who make decisions on behalf of their fellow community members. There is also a sentiment that Bo-Kaap cultural tourism economic development is not successful in delivering cultural and economic benefits to the community, and thus answers the research objectives on whether economic and cultural change can be attributed to local income multipliers and cultural conservation through cultural tourism economic development.

This situation demands critical reviews and community-owned strategies to assist in cultural conservation, and economic well-being to suit the complex demands of a multi-faceted community, which could aid in delaying the gentrification process in the Bo-Kaap area. Sustainable cultural tourism development needs to be spearheaded by community leaders themselves, who should own, manage and protect their cultural resources and identity on behalf of their community. This should have an aim of reaping ongoing tourism income from these heritage attractions, which should help empower residents to maintain their properties and thereby sustain cultural offspring for future community survival. It is therefore a huge concern for the future of the community that 53.1% of the Bo-Kaap population find that municipal rates are unaffordable, creating opportunities for gentrification to eventually sweep rapidly across the Bo-Kaap area, although currently growing at a slower rate in comparison to surrounding neighbourhoods.

The Likert Table 4.5 displays the overall perceptions of youth, cultural, economic and tourism changes in the Bo-Kaap area. However, the Likert Table 4.5 alone is not sufficient in providing a more detailed understanding of the cultural, youth and economic effects of gentrification and tourism. This first needs to be understood before cultural tourism can be designed in a way to move the community in a positive direction.

#### 4.7 Physical change as a possible indicator of the effects of gentrification

Bo-Kaap residents are mainly in agreement that physical change has taken place in the area.

**Table 4.6: Perceptions of physical change in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Perceptions of whether there has been a physical change in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood</b>	
Yes	69.6%
No	6.9%
Maybe / Somewhat	13%
I don't know	10.5%
<b>Perceptions of what the reasons are for physical change in the Bo-Kaap landscape</b>	
Houses are more colourful	18%
Increase in cleanliness, maintenance and conservation of historic buildings	5.7%
Building renovations: more modern upgrade	40.3%
Increase in development of new buildings, apartments, lodges and hotels	22.9%
Increase in businesses: CBD rezoning of city map	13.1%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

##### 4.7.1 Perceptions of physical change in the Bo-Kaap

Almost 70% of the Bo-Kaap households agreed that there had been physical changes in the neighbourhood. Data in Table 4.7 suggest that physical changes have occurred to some degree, but the question remains as to whether these physical changes are to the extent that the neighbourhood is unrecognisable. A 10.5% component state that they do not have an idea or opinion surrounding the physical changes in the neighbourhood, while 6.9% disagree that any physical change has taken place, most probably narrowing their viewpoint to one of the reasons why 13% agreed that physical change has not totally enveloped the area. This may be a result of perceiving Bo-Kaap to be marked by some areas unchanged and un-developed, while alternate precincts are assumed to be more developed, perhaps due to a widening economic difference among the various income brackets of the community, as suggested in Table 4.3. As demonstrated in the Likert Table 4.5, it could also be a reflection of some residents perceiving an increased standard of living, while at the same time interpret the economic situation as less disposable income being available to maintain or restore properties, which could account for the variance in physical degradation and physical modification, synonymous with gentrification (Garside, 1993:30).

It is therefore suggested that gentrification has, to some degree, taken place in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood, due to the changes in the physical landscape of the area, as suggested by Table 4.6. The Director of SAHRA, Gregory Ontong, who did a heritage impact assessment in the Bo-Kaap community in 2011, recorded these physical changes:

It is currently threatened by gentrification and inappropriate development both commercially-driven and private ownership and property development. Couple this to external pressures and the concomitant decreasing investment in older fabric then it is clear that there is increasing pressure on a society, economically and physically fragile environment (Ontong, 2011:2).

The research objective of discovering whether physical change has taken place in the Bo-Kaap area is thus answered. The reasons for these changes become apparent in the discussion below.

#### 4.7.2 Residents' perceptions of the reasons for physical change in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood

A significant 40.3% of respondents express that the physical changes in their community are because of old buildings being renovated and upgraded to modern architectural styles, thereby destroying historical architecture in the process. In light of this information gathered, the research objective of establishing whether modern urban development as a physical change in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood has depleted the tangible cultural resources of the area is thus determined. This is a key indicator of gentrification according to Ontong (2011) and Badyina and Golubchikov (2005). There is a similarity between what has taken place in Russia post-soviet context, and Bo-Kaap post-Apartheid context. Ontong relays that large-scale historical physical fabric in the Bo-Kaap has been caught up in an ongoing battle between extensive commercial and residential companies, and local community ownership in the last decade (Ontong, 2011:2). Visser (2003:82) comments that gentrification involves the transfer of ownership of housing to wealthy new occupiers who are willing and able to renovate their houses to adapt to modern globalised structures. Visser and Kotze (2008:2569) go on to say that the post-Apartheid context saw the realisation of urban regeneration attached to diverse urban development frameworks since 2000.

It is thus evident that gentrification is symbolised by physical changes such as modern rehabilitation of housing stock within communities. Another form of gentrification, which impacts on the physical aspects of an area, is new-build gentrification. This was perceived to be the case by 22.9% of respondents in the survey, who claim that the primary physical changes in the neighbourhood were marked by an increase in the development of new buildings, apartments, lodges and hotels. Shaboodien (2012; 2013), the Bo-Kaap's civic leader, supports this notion and speaks out against the development of the Hilton Hotel and other forms of accommodation, which was not accepted and owned by the community. These data are congruent with Table 4.10, which notes that 20.4% of Bo-Kaap households express that physical development, such as tourism establishments of hotels, restaurants and lodges, are the reason why new businesses threaten the local charm of a community, which are classic examples of new-build gentrification.

New-build gentrification, according to Lees (2008:129), is a brand of gentrification which has mutated over time. Visser and Kotze (2008:2567) describe this as developments engineered from scratch, which include luxury apartments, hotels and housing developments within the inner city bowl. This therefore implies that 22.9% of respondents have described the physical changes in the Bo-Kaap as examples of new-build gentrification in their community. The long-term ramifications of these physical impacts on the neighbourhood have broader consequences, where eventually the social elements in the immediate surrounding environment are transformed as a result of market value and economics. Lees (2008:140) expresses that new-build gentrification is ultimately about a new middle class, who alter the physical and social aesthetic of the area, where capital is circulated back into the urban slums. The fact that a substantial percentage of residents have claimed witness to these changes is one thing; however, the social dynamics of this new situation need to be explored further by its inhabitants.

Of the Bo-Kaap households, 18% believe that the main physical differences in their neighbourhood have been the colourfully painted houses. This is not surprising since it has brought a dramatic change to the physical appearance of the Bo-Kaap, so much so that tourist buses flock to the area just to take pictures of the quaint, colourful houses. Contradictory to public perception, the houses were not painted in different colours during the Apartheid era, but only changed after Mandela visited the community, and as an expression of the rainbow nation the residents painted all their houses in different colours (Nackerdien, 2013).

The second lowest component, 13.1%, mention that the physical changes in the Bo-Kaap area have mainly resulted from the CBD rezoning of the map, where new buildings have begun to creep into the geographical borders of the Bo-Kaap as a result of the boundaries of the neighbourhood now being redefined (Gotham, 2005:1110). These new buildings form a component of new-build gentrification, which was identified in the physical landscape of Bo-Kaap by 22.9% of the respondents. The Cape Town Partnership (CTP), an agency focused on revitalising and reinvesting in the development of the CBD, aims to reposition the City of Cape Town as an icon of international business, investment, retail and tourism (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2575). Donaldson *et al.* (2013:179) lament that this entails a densification programme which will target non-historic sections of the CBD's outer borders such as the Bo-Kaap, echoing the CBD map rezoning plans, which was articulated by the 13.1% of the Bo-Kaap respondents. Donaldson's study, however, suggests that almost 60% of respondents were not aware of the CTP densification plans for the Bo-Kaap. This could be the reason why only 13.1% were aware of these geographical changes, but his is not to say that they were particularly aware of the broader policies of the City, of which the CBD rezoning programmes were a part. It is interesting to note that some of these new business developments have targeted heritage fabric and not

non-historic spaces, which was promised through the aims and mission of the CTP densification programme (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:179). This can be seen by the fact that many of the older heritage buildings on the edge of the Bo-Kaap, close to the CBD, were revamped into modern office complexes and retail establishments, not adhering to the Heritage Act (Toffa, 2013). These laws were bypassed due to corporate kickbacks (Anon, 2013a). It is clear that many decisions are made by 'higher powers', which negatively impact on the cultural fabric of the community. This could be the reason why 5.7% of residents believe that the physical changes in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood are due to the increase in cleanliness, maintenance and conservation of historic buildings.

#### 4.8 Economic change as a possible indicator of the effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

**Table 4.7: Perceptions of economic change in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Perceptions of whether there is economic change in the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Yes	68.2%
No	2.7%
Maybe / Somewhat	10.7%
I don't know	18.4%
<b>Perceptions of reasons for economic change in the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Downgrade of homes	2.6%
Lower wages and unemployment	11.8%
High income classes moving into the area: elitist discrimination	68.5%
Rates increase lowers the standard of living	17.1%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

##### 4.8.1 Perceptions of economic change in the Bo-Kaap

The majority of residents (68.2%) agree that economic change in the Bo-Kaap has taken place. A second group of 18.4% admit to not knowing what the answer is, most probably because they can only interpret their own experience. This could be a result of economic diversity within the community, aggravated by middle to higher income classes moving into a mixed class neighbourhood, predominantly characterised by a working class, as displayed in Table 4.3. Only 2.7% of respondents deny that economic change has taken place in their community. The latter have possibly experienced no social progress and interpreted economic change as progress, thus according to personal frame of reference, economic change has not taken place in the Bo-Kaap.

That the majority of residents believe that economic change has indeed taken place in the Bo-Kaap is no surprise, since it makes sense that the only thing which is constant across time, is change. This is especially heightened by the suggestion that there are diverse income bracket homes in the area. Data in Table 4.3 depicts the different educational qualifications in the



community, a reflection on the different employment occupations within the community, and echoes what the multitude of income brackets are in the households across the Bo-Kaap. The research objective of determining economic change in the Bo-Kaap is thus partly met through the suggestion that the larger part of the community perceives economic change in their midst.

The 68.2% majority is also supported by the results shown in the Likert Table 4.5, clarifying reasons why respondents believe that economic change has taken place.

#### 4.8.2 Perceptions of the possible reasons for economic change in the Bo-Kaap

Of the respondents who believe that economic change has taken place in the Bo-Kaap, 68.5% are of the view that elitist discrimination and higher income classes moving into the area has created economic change in the landscape of the area. A further 17.1% share a similar sentiment and describe the increase in rates as a cause of a lower standard of living, which could be a part of the ripple effect of the higher income classes moving into the area, inflating property values in the process (Nil Uzun, 2003:364). One can then deduce that gentrification is definitely about economic freedom, however, only to support the financial liberties and human rights of the upper to middle class 'gentrifiers', not the local working class who do not experience the same human right to afford properties within their home-area. Ultimately, a combined 85.6%% believe that economic change in the Bo-Kaap can be attributed to high-income residents replacing low-income residents. Thus the increasing municipal rates, pressurising more local residents to leave because of a lowering standard of living, results in a snowball effect. These economic manifestations of 'neighbourhood renewal' are direct symptoms of gentrification (Slater, 2004:321).

The lowest component of 2.6% of respondents mention that the downgrade of their homes was a clear indicator to them that negative economic change has taken place, which could also be a result of locals being unable to maintain their properties due to high municipal rates, similar to what was suggested in the Likert Table 4.5, where 53.1% of respondents 'strongly agreed' that the increase in rates made it unaffordable to maintain their properties. These results suggest an answer to the research objective of exploring whether economic change is a result of high rates causing a shortage of finance needed to maintain households in the Bo-Kaap area. This implies that economic impacts of gentrification have far-reaching effects in terms of household income.

## 4.9 Perceptions of cultural impacts and change as a possible indicator of gentrification effects in the Bo-Kaap

### 4.9.1 Maintenance of cultural change in the Bo-Kaap

Most Bo-Kaap respondents perceive that their culture has changed, since 68.3% claim that the Bo-Kaap local heritage is not the same, and has therefore evolved over time. However, 12.6% suggest that cultural change is minimal, which could be a result of a predominant Cape Malay heritage slowly transforming as a result of new cultural groups moving into the area (as presented in Table 4.1 and Figures 1 and 2) or even other causes such as media influence, thus creating a potential contrast of old and new traditions being practised in the community. Of the balance of respondents, 9.9% state that they are unaware of social change in their community and 9.2% indicate that there is no change in the local heritage and lifestyle of the area, and that the Bo-Kaap lifestyle has remained the same.

The results shown in Table 4.8 are both congruent and contradictory to the Likert Table 4.5, where 68.3% who disagreed that the Bo-Kaap culture is still the same, are in support of the 83.9% who agreed and strongly agreed with the Likert Table 4.5 statement, 'Life has changed in the Bo-Kaap' and with the 62.2% who agreed and strongly agreed with the statement, 'Practice and knowledge of my culture has decreased in the last 10 years'.

**Table 4.8: Perceptions of cultural change in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Perception that the Bo-Kaap culture IS still the same</b>	
Yes	9.2%
No	68.3%
Maybe / Somewhat	12.6%
I don't know	9.9%
<b>Perceptions of reasons why the Bo-Kaap culture IS still the same</b>	
Same food	14.3%
Minstrels	14.2%
<i>Ramadaan</i> cookies	57.1%
<i>Eid</i> atmosphere	14.4%
<b>Perceptions of reasons why and how the Bo-Kaap culture is NOT the same</b>	
Less <i>Ghadats</i> / <i>Thikrs</i> / Presence of Islam	1.5%
Less friendly / Neighbourliness	23%
Other cultures moving into the Bo-Kaap:	65.5%
Western influence on youth.	
Drugs, crime	10%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

The 68.3% who feel that the Bo-Kaap culture has changed is also a contradiction to some responses gained from the Likert Table 4.5 data, where 53.1% strongly agree that their culture has been passed down to them from their parents, while 44.3% feel strongly that they pass on their traditions and knowledge of their culture to their children, which is of tremendous value to

them. The research objective of establishing whether new cultures in the area are influencing and changing local traditions and practices in the community is achieved through the data presented in some of the Likert Table 4.5 results above, which reflect that according to community perspective, cultural change has taken place on a broader level. However, when questioned on their own family experience, cultural change in the household is not perceived to be as distinctive as the broader community is interpreted. This implies that the practice and transmission of cultural knowledge is slowly fading even though this may be perceived at a minimal rate within the family home. If one takes the results of personal perception across the Bo-Kaap community, it can be deduced that cultural change is not taking place at a dramatic pace similar to the suggestion that gentrification is not unfolding rapidly. This suggests that the culture of respondents has not changed to them on a personal level even though they perceive the Bo-Kaap culture to have transformed from a social perspective. Investigation into why the minority hold the notion that culture remains stagnant in the community is imperative for gaining a clear understanding of the reason for this perception.

#### 4.9.2 Perception of why culture is still the same in the Bo-Kaap

The popular belief amongst those who claim that the culture of the Bo-Kaap has not changed is possibly because of the strong traditions that prevail in *Ramadaan*, where children offer cookies and edible treats to their neighbours who, in return, send cookies back and to-and-fro to other surrounding neighbours (Davids, 1980:24). This is widely believed to bring blessings on the family according to an Islamic principle, which advocates sharing and goodwill amongst neighbours. The essential quality of this cultural tradition born out of Islam is the classic Bo-Kaap tradition of neighbourliness, which to many has begun to fade as Western values override the influence on youth ideals, yet revives itself every year in *Ramadaan* (Londt, 2013).

The data in Table 4.8 suggests a narrow three-way split of opinions on change. The second largest portion of respondents, 14.4%, (which is a sizeable percentage considering that it is only two days in the year) report that the Bo-Kaap culture has remained the same because of the festival of *Eid*, as the celebration marking the end of *Ramadaan*, and the second *Eid* marking the end of the Hadj Pilgrimage. Every year the *Eid* day is marked by neighbours flaunting new outfits to one another along the cobbled streets, and receiving gifts and money from friends and family throughout the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood (Fraser, Nackerdien & Mouton, 2014:18). What this implies is that although there is a large difference in percentages between 57.1% and 14.4% of the highest two groups of respondents the gist of what the community is noting is that the month of *Ramadaan*, ending with *Eid*, is a distinguishing characteristic of the Bo-Kaap culture being conserved today.

The rest of the residents' opinions are split between those who feel that the continued tradition of housewives cooking Cape Malay or Cape Muslim traditional foods (14.3%) is an indication of a culture that has not changed, while 14.2% believe that the Cape minstrels are the signature Bo-Kaap culture, which has not died out as a key heritage factor of their area.

It is therefore clear that the Bo-Kaap culture still exists to a large extent. If it is in the process of disappearing, it will be gradual, where some traditions would survive or evolve, while other customs would become redundant. This is reflected in the various discussions above, which demonstrate a common cultural identity on a broader scale, with differences in educational value systems, occupation and income classes as cultural variables (Tables 4.1 and 4.3). Some of these traditions which would most likely survive, would be big annual events such as the Cape Minstrel Carnival, or *Ramadaan* and *Eid*. This is mainly due to the fact that big events attract huge attention and excitement with maximum effort over a short period of time, which need not adapt to the modern demands of mundane routine. This is opposed to a daily lifestyle or tradition, which may take minimum effort but reaches its peak in terms of not adapting to the everyday needs of a changing environment over accumulated time.

According to a publication of a heritage gastronomy book of the Bo-Kaap, food culture has, for the most part, been conserved and passed down in traditional kitchens enjoyed by families in the Bo-Kaap, where traditional Cape Malay bobotie and koeksisters are still served in kitchens today (Fraser *et al.*, 2014:185). Food is also attached to religious and cultural events such as *Eid* and *Ramadaan*, which make food a prominent cultural experience in the community's collective memory. Davids (1980:24) states:

The socialisation of children in their culture and religion is further reinforced by the various religious occasions. The cultural and religious way of life thus becomes part of the personality.

This is supported by du Cros (2001:166), where she describes how cultural heritage, in this case the Bo-Kaap, synonymous with its neighbourhood (unique to other residential areas), could be utilised to induce a feeling of cultural continuation and social enhancement through the recognition of their history to making sense of the current identities surrounding heritage. Unique heritage can therefore be managed responsibly, where gentrification can be controlled in a way that its potential negative effects are reduced. These identities could then become attached to specific ongoing roles and relations within the community, which aid in leading the neighbourhood into a unique, yet unified expression of cultural routes and personal ambitions tied into collective goals of development.

However, there are common beliefs expressed amongst the community as to why the Bo-Kaap culture has changed.

#### 4.9.3 Perceptions of why the Bo-Kaap's culture has possibly changed

The Likert Table 4.5 presents data on why 68.3% of the population believe that the Bo-Kaap culture is different to what it used to be 15 to 20 years ago, and Table 4.8 describes the possible reasons for these beliefs.

According to Table 4.5, 65.5% of Bo-Kaap residents advise that cultural change is taking place in the Bo-Kaap and agree that the reason why the culture is changing is because of the youth aspiring to emulate Western society. In other words, the majority of residents who believe that cultural change is taking place have expressed that this is a cause of gentrification. This is somewhat supported by the Likert Scale results, which depict 74.8% of respondents who agreed and felt strongly that social problems amongst the youth are on the increase in the Bo-Kaap community. Table 4.8 reflects in more detail the reasons for this, that youth problems could potentially be caused by new modern cultures being introduced into the area. This presents a new set of values (and with it a new set of problems) interpreted as the key to success, and not neighbourliness as portrayed by traditional Bo-Kaap culture and religion. Cape Muslim cultural revival should therefore be based on balancing Western individualism and personal development, integral to Islam, along with the significance of communalism, which plays a pivotal role in Islam.

However, Donaldson's 2011 study reflects that cultural change may not be directly linked to the change in housing ownership in the Bo-Kaap. It suggests that there is minimal change between 1994 and 2011 with regards to transfer of ownership of homes in the Bo-Kaap, where ownership changes have only increased by 1.6% and change in tenancy has decreased by 1.6% (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:10). What this suggests is that since 1994, there has not been much change in the transfer of ownership of houses in the Bo-Kaap area, implying that gentrification is not spreading at a rapid rate. Nonetheless, cultural change has increased, where smaller families and educational qualifications have increased by 12.2% and 6.5% respectively from 1994 to 2011, which is a significant difference when compared to the transfer of housing ownership between 1994 and 2011 (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:10). In other words, cultural change cannot be attributed to gentrification alone, since it has been growing at a slower rate and sometimes even declining in comparison to the changes in the demographic data. These changes are possibly related to community and personal development as a result of alternate forces and not primarily because of gentrification, thus contradicting what the community perceives to be the cause of social change in their area. The research objective of determining cultural change is thus only limited to this and gentrification being the cause is possibly dispelled as a theory.

#### 4.9.4 Youth strategies to combat cultural impact of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap youth

However, this does not mean that cultural change is not taking place and that it could be potentially reinforced through the growth of gentrification. It is therefore wise to create a responsible gentrification platform through a sustainable tourism economic engine. To emulate Western society would mean to reject heritage, traditions and history of Bo-Kaap origins, which ironically is the key to their future survival in the modern world and therefore a tool of sustainable cultural tourism economic development. This can only succeed if the youth's heritage is adapted, according to their own ideas on heritage, without completely forsaking their unique history to suit the demands of the global market at the expense of their own economic and cultural needs. It is therefore a danger that the sole influence of foreign and Western cultures, apart from gentrification, has resulted in many Bo-Kaap youth and residents shedding their traditional lifestyles to be accepted by Western society and starting to absorb and practise modern values and practices (Kammedien, 2013).

#### 4.9.5 Western cultural influence on the Bo-Kaap lifestyle and youth

Western culture is a reason for the Bo-Kaap losing its unique culture and is a huge obstacle to developing cultural tourism. However, if cultural tourism can generate income for some of the residents and youth, this may be a tool for cultural conservation. This could become a motivating factor for residents to desist from selling their homes in the future, eradicating the vicious cycle of gentrification. In other words, if culture is revived for tourism purposes, culture becomes conserved in the process, bringing about cultural benefits to the youth and the community. An example of this could be religious and cultural pride, where the youth is faced with fewer social problems, and a community is left intact. Ultimately, instead of a negative cycle of gentrification taking place, a positive, sustainable cycle of cultural tourism can take effect. In turn, the active conservation of culture for the neighbourhood's cultural well-being is eventually utilised as an ongoing basis for cultural tourism production for future economic benefits, managed by the youth as future leaders of the community, according to their own ideas of what their heritage means to them. This can only be achieved if the economic benefits are ploughed back into their community and cultural conservation, as well as the local cultural tourism economy of the community as a whole.

#### 4.9.6 Sustainable cultural tourism as a method of salvaging cultural impacts of gentrification

The data depicted in Table 4.8 suggests that it is imperative that sustainable cultural tourism development be exploited in the Bo-Kaap, especially because of its rich history, cultural relics and attractions. This could be used to develop a sustainable economic platform, which can prevent three of the reasons why local residents are beginning to move out of their

neighbourhood. According to Table 4.4, the main reasons why residents are willing to sell their properties are because of family expansion, the need for bigger grounds, monetary gain, to relocate overseas and unaffordable rates in the area. The financial empowerment gained from sustainable cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap area can assist those neighbours in paying their municipal rates comfortably and be able to continue living in the community, which they claim they are saddened to leave because of economic pressure. Family expansion and bigger grounds are also valid reasons for needing to relocate since the physical comfort of the family is necessary, which cannot be solved by continuing to live in the area. However, monetary gain and relocation overseas are reasons which could actually be reversed through clever community-assigned strategies and cultural and religious awareness programmes for youth, where the source of motivation for these choices could be caused by internal change such as the need for saving relationships, community and love, the true heritage of the Bo-Kaap. Their true religious and cultural identities, which are the guide for nurturing their deeper souls, will thus be rejuvenated through sustainable cultural tourism as a source of spiritual belonging, or, if their hearts do long for greener pastures, to at least feel the desire to part with their neighbours on peaceful terms.

#### 4.9.7 Decline in the Bo-Kaap traditions such as 'community neighbourliness'

Besides the strong perception that foreign cultures are the cause of cultural change in the area as reported Table 4.9, the decline in neighbourliness and friendliness is also why the Bo-Kaap culture has changed, according to 23% of the Bo-Kaap population. This contradicts the Likert Table 4.5 data, which suggest that 78.2% of the Bo-Kaap residents felt that they knew all their neighbours, and 83.6% believed that their community is a friendly one. This may be a contradiction, but also the possibility remains that the respondents were either answering what they thought was expected of them (despite being advised otherwise) or their understanding of the Likert Table statements insinuated a more superficial level, as opposed to the open-ended questions which demanded more detailed answers and therefore some may have subconsciously interpreted it as an opportunity to be more truthful.

This is in contradiction to the view of Shaboodien (2013), who stated the *kanallah jobbies* tradition in the neighbourhood is currently a proud symbol of the Bo-Kaap community. *Kanallah jobbies* is an age-old tradition specific only to the Bo-Kaap, where the community survives through financial hardships by supporting each other, by offering their services in place of monetary value. These quintessentially neighbourly traditions are portrayed to be dying out according to Table 4.8. These traditions could be revived if conserved for tourism development purposes, where most of the neighbours could depend on one another as an interdependent

system and benefits are shared and enjoyed for their future offspring to uphold this tradition. So the cycle could continue within a sustainable cultural tourism framework.

#### 4.9.8 Drugs and crime as a possible cultural impact of gentrification

Only 10% of the community population interpret drugs and crime as an indicator of cultural change. The possible reasons these specific residents feel that drugs are related to cultural change, may be due to the fact that these social ills are considered to go against the grain of the traditional cultural values and religion of the area. Most of these traditional cultural values which stem from the core of Islam are community progress and social development on all spheres. Local citizens must not be marginalised, the youth and society must be balanced in body, mind and spirit—all factors which can only succeed if not impeded by the social issues which face the youth today. Cultural pride, growth and conservation cannot be maintained if these social evils are eating away at the youth. There is a strong possibility that cultural conservation could reverse these detrimental social effects. Cultural development could lead to self-pride and accountability, where youth could be motivated to empower themselves through tourism job creation as a result of a strong cultural resource base in the area.

According to Donaldson (2009:89), this model has been implemented in Greyton, South Africa. This could potentially decrease the possibility of drug dependence as well as crime, which are usually results of unemployment and a lack of belonging within communities. If drugs and crime are tackled through cultural revival programmes to create a sense of belonging amongst youth in their community, the process of gentrification could also be delayed, and in all likelihood the future youth of the area may feel a stronger affiliation to their neighbourhood. This is due to a stronger cultural and religious identity and future financial opportunities and security, thus less tempted by economic liberties offered to them if they do sell their valuable properties.

A possible reason why most residents do not agree that drugs and crime are a leading cause of cultural change is that people in general do not perceive these factors as variables of culture, as traditions and customs are. These factors are commonly viewed as social issues, which could be classified as obstacles to social development and cultural conservation, and could therefore be the reason why only 10% of respondents interpreted drugs and crime as reasons for cultural change. However, misinterpretation of cultural variables may not be the only reason why residents would express their perceptions surrounding cultural change as suggested in Table 4.8.



#### 4.9.9 Decline in Bo-Kaap traditions such as *Thikrs*

The smallest percentage (1.5%) of residents expressed their thoughts that a decrease in the number of *Thikrs* (prayer gatherings) on a Thursday night at mosques in the area, and the presence of Islam, are indicators of cultural change in their neighbourhood. A big reason why the results have panned out this way may very well be because residents do not perceive religious customs to be classified in the same category as are other cultural traditions. Another reason could be the fact that some residents and community leaders have stated that there has been a religious revival in the area, where some of these religious practices have evolved into unique cultural traditions, specific to this heritage community, such as *Thikrs*, *Moulood* and *Mugharram* (Londt, 2013; Samaai, 2013; Anon, 2013b). This is based on the premise that the Bo-Kaap culture is essentially rooted in Islamic beliefs and values (Davids, 1980:33). It is not a surprise that a small minority of respondents claim that a decrease in religious customs being practised in mosques is the reason why culture has changed, but according to other sources it has actually increased and therefore not a possible cause of cultural change in the Bo-Kaap community.

#### 4.9.10 Residents' perceptions of the cultural impact of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

Data contained in Table 4.9 shows that 27.8% of respondents believe that the ethnic profile of people living in the area has changed, and coloureds or Cape Malays have been replaced by a growing number of black and white people in the community.

If one refers to Table 4.1 describing the racial categories within the Bo-Kaap, it could mean that these racial changes perceived by the public, according to Table 4.9 below, may be relatively recent and not growing at a rapid rate, suggesting that gentrification is slowly changing the neighbourhood through phases of development rather than a quick sweep across the area.

A 26.4% component claim that most of the cultural changes they perceive in the Bo-Kaap area are Westernised lifestyle codes being imposed on the community. This takes the form of public drinking on front porches or 'stoeps' which were traditionally spaces of interactive neighbourhood socialisation, as well as scantily dressed women and walking of dogs, traditionally not practised in the community, which is perceived as a sign of disrespect to many of the local residents. Only 0.5% mentioned that drugs and crime have increased since the advent of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, which is not surprising since crime has historically been a constant problem within the area even before gentrification (Slater, 2004:312).

**Table 4.9: Cultural impacts of gentrification and potential sustainable cultural tourism development as a method of responsible gentrification in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Perceptions of the cultural impact of new residents moving into the Bo-Kaap community</b>	
No respect or intention of understanding or tolerating Bo-Kaap culture: Complaints of the <i>Athaan</i> (Mosque's call to prayer)	16.5%
Western lifestyle: Public drinking, drugs and partying on traditional front door 'stoeps' of the neighbourhood, dress code etc	26.4%
Western and African faces: physical change in the social landscape of the community	27.8%
Not affected by racial change	7.1%
Diversity is good: new democracy	10%
General upgrade in housing and business development	3.5%
Increase in municipal rates	8.7%
Crime and drugs	0.5%
<b>Perceptions of which current traditions can be used for the development of sustainable cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Cape Malay cooking	12.5%
Islamic rooted Malay customs, i.e. <i>Mouloud, Thikrs, madressah</i>	59.8%
Coon carnival	20.5%
Malay choirs and slave history	2.6%
Dressmaking, crafts, furniture	2%
Sports: rugby history	2.6%
<b>Perceptions of methods, which can be used to revive old traditions in the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Unification	16.2%
Education: parental guidance, workshop, programmes and activities: liaise elderly and youth to conserve local culture	50%
Youth groups and strategies: technology, sports to adapt culture to suit current needs	10%
Civic strategies	5%
Instilling faith and Islam in the community's consciousness	18.8%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

The sentiments held by 26.4% of the respondents is further understood by 16.5% of residents who were more concerned that many of these new neighbours do not show any intention of understanding or tolerating the community into which they bought, which they feel is evident in the fact that newcomers complain about the *Athaan* or 'Call to Prayer', at the mosque. Slater mentions 'social tectonics', which is commonly found within gentrified neighbourhoods. This social phenomenon defines that social tensions arise between old and new neighbours, people live side by side without integrating into each other's lives, and respect for diversity is engendered (Slater, 2004:320). It could therefore be a viable option to create a space for friendly dialogue between these groups, to avoid tension and foster cross-cultural understanding amongst the new and old neighbours within the area. This needs to be implemented to avoid cultural assimilation and cultural drift. Cultural assimilation is the reinstatement of cultural values from one culture to another, where cultural drift can be described as an alteration in behaviour as a result of interaction between two contrasting cultures (Teo, 1994:130).

A common thread throughout the responses is the perception of increased municipal rates. The increase in municipal rates is perceived as a huge cultural impact, where the economic disparity between working class, middle and high income class neighbours has widened as a result of these rates increases. According to Table 4.7, 8.7% of respondents recorded their dismay that their rates have indirectly caused cultural changes in their neighbourhood. This is also supported by the Likert Table 4.5 data, in which 53.1% of respondents strongly agreed that the rates make it unaffordable for them to maintain their properties. Thus, people from other cultures purchase their properties, creating tensions within a social vacuum in the neighbourhood as suggested in Table 4.7. This is in contradiction to a combined 17.1% who hold positive perceptions surrounding the cultural influence of gentrification, where their sentiments describe diversity as a healthy and essential ingredient for community growth and development. Local elite and the gentrifiers themselves could have this perception, which is also not surprising due to the fact that the Bo-Kaap community is a diverse and complex one as suggested in Table 4.3.

It is not surprising then that only 3.5% of the residents perceive positive cultural impacts of gentrification as the general upgrading of houses and business development, since this type of neighbourhood change is not a component of cultural or intangible change.

#### 4.9.11 Summary of the perceptions of the cultural impacts of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

Most residents believe that the cultural impacts of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, are the physical changes of the cultural landscape as a result of the influx of Western and African cultures, bringing in a lifestyle and set of values which are foreign to the traditional Bo-Kaap. Because of these different and contradictory lifestyle practices, there is intolerance among these groups, which could be managed through cross-cultural dialogue to temper the negative cultural impacts of gentrification. On the other hand, some of the local residents and possibly most of the new Bo-Kaap inhabitants, which comprise a minority of the community, are in favour of different cultures moving into the area and interpret this as an opportunity for development and upgrading of their neighbourhood.

#### 4.9.12 Research objective determining cultural impacts of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

A research objective was to identify whether the replacement and influence of new cultures visiting or relocating to the area is impacting on the physical aspects of the cultural landscape of the community. Results show that the local majority believe that the most visible cultural impact of gentrification is the physical replacement of cultures and neighbours in the Bo-Kaap area. The intangible cultural value of the community is affected, an example being the intolerance of religious practices such as the call to prayer being banned due to pressure from new residents.

These visible and intangible impacts are more directly linked to gentrification as opposed to the demographic and cultural and economic changes discussed earlier in the chapter, since these are witnessed accounts by residents of the Bo-Kaap community.

As displayed in Table 4.9, a combined 42.9% majority of Bo-Kaap residents (separate from the physical replacement of culture) have expressed their concerns about new neighbours and tourists' intolerance and unwillingness to understand the local culture and the traditional neighbourhood norms. These are not cultural effects on the youth which could be contributed to other factors, but the community's firsthand experience in dealing with new neighbours and tourists in their area.

#### 4.9.13 Traditions to be utilised for sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap

The Bo-Kaap has been identified as a prime tourism destination due to its various distinctive cultural and historical sites of significance within the neighbourhood precinct and was thus proclaimed a provincial heritage area in 1999 (Donaldson *et al.*, 2012:4). A majority 59.8% express that the Islamic-rooted customs unique to the Bo-Kaap area should be celebrated and conserved through regular activities and initiatives. Heritage and Islam was the second leading reason why residents opted not to sell their properties, as seen in Table 4.4. This coincides with Donaldson's findings in his 2011 study which revealed that the biggest concern residents have are not other cultures moving into the neighbourhood, but the dwindling Muslim character of the neighbourhood (Donaldson *et al.*, 2011:10).

A 20.5% component suggests that the Cape Minstrels are an important local tradition in the community, which could be conserved as a cultural tourism events attraction. According to Shaboodien (2012), a Bo-Kaap civic leader, the Minstrels are also imperative in providing the youth with a sense of belonging and financial benefit, enabling them to afford the increasing rates in their neighbourhood due to gentrification (Shaboodien, 2013). Kunzmann (2004:387) states:

We all know that in times of globalisation local identity has become a key concern, and the arts are, apart from landscape features, the only asset to display such difference.

In the quest to unite nationalities and ethnic groups, unique cultural identities have been denied, resulting in distinctive cultures not being recognised and celebrated (Robins, 1998/99:292).

Cape Malay cooking is a major Bo-Kaap tradition, which has survived through the centuries, to be used as a cultural tourism attraction unique to the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood, according to 12.5% of the respondents and Fraser *et al.* (2014:185). Traditional Cape Malay cooking tours are a very significant cultural tourism attraction in the neighbourhood, where Cape Malay

cooking demonstrations, coupled with a tourism narrative describing the history behind the food dishes, are presented to tourists. However, many of these tours are not owned and controlled by locals where, according to some of these local women, the owners of these foreign-owned companies have threatened them that they cannot initiate their own companies since they own Cape Malay food culture (Cooking Demography Guide Group, 2013).

The research objective of determining whether a local tourism authority exists, which would protect the economic interests of the community, is thus achieved. Economic change is best understood through the attained research objective of discovering that a lack of economic progress as a result of low income multipliers spreading throughout the community is an issue relating to current cultural tourism initiatives in the community, which are not owned by local entrepreneurs. Other cultural traditions which exist, according to a combined 7.2% of the Bo-Kaap respondents, are Malay choirs and slave history, dressmaking, crafts, furniture-making, as well as rugby sport-history in the area. These traditions could be conserved through ongoing community-planned programmes and activities within a broader cultural tourism policy for the Bo-Kaap area, where it could be used as a future basis for cultural tourism economic development to deal with the potential growing pressures of gentrification.

Islamic-rooted Malay customs need to be primarily conserved, as it is most active in the community according to suggestions revealed in the qualitative analysis in Chapter Five, and close to 60% of Bo-Kaap residents feel that Islamic life needs to be conserved for sustainable cultural tourism to benefit and sustain it economically for the future. Culture is therefore a key factor in fuelling local economies through exploiting heritage as a tool for a community's economic survival (Gunay, 2010:1174). The Minstrels and Cape Malay cooking exist as cultural tourism practices which could be adapted to a more sustainable approach of development. Other traditions, namely Malay choirs, dressmaking, crafts, furniture and rugby, are traditions which are currently being practised in the Bo-Kaap community but not yet developed as cultural tourism products. The results of Table 4.9 above correlate with what is suggested in the Likert Table 4.5, where 71% of respondents strongly agree that they respect Bo-Kaap culture and want it to be conserved for future generations.

However, some of the Bo-Kaap traditions have disappeared over the years, as suggested in Table 4.8. Here lies the potential to revive these traditions and adapt them to the needs and demands of the youth, and the demands of the tourism market which could financially support cultural conservation youth strategies in the community whilst maintaining the original core of their heritage. According to Hunner (2001:38) and Dwyer (2009:130), although change will

occur, elements of culture will remain if the residents stay involved and continue their cultural practices.

#### 4.9.14 Methods of reviving old traditions to develop sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap

The widely held opinion, 50% of the population, is that educational programmes, workshops, activities and initiatives should be held regularly to aid in the conservation and revival of the culture and religion of the Bo-Kaap. Bailey *et al.* (2004:64) state that: "Cultural forms of consumption can actively enhance and enliven local communities." According to Richardson (2003:4), one of these programmes which have proven to be successful is the 'Affordable Housing Now' campaign, which is a Land Trust programme aimed at saving and repairing derelict homes, for them to be occupied by the original working class residents of the area of Pilsen in Chicago, USA. Gopnik (2004:2) agrees that land initiatives are crucial to the securing of property for victims of gentrification, where low-cost housing is built in small vacant lots and kept affordable for the community's local residents. Projects like these can only be successful if the youth are involved and feel the desire to want to remain in their ancestral neighbourhood.

This could be the reason why these respondents clarified that the youth should be liaising with the elderly to reinvent their culture to suit the changing demands of their environment, without losing their core heritage, because in order to know their future, they need to know their past. Sze (2010:523) avers that:

The sense of current or future un-belonging is crucial to this concept because it is the balance between past identifications and future un-belonging that makes up the current mode of affiliation.

It is therefore understandable that a further 30% of the residents believe that the youth should take ownership of strategies to conserve their culture through mediums of technology, which will best suit their needs and the demands of the environment. Sometimes this can take the form of creating new uses for old places within the community (da Costa, 2013). However, this cannot be achieved if monetary gain is significant to Bo-Kaap youth members.

This is followed by 18.8% of the Bo-Kaap respondents who hold the sentiment that for any Cape Malay or Cape Muslim traditions to be revived, the Islamic faith and value system needs to be revived deep within the hearts of the community. Primarily, this is because almost all Cape Malay cultural traditions, aside from the Coon Carnival, are rooted in Islamic customs and rites of passage. Some existing Islamic traditions could be spearheaded for sustainable cultural tourism which could benefit the community holistically, such as the two most popular traditions currently perceived in the Bo-Kaap, which are *Ramadaan* cookies and *Eid* festivities, as suggested in Table 4.8.

The culture of neighbourliness was the engine of the community's survival for decades, and it is therefore imperative to revive Islamic values of maintaining community ties and 'loving thy neighbour', which can only be achieved through a spiritually revived connection with The Creator, where according to Samaai, there is already an Islamic revival (Samaai, 2013). This could be the reason why over 20% of residents are intent on developing an Islamic identity before a cultural revival can be achieved. Davids (1980:3) opines that:

The mosque is the most important institution in the development of a Muslim community ... the cultural and ecological base on which the entire social, cultural, institutional and associational framework of the community is focalised and concentrated.

Once the mosques have succeeded at this, a specific Islamic tourism portfolio could be developed to further benefit the community and foster neighbourhood pride in their religion and culture as a barrier against the potential negative effects of gentrification. Unification therefore needs to be addressed to foster the growth of such initiatives.

Unification of the community is crucial to building cultural conservation strategies, an ideal held by 16.2% of the Bo-Kaap community, who feel that the reason why no goals are implemented in the community is because there is no common agreement on goals as a result of the dissent among several groups and organisations. According to Davids (1980), it is no surprise that since there are now over 10 mosques in the community differences are starting to become apparent. Demographic data in Table 4.3 suggest a diverse range of characteristics, with a few specific distinctive traits. This could be the result of a pioneering community which has evolved over time with some semblance of the past (Davids, 1980:xviii).

#### 4.9.15 Sustainable cultural tourism to minimise negative cultural effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

It is clear that most of the research objectives achieved thus far have indicated that physical, cultural, economic and tourism change has taken effect on a small scale. However, it is debatable whether some of the cultural and economic changes are directly caused by gentrification, where physical changes have been easily attributed to tourism gentrification. This also taps into the possibility that tourists could become potential gentrifiers, especially since they share the same characteristics of being attracted to 'authentic' neighbourhoods, where staged authentic tourism and property marketing are based on these similar demands (Gotham, 2005:1111). Sustainable cultural tourism development could be a sustainable form of development for the community if they take ownership of it, rather than leaving it in the hands of foreign-controlled national tourism companies or the local elite. This could reduce the negative cultural impacts of neighbourhood and tourism gentrification as reflected in Table 4.9. A possible method to achieve this could be an ethical code of conduct to prevent tourists from becoming

potential gentrifiers, or a regular cross-cultural dialogue to ensure responsible gentrification. One strategy which could aid in implementing this would be to identify what the current traditions are in the community, to conserve it as a platform for cultural tourism production, thereby strengthening cultural, religious and community pride. An example of this would be to develop current local cultural traditions for the potential development of sustainable cultural tourism development in Bo-Kaap.

**4.10 Perceptions of the overall demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism impacts of new businesses in the Bo-Kaap.**

**Table 4.10: Indirect demographic, physical, economic and cultural impacts of gentrification as a result of new-business ownership**

<b>Perceptions of whether new businesses threaten the local charm of the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Yes	57.9%
No	11.5%
Maybe / Somewhat	9.6%
I don't know	21%
<b>Reasons why it is perceived that new businesses threaten the local charm of the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Local business landmarks in the Bo-Kaap have been replaced by modern commercial businesses through CBD rezoning threatening community charm	32.6%
No support for local businesses due to rent increases-	20.4%
Foreign African management of shops	1%
Tourism establishments: hotels, restaurants, lodges	20.4%
Liquor stores established next to mosque premises, violating religious freedom	5.3%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

Table 4.10 is the final table which presents all the potential impacts of gentrification, before tourism is discussed at length. This encapsulates the potential issue of local businesses being replaced by new businesses or tourism gentrification, which could negatively affect demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism change.

**4.10.1 Perceptions of whether new businesses pose a threat to the traditional Bo-Kaap**

The physical changes in the community could alter the cultural landscape during the gentrification process of an area, where the renovation of existing buildings could transform the original authentic quality of the fragile cultural fabric in the community. The systematic replacement of the social fabric of the community also plays a role in changing the character of the area. Donaldson *et al.* (2011:6) question how conservation of intangible heritage can be achieved in a context of resistance, neo-liberal policy pressures from the adjacent CBD, and a



vacuum in policy application. A significant 57.9% of respondents agree that new businesses do diminish the authentic and historic quality of the Bo-Kaap. As discussed above, this could be as a result of the transformation of the physical and social dimensions of the neighbourhood as a result of gentrification. Donaldson *et al.* (2013:180) suggest in their 2011 study that 35% are negative towards new cultures moving into the area.

It supports a trend revealed by the second grouping (21%) who purport that they do not know if new businesses threaten the local charm of an area. This is in contradiction to the study of Donaldson *et al.* in 2013, which reflected that 48.3% were undecided about other cultures moving into their community. This is possibly due to residents not being sure if they understood the question or ideas on what the local charm was of their area, or they felt it was not politically correct to admit to the fear of feeling threatened by new cultures.

A grouping of 9.6% indicates that new businesses have displaced the local charm of the neighbourhood to some extent. This may be perceived as a result of diverse and intensified economic change where some respondents are able to afford the increased rates and rental costs, while other residents are likely to be financially affected (Table 4.3) by new-build gentrification and new businesses entering the area. On the other hand, 11.5% clearly disagreed that new businesses reduce the quaint appeal of the Bo-Kaap. The perceptions of this group of 11.5% are in contradiction to Badyina and Golubhikov's (2005:126) sentiments, which convey that new establishments tend to be linked to a sharp decline in heritage value and architectural veracity. This same group is, however, in slight contrast to the 16.7% who were in favour of other cultures moving into the Bo-Kaap, according to Donaldson *et al.* (2013:180).

It must be noted that the remaining 32.5% of the community either do not know or are in full disagreement that these commercial businesses threaten their community. This may be due to the fact that there is a lack of awareness among Bo-Kaap residents on what is taking place in their community, or these residents are well aware but choose to adopt a neo-liberal perspective commonly found amongst local elite and gentrifiers themselves.

#### 4.10.2 Reasons for possible threat of new business invasion in the Bo-Kaap

The data in Table 4.10 suggests that most of the residents (32.6%) believe that local business institutions have been replaced by modern commercial businesses from the City centre, thus threatening the historical charm of the Bo-Kaap. Some of the local elite have also become intertwined into the global capital system of the city, replacing some of the traditional local business premises in the process (Shaboodien, 2013). What this suggests is that the reason why the physical and cultural space is altered within the community is because of new

businesses replacing traditional business landmarks. The businesses being replaced also involve the renovation of the physical spaces in the community, where some traditional family businesses have been substituted by the regeneration of retail and tourism establishments in their place. This has resulted in the physical and meta-physical elements of the neighbourhood becoming re-arranged and modified through the gentrification policies of the City, such as the CBD rezoning of the map. Kunzmann, 2004:386) states:

And we are all aware that culture (in the form of urban history, architecture, cultural facilities and events) is the main ingredient of city promotion campaigns.

The community therefore needs to take ownership of its development so as to incorporate both physical and social elements of its culture, not only its architecture. This is congruent with the data in Likert Table 4.5, which reflects that 67.6% agree and strongly agree that the historical and cultural tourism value of the area has changed in the last 20 years. Donaldson *et al.* (2013:180) display concern that the Cultural Heritage Strategy of Cape Town has made it their mission to merge commercial development alongside culture, where it has proven in the past that communities always get sidelined. According to Nil Uzun (2002:374), some community development strategies in Turkey, which were key words used by government partnerships, were not entirely successful due to the fact that communities were not encouraged to participate in the process, thus defeating the purpose of the 'partnership'. It is therefore a concern that the Cape Town Partnership has outlined a policy for development of the Bo-Kaap, of which most Bo-Kaap residents were not even aware (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:180). One of the ways in which the intangible elements of the Bo-Kaap could be conserved is to prevent local community members from being forced to leave their community. Gentrification therefore needs to be slowed down and managed responsibly through effective community-led conservation strategies, one of them being sustainable cultural tourism.

This is the reason for the split results in Table 4.10 where 20.4% of residents state that the cultural charm of the neighbourhood has changed due to local businessmen being forced to close down their establishments as a result of high rentals stemming from increased market values in the City, the other 20.4% believe that the community's authenticity has been compromised by the establishment of tourism businesses, including hotels, restaurants and guest houses. Colburn and Jepson (2012:290) opine that:

As higher income residents buy waterfront for its amenities, land values increase, leaving resource-dependent activities less valued, changing the essential character and flavour of a community.

The research objective of defining whether new businesses threaten local businesses due to increased rentals and municipal costs as a result of new-build and tourism gentrification is thus accomplished. Economic change is better understood as a direct effect of gentrification.

Of respondents discussed above, 20.4% correlates with the data in Likert Table 4.5, which suggests that a 59.2% component agreed with the statement that the rental costs of property had increased in general in the Bo-Kaap over the past 10 years. Table 4.10 also portrays that 1% of residents express that some of the local Indian businessmen find that it more profitable for foreign Africans to run their businesses albeit that they do not own it, because of the increase in rental costs (Anon, 2013c).

A further 20.4% of respondents felt that the cultural fabric of the traditional Bo-Kaap's commercial hub has been transformed as a result of tourism infrastructure. These residents may or may not realise that they are suggesting that new-build or tourism gentrification is taking place in their neighbourhood. Gotham (2005:1099) describes tourism gentrification as a transformation of a middle class neighbourhood into a relatively affluent and exclusive enclave marked by a proliferation of corporate entertainment and tourism venues. New-build gentrification can include the development of office complexes and retail shopping centres (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2567) as well as tourism leisure facilities, eventually evolving into tourism gentrification (Gotham, 2005:1111). With reference to the Bo-Kaap, tourism gentrification could take the shape of tourism venues such as hotels, restaurants and tourism accommodation establishments, which are essentially staging an authentic cultural presence in the neighbourhood by derailing the actual authentic nostalgic qualities of the area in the process.

Donaldson (2009:98) when describing tourism gentrification in the town of Greyton in South Africa, speaks of the use of capital accumulation and heritage management to develop images of staged authentic rural farming as an economic base, when in actual fact rural tourism gentrification is the prime economic base in the area. It can be deduced from this that it is crucial for the Bo-Kaap community to develop cultural tourism that is sustainable through a participatory approach with external stakeholders, where leaders have to be consulted to ensure that tourism gentrification is avoided by developing sustainable tourism as a form of managing tourism gentrification responsibly. In his article, Kardas-Nelson (2012:2) records that Shaboodien (2012) stated that the community is not benefiting from the current tourism structures in place, where buses come into the area, tourists get off, visit the museum, and get back onto the bus again.

A sizeable 15.3% express that the changes in the commercial character of the area is best illustrated by the example of a liquor bar erected next to a mosque in Buitengracht Street in the Bo-Kaap. This matter was taken to court and the case was won by the Bo-Kaap due to the fact that their religious freedom was violated and that the community was not consulted about this development. Residents felt that the Islamic cultural identity was at risk if buildings of deep-rooted significance to the heart and values of the people, were not being respected. Kardas-

Nelson (2012:2) reports: "The City's rezoning of the neighbourhood from a residential to a commercial area is destroying history". Donaldson *et al.* (2011:10) recall from interviews conducted in their study of the Bo-Kaap that residents were more worried about the community losing its Islamic character than new cultures moving into the area

The community perceives that new business ownership and new-build gentrification diminishes the traditional heritage of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. The new CBD rezoning of the area allows modern retail and corporate office complexes, apartments, as well as tourism venues and establishments, to break through the traditional geographical borders of the Bo-Kaap. According to Visser and Kotze (2008:2580), new-build gentrification therefore plays a big role in the mass tourism development of an area. They state that: "Behind the facades have emerged luxury hotels and apartments...superior accommodation and extra parking has reduced building vacancy and increased rentals in the area." These results correlate with the data in Table 4.6 which show that almost 25% of residents are of the opinion that physical change in their community is accounted for by an increase in the development of new buildings, apartments, lodges and hotels.

**4.11 Perceptions of current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap**

**Table 4.11: Perceptions of tourism development in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Perceptions of tourism development in the Bo-Kaap</b>	
Big buses, congestion, privacy	5.4%
No local guides	1.7%
Misrepresented truths	3.4%
No local benefits in general	18.8%
Foreign income benefits	8.4%
Job opportunities	3.9%
Development and upgrade	3.4%
Security concern	2.4%
Incentive for the conservation of the Bo-Kaap culture	20.2%
No problems with tourism: satisfaction	21.2%
Problem with tourism: dissatisfaction	2.4%
Tourism needs to be regulated better and controlled by locals	7.4%
Tourism causes gentrification	1.4%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

**4.11.1 Positive perceptions of current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap**

It can be deduced from Table 4.11 that 57.1% of households within the Bo-Kaap are satisfied with tourism development in the area, while 42.9% are dissatisfied with the current tourism development taking place in the community. This combined 57.1% comprises the highest 21.2% of residents who expressed satisfaction with tourism operation in the area (which could be motivated by a perception that this specific answer constitutes a 'correct' view on the status

quo), and 20.2% of respondents who are of the sentiment that tourism is positive in that it provides an incentive for the conservation of Bo-Kaap culture. This may suggest that residents in the Bo-Kaap community could actually welcome sustainable cultural tourism development, which in principle strengthens a community's cultural and religious identity, acting as a barrier against gentrification in the long term. The other opinions making up the combined 57.1% will be discussed below. Many of these positive statements discussed below are in contradiction to statements expressed in the Likert Table 4.5.

There is also a perception by 8.4% that foreign income benefits are enjoyed by the community, which may be relatively low compared to 18.8% of respondents who feel that no local benefits are enjoyed. This 18.8% is actually lower than the Likert data in Table 4.5, which shows that 52.7% disagree and strongly disagree that Bo-Kaap locals benefit economically and socially from tourism.

Another positive spin-off of tourism, expressed by 3.9% of the Bo-Kaap population, is that there is an increase in job opportunities within the tourism industry. This is a relatively low percentage and may be due to the fact that several of the tourism establishments are owned by foreign national companies as suggested in Table 4.10.

Development and upgrading is also considered to be a great benefit of tourism development in the community, according to 3.4% of respondents. This is understandable since tourism development is enjoyed most by gentrifiers and the local elite. Rodriguez (1998:264) states:

In any case, it expresses the interests of the elite who are best positioned to benefit from extensive resort development by virtue of land they own.

Gotham (2004:1102) believes that although development and regeneration of buildings is a symptom of tourism gentrification, it is not perceived negatively. However, 1.4% of respondents perceived tourism to be an instigator of gentrification because of development and upgrade at the expense of the community. Development and upgrade, also linked to tourism gentrification as discussed earlier, therefore compromises the valuable cultural fabric of the area, ironically destroying the motivation for tourists to visit a particular attraction. The research objective of exploring whether physical tourism impacts on the community and results in the cultural tourism value of the neighbourhood becoming tarnished has thus been achieved through analysis of Table 4.11.

The majority of Bo-Kaap residents do perceive that tourism offers positive benefits. Of these, 21.2% expressed satisfaction without any detailed reasons, while 20.2% explained why tourism is a wonderful incentive for Bo-Kaap cultural conservation. According to this perception revealed in Table 4.11, the cultural dynamic in the community is perceived by 20.2% of the population as

not being under threat, and they explain that the intangible elements of the Bo-Kaap culture is conserved through tourism. However, according to Donaldson *et al.* (2012:7), conservation of intangible culture was on the Heritage Western Cape's agenda, although very few initiatives aim to conserve the intangible aspects of heritage in the Bo-Kaap. This aids in answering the research objective of determining whether the intangible elements of the Bo-Kaap culture are being enhanced through tourism development. The balance of responses was insignificant in describing specific benefits, which would mostly be explained by experts in the area. This is a great contrast to the 18.8% who feel that there is no local benefit to be derived from tourist development in the Bo-Kaap.

The number of unsatisfied respondents (42.9%) is quite close to the 57.1% majority of satisfied Bo-Kaap residents. It is therefore important that these negative perceptions of tourism be reversed to positive expectations through educating the Bo-Kaap public on sustainable cultural community tourism, which could then be welcomed by a larger majority.

#### 4.11.2 Negative perceptions of current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap

The negative perceptions, which could potentially be reversed, are the sentiments that tourism provides no local benefits in general, according to 18.8% of the Bo-Kaap community. Because of these results, it is clear that the research objective of uncovering whether economic changes in the area are linked to a lack of economic progress in the Bo-Kaap community due to a lack of tourism income multipliers spreading throughout the community has been achieved. A component of 7.4% dissatisfied residents expressed that tourism needs to be better regulated, which attains the research objective of ascertaining a lack of a local tourism authority to protect the economic interests of the community. These results do not correlate with the data in the Likert Table 4.5, which reveals a much larger 32.8% of Bo-Kaap locals disagreeing and strongly disagreeing that a tourism regulation body is protecting the Bo-Kaap's interests. This suggests a great advantage since these respondents seem to be well aware of how tourism should operate in their community, and are under the impression that this is not being implemented in their community as promised and not delivered by tourism gentrification. This is mainly due to political promises made by an international hotel, which promised the community jobs in return for using the community's space for development. Ever since the development was completed, only a small percentage of the community has benefited from this development (Anon, 2013a). This is also supported by interviews which are discussed in Chapter Five.

However small the percentage may be, this may be because it is split between several other grievances, which indicates an increasingly informed community. The grievance is that tourism allows for big buses to block roads within the community, causing congestion and lack of

privacy. This is according to 5.4% of residents who most probably live in the historical section of the Bo-Kaap, since they are most affected due to the narrow cobbled streets (Poking, 2013). Sustainable tourism would adopt a policy which would be more sustainable for these households in the long term, where both tourists and locals benefit for the economic sustainability of the neighbourhood, which would reach the end goal of slowing down gentrification. According to Jackson (2006), a balance needs to be struck between development and heritage spheres, where both elements should be nurtured for the survival of each sphere. In other words, a symbiotic relationship is needed, not a parasitic one. Excessive development in any avenue would be detrimental to the community (Jackson, 2006:216).

It is no surprise then that 1.7% of respondents fear that there are no local guides in the area, since the possibility would be high that these local guides would convey truthful accounts on their personal and communal heritage. As result of this problem being reflected in Table 4.11, the research objective of discovering whether economic change in the community is a result of local entrepreneurs being threatened by the presence of new tourism commercial ventures entering into the area, is achieved. In light of this, local guides in the community are not given the opportunity to provide authentic tours and gain a living through their expertise, which could improve their standard of living. What happens instead is that a well-oiled machine of staged heritage conservation and global tourism marketing and production for the sake of the national tourism economic sector is established, at the expense of the local community's employment needs. Donaldson (2009:90) agrees when he claims that cultural conservation is a forerunner of gentrification, through the fabrication of built spaces for foreign investment, as well as the use of popular media.

A sustainable tourism framework ensures guidelines, which enforce truthful historical accounts from the locals' perspective and engender respect for a community and not a desire to gentrify it. It is crucial to develop sustainable tourism that will decrease the rate of gentrification and therefore counteract the negative effects of tourism gentrification which exacerbates this. Since the prescribed guides would be the community members or youth themselves, they could offer an authentic tourism product and service which resonates with their own personal and collective identity, ultimately demanding respect for the conservation of the cultural tourism attractions they are visiting through a possible code of conduct to which visitors should adhere (Shaboodien, 2013).

Security is also an issue of concern, where 2.4% of residents fear that tourists are not protected enough by police in their neighbourhood. This is not a concern for gentrifiers, who are more attracted to the exotic appeal of the community than being truly concerned about the issue of

crime in the host community. Tourists and gentrifiers are deemed to be drawn to similar imagery and stereotypes of culture used in both tourism marketing and real estate advertising (Gotham, 2004:1111). This issue could be resolved by sustainable tourism, where more community members would feel empowered through local job creation and less inclined to commit crimes in their neighbourhood. In other words, the issue of crime in the community should be solved through sustainable tourism, rather than gentrification, although according to new business owners in the area, their presence has begun to slow down the crime levels in the surrounding neighbourhood. This may be possible due to the fact that a security caravan has been contracted by the Bo-Kaap Civic with the monetary assistance of gentrifiers to protect the streets which tourists and gentrifiers mainly use (Poking, 2013).

Clearly many of the negative effects of tourism are very similar to the negative effects of gentrification, where these two notions become synonymous. It is therefore of logical consequence that some residents may perceive tourism as a negative effect of gentrification. This may, according to others, be the other way around, where gentrification could be the negative effect of tourism.

#### 4.11.3 Tourism and gentrification equals tourism gentrification

A possible overlap also exists between gentrifiers and tourists, where some have come to recognise the neighbourhood as a real-estate option as tourists on tours operating in the Bo-Kaap area (Shaboodien, 2013). This has reportedly occurred in the Bo-Kaap, where real estate agents in the community have been witness to people coming to visit the area on a short-term basis and return because of the desire to become permanent residents (Kardas-Nelson, 2012:2). According to Donaldson (2009:88):

Leisure-consumption-led migration in the form of second-home developments is an under-researched aspect of urban tourism in South Africa, as are the impacts associated with second-home developments, such as employment creation and social exclusion as a consequence of rising property prices.

This may therefore be a reason why a small percentage of respondents advocate that tourism causes gentrification. It is therefore highly significant that sustainable tourism be implemented to counteract the negative cultural impacts of current mass tourism and tourism gentrification taking place in the Bo-Kaap, such as further neighbourhood gentrification. Sustainable cultural tourism therefore needs to attract 'responsible tourists' who are motivated to spend their income on local small-scale medium enterprises, which would enable the growth and investment of the community which they visit while on holiday. The other option would be to prescribe behavioural codes of conduct for tourists to respect the local culture of the community while interacting with them (Shaboodien, 2013).



## 4.12 Perceptions of tourism authenticity in the Bo-Kaap

**Table 4.12: Perceptions of tourism product authenticity in the Bo-Kaap**

<b>Perceptions of whether tourism services rendered in the Bo-Kaap are authentic.</b>	
Yes	16.4%
No	32.5%
Maybe / Somewhat	4.5%
I don't know	46.6%
<b>Perceptions of why tourism is NOT authentic in the Bo-Kaap.</b>	
Overhear misrepresented truths on current non-locally controlled tours	31.5%
Guides do not originate from the area	58.9%
Non-local guides do not care about the needs of the community	9.6%

Source: Researcher construct from survey data, 2015

### 4.12.1 Perceptions of whether cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap is authentic

The data in Table 4.12 reveals that 46.6% of respondents are unaware of the authenticity of tourism services within the Bo-Kaap, while 4.5% are uncertain whether tourism in the Bo-Kaap is indeed authentic or not. This figure could include people who feel that tourism may be authentic in some respects, such as cooking tours demonstrated by local women in the area, while other aspects could be considered to be less authentic, such as bus-tour narratives. It may also be that respondents have opted for 'maybe' or 'somewhat' because they have witnessed inconsistencies in the delivery of tourism information, where the very few local guides in the community provide an authentic experience, in contradiction to non-local guides. It is possible that the smallest percentage of respondents provide the most accurate account as a result of education and reflection, where the majority are either less concerned or do not possess a heightened sense of awareness.

This could indicate why it is crucial for the community to undergo awareness and training workshops on what sustainable cultural tourism development is, as an ideology, which could be the reason why a 50% component suggested that education is the most effective means of strategy to conserve cultural tourism resources in their neighbourhood (see Table 4.9). How to measure sustainable tourism development in their community as a methodology to effective and sustainable management of tourism in their area also plays a pivotal role. This would ensure a high standard of authentic tourism service delivery and foster a continuous stream of foreign income into the community.

A 32.5% component disagrees with the notion that tourism services rendered in the Bo-Kaap are authentic. The reasons for this are expressed and summarised in Table 4.12. The positive outcome of this result is that the community is largely aware of tourism standards in their area,

but perhaps unsure of what these standards are, and if they are met. In other words, it is a step in the right direction if community members are educated to some degree, where an opportunity arises to further educate residents on sustainable tourism, and where through education they become empowered to propose their own practical solutions as a way forward for their community and future offspring.

By contrast, the 16.4% of respondents who feel positive that tourism services are indeed authentic in their community possibly comprise individuals who are involved in tourism, or are included in the local elite, which are similarly displayed in Tables 7.8 and 7.11. This group of respondents may be less interested in looking for possible solutions in their community if they do not perceive or experience the problems or backlash of it. They would, however, be a source of positive energy which could be used for the growth and development of the people and not necessarily the buildings in the area. At least a thirst for knowledge could exist, where tourism would be welcomed, thus providing a platform to develop further for the benefit of the working class.

Ultimately, the reasons for these perceptions are still unclear. However, one can deduce that the majority of residents do not know what is transpiring in their community, while the rest of the respondents are mostly in disagreement with the notion that tourism services in the Bo-Kaap are authentic. The interpretation of this is that education is crucial for the further development of sustainable cultural tourism frameworks in the community as a mitigating factor against gentrification. Some of the essential results could be better understood, once the reasons for some of these responses are explored.

#### 4.12.2 Perceptions of non-authentic tours in the Bo-Kaap

The predominant reason why tourism is perceived not to be authentic in the Bo-Kaap is because of the sentiment that guides do not originate from the area, according to 58.9% of the respondents. This result coincides with the 1.7% of respondents who mentioned that tourism in the Bo-Kaap does not include local guides on their tours as suggested by data in Table 4.12. The other two reasons reflected in Table 4.12 are directly linked to the perception held by almost 60% of the Bo-Kaap population, where 31.5% suggest that the guides who do not come from the area, portray a false reflection of the Bo-Kaap culture to tourists. In other words, 90.4% who felt that Bo-Kaap tourism is non-authentic expressed this concern because of the belief that the tour guides operating in the area do not originate from the Bo-Kaap. It is their sentiment that the non-local tour guides do not possess the intimate knowledge of the community, and are therefore more inclined to convey misrepresented truths about the Bo-Kaap tourism attractions to tourists.

The personal interviews which are discussed in Chapter Five support this view. Tourism is therefore perceived as non-authentic due to a lack of local guides operating in the Bo-Kaap. Referring to non-local guides, (Gotham, 2005:1111) states: "They are involved in adapting, reshaping and manipulating images of the place to be desirable to the consumer." Marketing of authenticity is a huge attraction for tourism markets, where events promote a reality which is actually staged (Chhabra *et al.*, 2003:717). It is because of this that 9.6% of these responses hinted that the guides do not care about the needs of the community. It could be easily perceived that if the guides are providing false information about the community's history, religion and culture, which is held very dear to some members of the community, it could be interpreted as a personal attack on their personal set of values, beliefs, traditions and identity.

#### 4.12.3 Summary of the perceptions of tourism authenticity in the Bo-Kaap

A combined 90.4% of respondents are of the opinion that tourism within the Bo-Kaap community is not authentic because of a lack of local tour guides operating in the area, thus relaying non-authentic information to tourists. This also achieves the objective of discovering whether the unique heritage qualities of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood are being commercialised as a result of a lack of local presence in the Bo-Kaap tourism industry. The remaining 9.6% agreed with the 90.4% component, but went further to say that the core of the authenticity is essentially tainted because the non-local guides are unconcerned about the local community's true history, heritage and cultural lifestyle experiences, due to personal desire for financial gain, rather than connecting with the local people's needs and demands. This eventually affects the deeper experience of the tourist, which is unsustainable for the development of the broader community over the long term. What these tourists are experiencing is called 'staged authenticity'.

One of the symptoms of tourism gentrification is staged authenticity, where the use of cultural symbols and motifs are used to sell and commodify the traditional culture of the community for profit by the City. Crumbaugh (2005:73) describes staged authenticity as a pretension of transparency in representation, and Donaldson (2009:90) advises that these symbols are born out of popular media. Usually this involves the use of nostalgic and romanticised images of the area, which may create false expectations of the community (Hammett & Jayawardane, 2009:232). Donaldson (2009:97) agrees when he states that: "...worth noting here is that with romanticism, comes stigmatisation and later commercialisation". This ultimately could destroy the authentic tourism experience, and threatening a future stream of income into the area which could aid in maintaining local properties. However, the youth should not completely shy away from the process, where they do not encourage the non-local guide's misrepresentations of their area, but rather a truth, which resonates with the local youth of the area, in today's day and age.

#### 4.12.4 Research objectives established and sustainable cultural tourism strategy

In light of the mixed positive and negative attitudes toward tourism development and dominant negative perceptions surrounding tourism authenticity, the tourism research objective thus reconciles interrelated physical, youth, cultural and economic changes. Cultural tourism might/might not exacerbate gentrification, and might/might not aid in the responsible management of gentrification and its interdependent effects on the Bo-Kaap community. However, some of the reasons for the positive reactions toward tourism, being new-build development upgrade, coupled with beliefs that tourism causes gentrification, as well as the interpretation of non-authentic tourism due to staged authenticity as one of its marketing mechanisms in Table 4.12 above, could potentially mask the likelihood that tourism gentrification is taking place in the Bo-Kaap tourism quarter.

There is therefore a great possibility that cultural tourism exacerbates gentrification. Data in the Likert Table 4.5, suggest that it is highly likely that a local tourism authority does not exist, resulting in the local cultural charm of the Bo-Kaap being threatened due to the entry of new businesses as an appendage to new-build and tourism gentrification. There is a lack of local youth tourism economic development platform, a lack of preservation of physical cultural buildings and attractions, a shortage of income multipliers that could invest in cultural survival of the community, where cultural conservation has not impeded the process of staged authenticity in the mass tourism marketing and operation in Bo-Kaap related to tourism gentrification. The objective of defining whether tourism attracts potential gentrifiers into the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood is thus achieved. However, these results can only be fully analysed in comparison to the qualitative results, which are discussed in the summary of Chapter Five.

The key to managing these negative effects is for the local youth take control and ownership of their own cultural identity instead of it being imposed on them by non-local guides or even their parents. They would then be more likely to naturally seek an attachment to their heritage and salvage that which is significant to them and re-interpret what is not suitable to the current environment. Culture is therefore not static and will evolve, but core elements of the culture will survive if the community continue their traditional practices (Kunzmann, 2004:388; Dwyer, 2009:130).

Islamic ideals of balancing individual, cultural, physical and economic community development could therefore be revived for the holistic progress of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. This could be attained through managing the negative tourism and gentrification changes responsibly, partially gained by capitalising on the positive social and economic impacts of gentrification through regular cross-cultural dialogue.

Staged authenticity could be positive if owned and reproduced according to the youth's personal truth, thus not being staged anymore. Regardless of globalisation, key elements of local cultural change actually exist and functions beside the heritage belief system (Bailey *et al.*, 2004:63). The ideal is that the core heritage and belief systems should not be swayed, but rather the methodologies could be adapted, in order to avoid cultural assimilation. Grunewald (2002:1011) states that:

To talk about the construction of cultural identity or about the 'invention of tradition' is to emphasise that culture is a dynamic product of human consciousness and is constantly being reformulated in the contemporary context.

Essentially this is about treading a fine line, balancing all the needs of the different stakeholders involved, for the long-term survival of the Bo-Kaap community. This is primarily because of the demand for financial funding and infrastructure in the community. This is not necessarily new-build gentrification, but rather about reversing the negative effects of gentrification, where development can actually benefit the whole community. Sustainable tourism economic development is therefore crucial as a supplementary source of funding which could be reinvested in the community. Horton (2000:251) states:

Tourism is big-time central to the economy, whoever's in office, it's okay to cater to the tourists but don't forget about the people who live here.

#### **4.13 Summary**

The quantitative data analysis of the effects of gentrification has been discussed. The community's perceptions of the demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism changes in the Bo-Kaap was analysed in relation to the literature review on gentrification and its various effects on the host area and community affected. The results, which have been interpreted, were presented in tabular form, displaying the demographic variables in the community including age, gender, income, race, family size, employment, education. This was supplemented with data on the history and real estate ownership in the Bo-Kaap community, as well as local motivation regarding selling of family real estate in the area, which triggers gentrification. The Likert Table 4.5 provided insight into the attitudes of residents toward their community, youth problems, culture, gentrification, and sustainable cultural tourism development. Other tables provided data on perceptions and potential reasons for physical, economic, cultural and tourism change in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood, with particular attention to staged authenticity as a possible indicator of tourism gentrification in the Bo-Kaap area. Also provided was the community's perspective on methods of reviving culture for responsible management of the impact of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap through maximising and minimising the positive and negative effects of tourism gentrification.

These quantitative results can only be fully analysed in collaboration with the qualitative results in Chapter Five, which either support or contradict the outcome of this chapter. The outcomes of both Chapter Four and Chapter Five will therefore be concluded in the chapter summary of Chapter Five.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS**

#### **5.1 Introduction**

This chapter provides an overview of the qualitative approach used in in-depth interviews and focus group discussions with various public and private stakeholder leaders and organisations of the Bo-Kaap. The qualitative analysis revealed thematic schemes which allowed for theories and suggestions to be developed in the study as a result of an inductive process of qualitative research. A four-part qualitative analysis of these agents and role-player's perspectives on gentrification and its effects on the Bo-Kaap in relation to tourism was explored.

The first focus of the research examined gentrification as a phenomenon that had potentially unfolded in the Bo-Kaap, with a focus on the positive and negative features of this development process. The second section explored the various interconnected demographic, physical, economic and cultural effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap landscape, while the third section of the analysis explored tourism and its effects on the Bo-Kaap in relation to gentrification as an interrelated phenomenon called tourism gentrification. Finally, the fourth part to the qualitative analysis explored sustainable cultural tourism development and responsible gentrification as a suggestion for the sustainable, holistic economic and cultural development of the Bo-Kaap community through managing changes responsibly by mitigating the negative effects of tourism gentrification. These changes had been identified as problems within the study and thus demanded these suggestions as sustainable solutions to the negative changes in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood.

The research objectives focused on determining interrelated changes and possible mitigation of gentrification through responsible management of these effects such as sustainable cultural tourism. These are explored through analysing the results of the qualitative in-depth interviews alongside the quantitative survey outcome discussed in Chapter Four.

The solutions to the problems identified in the study therefore form part of the suggestions for future development and research in the Bo-Kaap area. However, before this can be attained, a deeper introspection of the Bo-Kaap community's perspective on the possible effects of gentrification on their community, and potential sustainable cultural tourism development as a measure of producing interconnected positive effects as opposed to negative change in the neighbourhood, needs to be analysed in relation to the research objectives stated in Chapter One.

## 5.2 Qualitative approach: in-depth interviews and focus group discussions

As part of the qualitative component of the study, 15 in-depth interviews and discussions (three of them being focus groups) were conducted in the Bo-Kaap area. The data collected from the interviews were analysed and are presented as themes which emerged. Various themes are addressed as general group items, while three groupings of themes are presented as revealed from individual responses.

The participants included leaders of community organisations such as the Bo-Kaap Civic Association and a local Islamic school (*madressah*). Each participant was allocated a number, by which they were referenced within the text. This ensured anonymity of participants and confidentiality of their responses, as per the CPUT code of research ethics. Stakeholder representatives such as Ontong, Director of the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) and Vivian, Destination Development Manager from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), were interviewed. Local business owners were also interviewed, as well as owners of new businesses entering the area. An estate agent was one of the interviewees, as well as local tourism employees and guides. Non-local Bo-Kaap tourism representatives included a national tour operator, a smaller special-interest tour operator and the manager of an international hotel. A group of new residents provided their perspectives on living in the Bo-Kaap area, although the survey largely represented local residents. Experts on the Bo-Kaap, Ontong (2013) and Vivian (2013), granted permission to the researcher for their identities to be revealed, for academic purposes.

A comparison was drawn between the themes which emerged in the interviews and the questionnaire results in the Chapter Five summary. The quantitative component of the study should either contradict or corroborate the suggestions highlighted in the qualitative results, thus providing the overall results of the effects of gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap.

### 5.2.1 Defining gentrification: positive and negative aspects

The perceived effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap were revealed during the qualitative research process. The negative and positive traits were disclosed during the interviews with community leaders, businessmen and stakeholders of the Bo-Kaap. One of the themes which emerged was the opinion that gentrification possesses physical attributes.

#### *THEME 1: PHYSICAL ATTRIBUTES*

Gentrification is characterised by physical attributes, which include urban regeneration, renovation, maintenance, preservation and new-build gentrification.



The physical aspects of gentrification were viewed as the primary characteristic of gentrification and as an urban process of development. According to 53.3% of the participants, gentrification is considered a physical transformation of an area and most suggested that it embodies the upscale and regeneration of decayed building fabric to the detriment of the social aspects of the neighbourhood. This takes the form of physical progress and general maintenance of property within the neighbourhood. By comparison with the results in Table 4.6, most of the respondents felt that predominant physical changes in the Bo-Kaap area were due to general upgrade and building renovations, while 5.7% believed it to be an increase in cleanliness, maintenance and preservation of historic buildings.

The influx of money results in the renovation and upscale of buildings to modern architecture on scale, material and detailing, where development does not take historical and cultural context into account (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

This is supported by Ontong's earlier research through a heritage impact assessment of the Bo-Kaap, implemented in November 2011. Ontong investigated the physical impact of the development of a small boutique hotel on Upper Wale, Van Der Meulen and Pentz Streets in the Bo-Kaap, where he claimed that gentrification, commercially-driven private ownership and property development places external pressure on a physically fragile historic and social environment (Ontong, 2011:2).

It is a few wealthy people therefore no negative impact on the community. The irony is that the modification of buildings is killing the heritage of the people (Participant 7).

Participants 3 and 4 in the 53.3% grouping referred to above, reflected on the total transformation of the old Bo-Kaap (specifically with reference to Loader Street) into what is known as De Waterkant today, which the current Bo-Kaap seems to be mimicking. According to these participants, trendy changes can be seen with the development of restaurants, boutique hotels and retail stores on Rose and Buitengracht Streets, which could eventually merge into De Waterkant. It is no surprise that De Waterkant has been researched as a model of gentrification, where Visser (2002) identified this area as a forerunner of gentrification in Cape Town's inner city. According to Visser (2002:421) "...two neighbourhoods within the inner city that actually experienced gentrification processes... the foremost area being De Waterkant, bordering the CBD to the north-west".

There are big changes in the Bo-Kaap, which could evolve into De Waterkant, previously part of the Bo-Kaap. Gentrification is about trendy changes and improvement to the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood (Participant 3).

Loader Street had traditional commercial businesses which had to close down and be replaced by new business development due to a change in market demand. This was part of the Bo-Kaap, now De Waterkant (Participant 4).

The emergence of this theme assisted in achieving the research objective of determining whether the physical aspects of the cultural fabric had been destroyed and if this impacted on the cultural integrity of the site which, according to a large 53.3% of interviewees, is a result of gentrification. While many participants defined gentrification as a physical process, it is also largely perceived to have social impacts on the area.

#### *THEME 2: ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION*

The economic and cultural characteristics of gentrification are based on the replacement of the local working class by a higher income bracket due to higher municipal rates. As a result, local businesses are threatened due to their traditional clientele being replaced by a new resident market, causing further economic upheaval for local businesses in the Bo-Kaap. According to 26.7% of the participants, gentrification is economic and cultural transformation of the neighbourhood, not so much a physical evolution as suggested earlier. Neither is it solely an economic effect, devoid of placing any financial pressure on its host community. This 26.7% grouping broadly felt that gentrification is about the community being affected by the presence of a new, higher economic-bracket occupant which has replaced their old working class neighbours due to the general increase in property value associated with urban development and gentrification. This theme also surfaced in the quantitative survey as discussed in Chapter Four, where Table 4.7 revealed that 68.2% of the Bo-Kaap respondents were of the opinion that economic change had taken place within the Bo-Kaap community. Table 4.7 also displayed that 53.9% believed that this economic change is a result of a higher income bracket moving into the area, where the new elite discriminate against the traditional middle and working class residents of the area. According to this 26.7% grouping, this causes economic transformation of the neighbourhood as well as cultural conversion of the community's population, as local residents are replaced with new residents of a different culture and lifestyle.

Gentrification is a complex process of invasion of community territory where upper income classes move in, increasing financial demand from the working class. It is about people changing the cultural status of the area (Participant 15: Focus group).

Some local businesses could suffer as a result of the cultural transformation of the neighbourhood as a potential impact of gentrification. According to Participants 3, 4 and 6 who felt that gentrification is mainly defined by the cultural and economic framework it transcends, the sustainability of tourism and local businesses are financially dependent on the cultural survival of the community as a product and a market economy. This is supported by Atkinson's 2003 study, where he mentions the shift in the market and consumption of neighbourhoods undergoing gentrification:

This movement, from the underground, with its mark of authenticity and difference, to the mass marketing and consumption of neighbourhoods as much as counter cultural groupings is suggested by Ley who extends his forceful argument to the gentrification of neighbourhoods in Canadian cities (Atkinson, 2003:2348).

Change is inevitable, yet the Bo-Kaap community needs to recognise its own culture, value and pride (Participant 3).

Gentrification yields potential economic upheaval in the Bo-Kaap. Local businesses would not be able to survive due to an increase in the demand for liquor and would not be able to sell produce which would traditionally supply the Muslim community such as paaper bites, slangetjies and falooda (Participant 4).

Damage to the local people of the Bo-Kaap is damage to the company, dependent on the culture as the attraction (Participant 6).

The cultural and economic factors of gentrification as a theme, has been highlighted as integral to the gentrification process. The research objective of ascertaining the standard of living and maintenance of property being affected by municipal and rental rate increases has partially been achieved, where most of the participants expressed that the increase in rates had not caused people to move out of the Bo-Kaap area. However, financial pressure on households as a result of rates increases will be explored below. Economic change has, on the other hand, impacted on local businesses as gentrification in the form of tourism and physical upgrade has impacted on their business and their community. This answers the research objective of determining whether economic change has been an effect of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap community in the form of new-build, tourism and urban regeneration. However, some participants viewed gentrification as an opportunity for financial growth instead of financial downscaling, as reported below.

### *THEME 3: ECONOMIC ATTRIBUTES*

The economic motive for residents to sell is not because of financial pressure, but because of market value, potential property investment, and a profit motive.

The theme which emerged suggested the opposite, not describing economic change as an effect of gentrification, but rather the economic attributes presented to the potential resident who wishes to sell his home and relocate, now having a bigger bank balance. Of the participants, 20% claimed that gentrification involves an economic motive, not caused by an increase in municipal rates in the area but rather a result of people being forced to sell their homes as a solution to splitting family inheritance amongst the offspring. According to Focus Group Participant 13, this is not practised according to Islamic law, causing many family homes and their heritage to be lost as a result of greed. Gentrification is thus perceived by some to be based on monetary gain rather than financial pressure. This corroborates the results shown in Table 4.4 which reflect that 50% of Bo-Kaap residents, who chose to accept an offer of purchase on their homes, did so for monetary gain and not because of financial pressure. According to

Participant 2 and Focus Group Participant 13, gentrification is not a result of financial upheaval, contrary to popular belief. According to these participants many of the economic and lifestyle changes are a result of many other factors besides gentrification, which is also reflected in the diverse opinions surrounding various changes and its effects on the community as opposed to singular views on transformation in the area, as shown in the Likert Table 4.5 and Tables 4.6, 4.7, 4.8, 4.10 and 4.11.

Children pressurise parents to sell property to split inheritance; divorce cases cannot buy out and therefore sell because it is an easier alternative. The seller has a right to move elsewhere where there is [sic] bigger grounds or where it is closer to work in the Northern suburbs, swimming pool, garage, bigger house and more space for growing families (Participant 2).

Rates are not the primal factor causing people to sell it is more the need to split inheritance, which is not done according to Islamic law. Money is a quick fix, where heritage is not precious to the family as money and space is (Participant 13: Focus group).

As a result of these responses the emerging theme of financial gain as a possible mechanism of gentrification is highlighted, which meets the research objective of determining whether economic change in the community is a result of municipal and rental increases due to gentrification. In this case, several participants agreed that an escalation in rates does not cause gentrification, but rather the cause is the desire for further monetary gain.

### 5.2.2 Negative interpretations of gentrification

The negative aspects of gentrification are largely perceived to be the negative cultural, economic, physical and age demographic impacts on a neighbourhood, according to the participants and focus groups interviewed.

#### *THEME 4: NEGATIVE CULTURAL IMPACTS*

The negative cultural impacts of gentrification include the displacement of the local cultural component of the community by a new cultural demographic marked by a higher income bracket. The physical displacement of local cultural aspects of the community also manifests in new-build gentrification and urban regeneration such as the erection of a skyscraper hotel, The Hilton, and the Abantu Liquor Bar.

Of all the responses which described the negative aspects of gentrification, 31.2% note gentrification as being based on the displacement of a cultural framework of a neighbourhood through a higher income class moving into the community. According to the participants who expressed this, gentrification has a long-lasting negative cultural impact on the local community it affects. Cultural change is also affected by the physical change of housing, buildings and heritage sites, which are inextricably linked to the intangible heritage of the broader

neighbourhood. This was noted by Nobre (2002) who did a study on the effects of urban regeneration on Salvadore Da Bahia in Brazil:

...From 1900s till the mid-1930s, improvement and beautification projects took place neglecting historical heritage and ties to the colonial past as a way to affirm the new country identity (Nobre, 2002:114).

Higher income bracket replaces cultural framework within private and exclusive social system, resulting in a gated community. No social activities and interactions due to privatised security (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

The physical encroachment on the community's cultural personality was also displayed through the development of a hotel in the Bo-Kaap area, as expressed by some such as Participants 2, 4 and 10 for example. Special mention was made of the development of the Hilton Hotel as an example of an extension of the physical impact on the cultural sphere of the neighbourhood, where the community's buy-in on the development of the hotel, previously named the Coral International, was based on a promise that the premises would not sell liquor in the area. According to 13.3% of the 31.2% participant-grouping, the Coral International was used as a screen for obtaining permission of this development in the community, where eventually the hotel was taken over by the international conglomerate, the Hilton Group, which transformed the hotel into a liquor premises, breaking ties with the community in the process. This is congruent with the results displayed in Table 4.10 which suggest that 20.4% of residents felt that the reason why new businesses threaten the local charm is because of the urban development of tourism establishments such as hotels, restaurants and lodges in the Bo-Kaap.

The community's needs was (sic) sidelined when the Coral converted to the Hilton in order to obtain a liquor license and surpass the height restriction. People who are not suited to the Bo-Kaap climate move in and have no respect for the people of the area. The promise of upgrade for the benefit of the people has not come into fruition (Participant 10).

The research objectives of determining whether the local cultural charm of the area has been depleted through local businesses and families being replaced by new businesses and residents in the area, has thus been achieved through the outcome of Theme 4 emerging in the participants' interpretation of gentrification. This suggests that gentrification has negative cultural impacts as a result of the physical presence and development of new businesses and tourism establishments in the Bo-Kaap area.

#### *THEME 5: NEGATIVE ECONOMIC IMPACTS*

Of the negative responses toward the concept of gentrification, 25% concerned the economic upheaval encountered by local residents within a community. This is supported by data in Table 4.7 which reflect that the second largest grouping (17.1%) stated that the reason why economic change had taken place is because of municipal rates increases causing a lower standard of

living in the area. This contradicts the 20% of participants who responded that people desiring monetary gain by selling their homes, cause gentrification in an area, and not because of economic pressure.

Gentrification is not a racial issue it is an economic and cultural issue (Participant 8).

The city cannot forcibly remove people, so the rates increases are a new method of displacing people (Participant 12: Focus Group).

According to these participants, it is mostly due to a higher income bracket moving into an area and remodelling their homes, causing an increase in municipal rates. This eventually causes more local residents to suffer a lower standard of living, where in some cases residents are forced to relocate. According to Focus Group Participant 12, gentrification is also a socio-political process, used as a tool to evacuate the working class from the neighbourhood to fulfil development strategies for the City. Gentrification could then be considered as a development process based on a neo-liberal discourse.

An example of the forces of neo-liberal urbanism that have been manifested globally but have unfolded differently in different contexts is the modern phase of gentrification (Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:113).

This suggests that economic change in the community is a result of municipal rates and rental increases due to gentrification, thus fulfilling the economic objective of this study.

Bo-Kaap homeowner's rates, water and electricity have increased and are higher than surrounding suburbs near the CBD (Participant 12: Focus Group).

#### *THEME 6: NEGATIVE PHYSICAL IMPACTS*

The modernisation of heritage fabric under the guise of heritage preservation causes the cultural tangible elements of the community to be destroyed, where heritage preservation does not follow the guidelines of heritage development policy.

Negative responses (18.7%) suggested that gentrification is the defacement and modernisation of the heritage fabric of the neighbourhood, changing the social dynamic and local charm of the area in the process. This result is supported by data in Table 4.10 which suggest that the local charm of the Bo-Kaap has been threatened by local business landmarks being replaced by the development of modern commercial businesses, according to 32.6% of respondents. The commercialisation of urban conservation material thus compromises the historical and cultural integrity of the physical geography of the neighbourhood. This achieves the research objective of determining whether there has been physical change in the cultural realm of the neighbourhood. What is potentially dangerous, according to Participant 10, is that the restoration of these buildings takes on heritage conservation rhetoric to bypass the Heritage Act's guidelines, where

buildings are renovated rather than restored. "It is commonly argued that heritage conservation is a precursor to gentrification, though some scholars counter this notion" (Coulson & Leichenko, 2004, cited by Donaldson, 2009:90). Donaldson agrees with Badyina and Golubchikov (2005:115) who state that the restoration of heritage fabric in the Russian town called Ostozhenka has in actual fact destroyed the historical elements of the neighbourhood in the process.

The irony is that the modification of building is killing heritage, not the new people. Heritage conservation is racism (Participant 7).

Responsible management of these physical changes should therefore guide preservation in such a way that the restoration of historical fabric be maintained without eroding the cultural significance through urban regeneration.

#### *THEME 7: DEMOGRAPHIC IMPACTS*

According to 12.5% of the participants' negative perceptions of gentrification, this urban process has negative impacts on the age and youth demographic of a community. These participants expressed concern that the onslaught of gentrification could cause a decline in the youth population of an area, as a result of external marketing pressure.

We begin by discussing the recent boom in housing prices and the growing gap between an older generation with high housing equity and a younger generation who find housing increasingly unaffordable (Myers & Ryu, 2008:18).

This is ultimately caused by physical, economic and cultural impacts of gentrification. Physical urban development in the area causes a rise in property rates and rentals, eventually forcing the local community out and dimming future prospects of local youth living in their own neighbourhood.

Old people are dying and leaving as a result of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap (Participant 10).

Youngsters are not interested in living in their own neighbourhood anymore, they are attracted to external buyers (Participant 14: Vivian, 2013).

Table 4.1 displays that there is not a decline in youth demographic, contradicts these results. The results in Table 4.1 suggest that there is a high proportion of youth living in the Bo-Kaap, which contradicts Participant 14's statement as well. The demographic objectives of establishing whether the local population is ageing as a result of youth settling outside of the area as a result of unaffordable rates due to gentrification, is satisfied through the emergence of Theme 7. This reflects that change in the community as an effect of gentrification is symbolised by demographic change because of local youngsters moving out of the area and the elderly population beginning

to dwindle due to natural causes. The high percentage of youth in the area, as displayed in Table 4.1, could be a result of an increase of yuppies moving into the Bo-Kaap.

The decline in the elderly and youth populations are thus believed to be negative demographic impacts of gentrification, which are related to the negative economic and cultural effects of physical development and gentrification in the Bo-Kaap community.

### 5.2.3 Positive interpretations of gentrification

The positive interpretations of gentrification are believed to be that it affects economic, cultural and physical restoration growth and development within a neighbourhood community.

#### *THEME 8: POSITIVE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT*

The positive economic impacts of gentrification are perceived as new business development, which creates local employment opportunities in the Bo-Kaap community.

According to 50% of positive responses surrounding gentrification as a concept, it is suggested that it is in contradiction to Participant 4's comment earlier, who described gentrification as having a negative impact on the local community when it actually has a positive impact. These responses reflected that new businesses create opportunity for local growth in the area, some of it linked to tourism development and the advantage of lower business rental costs as opposed to the CBD.

... in-migrants are contributing to the town's economy, for example by engaging in craftwork... by transferring skills to and creating employment among previously disadvantaged communities (Donaldson, 2009:98).

Bo-Kaap is a strong community benefiting from tourism due to a strong identity with the edges more flexible allowing to be more Capetonian (Participant 3).

The Bo-Kaap offers a lower business rent compared to the CBD(Participant 11).

This is in contradiction to Table 4.7 which reflects that most of the respondents suggested that economic transformation in the Bo-Kaap is a result of negative economic change resulting from a higher income group moving into the community and replacing traditional working class residents in the process.

This contradiction leaves this emerging theme open to debate, where 50% of the positive responses suggested that positive economic development is a result of job creation, while Table 4.7 reflects that the majority of respondents expressed that the economic impacts of gentrification are negative as a result of the local low income bracket being displaced in the community. The objective of determining whether economic change in the community is a result



of new businesses negatively impacting the local economy of the community remains unanswered until further comparative analysis in Chapter Five.

#### *THEME 9: PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT*

Physical development as a positive impact on the community is interpreted as increased maintenance, repair and the general clean-up of an area. Physical rejuvenation of the area and associated community growth and development is also viewed as a positive by-product thereof.

Of the positive responses, 37.5% predicted that an area experiences a neighbourhood renewal of some sort, where the buildings, houses and streets are in the process of being repaired. These results corroborate those displayed in Table 4.6 which suggests that one of the responses which emerged in the survey is that physical change in the Bo-Kaap is embodied by colourful houses, an increase in maintenance, cleanliness and the preservation of historic buildings, according to a total 24.5% of the respondents. This is mainly a result of urban rejuvenation and the presence of a young up-and-coming market within the area. According to Pacione (cited by Donaldson, 2009:89): "This displacement of low-income communities is often justified on the grounds that it is part of a so-called revitalisation process."

Gentrification is a positive for the Bo-Kaap community since it brings upliftment and improvement to the neighbourhood (Participant 11).

Gentrification causes upliftment, maintenance of property and respect (Participant 12: Focus Group).

One participant, however, feels strongly that:

...heritage conservation can be managed responsibly, where change could be of benefit to the community in the form of neighbourhood revitalisation translating to the rebuilding of communities where the local psyche could breed positivism and growth among its people as well and not only the physical sphere of the area (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

This is supported by Gil (2011) who expresses his belief that gentrification can be managed responsibly by maximising the positive impacts of gentrification, by consulting the community affected by the process:

The Plaza Vieja project has shown that it is possible to physically rehabilitate historic sites while improving the conditions of the people living there, especially the most underprivileged groups (Gil, 2011:310).

This contradicts Theme 6 which reflects that the physical impacts of gentrification are negative due to it compromising the cultural integrity of the site.

The research objective of establishing whether the physical aspects of the cultural historical fabric has been destroyed, is achieved, where the results of Table 4.6 suggest that the cultural

fabric has been restored as part of the gentrification process, not changed. The research objective of determining whether tangible change in the existing heritage fabric ultimately affects change in the cultural quality of the site is fulfilled. This is borne out by Table 4.10 which displays that the majority of residents are of the opinion that the regeneration of new businesses in the Bo-Kaap threatens the authentic cultural charm of the neighbourhood. However, this is believed to be myth according to participants interviewed which reveals the following theme.

*THEME 10: POSITIVE CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT*

Participant 7 and Focus Group Participants 12 and 15, suggested that diversity of people moving into the area is positive for the social development of the community and therefore has a positive impact, rather than a negative one. According to Focus Group Participant 15, gentrification results in moving away from the singular fixed identities historically attached to areas such as the Bo-Kaap. A total of 17.1% also responded that change within the racial composition is not a problem in the area and that diversity is a positive step toward the community's overall growth, especially since it is a new democracy, according to Table 4.9.

Gentrification in the Bo-Kaap is more about the shift to diverse identities (Participant 15: Focus group).

This is in contradiction to Slater's (2004) study, which reveals that the influx of new neighbours are a result of an emancipation of creative couples and families moving away from the strict moral code of ethics by which suburban families are forced to live, causing the financial enslavement of the working class community it affects when moving into what is traditionally known as their neighbourhood. "Where one might ask, does 'social diversity', with its usually positive connotations, end, and where does the more ominous-sounding 'social polarisation' begin?" (Rose, 1996 cited by Slater, 2004:306).

The research objective of establishing whether the cultural demographic has changed as a result of gentrification is thus answered. However, whether this cultural change is positive or not, is open to debate.

Gentrification in general is thus perceived to possess both positive and negative effects as an urban development process. What is clear from the above discussions is that gentrification is a highly relative concept. Participant 8 expressed that gentrification is positive and negative. It is usually a positive experience for the new resident and at the same time a negative experience for the local who has resided for a long time in the community. Participant 2, on the other hand, feels that gentrification possesses absolutely no negative characteristics. This participant goes as far to say:

Gentrification is not real it's a state of mind and a negative perception of change (Participant 2).

What is clear is that gentrification is real and not just a state of mind to some community members, particularly working class residents who have to struggle to survive in their home community. These residents eventually become polarised as reflected in Table 4.7 which reflects that a high 68.5% of respondents expressed that economic change is felt through elitist discrimination by higher income classes moving into the Bo-Kaap. This is in line with Slater's study which highlights the plight of the working class native:

...the neighbourhoods less fortunate are worsened by sentiments that arise from wide disparities in life... a lack of tolerance of the difficulties facing people struggling to adjust to life outside an institutional environment (Slater, 2004:321).

#### 5.2.4 The effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap community

The participants were questioned about the different effects gentrification may have on the Bo-Kaap community specifically. These effects include the demographic, physical, economic and cultural impacts experienced by the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood as a possible result of gentrification. The impacts or potential problems identified in the problem statement in Chapter One are potential negative changes which need to be managed responsibly by changing these negative effects into positive impacts on the Bo-Kaap community. These various changes or impacts are interlinked and are possibly interrelated themes which could emerge in the data on what the different demographic, physical, economic and cultural effects of gentrification are on the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood.

##### *THEME 11: YOUNGER DEMOGRAPHIC*

The demographic impacts of gentrification refer to the indirect impacts that it may have on the future survival of the youth demographic in the area, which are related to the cultural impacts of gentrification.

According to 41.6% of participants, the main demographic effects of gentrification are that the youth population is increasing, where the older generation is declining. According to 16.6% of the participants, the increase in youth is a result of young up-and-coming couples moving into the Bo-Kaap area.

A new middle class emerged: professional people, mostly single, or young couples without children. Their residential choice reflected a different lifestyle, which included a preference for historic inner city neighbourhoods... (Nil Uzun, 2003:363).

Due to the increase in the yuppie population living in the Bo-Kaap, the local youth are influenced by Western values to which they are exposed as a result of the growing professional and artistic trends in the neighbourhood, as a basis for gentrification.

In her description of artists and gentrification in the 1980s, Rosalyn Deutsche captures how artists were complicit in the aesthetic repackaging of the Lower East Side (Deutsche & Ryan, 1984, cited by Patch, 2004:169).

Patch further mentions that real estate developers leverage artists as a precursor to increasing rental costs in a neighbourhood (Patch, 2004:169). In relation to the seemingly growing youth population, these trendy changes and elitist consumption behaviours are more alluring than the community traditions, which form the basis of their identity and roots. If compared to Table 4.8, the largest (65.5%) group of respondents expressed that the Bo-Kaap culture is not the same due to Western cultures moving into the area and influencing the youth.

The Bo-Kaap youth have aspirations for designer trends associated with gentrification. The youth want to be accepted so they compromise their traditional values and heritage to gain a sense of belonging. I am an individual when following everyone else, where real individualism is standing up for what the conservation of one's unique heritage (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

What also emerged in the theme of a growing youth population was that according to 25% of the participants social problems are increasing among the youth due to a lack of a sense of belonging. This group of participants generally remarked that the youth are more spoilt and have a greater sense of entitlement, due to their demand for material value and social belonging being a result of the increase of local mothers entering the labour force, and having no support from the community in providing a cultural and religious sense of belonging through the use of creative and responsible outlets and skill capacity building. As a result, some of the youth are left unattended and engage in drugs and crime during their free time, where they begin to search for a source of fulfilment from other avenues.

A group of 16.6% of the participants reflected that the youth have neglected their values and tradition of neighbourliness, choosing instead to emulate their new Westernised neighbours. This is similar to responses reflected in Table 4.9 which displays that 26.4% of Bo-Kaap respondents feel that the cultural impacts of new residents moving into the Bo-Kaap are the presence of a Westernised lifestyle, which practise public drinking, a revealing dress code and partying on front door 'stoeps'.

Younger people are moving into the area, more professionals and yuppies. Youth are being influenced by their new neighbours and Western lifestyle (Participant 9).

According to Participants 1 and 8, the growing youth component is void of their own identity, which they need to develop on their own terms according to their own heritage in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

In this game, as in his community, Julio has learned to negotiate and even appreciate cultural mixing in the interest of keeping his own culture strong (Dwyer, 2009:135).

Capacity-building therefore becomes sidelined, creating fewer goals for socio-youth development within the youth forums. As a result of gentrification the youth are bombarded with multiple cultural influences, where they find it challenging to identify their own unique roles and identities within the Bo-Kaap and broader South African context. This is supported by data in Table 4.9 which reflect that 10% of the Bo-Kaap respondents feel that youth should revive old Bo-Kaap traditions on their own terms, through utilising technology to adapt to a global context.

There is no cohesive socio-political youth movement in the Bo-Kaap community. There is unsupervised access to social media, not knowing how to promote heritage through technology (Participant 8).

In general, participants reflect that the demographic impacts of gentrification are a growing youth and 'yuppie population' living in the Bo-Kaap community. The youth are struggling with issues of self-entitlement, self-belonging and cultural identity due to increased exposure to elitist consumption behaviour and non-local cultural influences. Cultural change among the youth, such as a decline in local cultural practices, including neighbourliness, is due to exposure to the non-local cultural influences present in the area. The research objective of ascertaining whether the youth variables within the Bo-Kaap are possible indicators of cultural change in the Bo-Kaap community is therefore achieved. The youth are struggling with social problems such as crime, drugs and gangs. This is not necessarily because of the new neighbours but due to their identity issues in not managing diversity responsibly, where it could benefit them instead of harm them in such a way that the future youth demographic of the community could cease to exist. According to Participant 8, this could be the reason why there is a lack of cohesive social youth movement in the Bo-Kaap community, which could threaten the survival of the future youth in the Bo-Kaap community. It is therefore established that there is an increase in social youth problems due to lack of a stabilising youth factor in the Bo-Kaap area, fulfilling a demographic research objective of the study.

#### *THEME 12: PHYSICAL UPSCALE AND ECONOMIC AND CULTURAL DOWNSCALE*

The overriding perception of the physical effects of gentrification is the conversion of residential spaces to business development on the borders of Bo-Kaap, such as Rose and Buitengracht Streets. A higher income bracket investing in the physical upgrade of the Bo-Kaap area is perceived as the physical embodiment of the economic and cultural change in the community. New-build gentrification and the entry of new businesses such as the Hilton Hotel and Abantu Liquor Bar are perceived as economic pressures threatening the cultural norms of the area. This fulfils the research objective of identifying whether housing renovation, urban regeneration and new-build gentrification causes economic upheaval in the Bo-Kaap community.

A significant 50% grouping of participants believe that the physical effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap have materialised in the conversion of the residential fringes into new business precincts through the restoration of old houses and buildings, on Rose Street and Buitengracht Streets in particular. Other gentrified spaces include the Leeuwen Street Mansions and the Hilton Hotel, which were converted and developed at the expense of the community's cultural and economic wellbeing. Participant 8 highlighted that this was achieved through CBD rezoning of the city in accordance with C1 and C2 development policies. This is congruent with the results in Table 4.6 which reflect that 13.1% of Bo-Kaap respondents mentioned that changes in the Bo-Kaap physical landscape were the increase of new business development as a result of the CBD borders extending into the Bo-Kaap area.

Participants 1, 9 and 14 specifically mention that physical change has encapsulated visible and tangible economic change as well, where new residents and businesses have contributed to the visual upscale of the physical environment through financial investment and replacement of a low income bracket group. This is especially due to rising property values and concomitant property rates and rentals in the area, which locals struggle to pay. Results displayed in Table 4.7 are similar, indicating that 68.5% of respondents believe that economic change in the Bo-Kaap is a result of higher income classes moving into the area. "Gentrification... leading to the out-migration of traditional residents and the in-migration of new residents which can fragment social networks within communities" (Colburn & Clay, 2011, cited by Colburn & Jepson, 2012:290).

Physical improvement is possible since gentrification is based on a capital-led process (Participant 5).

New residents add to the visual and creative appeal of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood (Participant 14: Vivian, 2013).

#### 5.2.4.1 New-build gentrification and new business entry: the Hilton Hotel and the Abantu Liquor Bar.

According to 49.9% of participants, physical change as an impact of gentrification embodied the development of a tourism venue, the Hilton Hotel, and the establishment of the Abantu Liquor Bar next door to a mosque in the area. These participants made special mention of these two establishments because of disrespect for the community's religion and culture by circumventing a request from the local community authorities to operate without a liquor licence within the residential community. According to the participants, the Hilton Hotel was erected under the guise of the Coral International as a fully halaal hotel, only to be bought over by another hotel conglomerate in order to sell alcohol on its premises.

The main concern expressed by these participants is that this was the epitome of how physical urban regeneration and development can harm the religious, cultural and historical essence and meaning of a community and its neighbourhood. This is supported by the results in Table 4.10, which reflect that 20.4% of Bo-Kaap residents feel that new businesses threaten the local charm of the Bo-Kaap because of the increase in tourism establishments such as hotels and lodges. A 5.3% grouping of Bo-Kaap respondents believe that this is because of the liquor bar which was established next to a mosque, thus violating the rights of religious freedom of the community (the bar was eventually closed down through legal action). The cultural benefits to the community were most probably used as an incentive, where project development goals were achieved but community goals got sidelined in the process. The cultural aspects of the Bo-Kaap community have therefore been diminished through the physical development processes taking place within its borders.

Regeneration is taken simply to transform the place's original character. If interpreted correctly, they can both be a driving force to be utilised for increasing urban value due to their potential reviving character (Gunay, 2010:1176).

The development of the Hilton Hotel has affected the historical integrity of the Bo-Kaap area (Participant 3).

As an overall theme, the physical effects of gentrification are viewed as physical development embodying economic change and cultural transformation of the Bo-Kaap community. Whether this economic and cultural development is positive or negative is debatable, since 50% of the participants believed it to be a result of a higher income bracket replacing local working-class residents of the Bo-Kaap area. This has addressed the research objective of determining whether economic change in the area is due to an increase in municipal and rental costs because of physical upgrade and urban development taking place in the Bo-Kaap, as well as if the entry of new businesses through new-build gentrification causes economic upheaval. A grouping of 49.9% of participants are of the opinion that the main symbols of physical development and urban regeneration, such as the Hilton Hotel and Abantu Liquor Bar, have been at the expense of the cultural integrity and social development of the Bo-Kaap community. The economic and cultural aspects of the community are thus interlinked, where the economic pressures of physical development threaten the cultural norms of the area.

*THEME 13: ECONOMIC CHANGE DUE TO THE REPLACEMENT OF THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC COMPONENT OF THE BO-KAAP COMMUNITY*

According to a 28.5% grouping of participants, which was the largest response group, economic change as a result of gentrification is characterised by 'the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer'. What this means is that the local elite is afforded the opportunity to progress

further as a result of new business development prospects being able to withstand an increase in rates, while the economic disparity between the working and middle class and the elite widen because of a lower standard of living after paying rising municipal rates and rental bills. These results disprove Caulfield's 1989 study which advocates that gentrification is a form of emancipation for new and local residents as a result of social diversity (Slater, 2004:304), where he agrees with Robson and Butler (cited by Slater, 2004:320) who described the gentrification process as an emancipation of the new residents based on the exploitation and further economic oppression of the local inhabitants of a community resulting in social tensions called 'social tectonics'. This could also be a result of lower disposable income after paying the escalating rates and rental costs. These results run parallel to the data displayed in the Likert Table 4.5 which reflect that a combined 73.7% of Bo-Kaap respondents agree and strongly agree that the increases in rates have made it unaffordable to maintain their properties, and a combined 64.9% are of the opinion that the increase in rates makes it unaffordable to start their own business.

A small percentage of the Bo-Kaap community are getting richer, while the middle class is scaling down (Participant 2).

People are getting richer in terms of capital perspective; in terms of disposable income, poorer (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

A group of 21.4% participants perceived the economic impacts of gentrification to be positive because of job creation made available by new-build gentrification. This contradicts the 20.4% in Table 4.10 who expressed that new businesses have threatened the local charm of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood because of not providing support to local businesses who struggle with rent increases. Gibson and Homan (2004:80) state: "...and linked to gentrification, rising rents that have forced venues to close their doors".

Money spend in the area by new businesses is good for local economics because of demand and supply (Participant 7).

According to a 21.4% grouping of participants, the economic change in the Bo-Kaap is perceived as negative as a result of gentrification. These participants feel that the employment opportunities and benefits presented by new business development are outweighed by increasingly more local businesses being replaced in the Bo-Kaap community. Participant 9 highlighted that the Palmo butchery, a business landmark, was forced to relocate because of the property owner selling the rented space for a large profit. This is supported by the results in Table 4.10 which suggest that 32.6% of the participants fear that the new businesses entering into the Bo-Kaap area threaten the local commercial hub of the neighbourhood, allowed by the rezoning of the CBD. According to Ontong (2011:11), Achmat Davids, social historian of the Bo-



Kaap, declared that the quality of the housing in the old Malay Quarter is not an issue so much as the expansion of the commercial enterprises to the west of the site (Ontong, 2011:11).

A larger non-local business component are replacing the local component of the Bo-Kaap economy (Participant 8)

A component of 14.2% participants are of the opinion that the upscale development of houses is financed by new homeowners, which many locals aspire to do with their own property but are unable to because of limited disposable income. The demonstration effect is one economic impact of gentrification, where the gentrifier or the higher income bracket exposes the local wage-earner to an elitist or middle class lifestyle. "The demonstration effect on the locals is often found in consumption patterns which change to imitate tourists..." (Teo, 1994:130). This results in the local working population desiring to emulate the new product consumption behaviour presented to them by the growing influx of yuppies into the area, which causes a sense of inadequacy and lack of cultural pride and belonging as an indirect impact of gentrification and the demonstration effect as a symptom.

The rusted bakkie begins to disappear, where more Mini's and BMW's are more visible in the alley street parking...People hire draftsmen because they cannot afford an architect, when they are not economically able to conform, they resort to accumulating debt (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

According to 14.2% of the participants, the problem of income and class disparity is exacerbated further through the demonstration of high to middle class consumption behaviour, which cannot be practised by the working class due to a lack of income. A 21.4% grouping of participants believe that new-business development has not created many opportunities for most of the local businesses, while another 21.4% feel that economic change is positive because of more job opportunities created through new-build gentrification. A component of 21.4% feel that it has impacted negatively because of an increase in rental costs, while another 21.4% grouping perceive new businesses in the area as a positive opportunity for growth for local businesses in the Bo-Kaap. This achieves the research objective of establishing whether new businesses have impacted on local businesses in the area, thereby affecting the social economics of the community.

*THEME 14: CULTURAL TRANSFORMATION DUE TO WANING TRADITIONS AND RELIGIOUS VALUES NOT UPHELD BY THE YOUTH BECAUSE OF A LACK OF CULTURAL PRIDE*

Cultural assimilation due to the exposure of youth to Western lifestyles has resulted from a lack of a sense of belonging and strong cultural identity in the Bo-Kaap. As an indirect effect on the community, the lack of a cultural and religious value system has eroded the community traditional values, such as neighbourliness. Neighbours not native to the area have also

depleted cultural practices—such as residential complaints about the call to prayer and the Cape Minstrels practising their routines in the streets of Bo-Kaap.

A significant 53.6% of participants are of the opinion that the main cultural impact of gentrification is cultural assimilation. This is caused by exposure to a Western cultural lifestyle, which youth desire to emulate as a source of belonging and identity. This is primarily caused by a lack of cultural and religious pride and identity that cannot withstand cultural change and influence, where the local moral and social value system starts to erode away in the community. "Whether the host culture can withstand changes brought about by another dominant culture depends very much on how rooted the culture is..."(Teo, 1994:130).

Youth are more modern and therefore less rooted in traditional cultural practices (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

An increase in crime and the augmentation of girl gangs has taken place (Participant 15: Focus group).

This is also reflected in Table 4.8, where a combined 24.5% expressed concern that the main reason why the Bo-Kaap culture has changed is because there is a diminished presence of Islamic values, friendly interaction and neighbourliness. This was found to be the case in Singapore, according to Teo (1994:133), who suggests that the Singaporean value system was replaced by a material orientation, concomitantly with individualism as a result of tourists. The impact of gentrifiers and tourists are therefore similar in nature, according to Donaldson's 2009 study of tourism and gentrification in Greyton, South Africa (Donaldson, 2009:90).

Social disintegration has taken place and the moral fibre has weakened. The significance of the family structure has shifted to the importance of the individual and his or her ambitions. The economic link to this change is that more mothers in the community are working, which has had an enormous impact on the family unit, eventually affecting the community as a unit (Participant 8).

Everyone's mother was the mother of the community. Neighbourly relations have suffered because of families becoming more isolated, where Islamic traditions of sharing in Ramadaan and neighbourliness such as the Bo-Kaap tradition of *kanallah jobbies* based on principles of social reciprocity have declined (Participant 2).

A large 30.7% grouping of participants agreed that general cultural practices have faded as new cultural inhabitants have replaced the local culture in the area. These traditions include street culture such as games using marbles, yoyos and tops. Participant 2 highlighted that because of Western cultural influences, weddings have become smaller. According to Participant 9, traditional home-trades such as tailoring and upholstery have been replaced by professional occupations because of the higher business rentals and rates, which highlights the economic change and its link to cultural changes in the area. This is supported by Table 4.3, which reflects

that the lowest percentage grouping are employed in a craftsmanship industry (tailor, carpentry), which used to be traditional trades practised across the historic Bo-Kaap.

From a demographic and economic perspective, individuals with an eroded sense of identity in fishing may have a more dismal outlook for the future economic and cultural importance of fishing in their community (Colburn & Jepson, 2012:292).

Overall, participants perceived cultural change as a significant effect of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap landscape. Most of the participants expressed that social and moral disintegration as a result of Westernised ideals of individualism, has replaced unique Bo-Kaap traditions of neighbourliness, such as *kanallah jobbies*. This fulfils the research objective of establishing whether the cultural sphere of Bo-Kaap has been affected through local traditions and customs being replaced by new lifestyle practices. The community, which was the extension of the family unit, is now weakened by the economic pressures of a double income lifestyle.

#### 5.2.5 Tourism change and tourism gentrification.

Change has also taken shape in the form of tourism development in the Bo-Kaap community, which can be construed as either positive or negative change, depending on its relation to gentrification in the area.

##### *THEME 15: POSITIVE TOURISM CHANGE AND ITS RELATION TO GENTRIFICATION*

Three participants (3, 6 & 7) make up 20% in the qualitative survey who declared that tourism has contributed to positive growth in the Bo-Kaap economy in relation to the local commercial aspects of the community and the reproduction of staged cultural authenticity as an engine of tourism gentrification.

Participants 3, 6 and 7 suggested that it is a heritage site of importance, which attracts corporate clients to the area and therefore creates investment opportunities in the community. Local businesses have had tourists referred to them, creating further job opportunities in the area. This is supported by Table 4.11 which suggests that tourism contributes to foreign income benefits and job opportunities, according to a combined 12.3% of the Bo-Kaap respondents.

In relation to gentrification and tourism change, participants reflected that staged authenticity attracts capital to the community. This reflects similar attitudes presented in Table 4.11 where a total 57.1% of respondents expressed satisfaction and mentioned positive attributes of the tourism industry in the Bo-Kaap area. The tourism product processes in place are natural to the broader national tourism industry and cannot be controlled or dictated to on any terms within communities. Participant 6 stressed the importance of gentrification in the neighbourhood since

it has added further attractions and points of activity to the Bo-Kaap landscape, which should not be classified as staged authenticity.

New places and new spaces represent the manifestation of cultural change that recognises the significance of cultural history...cultural forms of consumption can actively enhance and enliven local communities (Bailey *et al.*, 2004:64).

Gentrification adds further attractions and layers of interest to the area, and is therefore not a form of staged authenticity (Participant 6).

What one can deduce from this is that whether tourism is positive or not, gentrification is viewed as a link to tourism in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood and needs to be managed sustainably for both the private and public sector to benefit alongside the community. The positive impacts of tourism should therefore be based on maximised benefit for individuals of the community as a whole.

#### *THEME 16: NEGATIVE TOURISM CHANGE AND ITS RELATION TO GENTRIFICATION*

Current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap is perceived as negative, according to 80% of participants. Table 4.11 reveals a combined 42.9% of respondents who were of the same opinion. These perceptions are related to the potential negative effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap, which they interpret as having a negative impact on the community. These interpretations are both economic and cultural in nature, where all of the participants within the 80% grouping suggested a link between tourism gentrification in the cultural quarter of the Bo-Kaap and the cultural and economic spheres of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood as a tourism precinct.

A significant 80% of participants suggested that tourism had negative impacts on the Bo-Kaap community because of economic and predominantly cultural factors. This was related to tourism gentrification and its negative impacts on the community, which involved the commercialisation of the heritage and culture of the community by tourism and property mass marketing campaigns, which is an interdependent mechanism. Apart from this is the urban regeneration of existing buildings into tourism venues, such as boutique hotels and lodges, particularly in Rose and Buitengracht Streets, as well as new-build gentrification such as the development of international hotels (The Hilton), which aim to gain from the area, rather than benefiting the area in return. Tourism gentrification is epitomised by the evolution of a residential neighbourhood into a comparatively prosperous and elite 'closed society', exemplifying an explosion of commercial amusement and tourism locations (Gotham, 2005:1102). According to Table 4.11, 1.4% of Bo-Kaap respondents similarly reflected that tourism causes gentrification in the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. This eventually causes an escalation of real estate and tourism market

value, which affects the cultural status of the neighbourhood and ultimately the survival of a community.

Tourism is traditionally perceived as a force of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap (Participant 8).

Participant 3 said that the mass marketing of cultural images is used to create demand, thus supplying their services to tourists and eliminating potential competition such as local tour guides and tour operators from the area. According to a combined 20.5% of respondents, the local tourism industry in the Bo-Kaap does not employ local guides in the area and no local benefits are generated. This is achieved through capital and access to foreign markets as a result of multi-national technological, human and monetary resources of mass tourism conglomerates. These selected images of staged authenticity are played and replayed to the tourist as a vibrant destination in which to potentially invest.

Such marketing and securitisation practices are components of ongoing attempts to revitalise the city centre and turn it into a post-modern space of high-end production, service and consumption that is aestheticised, commoditised and historicised (Visser & Kotze, 2008; Hammett & Jayawardane, 2009:223).

Tours are packaged through foreign controlled companies, where it becomes pre-booked by travel agents. These pictures of the Bo-Kaap and its attractive homes are advertised in travel magazines on the airplane while travelling to Cape Town (Participant 13: Focus group).

The Bo-Kaap community leaders have to negotiate an agreement with national tour operators in their area. They cannot dictate to tour operators since they create the demand by offering Bo-Kaap tours on their packages (Participant 14: Vivian, 2013).

An 80% participant grouping lamented that the images which are created and reproduced in the mass media present a distorted, romanticised stereotype of the community. This corroborates the 31.5% of Bo-Kaap respondents (Table 4.12) who declared that tourism is not authentic because truths are misrepresented on non-locally controlled tours operating in the Bo-Kaap area. Thus the demand created by national and trans-national tourism companies breed no real interest in the deeper oral history or current narratives of the local lifestyle, which may challenge the cultural bias portrayed by national tour operators and guides. Participants 1 and 14 described tourism in the Bo-Kaap as non-interactive, where very little interest is shown in the local community itself. There is more interest in the colourful exteriors of houses, rather than the people who live inside the four walls.

There is no real presentation of culture. The tourists walk through the Bo-Kaap like ghosts, where interaction takes place on a superficial level (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

Bo-Kaap tourism encapsulates misrepresented truths for convenience and sensationalism for commercial gain, where staged authenticity makes a mockery of the true meaning of the community's heritage (Participant 2).

Wrong information is conveyed, where guides do not speak about the truth due to a lack of knowledge and pride in the culture. This is because the guides operating in the area are not local to the Bo-Kaap (Participant 7).

Participant 3 and Focus Group Participant 12 further highlighted that the non-locally controlled mass tourism operation in the area is characterised by large tour buses, which bring in large numbers of tourists over a short period of time. This results in a maximum impact over a minimum time period in the form of congestion and lack of privacy, which could be negative for the community as opposed to smaller tours, which spend more time and money in the community with minimum impact on the area, and smaller numbers are more suited to the infrastructure and capacity of the community. The maximum impact on the carrying capacity of the environment reflects the stage of tourism development termed 'annoyance' in the Doxey Irridex Model, where irritation becomes overt when more tourists arrive (Teo, 1994:133). The larger bus tour groups, known as mass tourists, are not inclined to experience a local cultural destination through interacting with the intangibles of the area, such as the local people of the community (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006:1284). According to De Kadt's tourist-host interrelationship concept, the mass tourists tend to visit mainstream attractions on package tours likely to include international hotels as preferred accommodation, particularly during peak season (Teo, 1994:128).

It can then be deduced that the tourists currently attracted to the Bo-Kaap area are not intrigued by the cultural aspects of the community, thereby possibly limiting future efforts at managing tourism and gentrification responsibly. One measure of preventing this could be the increased local ownership of tourism businesses in the area. This should allow for smaller, more specialised tours throughout the year and profits to be shared among private and local stakeholders in the community as sustainable income. Local economic diversification would still be ideal to combat unforeseen flux within the tourism industry. The aim should not be to exclude large private business stakeholders in the area, but should be controlled for the community to gain a larger percent of the profits.

The Bo-Kaap has become a cultural zoo, which are showcased as sites of selected imagery which have been previously advertised to them. This is also because of the nature of the tour buses operating in the area, which are epitomised by a large influx of mainstream tourists spending a short time in the area, less interested in the culture (Participant 3).

It is invasive and there is no respect and privacy, similar to a cultural zoo. It appears to be more about the colours and architecture than the local cultural needs. It is therefore not a day visit. It is a hit-and-run visit, where only a small percentage of tourists have special interest in the local cultural community of the area (Participant 14: Vivian, 2013).

According to Focus Group Participant 12, part of a focus group discussion of local women employed in the Bo-Kaap tourism industry there are no local income multipliers as a result of only one non-local small tour operator in the area. The group highlighted the negative economic and cultural effects of tourism in their community as a fabrication of their culture, which they are advised to present to special interest tourists. This form of staged authenticity has tainted the true value and meaning of the Cape Malay or Cape Muslim culture at the expense of its employees who originate from the community. According to this participant group, some women are completely dependent on the employer, who uses this to cause division among the women when it suits the small business owner's interest. The economic benefits are not fully enjoyed and Focus Group Participant 12 lamented that tourism needed to be better regulated and controlled by locals. These results mirror those displayed in Table 4.11 which suggest that tourism in the Bo-Kaap needs to be managed and controlled by local community leaders in order to ensure economic community benefits on the area. One of the women quotes her employer:

...I own the Bo-Kaap Cape Malay culture and I have rights over the cooking tour industry. I have given opportunities to the women in this area they have no right to start their own Cape Malay cooking tours. I am the first entrepreneur who pioneered these tours (Participant 12: Focus group).

The Bo-Kaap has become a cultural zoo of inaccurate accounts which compromise the religious and intellectual integrity of the community. Tour operators control tourism narratives, not the locals who have to tell the story (Participant 12: Focus group).

Tourists are interested in buying in the area because they fall in love with the neighbourhood (Participant 2).

Foreigners invest in the area by buying into the community because of architecture, not the culture, for example Rose and Buitengracht Streets, which has seen the proliferation of tourism development such as tourism lodges, boutique hotels and bed and breakfast establishments (Participant 12: Focus group).

It is about capital investment, not community investment, which is more characterised by responsible tourists who have special interests in the local culture of the community. As a result, tourists who invest in the area are more likely to make the Bo-Kaap their second home, which stands vacant during non-peak tourism season periods of the year. "We see lots of people who come here for short-term stays and want to come back" (Kardas Nelson, 2012:1). This has a potential negative impact on the soul of the neighbourhood as houses remain empty during most parts of the year. Alternatively, homes are rented out to wealthier residents because of the increase in market value, also the economic reasoning behind the purchase of houses in the Bo-Kaap, which feeds into the capital accumulation machine. This ultimately leads to cultural and economic upheaval in the community as tourists start replacing the cultural component of the area due to higher rates and rental costs caused by tourism gentrification.

Tourism gentrification changes the market profile of visitors to the Bo-Kaap (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

There is a crossover of a non-local cultural presence of a higher income demographic (Participant 3).

According to 80% of participants, the main impact of tourism gentrification is the attraction of tourists and tourism capital through cultural symbols and motifs, which are used as commodities for advertising. Staged authenticity is replicated on tours to perpetuate these images, creating negative cultural and economic impacts on the community, since local tour guides providing more interactive tours on the culture have been sidelined. This resulted in the Bo-Kaap becoming a commercial tourism venue, which attracts potential tourists and potential gentrifiers in the process, increasing the municipal rates in the area, setting the wheels on motion for gentrification to spread further. Within the 80% grouping are Participants 2 and 4, and Focus Group Participant 12, who suggested that tourism is a precursor of gentrification because of foreign economic benefits not reaching the community. As a result, non-local guides operating in the area have presented inaccurate truths to tourists about the heritage of the Bo-Kaap, instead of local guides practising their trade in their home area.

Tourism is unregulated, uneconomical and unsustainable, and therefore does not promote the area and its people. Traditionally, tourism is perceived as a force of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap (Participant 8).

According to most of the participants, the tourism effects of gentrification can be summed up as a separate phenomenon called tourism gentrification. The negative impacts of tourism gentrification involve a process of commercialisation of the local heritage of the area and the eventual displacement of the community's heritage and lifestyle. This answers the research objective of establishing whether cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap has exacerbated gentrification or if it has been responsible in managing the negative effects of gentrification. The creation of cultural commodities seeks to fulfil demand and supply, where the multi-national tourism conglomerates gain control of the tourism market at the expense of the local tour operators in the Bo-Kaap, causing further local unemployment, rather than contributing to job creation in the area. The research objective of discovering whether a local tourism authority exists to ensure a local youth environmental platform as a basis for spreading local income multipliers in the community as economic benefit to the community is thus achieved as a result of the perceptions revealed by the participants. Because of the commercialisation of the Bo-Kaap heritage, a cultural bias has formed for capital gain, resulting in staged authenticity compromising the cultural soul of the neighbourhood. This fulfils the research objective of ascertaining whether economic benefits from tourism lead to cultural preservation, which impedes the staged authenticity process in the Bo-Kaap.



People want to control tourism and make money they are not concerned with the community benefits. Tourism can eradicate gentrification if managed responsibly (Participant 9).

### **5.3 Sustainable cultural tourism development: responsible gentrification in the Bo-Kaap.**

Due to the demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, sustainable cultural tourism development, together with responsible gentrification, should be implemented in the area to mitigate these potentially negative effects on the community. There were 72 responses from the 15 participants. Eight themes emerged from this data, resulting in a small differentiation between these themes. The dominant theme is that heritage should be developed according to the youth's interpretation of their identity achieved through dialogue and knowledge transfer from the elders of the community. A theme with a large following is that there should be a revived God consciousness among community members, followed by themes reflecting positive dialogue and responsible information management between tourists, gentrifiers and locals, and the importance of developing local entrepreneurship and business linkages to support local small tourism businesses in the Bo-Kaap.

Offering diversified and specialised tourism services is also perceived to be a sustainable form of increasing the local tourism market share for local tourism entrepreneurs. This is supported by a theme suggesting the importance of collaborating with the Cape Town City Council and relevant stakeholders through a participatory approach. This should assist in implementing sustainable urban development and heritage policies such as urban restoration instead of new-build gentrification, where cultural, physical, economic, tourism and youth sectors of the Bo-Kaap and the City would benefit and not only the private sector. Another theme advocates that original, affordable municipal rates be charged, to support Bo-Kaap homeowners in maintaining their properties as tourist attractions on current national tour itineraries. An important theme revealed that responsible tourists are key to aid in the investment of the community households, which should therefore be a specialist market in which the local Bo-Kaap tourism SMMEs should invest. Only three responses reflected positive attitudes toward development and change where the community should not manage it or benefit from it the most. The themes are not presented according to percentage numerical order, but rather arranged through a funnel approach where it creates conceptual flow in the data analysis.

#### *THEME 17: GOD CONSCIOUSNESS: REVIVING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD VALUE SYSTEM*

The main issue surrounding gentrification and tourism in the Bo-Kaap is the fact that it severs community ties as a result of capital-led processes. To manage these changes responsibly, community values which stem from religious and God consciousness, first need to be revived. This is traditionally the driving force behind community and social development across all walks

of life. The value of neighbourliness is what united the community against negative economic and socio-political changes in the area, such as Apartheid. The responses to the second largest theme, which are sourced from participants of diverse backgrounds, organisations and religion, advocate that God consciousness is a crucial tool for sustainable development of the future Bo-Kaap youth and their community. This needs to be adapted to modern society through responsible economic development such as cultural tourism, which could aid in the survival of the community of heritage Bo-Kaap. Before any system or policy of development can be put in place, the energy of the community needs to be channelled in the right direction.

The community needs to be part of change, it needs to be interactive and pro-active (Participant 2). Of the 72 responses, 15.2% suggest that reviving and instilling God consciousness in the broader Bo-Kaap is significant in maintaining community ties, instead of creating division from within as a result of potential property investment and monetary gain. This corroborates the results in Table 4.9 which reveal that the 18.8%, second largest grouping of Bo-Kaap respondents, are of the opinion that instilling faith and Islam in the community's consciousness is the best method which can be used to revive old traditions in the Bo-Kaap.

There is also a change in marital status... a definite increase in the unmarried and living together categories; this should be interpreted in conjunction with the perception that the study area is losing its Muslim character, a worrying phenomenon for the interviewees (Donaldson *et al.*, 2013:178).

However, it could prove to be positive that the majority of residents identify themselves as Cape Muslim, according to Table 4.1, which should engender a unifying force among most members of the Bo-Kaap community.

God consciousness is significant, where your personal unseen relationship flows into a social circle, connecting Him with a higher purpose of being. Energy changes and passes positive energy... people become calmer. The hidden dimensions of the soul manifests itself outward to the community (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

Our strong heritage should be anchored to avoid cultural assimilation (Participant 13: Focus group). Strict Western values of individualism could prove to be unsustainable in a neighbourhood such as the Bo-Kaap, even to the detriment of the seller who realises that the grass is not always greener on the other side. This is according to several homeowners in the Bo-Kaap area who have chosen not to sell their homes because of fear of not ever being able to return once the bank balance has dried up.

Engender giving from a place of abundance (Participant15: Focus group).

The value of one's neighbour and community heritage pride should overpower greed and individualism (Participant 13: Focus group).

If this is the case, one might ask whether new neighbours are any less human and should therefore be afforded the same opportunity. The answer is of course not, we all belong to one community, the human race. However, if selling to a higher income bracket places local neighbours at a disadvantage, the question is whether gentrification is a racial or an economic issue. The new democracy stands for freedom of living anywhere one wishes but this comes with a responsibility. The new democracy is also based on the philosophy of equality in economic opportunity. If this was the case gentrification would not be responsible since it is based on an economic displacement of a people who are not afforded the equal opportunity to live in their own neighbourhood which their ancestors built.

However, the theme of God consciousness advocates that gentrification can be responsible if managed according to a value system of neighbourliness, which should extend to the new residents of the area as well. This fosters tolerance and a deeper understanding for one another, resulting in minimising the negative cultural effects of gentrification, such as cultural assimilation. Cultural drift could also occur, where phenol-typical changes in behaviour take place as a result of constant interaction between the host and the tourist (Teo, 1994:130). As a result, the culture of the area can evolve through positive interaction yet managed in a way that the dominant core values of the heritage are maintained, as is discussed later in Theme 18, focusing on the youth reviving their own culture. Neighbourliness as a community tradition could then not only be a source of motivation to slow down the sale of Bo-Kaap homes as a measure against gentrification, but also to maintain positive relations with the new neighbours to form a buffer against the potential harmful impacts of gentrification.

One of the methods of maintaining unity in diversity within a heterogeneous community such as the Bo-Kaap is to focus on common goals and values across the different youth, mosques, and schools of thought. Although there will be different methods of application, the common Islamic thread throughout all of the mosques are the Islamic principles of community, love and neighbourliness (Londt, 2013). These principles are symbolic of a history of a highly spiritual form of Islam rooted in the Bo-Kaap, where the Tana Baru cemetery, a precious heritage site within the Bo-Kaap, houses all the grave tombs of Awliya (Friends of Allah SWA), specifically known as *Tuans* or spiritual teachers, who also fought for freedom of religion at the Cape. These gravesites or sacred tombs are known as *kramats* (Davids, 1980:16).

Inculcate a proactive lifestyle as a medium of cultural progress and evolution without denying culture and without becoming arrogant which go against Islamic principles (Participant 2).

The community will become stronger if it benefits from tourism due to a strong cultural identity, which creates a stronger link to its neighbours. This feeds into a sustainable tourism cycle for the community (Participant 10).

Traditions should be preserved for the sake of Islam, not tourism or heritage, which otherwise become staged and commercially driven, eventually unsustainable (Participant 9).

This demonstrates an interactive loop as a sustainable tourism and gentrification model, where cultural and religious traditions of neighbourliness are integral to the survival of the community and tourism as a result of this. If managed sustainably, tourism as an economic platform then feeds into conserving community ties further through investment in the Bo-Kaap, benefiting the people of the area without commercialising the culture of the community. Without the elements of the Bo-Kaap community and sustainable tourism, both integrated elements may not survive in the long term. Tourism gentrification in other places, such as Singapore, resulted in the deterioration of the social and religious fabric of the host society. According to Teo (1994:133), this situation was so unfavourable that the government took steps to revitalise Asian values such as the family institution, moral education and use of the mother tongue.

#### *THEME 18: YOUTH REVIVING THEIR OWN CULTURE*

This theme describes the importance of youth heritage conservation built on a foundation of knowledge exchange between the elders and the youth leaders of the community. This could prove to be sustainable for tourism and youth development as a responsible measure of slowing down negative gentrification such as cultural assimilation.

According to 16.6% of the responses (the largest of the eight response groupings), cultural tourism development can be managed sustainably through engaging with the youth on heritage conservation and by involving them in the process, rather than imposing it on them. This correlates with Table 4.9 where 10% of Bo-Kaap respondents perceive youth involvement and leadership strategies to be the most efficient method of reviving Bo-Kaap cultural traditions. The youth should determine their traditional heritage identity in relation to their role within modern day society. However, according to these participants, this should be managed responsibly, where the core values of the culture should be sustained by allowing for flexibility around the edges. "Local cultures are being reconstituted in new ways and this has important implications for the nature of identity" (Bailey *et al.*, 2004:63). The medium of cultural expression could evolve where the deeper meaning and significance of the tradition or event could be revived through the use of technology and social media.

Like an onion, heritage can evolve responsibly. The outer layer can protect the inner layer. Different layers represent different eras because time goes on and history is reshaped and also needs to be recorded and conserved through mediums of technology and social media to attract youth (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

Heritage should be preserved without stifling progress (Participant 11).

If these liberties of creative expression are not allowed, the foundation on which the heritage of the community was founded will be lost forever. This is also advocated by the Likert Table 4.5 results, where 83.3% of residents agree and strongly agree that their parents pass their heritage down to them, and a lesser 76.7% agree and strongly feel that they pass down their heritage to their children. This suggests that parent-to-child transmission of the Bo-Kaap culture is decreasing over time. To maintain these core values, the past has to be linked to the future through knowledge exchange and transfer with the adults and elders of the community. This is essential for the subtle guidance of youth to carry the next generation of youth into the future.

To maintain the balance between local identity and international profiling requires considerable creativity and local political self-consciousness. It is clearly a difficult balancing act which requires courage and leadership (Kunzmann, 2004:388).

Youth heritage conservation should allow for adaptation for the creation of new historical layers by linking the past with the future to connect heritage through liaising with the elderly (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

Share heritage knowledge with children and liaise between the seniors and youth. Oral history and lifestyle should be conserved to revive cultural pride through tourism (Participant 3).

The youth have to interpret their cultural identity as a unique platform for further social and economic development rather than being excluded through cultural assimilation based on a false sense of belonging. Sustainable cultural tourism development could thus be used as a potential economic tool for cultural and heritage conservation, to manage change within the demographic of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. It is therefore crucial that through cross-cultural interchange the youth realise their power in contributing positively to the broader global neighbourhood, not just the Bo-Kaap as a tourist attraction, where the Bo-Kaap and its cultural philosophy and skill set could be accepted by the Western lifestyle as well. Cape Town City policy development therefore needs to incorporate multi-cultural contextual planning into their management strategies (Kunzmann, 2004:399).

Empower the youth to recruit skills and push the boundaries back into the City. Heritage should be revived according to the traditions, which appeal to the youth. Heritage identity is critical for progress. It should fit into the global picture through mobilising technology, for example Cape Malay cooking blogs. Our youth should feel proud to be uniquely South African Muslims different to American or Saudi Muslims (Participant 8).

Instead of moving laterally, there is room for social upward mobility without excluding new non-local neighbours. It is imperative that the youth are able to manage the development and survival of their own neighbourhood by sustaining the majority of benefits for their community before they can enter the global context on an equal footing alongside other communities and stakeholders in the quest for global growth and sustainability.

Sustainable tourism can only be achieved if a Bo-Kaap community survives. If there is no Bo-Kaap, there is no Bo-Kaap tourism (Participant 5).

*THEME 19: LOCAL TOURISM AUTHORITY IN COLLABORATION WITH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL STAKEHOLDERS*

Before local tourism entrepreneurship and business linkages can be developed, there needs to be regulation through a local authority. This potential local tourism authority in the form of a multi-purpose centre needs to envision goals and responsible strategies through a skill set obtained through a participatory approach of leadership. "Government has the ability to influence profoundly the positive and negative economic and environmental effects of tourism" (Simpson, 2008:7).

A multi-purpose centre should attract youth through technology and potential employment in order to engender holistic youth development through common goals and strategies (Participant 13: Focus group).

Unify organisations by identifying opportunities and resources, which should be mobilised by skills mapping and creative consulting...(Participant 15: Focus group).

According to 9.7% of the total responses, a local tourism authority in the Bo-Kaap is required to identify the needs of the community and offer solutions through participation with external stakeholders, local government and the City of Cape Town. This may be the reason why 7.4% of the Bo-Kaap residents in Table 4.10 hinted that tourism is not regulated and controlled by locals, as well as why only a small 7.3% of respondents in the Likert Table 4.5 strongly agree that a tourism regulation body is protecting Bo-Kaap interests. "To achieve communities' multiple livelihood objectives it is essential that tourism issues should be integrated into all levels of policy (local, regional and national)" (Simpson, 2008:7).

Knowledge management is important, where the link between the formal and informal space should be differentiated and defined (Participant 8).

Harvest conversations with legislators to allow all parties to benefit. Regulation is necessary, where knowledge management should be in partnership with the City (Participant 15: Focus group).

Extensive consultation and communication with the South African constitution is integral to a stakeholder partnership (Participant 14: Vivian, 2013).

The physical social fabric of the neighbourhood should be identified and developed as key sites of attraction and sources of revenue for the neighbourhood and not the city alone. "All over Europe, property developers have realised and rediscovered that culture enhances the value of locations" (Kunzmann, 2004:388). The local tourism authority should therefore connect with the City of Cape Town to develop these dead spaces by gaining financial support from local government via current existing structures such as the Civic Organisation. Any form of tourism

development should thus be based on vision, mission, values and objectives of the local tourism authority, which are integral to the sustainable tourism management guidelines stipulated within the provincial mandate.

Tourism spatial development needs to be driven by community in participation with the City by youth on their own terms. The city needs to engage the community by supporting funding and promoting Bo-Kaap positively with city plans and skills to develop spatial planning through an integrated framework (Participant 8).

Responsible management of existing urban and tourism development in the Bo-Kaap should be the initial stages of planning by any local tourism authority, before further negative impacts spiral out of control, making it more difficult to manage over a longer period of time. Thereafter the development of local entrepreneurship and business linkages should be based on potential tourism spatial development, after the planning process is completed within the initial vision and goals of the organisation.

The following themes reflect practical examples of how spatial development can be controlled in a way in which the heritage and social components of the area are protected through responsible gentrification and later utilised by the community through sustainable cultural tourism development.

#### *THEME 20: RESPONSIBLE GENTRIFICATION THROUGH THE REGISTRATION OF HERITAGE RATES*

Urban development is organic to the evolution of any city and is therefore an inevitable process in the Bo-Kaap. However, this does not mean that urbanisation should occur rampantly across communities with no consideration for the immediate environment. This would not be sustainable, where the development itself becomes redundant, as the life of any urban fabric is dependent on its occupants. Sustainable gentrification, however, refers to the development of urban and rural spaces for the benefit of communities as a sustainable mechanism, rather than commercial development in a residential neighbourhood infecting its surrounding neighbours. It also refers to the management of socio-political processes, which could aid in minimising negative cultural impacts of gentrification.

According to 15.2% of respondents, a local tourism authority should involve the local community and the City of Cape Town that would provide insight into heritage conservation laws and guidelines in drafting a tourism policy. According to Table 4.9, 5% of the Bo-Kaap respondents suggested that civic strategies should be adopted to revive the culture of community through tourism development. This would potentially guide current development in the area, by encouraging alternative forms of development as opposed to commercial development creating architectural pollution. This severs the principles of eco-friendly design, which should take the

local physical and cultural environment into account while planning urban development projects. Many responses described modern architecture in the Bo-Kaap as an infringement of the heritage fabric and local footprint of the community.

Several participants suggested that this development be regulated through assessing the architectural and heritage environment, where instead of older historical decay being renovated, it should rather be restored. This possibly mirrors the perception held by 3.4% of respondents who believe that tourism is positive because of development and upgrade in the community, as presented in Table 4.11. However, new-build gentrification should be controlled to avoid demolition of heritage sites and abandoned informal spaces are rejuvenated instead of being upgraded in a way that threatens the local charm of the environment. This notion is supported by the 20.4% of respondents in Table 4.10, who feel that tourism establishments have commercialised the cultural sanctity of their community. Sensitivity and respect must be afforded to the natural and historical environment such as the Tana Baru Cemetery (heritage site of a number of *Kramats*), which could be a potential site of refurbishment, that would rather enhance the precinct as a space of memory as opposed to it being commercially developed for private sector investment. "New places and spaces represent the manifestation of cultural change that recognises the significance of cultural history" (Bailey *et al.*, 2004:64). Regard must be had for the fragile heritage spaces of memory, unlike what happened in other parts of the world under the guise of historic preservation. Nobre (2002:114) states:

From the 1900s till the mid 1930s improvement and beautification projects took place, neglecting the historical heritage and ties to the colonial past as a way to affirm identity.

Physical development should play a role in reversing physical decay and the social decay which naturally progresses from it (Ontong, 2013). Physical development could be a source of responsible change through revitalising social processes, by sparking a positive element of human creative energy. If managed responsibly, a sustainable framework such as the matrix model of du Cros could be implemented, where environments of physical and social fragility could be strategically avoided through developing spaces of similar interest and concepts elsewhere in the neighbourhood, especially in forgotten, robust areas of the community which need further rehabilitation on a social and physical scale (du Cros, 2001:167).

Tourism upliftment without negative change could be achieved through the refurbishment of dead spaces (Participant 10).

Get tourists to invest in the area and its people through legal tourism policy. Tourism revenue could be re-invested in the maintenance and preservation of heritage sites such as the Tana Baru *kramat* cemetery (Participant 8).



These projects can only be successful if spearheaded by the community while also involving the City, where both can benefit from local tourism subsidy. Another strategy for developing and improving the physical neighbourhood with the involvement and benefit of the community is through implementing reduced municipal rates for the area.

In line with Theme 20, 15.2% of participants advised that the Bo-Kaap homeowners, in collaboration with the City and a sustainable tourism and heritage conservation policy, be charged special heritage or indigenous municipal rates as a form of community cultural tourism investment.

A future in which cultural planning is more about engaging with the lives of those people who live in the city than it is about regenerating the city itself (Bailey *et al.*, 2004:64).

This would homeowners financially to be able to maintain and conserve their properties, since these houses indirectly subsidise the local government through the local tourism industry. A similar system was implemented in the Bruny Islands in Tasmania. Jackson (2006:212) avers: "With increases in property values, accompanying increases in rates obviously benefit local councils; but they then need to upgrade services and infrastructure..."

The heritage council should subsidise the maintenance of Bo-Kaap houses as tourist attractions since the local government benefits from local tourism subsidy (Participant 12: Focus group).

The government can assist with funds for the restoration of Bo-Kaap homes (not modernisation) instead of new-build gentrification (Participant 2).

This conclusion was reached since the houses appear to be the prime tourist attraction on national tour itineraries in the neighbourhood, but not the people who own them or the Bo-Kaap culture. The reduction in rates would not only benefit the community but also be re-invested in the broader local tourism industry as a form of responsible gentrification. "Further, the absence of truly representative asset values tend to lead society to 'under-invest' in their conservation, resulting in the physical deterioration" (Garrod & Fyall, 2000:685). As a result, the physical area is improved and upgraded for the benefit of cultural tourism and its local inhabitants and the community experiences fewer negative economic effects of gentrification. This ensures the long-term survival of a cultural neighbourhood as a national tourist attraction, further advocating responsible gentrification as a current solution to tourism gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, which can only succeed if all sectors benefit. In this instance, physical, cultural and economic benefits are enjoyed, where the local heritage architecture has the potential to create a livelihood for its inhabitants. Local Bo-Kaap citizens could become more financially able to afford the increased municipal rates, as well as be afforded the opportunity to increase disposable household income, which could be invested in the maintenance of real estate properties and local business.

The widening economic disparity would be tempered, resulting in a uniform appearance in terms of restoration of derelict spaces.

Local cultural tourism entrepreneurship could take this as a potential income opportunity that would be beneficial to the overall economic development of the community. Local entrepreneurship and local business linkages should therefore be developed to realise further goals of community development according to plans devised by a potential local tourism authority.

*THEME 21: DEVELOPING LOCAL ENTREPRENEURSHIP AND LOCAL BUSINESS LINKAGES*

Community leaders and the youth should aspire to become agents of local entrepreneurship, where new local businesses could provide linkages to existing businesses in the area to develop fair trade. Examples of these types of businesses could be the training and recruitment of youth as local guides in the area.

According to 13.8% of the responses, the development of small businesses and small local business linkages should be prescribed by the guidelines and plans of the local tourism authority affiliated to a potential multi-purpose centre of the Bo-Kaap. This is supported by the results in Table 4.10 which reveal that a combined 26.2% of Bo-Kaap respondents are of the opinion that there is a lack of tourism regulation in the area and the community is not reaping any benefit from tourism. According to some of the participants, the development of business linkages through a local tourism authority is significant in spreading local income multipliers throughout the Bo-Kaap local economy, which should be an engine of tourism growth in the area.

The linkages should be developed by establishing positive relations with the local businesses in the area. All the local businesses involved in the community would benefit each other through an interdependent multiplier system, based on a demand and supply network within the local community. Local entrepreneurial growth would therefore result in a high turnover and economic empowerment of the area.

The Bo-Kaap should develop a demand and supply network among local businesses through a local tourism authority (Participant 12: Focus group).

This assists in minimising the negative economic effects of gentrification by contributing to the economic growth of the community. The displacement of the local community may be prevented because traditional working class residents would be able to afford the increase in rates associated with tourism gentrification and urban regeneration, and face less pressure to relocate to an area where municipal rates are more affordable. Dwyer and Edwards (2000, cited by

Simpson, 2008:6), emphasise the importance of bringing together the goals of economic growth, conservation of natural resources and the well-being of the community.

The Bo-Kaap community should build linkages with other Bo-Kaap local institutions through developing fair trade by finding a balance between the area, its people and the visitors (Participant 3).

The negative impacts of responsible gentrification could thus be mitigated through the development of local entrepreneurship and business linkages to maintain an income multiplier system. "...it is important that sufficient benefits are channelled back to communities and that capacities are built within the community" (Simpson, 2008:9). This could be further sustained through the creation of tourism business opportunities by creating demand in the tourism market.

#### *THEME 22: DIVERSIFY EXISTING TOURISM SERVICE OFFERINGS*

Local tour operators and guides in the Bo-Kaap area should add a layer to the existing tourism service experience. The tourism offerings should be diversified as an extension of the national tour packages which already include the Bo-Kaap, providing further sustainable cultural tourism economic development within the local community and conserving the local culture in the process.

A grouping of 11.1% of respondents expressed the notion that specialising tourism services based on realistic pricing for significant value, should attract capital to the community and not only the national tour operators in the area. This would contribute to the positive economic development of the community through generating local employment by diversifying existing cultural tourism offerings in the area. This is similar to the results displayed in Table 4.9, which reveal that the majority of respondents are of the opinion that Islamic-rooted Malay customs, for example *Moulood* and *Thikr* prayer traditions synonymous with the Bo-Kaap, should be developed further for sustainable cultural tourism development in the area. This is a practical example of the specialisation of local tourism offerings.

To prescribe a narrative or impose services on another service does not add value (Participant 14: Vivian, 2013).

Local income multipliers should be based on realistic pricing for significant value (Participant 12: Focus group).

Diversifying cultural offerings in the Bo-Kaap should also assist in minimising the negative cultural impacts of tourism gentrification. Current tourism in the area could be converted into a tool of cultural and community conservation, based on the revival of the Bo-Kaap culture and its evolution in the youth's mindset as suggested in Theme 18. This is achieved through presenting and narrating the local history and cultural lifestyle of the community on a more intimate and

interactive level that should assist in maintaining, reviving and conserving local cultural and religious practices in the community. "Cultural meanings of the past are presented and represented in the built environment" (Rodriguez, 1998:45). Specialist cultural tourism offerings should also aid in providing a deeper understanding of the cultural essence and soul of the local community, which go beyond the superficial façade of the area.

Youth development is critical for the future proponent. Heritage conservation and tourism should be so integrated to their well-being that if heritage practice is lost, it should give them something to fight for (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

Tourists should learn about the area beyond the façade, where locals have more to gain from sustainable tourism and vice versa (Participant 3).

The cultural development that could arise from specialising cultural tourism services would positively impact on the youth demographic by assisting in local youth social development. This would not only decrease social youth problems through a more cohesive youth cultural movement but also provide employment opportunities to mitigate the negative economic effects of gentrification, and also assist in the payment of higher rates and rentals and a higher standard of living.

A first line of government intervention that links tourism and poverty alleviation relate to the search for new niche and markets and maximising the impacts of tourism products that involve disadvantaged communities (Visser & Rogerson, 2004:204).

As a result, the revival and strengthening of local community customs and value systems should aid in encouraging local residents not to sell their homes for high financial returns by creating a stronger sense of belonging and neighbourliness. It could also attract responsible tourists, who would want to further invest in the area rather than becoming a future potential gentrifier.

Local tourism should include an integrated conservation management plan, where layers of tourism services should fund heritage as a sustainable model as a financial platform (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

Local specialised cultural tourism services should therefore maximise positive economic and cultural benefits for the youth and future survival of the Bo-Kaap community by attracting responsible tourists through creating demand for these specialist cultural tour offerings. Respect for the local community and its attractions are therefore very significant in minimising the negative cultural effects of tourism gentrification.

#### *THEME 23: REGULATION OF TOURIST BEHAVIOUR*

Responsible management of tourism gentrification could be regulated through engendering a positive cross-cultural dialogue between tourists and locals through national tour operators acting as a medium of knowledge transfer. Other mediums of knowledge-transfer include

pamphlets and local newsletters prescribing a code of conduct for tourist behaviour in the community to encourage respect and a deeper understanding of the cultural norms and values of the Bo-Kaap. This could provide assistance to potential specialised tourism offerings as recommended in Theme 22.

According to 13.8% of participants, a positive dialogue needs to be developed between local residents, tourists and potential gentrifiers. This response could stem from the 16.5% of Bo-Kaap respondents reflected in Table 4.9, who suggested that the cultural impacts of new residents moving into the Bo-Kaap community is caused by their disrespect, intolerance and them having no intention of trying to understand the Bo-Kaap culture. Before a positive dialogue can be achieved, a mutual agreement through knowledge-transfer needs to be reached between a potential local tourism authority and national tour operators who are active in the Bo-Kaap area.

Tourism and gentrification can lead to social tensions, which should be locally managed. "Tourism and gentrification are both forms of development which can induce internal social tensions..." (Jackson, 2006:212). Slater's theory on the social effects of gentrification is similar to Jackson's views on the cultural impacts of tourism, where Slater expresses that the relations between gentrifiers and local residents, similar to the different cultural groupings of hosts and tourists, are characterised by living parallel with one another instead of integrating cultural differences (Robson & Butler, cited by Slater, 2004:320). This behaviour should be mindful and respectful of the cultural norms and beliefs of the community. According to some participant responses, this should prevent local/tourist tensions which may have arisen as a result of public drinking, or not respecting the sanctity of the mosque. Ultimately this would compromise the religious and cultural integrity of the community. A responsible measure would therefore include the regulation of tourist local interaction through a code of conduct, which should not aim to control tourist behaviour but to rather regulate interaction in a way that would minimise negative cultural impacts of tourism. Tourists could inform themselves by reading visitor guidebooks, sightseeing manuals and responsible ethical code of conduct booklets before visiting a location, specifically of cultural value (Choi & Sirakaya, 2006:1284).

Issue a metric [sic] to visitors on a pamphlet to help create mutual tolerance and respect in the area (Participant 6).

A dialogue between stakeholders should take place, where a code of conduct could be engendered so that the area can be respected (Participant 2).

This would assist in managing perceptions of the community, fostering a deeper understanding of the community and its heritage and challenging the staged authenticity engineered by tourism

gentrification. Singular fixed images of the community would be negated by creating more diverse and profound interpretations of the community and its cultural and religious lifestyle.

The ethnic attractions enhance the importance of a self-awareness and self-determination arising from the 'ethnic minority', the need to correct the historical register: it is a question of reminding the tourist of the discrimination imposed upon the 'minority' (Grunewald, 2002:1018).

This is ultimately vital in maintaining sustainable relations among diverse communities in a global society. According to 16.5% of the Bo-Kaap households, as reflected in Table 4.9, in this way negative cultural impacts of gentrification, such as new residents' complaints about the Mosques' Call to Prayer, could be prevented. Tourism regulation by a local tourism authority in the Bo-Kaap could attract tourists to opt for specialised tourism offerings provided by local tour operators, as discussed earlier in Theme 22.

The behaviour regulation code would engender a sensitivity and respect for the local host population, inspiring a more comprehensive understanding of the Cape Malay or Cape Muslim culture of the Bo-Kaap area. Once diversification of tourism offerings is planned and implemented in the Bo-Kaap area, tourism behaviour regulation could assist local tourism businesses in the area and create an increased demand for further local cultural tourism offerings. This could provide tourism employment opportunities for local youth in the area, creating further economic growth and sustainability in the Bo-Kaap community.

Prevent voyeurism through deeper education beyond superficial facades via tourism prescripts giving room to challenge stereotypes where they can present themselves through their own methods (Participant 1: Ontong, 2013).

Tourism behaviour regulation is therefore significant to the process of integration between locals, tourists and gentrifiers in the community. This may either act as a deterrent to mass tourists, who are most likely not interested in the social and economic needs of community, from investing in the community. If not, it could provide behavioural guidelines to prevent future social tension in the area. It may also assist in attracting responsible future residents who would be concerned about the cultural conservation of the community, perhaps more so than the local population, and can thus add to the skill-set and transfer of knowledge to the community (Jackson, 2006:217). This knowledge-transfer should be part of an ongoing dialogue based on a cross-cultural exchange, where diverse cultural groupings benefit, as opposed to cultural assimilation into one group. As a result, the responsible tourists would either choose not to purchase in the area to conserve the cultural component of the area, or they would be motivated to move into the area for reasons of investing in and being integrated into the community rather than just a financial investment opportunity. Ultimately, regulation of tourism behaviour could either slow down gentrification in the Bo-Kaap community, and if not, it could potentially attract

positive social growth and diversity instead of social tension and cultural conflict among residents as potential negative cultural effects of gentrification.

Educate the tourists without changing the environment negatively. This should place tourists and locals on the same level (Participant 3).

Tourism behavioural management would be a responsible tool for the management of neighbourhood gentrification and tourism gentrification in the community. This is achieved by contributing to the cultural conservation and future survival of the community, by engaging the deeper significance of the culture with tourists and potential gentrifiers. Future residents and future tourists visiting the community, as a sustainable source of tourism income and economic benefit for the community, would enjoy the sustained culture as a tourist attraction. The negative demographic, economic, cultural, and tourism effects of gentrification could be managed responsibly through proper regulation of tourist behaviour in the Bo-Kaap area. This is therefore achieved through creating positive sustainable impacts on the youth, culture, community, and future cultural tourism economic development of the neighbourhood as a whole, which should prevent the future negative effects of gentrification.

#### *THEME 24: NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS MAXIMUM COMMUNITY BENEFIT*

Most of the respondents had positive attitudes toward responsible gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development in the community. However, three responses were negative (Participants 3, 5 and 11), suggesting that tourism and the community alone, due to their belief that change should not be stifled or regulated in any way, should not manage gentrification. This contradicts Theme 19 which advocates that gentrification should be managed by the community in partnership with the city in order to combat negative change by maximising positive change instead.

According to only 4.1% of the respondents, gentrification and tourism should not be controlled or managed, where the community should not expect to gain maximum benefits. Although some of the results portray Bo-Kaap residents to be pro-development and positive about tourism in the community, they did not mention that tourism should not be under the community's ownership, or that they should not manage tourism and the majority of the potential benefits that flow from this lucrative industry. These participants suggested positive ideas for community growth but some of their responses suggest negative sentiments toward community ownership of tourism development in the Bo-Kaap. Participants 5, 7 and 11 showed blatant disregard for the community's heritage and religion when asked about heritage conservation guidelines for the benefit of the community. Their responses were mixed with positive suggestions for the actual local people. However, this appears not to extend to a deep respect for their religion and

heritage. This contradicts Theme 17 which emphasises the significance of instilling the Bo-Kaap heritage of God consciousness and neighbourliness, which would assist in conserving the heritage, tourism and overall community development.

I don't know the meaning of the word heritage (Participant 5).

Religion is a consequence of embracing Cape Malay culture... Vote DA to keep the negative effects out of the community. Stuff religion (Participant 11).

Although all stakeholders are not expected to share the same views, the core principles of sustainable tourism hinges on the success of community involvement and leadership. All stakeholders involved should be engaged, yet control their area's local human, cultural and economic resources and the majority of the neighbourhood's benefits should be enjoyed by stakeholders who participate in the process. In other words, community and stakeholder relations mean sharing benefits through skills and resource interchange. However, this does not mean that the community's control over their own destiny should be shared and neither does it mean that the profits should be equally shared between stakeholders. This could prove to be unsustainable and not fall within the guidelines of sustainable cultural tourism development.

Community Benefit Tourism Initiative (CBTI) consider the wider economic context and are designed to convoy benefits to the community as a whole not just to a predefined section of society (Simpson, 2008:2).

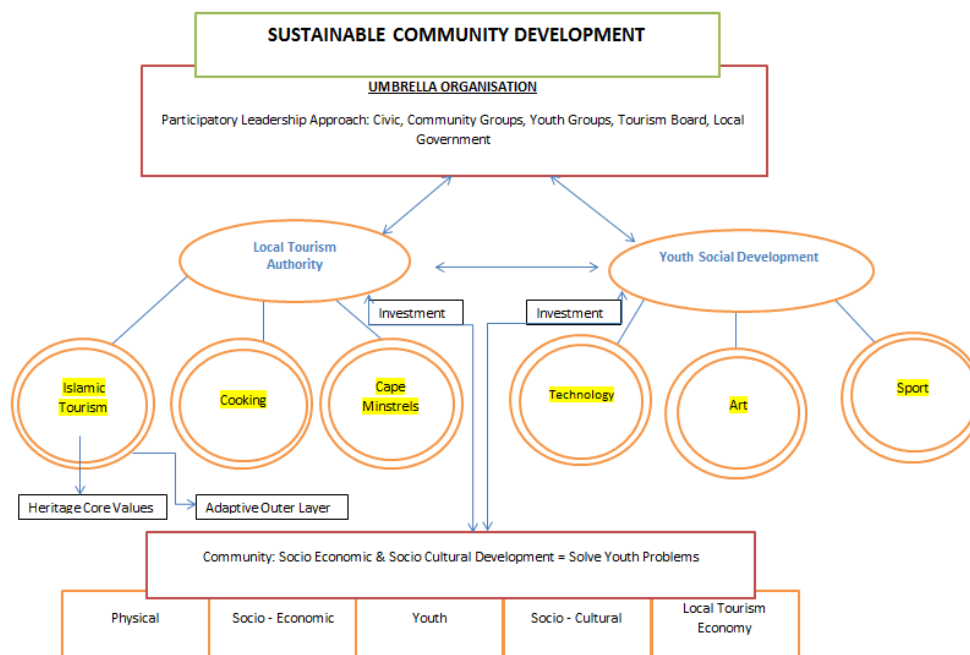
This is especially so if these guidelines are aimed at maximising responsible gentrification by mitigating the negative cultural and economic effects on the Bo-Kaap community.

Everyone should earn, it is not about the community earning more... Profits should be shared among stakeholders equally, the bulk shouldn't go to the community (Participant 3).

These viewpoints cannot be controlled or changed but if the community becomes proactive in securing the future of their youth and neighbourhood, the interpretations discussed above could circumvent potential negative backlash. If planned efficiently and implemented through proper management in collaboration with the stakeholders involved, avoiding negative solutions and accepting positive suggestions offered by these parties (Participants 3, 5 & 11) could achieve the goals of cultural and economic development.

These themes reflect participant suggestions which should assist in maximising the positive effects of tourism gentrification, not only by minimising the negative impacts of tourism and gentrification revealed by participants earlier in Chapter Five. The various segments discussed in this Chapter, and their interrelationships, are visually presented in Figure 5.1 by way of a summary to this Chapter.





**Figure 5.1: Sustainable community development flowchart**

Source: Researcher Construct.

#### 5.4 Comparative analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data results in Chapter Four and Chapter Five.

The comparative summary of the quantitative and qualitative results are key to reaching the final outcome of the data analysis of this study, where the qualitative data supported the quantitative findings by providing a deeper understanding of the statistical results attained in the survey.

##### 5.4.1 Positive and negative effects of gentrification

According to the qualitative analysis, it emerged that several responses in relation to gentrification throughout the qualitative process were based on negative and positive concepts surrounding the dynamics and effects of gentrification as an ideology and process. The quantitative responses were interlaced with positive and negative opinions and attitudes but not clearly indicating the positive and negative interpretations of gentrification as a discourse.

According to the survey data, 66.6% of responses on the effects of gentrification were negative, while 33.3% of the responses were positive. Perceptions of tourism in the Bo-Kaap elicited an 80% negative response, while 20% of the participant responses reflected positive opinions on current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap. Of the 66.6% of the negative responses surrounding the concept of gentrification and its effects, the interpretations have been

demographic, physical, economic and cultural in character. These effects have thus been perceived to be predominantly negative.

The demographic effects of gentrification were perceived by 12.5% (in Theme 7) to be a negative age transformation in the community where an increase of yuppies is moving into the Bo-Kaap. The quantitative results (combined 74.8% strongly agree and agree) in the Likert Table 4.5 suggested that negative demographic features include an increase in social youth problems, while according to 65.5% in Table 4.8, cultural change in the Bo-Kaap community is a result of local youth being influenced by Western cultures moving into the area. No positive perceptions surrounding the demographic impacts of gentrification were revealed in the qualitative analysis but the quantitative results suggested that cultural knowledge has been passed down to respondents (combined 83.3% strongly agree and agree) who also intend to pass these cultural practices down to their children (combined 76.7% strongly agree and agree). This is according to the Likert Table 4.5 results, which also advocate that the demographic effects of gentrification have not been far-reaching.

The negative physical impacts of gentrification involve the physical alteration of the neighbourhood, which compromises the cultural and religious authenticity of the Bo-Kaap, such as the development of the Hilton Hotel and the Abantu Liquor Bar. This was the perception of 18.7% of participants in Theme 4 and 13.3% in Theme 6. The quantitative results indicate that physical change has taken place in the Bo-Kaap area as a result of the modification of buildings, according to 40.3% reflected in Table 4.6. Table 4.10 also revealed that 20.4% of participants believe that the physical effects of gentrification have threatened the local charm of the neighbourhood due to the development of tourism establishments such as hotels, restaurants and lodges. According to 37.5% in Theme 1 in the qualitative analysis, the positive responses toward the physical impacts of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap were interpreted as the physical improvement of the neighbourhood due to increased maintenance, cleanliness and restoration. Table 4.6 in the quantitative analysis revealed that 18% of respondents feel that physical change in the Bo-Kaap embodied colourful houses, where a small 5.7%, similar to the qualitative results, expressed that increased cleanliness maintenance and preservation of historical buildings are a positive physical impact of gentrification.

According to the negative economic effects of gentrification revealed by 25% in Theme 5 in the qualitative analysis, urban development processes as a feature of gentrification placed a strain on the economic dynamic of the Bo-Kaap community due to the increase in property and real estate value. The quantitative results, however, according to Likert Table 4.5 results, suggest that the negative economic effects of gentrification symbolise the increase in the value

(combined 90.5% strongly agree and agree) and rental costs (combined 89% strongly agree and agree) of property in the Bo-Kaap over the last 10 years. Also, the increase in rates makes it unaffordable to maintain property (combined 73.7% strongly agree and agree) and to initiate entrepreneurship (combined 64.9% strongly agree and agree). Table 4.7 reflects that 68.5% of respondents feel that the negative economic impacts of gentrification is a result of elitist discrimination in the neighbourhood due to more affluent people moving into the community. The positive qualitative responses, according to 50% of the participants revealed in Theme 8, suggest that the economic impacts of gentrification result in job creation and economic development. The quantitative results suggest that positive economic effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap are epitomised by an improvement in the standard of living. This is according to a combined 39.7% of the respondents who agree and strongly agree with this concept in Likert Table 4.5, contradicting results reflective of dominant negative economic status of residents.

The negative cultural effects of gentrification, according to 31.2% in the qualitative analysis in Theme 4, reflected a transformation of the cultural integrity of the neighbourhood due to new classes and cultural groupings replacing old residents of the Bo-Kaap community. The quantitative results suggest that the negative cultural impacts of gentrification are that the lifestyle has changed in the Bo-Kaap (combined 83.9% strongly agree and agree), since a combined 62.2% strongly agree and agree that the practice and knowledge of culture has decreased in the last 10 years, according to Likert Table 4.5 results. Table 4.9 revealed that 27.8% are of the opinion that the negative cultural impacts of new residents moving into the community are a result of the social landscape being transformed due to the physical displacement of residents native to the Bo-Kaap. According to 17.1% of participants as revealed in Theme 10, the positive cultural effects of gentrification are interpreted as broader social diversity resulting in cultural growth in the community. The quantitative analysis, according to Likert Table 4.5, advocates that the positive cultural impacts of gentrification are the perception that the community is neighbourly (combined 78.2% strongly agree and agree), attend community gatherings (combined 59.6% strongly agree and agree) and feel that the Bo-Kaap is a friendly community (combined 83.6% strongly agree and agree). The residents also feel that they respect the Bo-Kaap culture and want to preserve it for future generations (combined 93.2% strongly agree and agree), which suggests that politically correct statements contradict attitudes reflected in more detailed statements regarding community life in the Bo-Kaap.

The tourism effects of gentrification, according to the qualitative results in Theme 16, suggest that 80% of the response toward current tourism development in the Bo-Kaap were negative. These negative responses expressed that tourism in the Bo-Kaap is signified by tourism gentrification and the commercial displacement of heritage and the creation of cultural bias by

Tourism MNC control decreasing local employment. This is exacerbated by shorter stops by large bus tours and small non-local tourism impacts on the community. Other negative perceptions of the effects of tourism gentrification are the attraction of irresponsible tourists as potential irresponsible gentrifiers into the community and tourism being a precursor to gentrification in the Bo-Kaap. The quantitative results in Likert Table 4.5 similarly suggest that the negative effects of tourism gentrification embody the disagreement that a tourism regulation body exists in the Bo-Kaap (combined 32.8% strongly disagree and disagree), that Bo-Kaap tourism is owned by the community (combined 47.7% strongly disagree and disagree), and that the Bo-Kaap tourism is controlled by local residents who make decisions (combined 51.6% strongly disagree and disagree).

The results also reflect that the residents strongly disagree and disagree that Bo-Kaap locals benefit on an economic and cultural scale (52.7%), while 69.9% of respondents strongly agree and agree that the historical and cultural tourism value has changed in the last 20 years. According to 2.4% of participants as reflected in Table 4.11, tourism is negative in the Bo-Kaap and residents express that tourism in the Bo-Kaap symbolises big buses and congestion (5.4%), no local employment benefits (combined 20.5%), misrepresented truths relayed on non-local tours, unregulated foreign controlled tourism (7.4%) and the belief that tourism causes gentrification (1.4%). Table 4.12 reflects that tourism is believed to be non-authentic as a result of guides not originating from the area (58.9%) and personal experience of overhearing misrepresented truths on non-locally controlled tours operating in the Bo-Kaap area (32.5%).

Positive responses in the qualitative results in Theme 15(20%) reflect that staged authenticity is progressive for the overall tourism development of the area and attracts foreign investment and creates job opportunities in the community. The positive attitudes toward tourism development in the Bo-Kaap, according to the quantitative results in Likert Table 4.5, reveal that 42% of residents in the area agree and strongly agree that tourism protects the culture and heritage of the Bo-Kaap. Table 4.11 reflects that 21.2% of the respondents believe that tourism is satisfactory in the Bo-Kaap, mostly because it provides an incentive for the preservation of Bo-Kaap culture (20.2%), foreign income benefits (8.4%), job opportunities (3.9%) and perceived development and upgrade in the Bo-Kaap area (3.4%). In Table 4.12 it is suggested by 16.4% of participants that tourism in the Bo-Kaap is of an authentic nature. These results thus contradict the negative attitudes revealed.

If all responses in both quantitative and qualitative analyses are combined and taken into consideration, as well as the contradictions, the overall results suggest that dominant perceptions of current effects of gentrification and tourism development are of a negative nature.

The negative and positive effects of gentrification and tourism to be minimised and maximised through potential sustainable tourism gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development is thus identified.

#### 5.4.2 Gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

It is clear that the Bo-Kaap is a community in transition, with old and new customs, instances of cultural revival and modern lifestyle, diverse economic backgrounds and a dominant Cape Muslim culture faced with the opportunity of welcoming new cultures and religions into its midst. This is also reflected in the diverse opinions and perceptions of a complex community and its diverse and interdependent developmental processes and impacts, interspersed with undeveloped and virtually unaffected spaces. However, within these results, overriding cause and effect relationships were identified, where prevailing themes emerged to further examine these findings.

In light of the problem statement and objectives, positive and negative changes or identified problems have been perceived by both community members and various external and internal organisations to a moderate degree in terms of tangible and intangible heritage modification. According to Tables 4.6, 4.7, 7.8, 4.10 and 4.12, a small percentage of respondents felt that physical, economic and cultural change have 'somewhat' taken effect, suggesting that change is not extreme and absolute, but gradual. In particular, this option was chosen by 10.7% of the respondents in Table 4.7 and in Table 4.8 the second largest 12.6% grouping suggested that cultural change has taken place to a minimal degree. Evolution of the Bo-Kaap community has begun, as reflected by demographic Tables 4.1 and 4.3 but not to the extent of the community becoming unrecognisable, as similarly suggested by Visser and Kotze (2008:2583), whose research on gentrification in the surrounding Cape Town CBD area, including the Bo-Kaap, revealed that Salt River and the Bo-Kaap had been least affected by gentrification, compared to surrounding suburbs of the Cape Town CBD area.

According to the qualitative analysis, most of the participants believed that gentrification has had far-reaching effects on the community, where according to most of the focus groups discussions, gentrification may not be the cause of all economic and cultural changes or issues in the Bo-Kaap, but rather a result of multi-factor causes in the Bo-Kaap's external and internal environment.

#### 5.4.3 Demographic effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

The demographic transformation in the ageing, racial composition, gender, income, education, occupation and household occupancy rates of the Bo-Kaap population is proposed to be

demographic effects of gentrification. The racial demographic question is further supported by data on the type of real estate ownership and history of residency in the community to establish the cultural component of the Bo-Kaap community. The data on the real estate consumption behaviour of residents in the Bo-Kaap community assists in explaining the motivation for Bo-Kaap families to sell their legacies, thus disclosing the demographic, economic and cultural impacts of gentrification. The secondary problems relate to the change in ageing characteristics of the Bo-Kaap population and the increase in social youth problems as a stable youth factor begins to diminish in the area.

The demographic transformation of the Bo-Kaap due to the effects of gentrification is the main demographic research objective of this study. One of the related research objectives is to establish whether the Bo-Kaap population is ageing because of youth moving out of the area and if this results in an increase in social youth problems due to the lack of an established youth foundation in the community. According to both the quantitative and qualitative results analysed in Chapters Four and Five, the elderly population has declined, while the youth demographic has increased, particularly as a result of yuppies moving into the Bo-Kaap community. The largest 56.1% grouping believe that there has been a change in the age profiling of the Bo-Kaap area, where 87.5% of the community perceives this to be a result of yuppies moving into the Bo-Kaap. In the qualitative analysis, the largest grouping (41.6%) suggested that the Bo-Kaap demographic is younger, while 16.6% felt that this is due to the influx of yuppies into the neighbourhood.

However, if one takes Tables 4.1, 4.2, Figures 4.1 and 4.2, and Table 4.4 into consideration, the increase in youth may also be a result of local youth becoming socially and economically empowered and can afford to remain living in their own neighbourhood.

Table 4.4 in particular reflects that the largest grouping of Bo-Kaap residents claim that they have no intention of selling their homes. This contradicts the qualitative results which show that 20% of participants perceived gentrification as a process caused by the desire for monetary gain, not financial pressure. These factors as presented in the quantitative analysis, in relation to the increased youth (yuppie) numbers in the area, also suggested in the qualitative analysis, could mean that the demographic changes may be a result of the influx of yuppies and also the local youth remaining in their heritage neighbourhood. This ultimately means that the demographic effects of gentrification are apparent but not happening at a rapid rate, as proposed by the research objective of determining an ageing population as a result of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap.

Table 4.8 reflects that 65.5% of respondents believe that the Bo-Kaap culture has changed and decreased in practice because of the youth being influenced by other cultures moving into the area, particularly Western value systems. This is followed by 23% of respondents who suggest that a decrease in neighbourliness has contributed to cultural change in the community. This potentially transforms the local culture of the community rather than adding the value of diversity to an existing stable local cultural youth platform, which may create a buffer against local youth issues such as a lack of cultural pride, weak sense of identity and belonging, resulting in further issues of crime and other youth problems in the area. Education and income may improve the future of the youth but a stronger sense of purpose may be achieved if youth are motivated to reinvest their skills into the future of their heritage and community.

The quantitative results corroborate the qualitative data, where 25% of the participants reflect that youth have a sense of self-entitlement due to a lack of cultural pride and identity. This further diminishes the sense of belonging because of an increase in exposure to Western ideals of materialism and individualism. A further 16.6% of participants stated that there has been a decline in cultural practices such as neighbourliness, which is the antithesis to Western ideology which is based on individualism as opposed to communalism.

This results in social youth problems such as crime and drugs due to a lack of cohesive social youth development caused by cultural assimilation and the demonstration effect. Albeit not at a rapid rate, the influx of yuppies could therefore cause a lack of local cultural pride and strengthened youth identity due to assimilation and exposure to elitist consumption behaviour, which may result in a lack of a sense of belonging and concomitant social youth problems. The demographic objectives are therefore achieved, in that age, race, income, employment and education variables within the Bo-Kaap are possible indicators of economic and cultural change in the Bo-Kaap population. However, these changes are also an effect of physical transformation of the neighbourhood.

#### 5.4.4 Physical effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap

Secondary issues such as the tangible and intangible heritage being compromised by urban regeneration, new-build and tourism gentrification are possible physical modifications of the Bo-Kaap landscape. The research objectives are to determine whether the tangible aspects of the cultural heritage environment have been depleted, and whether this has impacted on the intangible cultural essence of the community.

Both the qualitative and quantitative results reflect that the physical alteration of the Bo-Kaap as an effect of gentrification embodies urban renovation and physical upgrade through the

increased development of new businesses, apartments, lodges and hotels. In the qualitative survey, 53.3% of participants defined gentrification primarily as the physical alteration of the heritage and social environment. According to Tables 4.6 and 4.10, this physical development was able to bypass heritage laws because the CBD rezoning changed the traditional geographical borders of the Bo-Kaap. These examples of new-build and tourism gentrification are perceived to be the physical effects of gentrification. This is according to a combined 76.3% of respondents presented in Table 4.6, while 50% of the participants in the qualitative survey agree by claiming that gentrification in the Bo-Kaap is epitomised by the conversion of residential sections of the neighbourhood into business precincts, namely Rose and Buitengracht Street as a result of the rezoning of the CBD map. The combined results thus suggest that as a negative physical and cultural effect of gentrification, new-build and tourism gentrification has depleted the cultural heritage architecture of the Bo-Kaap through the CBD rezoning processes. This achieves the research objective of determining the physical impacts of gentrification and its effect on the physical cultural fabric of the community.

The physical research objective of ascertaining whether these physical effects of gentrification have harmed the cultural and human elements of the community has been fulfilled through both sets of data. The data revealed that physical gentrification has resulted in negative cultural impacts on the community through the development of buildings which have violated religious freedom enjoyed by community members for centuries, those who have physically built and pioneered their area. It emerged in both quantitative and qualitative results that the erection of the Abantu Liquor Bar next to the mosque has compromised the religious sanctity of the area. According to Table 4.10, the cultural essence of the neighbourhood has been threatened by the entry of new modern commercial businesses impacting on local family businesses in the community, with specific mention of the liquor store violating the religious freedom of the mosque's precinct. This is supported by 49.9% of the participants who feel that the physical effects of gentrification such as the development of the Hilton Hotel and the Abantu Liquor Bar have threatened the cultural norms of the community. The combined results suggest that the physical effects of gentrification involve new-build and tourism gentrification replacing residential sections of the neighbourhood through CBD rezoning, which have threatened the tangible and intangible cultural aspects of the Bo-Kaap community.

As a possible result of this physical development, economic change has manifested in the escalation of property values in the Bo-Kaap area, causing an increase in municipal and rental rates. The physical objective has therefore been achieved in light of these results. Residents are forced to relocate because of the un-affordability of the increased rates and rental costs, which



could eventually cause a lower standard of living and less disposable income being available to the Bo-Kaap household. This is ascertained through the economic objectives below.

The research objective of establishing whether physical upgrade and development as an effect of gentrification has resulted in economic change in the community has been attained through the quantitative and qualitative results. These results revealed that new-build and tourism gentrification has caused an increase in municipal rates and rental costs due to the lucrative value of real estate in the area being re-invested through commercial development. According to Likert Table 4.5, a combined 90.5% of the respondents agree and strongly agree that the Bo-Kaap residents' municipal rates and rental costs have increased due to an increase in property value over the last 10 years. This is supported by the second largest grouping of participants (21.4%) who reflected that local businesses have been threatened by the development of new businesses because of an escalation in rental costs due to heightened commercial property value. Also, in Table 4.10 a grouping of 20.4% of participants responded that local businesses have been threatened by the entry of new businesses due to rent increases.

#### 5.4.5 Economic effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap.

The physical research objective has been achieved by determining that the increase in municipal rates and rental costs due to escalating property values is associated with new-build and tourism gentrification within the Bo-Kaap. An economic off-set in the community has resulted in economic upheaval amongst the residents and local businesses in the community. Economic pressure due to urban regeneration, possible entry of new businesses and housing renovation by new residents, thus achieves the economic research objective. The study aimed to identify whether economic change as a result of municipal and rental increases linked to new-build and tourism gentrification has caused the displacement of the lower income bracket by a middle to higher income bracket; if it has lowered the standard of living and decreased disposable income of Bo-Kaap family households; lowered the possibility of properties being maintained; and local entrepreneurship being initiated as a result of a lack of financial resources. It should also determine whether these negative economic impacts and changes have been experienced by local traditional businesses due to the entry of new businesses into the area as a result of gentrification.

According to Table 4.7, 68.5% of the Bo-Kaap respondents expressed that economic change in the Bo-Kaap was characterised by high income classes moving into area, as well as the rich becoming richer and the poor becoming poorer, which results in elitist discrimination between the various income classes in the community. The largest grouping of participants (28.5%) expressed that economic change in the Bo-Kaap embodies the widening disparity between rich

and poor, while 26.7% of the participants defined the concept of gentrification as the transformation of an existing economic and cultural framework of the neighbourhood. The combined results therefore reflect that as a result of economic effects of gentrification, a higher income bracket has displaced the working class in the community.

Because of the perception that there is a widening economic disparity and displacement of the low-income bracket in the Bo-Kaap community as a result of the economic effects of gentrification, the research objective of identifying whether the standard of living in the area has dropped for local residents, is outlined in the study. The quantitative data analysis reflects that this is partially true, where the standard of living has worsened for some residents and improved for other classes and new residents within the community. However, the dominant qualitative data partially contradicts these results by suggesting that the standard of living has worsened in general. In Likert Table 4.5, the combined results reveal that 39.7% strongly agree and agree with the statement that the standard of living has improved for people in the Bo-Kaap in general, but a combined 22.9% strongly disagree and disagree with this statement, which reflects a marginal difference in percentage. The latter 22.9% grouping is supported by Table 4.7 which displays that 17.1% of the Bo-Kaap respondents believe that economic change is caused by the rates increases having lowered the standard of living in the community. The 39.7% grouping which agreed that the standard of living had improved is supported by the income, education and occupation demographic information presented in Tables 4.1 and 4.3 which show a Bo-Kaap population growing in education, income and occupation among the youth. The economic research objective is thus achieved.

In contradiction to the 39.7% and results in Tables 4.1 and 4.3, 14.2% of the participants in the qualitative survey believe that the standard of living has declined due to less available disposable income after paying increased municipal and rental rates, thus agreeing with the 22.9% who feel that that the Bo-Kaap is getting poorer and not richer. The quantitative results suggested that the standard of living has both worsened and improved, reflecting the widening economic disparity as a result of gentrification. The qualitative results partially confirm this by expressing that living conditions have only worsened due to gentrification. Considering both of these results, it is safe to assume that more Bo-Kaap residents are getting poorer than those who are getting richer, as a result of gentrification. This is embodied by a dual process of development and deterioration through poorer residents earning less income to maintain properties, where local elite and yuppie couples are able to afford housing regeneration.

As discussed earlier in Chapter Four in section 4.7.1 on the analysis of the Likert Scale Table 4.5, there is a disparity between some of the Likert Table results, possibly as a result of

misinterpreting the statements used to measure the opinions and attitudes of the residents in the Bo-Kaap area. What is clear is that there has been an increase in municipal rates and rental costs in the area. This may or may not lead to a lowered standard of living to the extent that the locals have become totally displaced, suggesting that gentrification is taking place albeit not at a rapid rate. The Likert Table 4.5 shows that a combined 73.7% agree and strongly agree that it is unaffordable to maintain property, and a combined 64.9% agree and strongly agree that it is unaffordable to start one's own business. This reveals economic circumstances where households may not be struggling to the point of relocating, but they do not enjoy a high disposable income. This lower disposable income does not allow for property maintenance and investment in economic growth through local entrepreneurship, since it is dependent on finance. The qualitative data support these quantitative results, where 14.2% of participants suggested that escalating rates and widening disparity results in less disposable income for property maintenance and capital for local entrepreneurship. The combined results therefore show that the economic objective has determined that the economic effects of gentrification have resulted in less disposable income available for property maintenance and initiating entrepreneurship.

#### 5.4.6 Cultural effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap

Tangible cultural change takes place as a result of economic change through the replacement of the lower income bracket due to un-affordability of rates, where the local cultural inhabitants are physically replaced by a new cultural component in the Bo-Kaap population. An indirect result of this is further intangible cultural issues, such as the replacement of traditional customs and lifestyle practices. Physical changes also compromise the cultural essence of the Bo-Kaap, where the social dynamic is integral to the historical and architectural fabric. The cultural objectives therefore need to determine whether the cultural component of the neighbourhood has been physically replaced by a new cultural grouping due to the economic effects of gentrification, and if this has resulted in the transformation of the cultural sphere, where traditions and lifestyle consumption practices have been replaced by a new cultural value system. The objectives should also investigate whether new-build and tourism gentrification has produced staged authenticity in the process, compromising the genuine cultural soul of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood.

Despite it not spreading at an alarming rate, as suggested by Tables 4.1 and 4.3 and Figures 4.1 and 4.2 and Table 4.4, gentrification is slowly happening in the Bo-Kaap area, which suggests a slow transformation in the cultural aspects of the neighbourhood. According to the quantitative analysis, Table 4.9 shows that 27.8% of the Bo-Kaap respondents believe that Western and African faces embody the physical change in the cultural landscape of the Bo-Kaap. Table 4.2

displays that 87.5% agree that the age characteristics of the Bo-Kaap community have changed due to the influx of yuppies into the neighbourhood. Table 4.8 reveals that 65.5% believe that other cultures moving into the Bo-Kaap community contribute to a cultural shift in the social geography of the area. The qualitative analysis supports the quantitative results, where the second largest 30.7% grouping of participants opine that the cultural practices in the Bo-Kaap have faded as local residents belonging to the dominant heritage of the area are replaced with new neighbours of Western non-local origin. The combined quantitative and qualitative results have therefore confirmed the cultural objective by determining that the local cultural component and local economy has been replaced by a middle to higher income bracket originating from non-local cultural groupings and new businesses.

According to the quantitative findings in Table 4.10 (32.6%, the largest grouping), the cultural charm of the neighbourhood has been threatened due to commercial businesses creeping into the Bo-Kaap as a result of CBD rezoning. The qualitative results confirm the trend, where Theme 12 advocates that the dominant effects of gentrification signify physical upscale and economic and cultural downscale, where 49.9% of the participants described as being symbolised by the development of the Hilton Hotel and the Abantu Liquor Bar, as a result of CBD rezoning. This is further supported by 5.3% of participants who claimed that new businesses have threatened the religious and cultural sanctity of the community because of liquor stores being established next door to mosque premises, thereby violating religious freedom in the community. The combined results therefore suggest that the local cultural charm of the community has been destroyed by the development of new businesses allowed through CBD rezoning. This has compromised the religious laws and ethics of the community through practising with a liquor licence. The cultural objective has thus been ascertained through the combined results analysis.

According to Table 4.8, 65.5% of the Bo-Kaap residents believe that the culture in the community has changed due to a Western influence on the youth as a result of non-local cultures moving in to the area, followed by 23% of respondents imply that neighbourliness as a traditional cultural and religious value has declined in the community which may be a result of cultural assimilation. This aligns with results in Table 4.9 where the second largest grouping of respondents (26.4%) advocate that Western lifestyle influences, such as non-religious dress codes, public drinking and partying on traditional front door 'stoeps' of the neighbourhood, describe the main negative cultural effects of gentrification. The qualitative results support this theory, since the largest 53.6% participant grouping report that the negative cultural impacts of gentrification signify the cultural assimilation that has taken place as a result of the exposure of local Bo-Kaap youth to Western lifestyle practices in the community

However, the most effective method of improving and conserving the cultural fabric of the Bo-Kaap environment is the potential development of sustainable cultural tourism development in particular, where the physical, economic and youth aspects of the community can also be improved.

#### 5.4.7 Current tourism effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap

The perceptions of tourism reveal the positive and negative physical, economic and cultural changes in the Bo-Kaap as a result of tourism gentrification, which could be managed by sustainable cultural tourism, reducing the negative and advancing the positive effects of gentrification on the community.

Tourism change has occurred in the form of development of mass tourism commercial businesses, establishments and tourism venues as part of the tourism gentrification process. The secondary problem related to this is the lack of a local tourism authority and regulation of the local tourism economy in the Bo-Kaap. The tourism resources in the area are owned and managed by non-local entities at the expense of the community and cultural, youth, physical and economic spheres of the Bo-Kaap. This results in non-sustainable tourism expansion in the neighbourhood, further attracting non-responsible tourists and gentrifiers relocating to the area, where instead of slowing down the negative effects of gentrification, tourism could be a precursor to gentrification. This could mainly be due to a lack of intangible cultural and physical heritage conservation (causing staged authenticity), local tourism entrepreneurship and local income multipliers and regulation of local host, tourist and gentrifier interaction as a result of a lack of local tourism authority in the Bo-Kaap area. Sustainable cultural tourism development therefore needs to ensure that the negative impacts of tourism gentrification in the Bo-Kaap are reversed and positive change in the community, youth, physical, cultural, economic and tourism sectors should take place instead.

This would mean exploring whether a local tourism authority exists to ensure a local youth tourism economic development platform, the preservation of physical cultural buildings and attractions, the spread of local income multipliers as a economic benefit which could aid further in community cultural survival. The investment in the cultural conservation of the community's culture and religion as a tourism attraction could generate cultural benefits, which could further impede the process of staged authenticity associated with mass tourism and tourism gentrification. The development of cultural tourism should therefore be questioned as to whether it attracts gentrifiers and hastens the gentrification process, or if it is responsible in minimising the negative demographic, physical, economic and cultural effects of gentrification.

The quantitative and qualitative data analysis both reveal that no local tourism authority is present to protect and regulate the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood as a community-based cultural tourism quarter. According to the quantitative Likert Table 4.5, a combined 32.8% of Bo-Kaap residents disagree and strongly disagree that there is a tourism regulation body protecting Bo-Kaap interests. Data in Table 4.11 reveals that a 57.1% combined majority of respondents have positive perceptions of current tourism operations in the Bo-Kaap, but the remaining 42.9% perceive current Bo-Kaap tourism activity negatively. Of these responses, 7.4% of the respondents believe that tourism needs to be regulated more responsibly and controlled for the benefit of the community. The rest of the negative responses describe unregulated tourism behaviour, mismanagement of local resources and benefits, big buses, congestion, infringing privacy, no local guides, misrepresented truths, no local benefits in general, security concerns, and the perception that tourism causes gentrification.

This outcome is supported by the qualitative results in which 80% of the participants' negative perceptions of tourism reflect that there is international and national control of the demand and supply of tourism products to the current Bo-Kaap mass tourism market motivated by large bus tours over a short space of time. Theme 19, encapsulating 9.7% of the responses, suggests that a local tourism authority should be formally established, using a participatory leadership approach. The combined analysis thus informs that a local tourism authority is lacking and this data assists in achieving the tourism objective. The local community should therefore institute a Bo-Kaap local tourism authority to regulate tourism and avoid attraction of non-responsible mass tourists as potential gentrifiers to the community. This would ensure the maximisation of positive physical, youth, cultural and economic impacts of tourism development in the Bo-Kaap community.

The preservation of physical cultural buildings and attractions is another essential tourism-related research objective. While some quantitative data suggests otherwise, both quantitative and qualitative analysis reveal that tourism in the Bo-Kaap does not actively preserve the heritage fabric of the neighbourhood. According to Table 4.11, 20.2% of the survey respondents hinted that tourism in the Bo-Kaap does provide the incentive for the conservation of Bo-Kaap culture, while the rest of the statistical data point to the possibility that tourism does not contribute to the preservation of cultural and heritage sites of the Bo-Kaap. Although a combined 57.1% of respondents reflected positive perceptions surrounding tourism in the Bo-Kaap area, one of these responses may depict negative impacts on the community, unbeknown to the respondents, since according to Gotham (2005:1112), tourism gentrification predicts negative cultural effects on the area of attraction. This is displayed by the 3.4% grouping who are of the opinion that Bo-Kaap tourism is satisfactory since it introduces development and upgrade to the

geographical area of Bo-Kaap. Of the combined 42.9% negative perceptions, 1.4% of the respondents in particular are fearful that tourism is a precursor to gentrification, which may destroy heritage sites of significance to the community. According to Table 4.10, 32.6% of the respondents believe that local business landmarks in the Bo-Kaap have been replaced by commercial businesses through CBD rezoning.

The Likert Table 4.5 provides results which are congruent with the sentiment, where 52.7% disagree and strongly disagree with the statement that Bo-Kaap locals benefit economically and socially from tourism in the area. These results are supported by the qualitative analysis, which relay a theme comprising 13.8% responses which proposed that the development of business linkages and tourism entrepreneurship is essential for the overall growth of the Bo-Kaap community. A further 80% of participants suggest that large tour operators control the demand and supply of tourism products in the Bo-Kaap, opposed to small locally-managed tours, which depicts a lack of income multipliers spreading throughout the community. The combined quantitative and qualitative analysis thus achieves the tourism research objective, by ascertaining that Bo-Kaap tourism in general does not contribute to the economic development of the community and therefore does not maximise the positive economic spread of income multiplier benefits to the rest of the Bo-Kaap community.

It needs to be determined whether tourism aids in community cultural survival, where investment in the cultural conservation of the community's culture and religion as a tourism attraction does generate cultural benefits for the whole Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. Although both quantitative and qualitative analyses suggest that tourism on some level does not maximise the positive cultural impacts of tourism on the Bo-Kaap community, the qualitative analysis revealed a stronger sentiment on this view. The quantitative results displayed in Table 4.11 show that 20.2% of participants believe that tourism provides an incentive for the conservation of the Bo-Kaap culture. The Likert Table 4.5 statements also reflects that a combined 42% agree and strongly agree with the sentiment that tourism protects the culture and heritage of the Bo-Kaap. However, a combined 69.9% agree and strongly agree that historical and cultural tourism value of the area has changed in the last 20 years, which hints at the possibility that the historical and cultural tourism resources of the area have diminished over time.

This sentiment correlates with the combined 52.7% of respondents who disagree and strongly disagree with the statement that Bo-Kaap locals benefit economically and socially from tourism in the area. It also correlates with the 1.4% of respondents who claim that tourism causes gentrification in the Bo-Kaap area. However, the quantitative results suggest a slight contradiction overall and the largest percentage groupings and dominant responses reflect that

tourism does not maximise positive cultural impacts on the community. Generally, tourism is perceived to be positive but when specifically questioned on the social benefits generated from tourism, most of the attitudes toward this reality are negative. This is further supported by the qualitative analysis, which reveals that 50% of the participants believe that the Hilton Hotel is the epitome of the physical effects of gentrification. This, according to 80% of participants, has compromised the cultural and religious norms of the area, thus not minimising the negative cultural impacts of tourism, which could aid in further gentrifying the community.

Therefore, 80% of the negative responses toward tourism indicate that national tourism control commercialises the local Bo-Kaap heritage by developing a cultural bias and not investing in local cultural community of the area, which is the basis of the tourism attraction. The adjoined analysis assisted in fulfilling the tourism research objective by establishing that tourism in the Bo-Kaap does not ensure the survival of the cultural community of the Bo-Kaap and therefore does not aid in the cultural conservation of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood as a sustainable cultural tourism attraction.

According to the quantitative Table 4.12, 32.5% of respondents believe that tourism practices in the Bo-Kaap area are not authentic, while 58.9% are of the opinion that the reason for the tours being inauthentic is because guides do not originate from within the Bo-Kaap community, followed by 31.5% of respondents who express that tourism is inauthentic because of overheard misrepresented truths on current non-locally controlled tours. Table 4.11 also suggests that 3.4% of the respondents claimed that their perceptions of tourism development in the Bo-Kaap have been influenced by experiences of overheard misrepresented truths being relayed to tourists. This is largely supported by the qualitative data analysis presenting 80% of the participants' negative responses toward tourism describing the national control of tourism development, where tourism gentrification allows for the commodification of culture as a product, creating staged authenticity in the process. The comparative analysis suggests that overall, staged authenticity is a common practice within the Bo-Kaap tourism local economy, particularly as a result of non-local tour operators who are active in the area. This therefore fulfils the tourism objective of exploring whether staged authenticity is being utilised as a marketing mechanism through tourism gentrification policies in the Bo-Kaap area.

It therefore needs to be questioned whether tourism attracts gentrifiers into the neighbourhood rather than minimising gentrification through sustainable cultural tourism development. This research objective is achieved through the combined quantitative and qualitative data analysis which reflects that current commercial tourism operations in the Bo-Kaap accommodate mass tourists to the Bo-Kaap as opposed to responsible tourists who should be motivated in



reinvesting in the cultural conservation and long-term community sustainability of the Bo-Kaap. Both quantitative and qualitative results indicate that current tourists to the Bo-Kaap are potentially not interested in the deeper cultural soul or oral history of the community and therefore not interested in conserving the community as a heritage social attraction. According to Table 4.11, a combined 4.8% hint at the possibility that tourism causes gentrification, while other responses included in this grouping perceive development and upgrade as positive, which could otherwise imply negative social and economic impacts on the community due to non-locally controlled development and tourism gentrification.

This is further supported by the qualitative results which reveal that 80% of the negative responses toward current Bo-Kaap tourism development specifically reported that cultural biases and heritage archetypes perpetuated stereotypes and staged authenticity in the Bo-Kaap tourism economy, which attract tourists and gentrifiers alike through tourism and real estate marketing. The comparative analysis suggests that current tourism development policy in the Bo-Kaap encourages marketing practices which may attract non-responsible tourists to the Bo-Kaap as potential gentrifiers. This does not aid in minimising the negative impacts of tourism gentrification.

#### 5.4.8 Sustainable cultural tourism development to mitigate the negative effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap: responsible gentrification

The final research objective is to determine how sustainable cultural tourism development can be used as an engine for responsible gentrification through maximising the positive impacts and minimising the negative effects of gentrification on the Bo-Kaap's youth, physical, economic, cultural and tourism landscape. Both the quantitative and qualitative analysis revealed that maximisation of the positive cultural and economic impacts of tourism development and minimisation of the negative impacts of gentrification in the process, can be achieved by the revival of a local cultural youth identity. This identity should adapt to the modern global context by linking the past with the future through a dialogue fostered between the youth and the elderly population. Results from both quantitative and qualitative surveys indicate that God consciousness needs to be re-instilled into the youth and community's cultural norms, morals and value systems as a balancing factor against predominant forces of individualism. The revival of the core tradition of neighbourliness could assist in the long-term conservation of the current Bo-Kaap community as a distinctive and sustainable cultural component of the Bo-Kaap cultural tourism fabric.

This sentiment is illustrated in Table 4.9, where 50% of the respondents recommend that methods of reviving culture in the Bo-Kaap community should employ mediums of education,

workshops and programmes through liaison between the elderly and the youth. The second largest grouping, 18.8%, urged that it is crucial to instil God consciousness, faith and Islam in the community's consciousness, followed by 10% of respondents who suggested that youth groups and strategies should utilise technology to adapt the culture to the evolving needs of the environment. Table 4.9 displays the community's ideas on what current Bo-Kaap traditions should be developed further for sustainable cultural tourism development in the area, and reveals that 59.8% of the Bo-Kaap households believe that Cape Malay customs rooted in Islam such as *Mouloud* and *Thikrs* should be developed as responsible cultural attractions. This is congruent with the 18.8% of respondents who view the revival of religious cultural traditions to be imperative to the responsible cultural development of the community.

The quantitative data results are further supported by the qualitative analysis which revealed that the largest grouping of 16.6% expressed the significance of the youth reviving their cultural identity on their own terms through liaising with the elderly, followed by the 15.2% second largest grouping who believed that God consciousness is crucial to reviving neighbourliness as a core heritage component of the Bo-Kaap culture. The combined data analysis is thus reflective of the overall dominant suggestion that the youth should take ownership of their cultural identity on their own terms by connecting their heritage to the environmental needs of the future global context. This necessitates the revival of holistic community development dependent on a core value system of neighbourliness bred by God consciousness, as the cornerstone of the conservation of their heritage as a future economic platform for sustainable development of the Bo-Kaap area as a whole. The objective on managing changes outlined in the study, by establishing suggestions which should engender sustainable cultural tourism development, is thus achieved. Sustainable cultural tourism development should be based on minimising the negative cultural and economic impacts of gentrification and tourism development on the Bo-Kaap community through maximising the positive economic and cultural effects of gentrification.

## **5.5 Summary of comparative analysis**

Gentrification as a phenomenon in the Bo-Kaap emerged as a process having positive and negative effects on demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism aspects of the area. The comparative analysis revealed that dominant perceptions of the demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism changes are negative. Both positive and negative effects shed light on areas of minimisation and maximisation of negative and positive effects of gentrification as part of a responsible gentrification and cultural tourism discourse.

According to the research objectives achieved in the study, youth, cultural, economic and mass tourism effects of gentrification have taken effect, but not to the extent that the entire community has been physically transformed through urban regeneration and tourism development, or completely displaced by a new exclusive cultural, and economic lifestyle component. Although change and development is not rapid in nature, it is not premature to plan for managing these changes responsibly through sustainable cultural tourism development as a mitigating factor against negative tourism and gentrification, which are inevitable development prospects for any area, in particular, neighbourhoods of heritage value (such as the Bo-Kaap) (Warde, 1991:226; Badyina & Golubchikov, 2005:115). Responsible development is necessary, specifically in cultural tourism, to curb mass urban and social evolution which overpowers the cultural, religious and economic necessities for holistic community development. This would benefit the entire community through maximising the positive effects of tourism and gentrification in the Bo-Kaap area. Solutions of responsible management of these changes are recommended in both quantitative and qualitative survey results as an accompaniment to the findings of the effects and problems areas of change identified in the study, which are summarised as follows.

The perceived changes in the demographic aspect of the Bo-Kaap society are the transformation of the age, racial, gender, income, education, employment occupation and household occupancy rates. The outcomes of the demographic research objectives, according to the combined quantitative and qualitative results, revealed that the ageing characteristics of the Bo-Kaap population have changed. The local youth seem to be choosing the Bo-Kaap as their family home and there is also an increase of yuppies moving into the area, as the elderly population declines. Because of the apparent transformation of the income and education variables, there is a widening economic disparity between different class and cultural factions of the community. There is economic development of the community youth due to an increase in higher education and income, and the incline of economic upheaval for working class factions in the community. This economic heterogeneous community, as reflected in Tables 4.1 and 4.3, supports the theory of a widening economic disparity, which is interlaced with a large homogenous dimension marked by a distinctive heritage component, where there is a predominant caution against selling estates as historical family legacies (reflected in Table 4.1, Figures 4.1 and 4.2, and Table 4.4), which makes for a complex demographic result. This implies that gentrification has probably not spread at a rapid pace due to the community's lack of a singular low-income bracket component, which makes for a fertile ground for gentrification.

The Bo-Kaap community is thus becoming richer and developing from within its borders, but also becoming poorer due to financial pressures emanating from this growth, attracting gentrifiers into the area and displacing the working class in the process. In other words, a local middle and

higher class remains, while the working classes are slowly being forced to relocate, resulting in the previously diverse economic community becoming a slightly more diverse cultural setting in the wake of gentrification. Although this may not be threatening the Bo-Kaap landscape overall, the cultural and economic effects of gentrification may be negative and could slowly spread throughout the community. This could be a result of increased interaction between the local youth and various cultures. The interaction is not regulated and harvested for the benefit of both cultural groupings, resulting in the eventual displacement of the neighbourhood's central heritage. It is therefore vital that the local youth spearhead their economic development into a positive direction for the entire community, including the lower class factions, and not only themselves as individuals. These potential negative cultural and economic effects, such as cultural assimilation and mass tourism throughout the whole area, should therefore be reversed to positive cultural and economic impacts. This reversal would benefit the future youth and the community, where cultural development should take precedence as a youth development strategy. According to both quantitative and qualitative survey results, youth identity revival based on God consciousness would aid in minimising cultural assimilation due to increased and unregulated exposure to the yuppie groups which are flowing into the area.

This may engage a stronger sense of belonging among the youth and their connection to the community and their core heritage values. As a result, youth social issues such as a sense of self-entitlement due to weakened cultural pride and identity are mitigated through this methodology. The youth should define their identity in a growing global economy by taking command of the holistic development of all relevant and interconnected growth sectors of the community, one of them being the physical landscape of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood, before contributing to the development of the international community.

The combined quantitative and qualitative data analysis determined that new-build and tourism gentrification has caused combined negative physical and cultural effects on the local community, by depleting the physical heritage architecture of Bo-Kaap through CBD rezoning, which allowed the conversion of the residential fringes of the Bo-Kaap into a business district. This is with particular reference to the development of the Hilton Hotel and Abantu Liquor Bar, which has tainted and disrespected the community's religious heritage value system. The research objectives have helped to establish that gentrification has had negative impacts on the physical cultural fabric of the community, thereby threatening the tangible and intangible heritage properties of the cultural geography of the Bo-Kaap area. Physical development in the form of new-build and tourism gentrification has resulted in economic effects on the community due to escalating property values as a result of urban development.

Results from the combined analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data suggest that new-build and tourism gentrification do increase property values and concomitant rates and rental costs in the community. Many working class residents found this to be unaffordable and had no option but to sell their family homes and relocate elsewhere. The combined data reflects that this has caused the displacement of the low-income bracket and local businesses of the community by a higher income bracket able to afford and invest further in the escalating property values of the neighbourhood. The quantitative results, however, differ from the qualitative results in so far as whether the standard of living of Bo-Kaap families has worsened in general as an economic effect of gentrification. The quantitative results revealed that the standard of living has worsened and improved due to the widening economic disparity as a result of the escalating municipal and rental rates in the Bo-Kaap area, where the qualitative results reflect that the standard of living in the Bo-Kaap area has worsened in general.

The economic research objective has therefore assisted in determining that the economic changes in the Bo-Kaap are epitomised by a rise in property values and associated municipal rates and rental costs. This causes displacement of the lower income bracket by a middle- to higher income class, as well as lower disposable income available for property maintenance and local entrepreneurship investment. The overall standard of living has worsened and improved due to the widening economic disparity caused by the economic displacement of one class and the economic improvement of the other classes within the multi-dimensional Bo-Kaap. This is reflected in the income demographic analysis in Table 4.3.

The economic effects of gentrification, as an impact of urban development, has lead to negative cultural effects on the Bo-Kaap community. The intangible cultural sphere has been threatened and replaced by a non-local gentrifier lifestyle in the process of economic displacement. This is due to cultural assimilation and the demonstration effect as a result of exposure of the local youth to a non-local cultural presence in the community. In fulfilment of the tourism-related cultural objectives, it is clear that there is a strong possibility that tourism gentrification does result in staged authenticity, which is utilised as part of a marketing process. This compromises the cultural and religious sanctity of the unique cultural dimension of the neighbourhood. The negative cultural changes can only be regulated through God consciousness and youth ownership of the community's future cultural development. The negative youth, physical, economic and cultural effects of gentrification could thus be changed into positive sustainable solutions for the future of the Bo-Kaap, such as sustainable cultural tourism development.

The final research objective seeks suggestions for sustainable cultural tourism and responsible gentrification measures to maximise the positive impacts of tourism and gentrification by

minimising the negative impacts of both tourism and gentrification development spheres. According to the combined data, reviving God consciousness as the cornerstone of heritage should prove unshakable in guiding the community into the 21<sup>st</sup> century, retaining its core value systems and traditions such as neighbourliness, which could serve to be a potential sustainable attraction for tourists around the world as well as to be enjoyed by the future local youth of the area. It is therefore imperative for the culture not to conform to the world but rather to attract the international community responsibly by monitoring interactive knowledge exchange among different communities beyond the local platform. To first perfect the local development platform youth have to revive their religious and cultural heritage as an engine of sustainable economic growth by investing in the cultural and religious value systems, which are local to the area and its history.

The following chapter, Chapter Six, concludes the study and makes relevant recommendations.

## **CHAPTER SIX**

### **CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

#### **6.1 Introduction**

Chapter Six provides a conclusion to this study, where concluding remarks are presented and recommendations, emanating from the findings, are made. Future research in the field of tourism and gentrification is discussed, as well as the significance of the outcome of this study.

#### **6.2 Summary**

Chapter One is an introduction to the research on the effects of gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town. A background to the Bo-Kaap's history and culture is provided as the basis for the research investigation. The problem statement defining the topic of research is explored. The research objectives are outlined to assist in determining the positive or negative changes identified in the Bo-Kaap. The motivation and significance of this research is highlighted, followed by a brief framework of the study design, supported by the ethical considerations according to a study structure guideline.

Chapter Two introduces the concept of gentrification as a framework of spatial progression, with introspection into its various demographic, physical, economic and cultural effects on the host environment. Gentrification is then explored in various spatial localities on an international, national and local level, while the next section focuses on defining tourism and sustainable cultural tourism development as a separate phenomenon, and the various impacts on an area which could contribute to the holistic development of the community. Finally, the Chapter reconciles both tourism and gentrification as an interrelated phenomenon, and investigates the possibilities of sustainable cultural tourism development as mitigating factors against the negative impacts of gentrification and tourism.

Chapter Three discusses the research design of this study, which used a quantitative and qualitative mixed methodology approach, based on methods and benefits of triangulation. Triangulation is explored, where the utilisation of various research techniques and tools, as well as the reasons for employing these options, is discussed. A blended technique of implementing interviews and questionnaires as combined quantitative and qualitative research tools, where interviews made use of in-depth methods of interviews and focus group discussions used projective techniques of forecasting recommendations, are described. Self-administered and assist-administered techniques of circulating questionnaires of a quantitative and qualitative component are also discussed as methods of operating research field work in the Bo-Kaap area.

The target population and sample size of the Bo-Kaap households is outlined and examined as a part of the population sampling procedure, where systematic sampling based on probability sampling as a method of selecting 262 households, was used. Non-probability sampling is explained, utilising snowball sampling to select 15 participants (focus groups and individuals). Principles of validity, reliability and trustworthiness are discussed as guidelines for attaining objective data. The limitations of the research, such as the heterogeneous character of the research population and the difficulty in obtaining data from sufficient gentrifiers, are addressed.

Chapters Four and Five discuss the data obtained from the questionnaire and focus group surveys.

### **6.3 Recommendations emanating from the study**

The suggestions for managing the changes and effects of gentrification responsibly in the Bo-Kaap are briefly explained as recommendations for the Bo-Kaap community. These recommendations fulfil the final research objective which is to investigate how to decrease the negative effects of tourism and gentrification through sustainable cultural tourism development and assist in mitigating the identified problems outlined in Chapter One.

#### **Recommendation 1:**

##### *Local tourism authority in collaboration with internal and external stakeholders*

A local tourism authority needs to be established, based on values of 'God consciousness' and youth management of cultural expression through a participatory approach to leadership, where the community should be involved in the decision-making processes affecting their neighbourhood alongside all stakeholders engaged in the process. A local tourism authority should be officially instated to implement sustainable cultural tourism development according to a framework policy in collaboration with the City of Cape Town and existing internal and external stakeholders. This should assist in engendering and supporting sustainable physical, economic and cultural community conservation and development for the benefit of the community and all stakeholders involved. This should aid in potentially legalising future processes of sustainable gentrification and cultural tourism mechanisms, to achieve holistic sustainable community and tourism development. A local tourism authority should create a platform for registering and regulating potential programs, workshops or economic and cultural initiatives.

#### **Recommendation 2:**

##### *Responsible gentrification through the registration of heritage rates*

With the support of a local tourism authority in place, tourism and gentrification could be controlled by organising special heritage rates for the community, where local community



members could be afforded the opportunity to pay lower rates based on their heritage status linked to the history of the community. This could be achieved through a participatory approach to leadership, where the community is empowered to manage their own economic and cultural resources for the long-term growth of the community. These heritage rates should be in the form of a rebate or municipal rates discount for the community to be able to afford to maintain their properties, especially since there could be less disposable income for the maintenance of real estate and investment in potential cultural tourism entrepreneurship for community survival, as a result of gentrification. It should therefore assist Bo-Kaap residents in not only affording to maintain community ties to prevent negative gentrification, but to also conserve their homes as cultural attractions on existing tours of the neighbourhood, which subsidises the local government and not the local people who own these heritage homes. Other heritage areas could also make an application for a special rate, where for the Bo-Kaap this would be significant since the community is among one of the major cultural tourism icons of Cape Town, which provides an investment for the city and not the community members who are the custodians of this special heritage area. Local entrepreneurship should therefore be encouraged to aid in the conservation of the Bo-Kaap legacy for sustainable tourism development to manage gentrification responsibly.

**Recommendation 3:**

*Developing local entrepreneurship and business linkages*

The development of cultural tourism entrepreneurship is key to community economic tourism development of the Bo-Kaap. This can only be achieved if a local tourism authority assists in establishing a supplier network of demand and supply, where a local income multiplier system should be embedded in the community. This would aid in maximising the positive economic impacts of sustainable cultural tourism development. Another method of capitalising on the economic development of the community would be the specialisation of cultural tourism entrepreneurship.

**Recommendation 4:**

*Regulation of tourism behaviour*

Tourists and locals need to engage in a cross-cultural dialogue through responsible interaction, as well as a code of responsible tourist behaviour to build mutual respect and understanding between multiple religions and cultures intermingling within a single spatial Bo-Kaap context. This should dissuade non-responsible tourists and potential gentrifiers from impacting on the Bo-Kaap negatively and provoke positive knowledge and skills exchange instead, fostering cultural growth within the community.

### **Recommendation 5:**

#### *Diversify existing cultural tourism service offerings*

The diversification of existing cultural tourism products and tours should be a point of departure for the economic and cultural conservation of the local Bo-Kaap culture in addition to larger tour operators who as external stakeholders of the Bo-Kaap, provide an influx of tourists to the area, yet reap the majority of tourism profits and benefits. A deeper appreciation for the culture by locals and tourists is thus stimulated, as well as a source of honing of the existing tourism business linkages in the community. Staged authenticity as a monolithic interpretation of the local culture, as a mechanism of tourism gentrification, would thus be mitigated. This could be achieved through sustainable tourism economic development measures promoted through a potential tourism authority, where cross-cultural understanding between locals and tourists could be created.

### **6.4 International recommendations for responsible gentrification**

A recommendation based on the findings of the study is to apply the overall results into an organised community goal and multi-disciplinary strategy suited to the demographic information of the Bo-Kaap. Another recommendation to assist in managing gentrification and tourism sustainability is community programmes and initiatives specialising in the protection of residential land as a cultural conservation strategy. This topic was briefly described in the fourth literature chapter on sustainable cultural tourism development strategies to mitigate non-responsible gentrification.

### **Recommendation 6:**

#### *Multi-purpose centre: integrated multi-disciplinary approach*

It is crucial that the differences in opinion should not be perceived as disunity, but rather a natural order of evolution. What is unique about the Bo-Kaap is that differences could be celebrated if respect and tolerance for the neighbour was nurtured. Unity in diversity should be revived as a cultural value. Donaldson *et al.* (2011:9) states:

It is quite normal to have different religious opinions and disagreement among 9 000 members of a community, this does not mean that they are not united.

If this could be achieved, neighbourly love would succeed in salvaging a community that is at the beginning stages of gentrification.

An umbrella organisation embodying a multi-purpose function should therefore embody these differences under a unified goal through housing a number of multi-disciplinary approaches to cater and make room for different interests and perspectives, while sustaining a community united in long-term goals of youth and social development (Yutar, 2001:5). These approaches

should include cultural conservation, cultural tourism and sustainable gentrification plans, in one integrated plan, which should also include a fundraising portfolio to financially support the implementation of this management plan. A fundraising plan attached to a potential funding mechanism of the multi-purpose centre could be easily achieved through a participatory approach used to maintain stakeholder relationships, which could offer financial support networks in the future. A youth social development platform should supplement tourism, where diversification of local industries in the Bo-Kaap should also be stimulated, not only existing tourism services. This would aid as a buffer against tourism seasonality and unforeseen circumstances such as an economic recession. Tourism should be interdependent with other sectors of the local Bo-Kaap economy to ensure overall sustainable economic development (Godfrey & Clarke, 2000:5). The local tourism authority and other potential sectors or special interest development stemming from a multi-purpose centre should give rise to separate distinctive portfolios dedicated to specialised tourism or youth interest sectors. These smaller models should be designed like an onion (Ontong, 2013). The outer layers of Islamic or Cape Malay cooking tourism, 'onion' for example is termed adaptive layers as room for cultural change, which are revived responsibly. The inner layer which embodies the unshakeable core of the religion or heritage of the community is protected by the outer adaptive layer, promoting sustainable economic, cultural and tourism development.

The benefits from tourism and youth economic development are reinvested in the community's overall physical, economic, cultural, tourism and youth development, which would assist in solving youth problems for long-term community sustainability. These multiple approaches and elements are represented in Figure 5.1 on page 200. The benefits generated through holistic development in partnership with the public and private sector should flow back into the multi-purpose centre which regulates the diverse local economy and be reinvested back into the community as part of a sustainable cycle of progression.

These elements include cultural and religious preservation strategies, cultural tourism development policies and a responsible gentrification framework, which work hand in hand and are interrelated and interdependent within a sustainable cycle of holistic development of the community. This integrated management plan would include different sets of multi-disciplinary approaches for each of these elements.

It is extremely important that this be driven by the youth, the future sustainers of this community. The diverse youth have to therefore re-organise themselves where those interested in sustainable tourism, for example, would take ownership of this particular multi-disciplinary approach in their community as part of the unifying body's integrated management plan. For

example, to capitalise on different types of cultural or community tourism activities such as cooking, *kramats*, architecture and mosque tours. To understand what sustainable cultural tourism is and what its guidelines should be as a means to the end goal of decreasing non-sustainable gentrification, the antithesis of this needs to be examined to reflect on what should not be practised and what prescribed plans should be put in place. These would evolve into negative changes such as mainstream commercial tourism or tourism gentrification.

**Recommendation 7:**

*Community land trust programme*

A land trust initiative managed by the youth leaders of the community is another potential method towards conservation of the community through economic and cultural social empowerment. A practical example of this potential sustainable mechanism of change and regulation of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap could be based on a land trust model, where communities create cheaper options of housing ownership within their home-town (Richardson, 2003:3). This has been used in other parts of the world to control the rapid displacement of local working class communities from their neighbourhoods, as a result of the mutation of non-sustainable gentrification. This model is based on a community trust, an ingredient to a possible broader integrated management plan of various multi-disciplinary approaches. This trust is essential to the development of affordable housing on communal land as an economic and cultural resource. It is based on an apparatus of a community tax, which should fund the development of low-cost housing, particularly on small vacant lots within and around the area. It is essential that these community-managed housing projects should be kept affordable to prevent future gentrification from occurring.

**Recommendation 8:**

*God consciousness: reviving neighbourhood value systems*

The eighth recommendation is for the Bo-Kaap community to revive 'God consciousness' first and foremost in the household family and psychosocial mindset of the community as a basis for striking a balance between developing the individual and the community, where the one cannot develop without the other. The neighbourhood's religious value system of neighbourliness and maintaining community ties through cultural development should thus be engendered to create a sense of belonging to a larger family, for the revival and progress of the individual's religious-cultural identity. This is essential to the holistic development of the inner and outer self, as well as the long-term survival and holistic progress of the community. It could also be especially vital as a unifying religious and cultural factor in bridging the divide in an economically heterogeneous community. This is to eventually be extended to a global context of understanding for a greater

sense of well-being through an ongoing cross cultural and religious dialogue. This should create a platform for youth to revive their cultural identity on their own terms.

**Recommendation 9:**

*Youth reviving their own culture*

Based on a revived sense of 'God consciousness' in the community's psychology, the youth should be sufficiently guided in balancing the conservation of their culture according to their changing needs to adapt to an evolving global community, without forsaking their core heritage value system. Before the youth are able to achieve individual and cultural development within a global multi-cultural environment, their own identity needs to be established by connecting their heritage to the future in order to provide a unique contribution to the global community after succeeding at contributing to the economic and cultural development of themselves, and their own local community. This is based on traditional religious philosophies of developing the inner and outer self through nurturing one's internal and external environment.

**Recommendation 10:**

*Functions for the Bo-Kaap Civic Association*

Local entrepreneurship and business linkages with appropriate organisations within the area need to be identified and implemented by the CA to maintain the economic and cultural structures of the Bo-Kaap. Coupled to this, and also the function of the CA, are regulations to monitor the behaviour of tourist guides and tourists to the Bo-Kaap, to ensure that revenues generated by tours are re-invested in the area. In this respect, a memorandum of understanding (MOU) and other agreements with appropriate commercial providers should be considered, which would lead to the strengthening of the indigenous knowledge systems.

**Recommendation 11:**

*Recommendations for future research on gentrification and tourism development*

It is the researcher's recommendation that research be further refined in the field of tourism and gentrification. In the South African context, however, gentrification processes have largely been absent and this explains a somewhat limited body of literature considering its relevance to the local urban context (Visser, 2002:419). A further exploration into the market demands of tourists visiting the Bo-Kaap is warranted, especially to support the fulfilment of recommendations such as the diversification of existing cultural tourism offerings as well as some of the quantitative results, which have revealed that current traditions that have survived could be regarded as areas of potential cultural tourism development. However, this needs to be tailored according to the special interests of leisure visitors entering the Bo-Kaap. It is therefore suggested that additional research needs to supplement existing research on gentrification in the Bo-Kaap,

specifically in relation to tourism and how it could practically assist in engendering sustainable gentrification across Bo-Kaap and potentially a guide for heritage communities experiencing gentrification across the globe.

#### **6.5 Motivation and significance of research: the effects of gentrification and sustainable cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap**

According to the findings, there is a strong possibility that these interdependent problem areas of change as negative effects of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap, do exist. To prevent acceleration of these negative effects, specific development regulations need to be implemented for the sustainable conservation of the of the Bo-Kaap

This therefore explains the motivation for choosing to do this particular research and the significance thereof, which should encourage the development of sustainable cultural tourism development as a responsible gentrification measure. Both negative and positive elements emerge as a natural process of development. Change and development cannot be avoided but it can be managed in such as manner that the positive elements are capitalised on for the benefit of physical, youth, social, economic and tourism spheres. Negative features could be forecasted and prevented through regulation and control measures. In some instances this needs to be minimised to decrease of the threat to the local heritage, which is central to the motivation of this research.

The significance of this study is that it could create awareness around heritage preservation and sustainable tourism potential in the community, which should aid in the conservation of this unique tourism gem. The results of this research could provide a platform for policy-building surrounding sustainable tourism practice in this heritage area, as well as a guide for all communities. It could also provide employment opportunities and, as a result, a more cohesive youth structure where social youth problems could be mitigated in the process.

The significance of fulfilling the recommendations of the research would not only provide impetus for heritage and cultural, including religious, revival and conservation, but also ultimately satisfying the motivation of creating an ongoing inter-faith and cross-cultural dialogue for peace and co-existence on a neighbourhood level. This could be extended beyond the borders of the Bo-Kaap to global communities and institutions and is especially true in an unstable global political environment, intensified by inter-faith misconceptions and stereotypes. Neighbourliness cannot be achieved among different nations if it is not practised with the neighbour next door.

## 6.6 Conclusion

The findings of this research indicate there are multiple perspectives, experiences and instances of the effects of tourism and tourism gentrification on the Bo-Kaap's physical, economic, cultural and tourism landscape as a result of the heterogeneous economic nature of a largely homogenous cultural community. Nonetheless, as discussed in the comparative analysis of the quantitative and qualitative results, gentrification has indeed taken place in the neighbourhood, but not to the extent that the community has become entirely transformed. The majority of residents refer to themselves as a part of the traditional Cape Malay heritage of the area, and have largely suggested that they do not intend to sell their properties in the near future. However, because of inheritance issues and a widening economic disparity prevalent in the Bo-Kaap community there is potential that this may change in the future, where the demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism effects of gentrification may evolve in an un-sustainable manner if not managed sustainably by the community and stakeholders involved.

These demographic effects of gentrification reveal a growing educated class, as well as an influx of yuppies into the Bo-Kaap area. The local youth therefore have to be a part of responsible change for the community's future generations to benefit. The effects which need to be managed are the physical changes due to gentrification, mostly apparently achieved due to CBD rezoning where heritage laws appear to have been bypassed to line deep pockets in the corporate financial framework of the City of Cape Town. On the other hand, there has been a general maintenance clean-up of the Bo-Kaap neighbourhood. Another effect is the economic changes in the Bo-Kaap resulting from the gentrification and associated increase in municipal rates, stimulating a deeper divide between the wealthy and middle-higher income classes moving into the area. A growing middle class has emerged due to increased education and professional employment within the community. Cultural effects of gentrification manifest as amendments to the traditions and lifestyle of the culture and religion of the area. There is now a stronger sense of entitlement and materialism, particularly among the local youth, as opposed to traditional tight-knit community value systems such as neighbourliness based on deep-seated values of Muslim traditions and 'God consciousness'. Ideals of individualism and cultural diversity are slowly creeping in, which provide opportunity for individual development. However, this needs to be balanced with community progress for harmonious benefit. Religious and cultural values of neighbourliness have thus become a major negative cultural impact of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap.

Finally, the tourism effects of gentrification have largely been the onslaught of mass tourism development which is not controlled or owned by the local community. Tourism is largely

perceived to be inauthentic due to guides not originating from the community, thus projecting staged authenticity through false interpretations of the community. Simultaneously, there are several residents who have positive attitudes toward the potential tourism had to uplift the community if used as a tool to conserve the unique heritage landscape of the Bo-Kaap community.

The changes have had both positive and negative effects on the area, where through responsible management of these changes, through minimising the negative and maximising positive output, recommendations revealed in both quantitative and qualitative designs have reflected on some common measures to achieve this. Educational workshops are vital for youth to revive the Bo-Kaap culture on their own terms. The Bo-Kaap's culture and religion needs to be revived and centred on the significance of 'God consciousness' to rejuvenate the overall harmonious benefit of youth, physical, economic, cultural and sustainable tourism development of the entire community.

Future research needs to focus more on specific tailor-made plans toward sustainable tourism and responsible gentrification in the Bo-Kaap area. In other words, a comprehensive plan comprised of short and long term goals focused on niche problem areas (for example, management of the Tanabaru heritage cemetery) need to be devised.

There also needs to be further investigation into the motivation of current tourists visiting the Bo-Kaap area as a cultural attraction and how this affects gentrification. Many of these tourists offer a more in-depth account of their motivation and experience visiting the Bo-Kaap, which might shed further light on the dynamics of tourism and gentrification as an interrelated phenomenon.

A more in-depth investigation into the current local Bo-Kaap tourism economy and its economic impact on the community and how this relates to gentrification is also warranted. This is essential for sustainable community growth in the Bo-Kaap area, as it requires a background to the role-players in the Bo-Kaap area.

Because the negative social and cultural impacts of gentrification are the primary concern in the community, a more detailed study of these impacts of tourism and gentrification is required. This could aid further in developing a model for sustainable community development amidst gentrification. This should prove to be useful to similar communities facing displacement in their native neighbourhoods.

Another growing aspect of tourism in the Bo-Kaap, and Cape Town in general, is 'Islamic Tourism', a recent phenomenon in this city. This would therefore create an opportunity to explore



niche tourism products especially considering Islam was introduced by the Cape Muslim slaves who built and lived in the Bo-Kaap. Islamic tourism could therefore create social and economic opportunities in the Bo-Kaap area and thus facilitate gentrification to take place in a manner where all stakeholders benefit.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Altinay, L. & Paraskevas, A. 2008. *Planning research in hospitality and tourism*. Burlington, USA: Butterworth-Heinemann.
- Anon. 2013a. Interview with the researcher on 18 August 2013, Cape Town.
- Anon. 2013b. Interview with the researcher on 14 September 2013, Cape Town.
- Anon. 2013c. Interview with the researcher on 29 October 2013, Cape Town.
- Atkinson, D. 2009. Economic decline and gentrification in a small town: the business sector in Aberdeen, Eastern Cape. *Development Southern Africa*, 26(2):271-288.
- Atkinson, R. 2000. The hidden costs of gentrification: displacement in Central London. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 15:307-326.
- Atkinson, R. 2003. Introduction: misunderstood saviour or vengeful wrecker? The many meanings and problems of gentrification. *Urban Studies*, 40(12):2343-2350.
- Babbie, E. 2014. *The basics of social research*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Kentucky, USA: Wadsworth Cengage Learning.
- Badyina, A. & Golubchekov, O. 2005. Gentrification in Central Moscow – a market process or a deliberate policy? Money, power and people in housing regeneration in Ostozhenka. *Geografiska Annaler*, 87(2):113-129.
- Baggio, R. & Klobas, I. 2011. *Aspects in tourism: quantitative methods in tourism – a handbook*. Bristol, UK: Channel View Publications.
- Bailey, C., Miles, M. & Stark, P. 2004. Culture-led urban regeneration and the revitalisation of identities in Newcastle, Gateshead and the North East of England. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(1):47-65.
- Baker, B. 2013. Chairman of the Bo-Kaap Cultural Heritage Gateway. Interview with the researcher on 1 October 2013, Cape Town.
- Barker, B.J., Bell, P., Duggan, A., Horler, V., Le Roux, V., Maurice, P., Rynierse, C. & Schafer, P. 1988. *Illustrated history of South Africa. The real story*. Cape Town: Reader's Digest Association South Africa: 49-53.
- Besculides, A., Lee, M.E. & McCormick, P.J. 2002. Residents' perceptions of the cultural benefits of tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(2):303-319.
- Bo-Kaap Neighbourhood Watch. 2013. Interview with the researcher on 1 November 2013, Cape Town.
- Bures, R.M. & Cain, C. 2008. Dimensions of gentrification in a tourist city. Department of Sociology University of Florida. Paper proposal submitted for presentation at the *2008 Meeting of the Population Association of America*.
- Cape Mazaar Kramat Society. 2001. *Guide to the Kramats of the Western Cape*. Cape Town: Cape Mazaar Kramat Society.

- Chhabra, D., Healy, R. & Sills, E. 2003. Staged authenticity and heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 30(3):702-719.
- Choi, H.C. & Sirakaya, E. 2006. Sustainability indicators for managing community tourism. *Tourism Management*, 27:1247-1289.
- City of Cape Town. 2013. Draft Arts and Culture Policy. Tourism, Events and Marketing Portfolio Committee, 6<sup>th</sup> June 2013. Cape Town, Western Cape Government.
- Colburn, L. & Jepson, M. 2012. Social indicators of gentrification pressure in fishing communities: A context for social impact assessment. *Coastal Management*, 40:289-300.
- Cooking Demography Guide Group. 2013. Interview with the researcher on 24 January 2014, Cape Town.
- Crumbaugh, J. 2005. From tourism studies to the next left: Manuel Vazquez Montalban's running critique. *Arizona Journal of Hispanic Cultural Studies*, 9:71-86.
- Culbertson, K., Turner, D. & Kolberg, J. 1993. Toward a definition of sustainable development in the Yampa Valley of Colorado. *Mountain Research and Development*, 13(4):359-369.
- Curti, G.H., Davenport, J. & Jackiewicz, E.L. 2007. Concrete Babylon: life between the stars. *Association of Pacific Geographers*, 69:45-69.
- Da Costa, A. 2013. Senior women group leader and consultant of the Bo-Kaap Cultural Heritage Gateway. Interview with the researcher on 15<sup>th</sup> August 2013, Cape Town.
- Davids, A. 1980. *Mosques of the Bo-Kaap: a social history of Islam at the Cape*. Cape Town: Cape and Transvaal Printers.
- De Vos, A.S., Strydom, H., Fouche, C.B & Delport, C.S.L. 2002. *Research at grass roots: for the social sciences and human service professions*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Diamantopoulos, A. & Schlegelmilch, B.B. 2000. *Taking the fear out of data analysis*. Bournemouth: Thompson Learning Business Press.
- Die Tamat*. 2004. Producer, Shaffee Shaik; Director, Munier Parker. s.l.: Xcon Film Productions. [Short film (26 minutes)].
- Donaldson, R. 2009. The making of a tourism gentrified town: Greyton, South Africa. *Geography*, 94(2):88- 99.
- Donaldson, R., Kotze, N., Visser, G., Park, J., Wally, N., Zen, J., & Vieyra, O. 2011. Heritage conservation and gentrification by default: the case of Bo-Kaap in Cape Town, South Africa. Research report. Department of Geography and Environmental Studies, University of Stellenbosch.
- Donaldson, R., Kotze, N., Visser, G., Park, J.H., Wally, N., Zen, J. & Vieyra, O. 2013. An uneasy match: neoliberalism, gentrification and heritage conservation in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Forum*, 24:173-188.
- du Cros, H. 2001. A new model to assist in planning for sustainable cultural heritage tourism. *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 3:165-170.
- Dwyer, J. 2009. Reimagining the ethnic enclave: gentrification, rooted cosmopolitanism, and Ernesto Quinonez's 'Chango's Fire'. *Melus*, 34(2):125-139.

- Ercan, M.A. 2010. Searching for a balance between community needs and conservation policies in historic neighbourhoods of Istanbul. *European Planning Studies*, 18(5):833-859.
- Fraser, S., Nackerdien, S. & Mouton, M. 2014. *The Bo-Kaap Kitchen. Heritage recipes and true stories*. Cape Town: Quivertree.
- Frey, N. & George, R. 2010. Sustainable tourism management: the missing link between business owners' attitudes and behaviour in the Cape Town industry. *Tourism Management*, 31:621-628.
- Garrod, B. & Fyall, A. 2000. Managing heritage tourism. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(3):682-708.
- Garside, J. 1993. Inner city gentrification in South Africa: the case of Woodstock, Cape Town. *GeoJournal*, 30(1):29-35.
- George, R. 2008. *Managing tourism in South Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Gibson, C. & Homan, S. 2004. Urban redevelopment, live music and public space. Cultural performance and the re-making of Marrickville. *International Journal of Cultural Policy*, 10(1):67-82.
- Gil, P.F. 2011. Twenty-five years of transformations in the historic centre of Havana. A case-study of the Plaza Vieja. *Facilities*, 29(7/8)303-312.
- Goddard, W. & Melville, S. 1996. *Research methodology: an introduction*. Cape Town: Juta.
- Godfrey, K.B. & Clarke, J.R. 2000. *The tourism development handbook*. Oxford: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Gopnik, A. 2004. Urban studies cities and songs. *New Yorker*, 80(12):1-3.
- Gotham, K.F. 2005. Tourism gentrification: the case of New Orleans' Vieux Carre (French Quarter). *Urban Studies*, 42(7):1099-1121.
- Grunewald, R.D. 2002. Tourism and cultural revival. *Annals of Tourism Research*, 29(4):1004-1021.
- Gunay, Z. 2010. Conservation versus regeneration? The case of European capital of culture Istanbul 2010. *European Planning Studies*, 18(8):1173-186.
- Hammett, D. & Jayawardane, N. 2009. Performing the primitive in the post-colony: Nyoni's Kraal in Cape Town. *Urban Forum*, 20:215-233.
- Hines, J.D. 2010. Rural gentrification as permanent tourism: the creation of the 'New' West Archipelago as post-industrial cultural space. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 28:509-525.
- Hirsch, M. 2014. Heritage under threat. *Atlantic Sun*: 1 & 3, April 3.
- Horton, S. 2000. Maintaining Hispano identity through the Santa Fe Fiesta: re-appropriating key symbols and resisting Anglo dominance. *Kiva*, 66(2):249-265.
- Hughes, H.L. 1995. Redefining cultural tourism. Department of Hotel, Catering and Tourism Management. Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Hunner, J. 2001. Preserving Hispanic lifeways in New Mexico. *The Public Historian*, 23(4):29-40.

- Hutchinson, M. 2006. *Bo-Kaap, colourful heart of Cape Town*. Cape Town: David Phillip Publishers.
- Jackson, R. 2006. Bruny on the brink: governance, gentrification and tourism on an Australian Island. *Island Studies Journal*, 1(2):201-222.
- Johnstone, V. 2001. We don't want you, Bo-Kaap tells city rich. *Cape Argus*: 10, April 5.
- Kammedien, M. 2013. Senior Heritage Consultant & Activist. Interview with the researcher on 30 October 2013, Cape Town.
- Kardas-Nelson, M. 2012. The bar that caused all the trouble in historic Bo-Kaap. *Mail and Guardian*: 20, October 25.
- Khan, A. 2013. Purification of the heart. The Auwwal Mosque Bo-Kaap Lecture Series. 4 December 2013.
- Kincaid, A. 2005. Urban renewal and literary memoirs in contemporary Dublin. *College Literature*, 32(2):16-42.
- Kotze, N. & van der Merwe, I.J. 2000. Neighbourhood renewal in Cape Town's inner city: is it gentrification? *Journal of Family Ecology and Consumer Sciences*, 28:39-46.
- Kunzmann, K.R. 2004. Culture, creativity and spatial planning. *The Town Planning Review*, 75(4):383-404.
- Lapan, S.D. & Quartaroli, M.T. 2009. *Research essentials: an introduction to designs and practices*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Leedy, P.D. 1997. *Practical research: planning and design*. 6<sup>th</sup> ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall.
- Leedy, P.D. & Ormrod, I.E. 2001. *Practical research: planning and design*. 7<sup>th</sup> ed. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Merrill Prentice Hall.
- Lees, L. 2000. A reappraisal of gentrification: towards 'a geography of gentrification'. *Progress in Human Geography*, 24(3):389-408.
- Londt, I. 2014. Sheikh of Auwwal Mosque, Bo-Kaap. Interview with the researcher on 21 January 2014, Cape Town.
- Lubbe, B.A. 2003. *Tourism management in southern Africa*. Durbanville: Zebra Publications.
- Lutzeler, R. 2008. Population increase and new-build gentrification in Central Tokyo. *Erdkunde*, 62(4):287-299.
- Maree, K. 2007. *First steps in research*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Merriam, S.B. 2009. *Qualitative research: a guide to design and implementation*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.
- Myers, D. & Ryu, S. 2008. Aging baby boomers and the generational housing bubble. *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 74(1):18-33.
- Nackerdien, S. 2013. Bo-Kaap tour guide specialist and author. Interview with the researcher on 31<sup>st</sup> July 2013, Cape Town.

- New Resident Group. 2013. Interview with the researcher on 14 November 2013, Cape Town.
- Niedt, C. 2006. Gentrification and the grassroots popular support in the Revanchist Suburb. *Journal of Urban Affairs*, 28(2):99-120.
- Nil Uzun, C. 2003. The impact of urban renewal and gentrification on urban fabric: three cases in Turkey. *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 94(3):363-375.
- Nobre, E.A.C. 2002. Urban regeneration experiences in Brazil: historical preservation, tourism development and gentrification in Salvador da Bahia. *Urban Design*, 7:109-124.
- Ontong, G. 2011. Heritage impact assessment & development proposal for a small boutique hotel in the block bounded by Van Der Meulen, Upper Wale, Pentz and Dorp Streets, Bo-Kaap. Conservation Development & Impact Assessment 11 (APG 5069 F), University of Cape Town.
- Ontong, G. 2013. Director of South African Heritage Resource Agency. Interview with the researcher on 5 December 2013, Cape Town.
- Patch, J. 2004. The embedded landscape of gentrification. *Visual Studies*, 19(2):169-184.
- Perez, G.M. 2002. The other "Real World": gentrification and the social construction of place in Chicago. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economics*, 31(1):37-68.
- Picard, H.W.J. 1968. Gentleman's Walk. Cape Town: Struik
- Poking, J. 2013. Community Tourism Chairperson. Interview with the researcher on 23 August 2013, Cape Town.
- Prince, S. & Williams, B. 2002. Urban legends. *Urban Anthropology and Studies of Cultural Systems and World Economic Development*, 31(1):1-4.
- Richardson, P. 2003. Pilsen's progress. *Crain's Chicago Business*, 26(2):1-6.
- Robins, S. 1998/99. Spicing up the multicultural (post)-apartheid city. *Kronos: Journal of Cape History*, 25:280-293.
- Rodriguez, S. 1998. Fiesta time and plaza space: resistance and accommodation in a tourist town. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 111(439):39-56.
- Rose, C.M. 1981. Preservation and community: new directions in the law of historic preservation. *Stanford Law Review*, 33(3):473-534.
- Samaai, S. 2013. Attorney of the Bo-Kaap Civic Association. Interview with the researcher on 14 August 2013, Cape Town.
- Shaboodien, O. 2012. Chairperson of the Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association. Interview with the researcher on 9 September 2012, Cape Town.
- Shaboodien, O. 2013. Chairperson of the Bo-Kaap Civic and Ratepayers Association. Interview with the researcher on 28 August 2013, Cape Town.
- Simpson, M.C. 2008. Community benefit tourism initiatives – a conceptual oxymoron? *Tourism Management*, 29:1-18.
- Singh, K. 2007. *Quantitative social research methods*. New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Slater, T. 2004. Municipality managed gentrification in South Parkdale, Toronto. *The Canadian Geographer*, 48(3):303-325.

Somekh, B. & Lewin, C. 2006. *Research methods in the social sciences*. London: Sage Publications.

Sze, L. 2010. Chinatown then and neoliberal now: gentrification consciousness and the ethnic-specific museum. *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 17:510-529.

Teo, P. 1994. Assessing cultural impacts: the case of Singapore. *Tourism Management*, 15(2):126-136.

Terre Blanche, M., Durrheim, K. & Painter, D. 2006. *Research in practice. Applied methods for the social sciences*. 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Rondebosch, Cape Town: UCT Press.

Todeschini, F. & Japha, D. 2003. Cultural identity and architectural image in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town. In Al Sayyad, N. (ed.). *The end of tradition?* San Francisco, CA: Routledge: 187-209.

Toffa, S. 2013. Senior architect and heritage consultant for the Bo-Kaap Civic Association. Interview with the researcher on 25 August 2013, Cape Town.

Veal, A.J. 2006. *Research methods for leisure and tourism: a practical guide*. 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Harlow, England: Pearson Education.

Visser, G. 2002. Viewpoint: gentrification and South African cities. Towards a research agenda. *Cities*, 19(6):419-423.

Visser, G. 2003. Gentrification: prospects for urban South African society? *Acta Academia Supplementum*, (1):79-104.

Visser, G. & Kotze, N. 2008. The state and new-build gentrification in central Cape Town, South Africa. *Urban Studie*, 45(12): 2565-2593.

Visser, G. & Rogerson, C.M. 2004. Researching the South African tourism and development nexus. *GeoJournal*, 60:201-215.

Vivian, T. 2013. Destination Development Manager. Cape Town Tourism. Interview with the researcher on 31 October 2013, Cape Town.

Warde, A. 1991. Gentrification as consumption: issues of class and gender. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 9:223-232.

Yutar, D. 2001. A jewel at the city's heart is fading. *Cape Argus*: 15, November 27.

### **QUALITATIVE SURVEY INTERVIEWEES**

Participant 1. G Ontong. Director of South African Heritage Resource Agency. Interview with the researcher on 5 December 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 2. Real estate consultant. Interview with the researcher on the 2 September, 2013.

Participant 3. Non-local small tour operator manager. Interview with the researcher on 12 September 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 4. Small local business owner. Interview with the researcher on the 4 September 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 5. Hotel manager. Interview with the researcher on 27 August 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 6. Non-local tour guide. Interview with the researcher on 27 August 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 7. Foreign business owner. Interview with the researcher on 5 September 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 8. Bo-Kaap Civic Attorney. Interview with the researcher on 14 September 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 9. Local Bo-Kaap specialist tour guide. Interview with the researcher on 31 July 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 10. Small local business owner. Interview with the researcher on 22 August 2013, Cape Town.

Participant 11. Non-local business owner. Interview with the researcher on 7 September 2013, Cape Town.

Participant Focus Group 12. Local specialist guides. Interview with the researcher on 27 October 2013, Cape Town.

Participant Focus Group 13. Local Madressah Teachers (Mualimas: female sheikhs). Interview with the researcher on 12 September 2013, Cape Town

Participant 14. Dr T Vivian. Cape Town Destination Development Manager. Interview with the researcher on 31 October 2013, Cape Town.

Participant Focus Group 15. New resident group. Interview with the researcher on 14 November 2013, Cape Town



## **APPENDICES**

APPENDIX A: CPUT ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL LETTER

APPENDIX B: LETTER OF PERMISSION FROM BAKER

APPENDIX C: LETTER OF PERMISSION FROM SHABOODIEN

APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE COVERING LETTER

APPENDIX E: QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

APPENDIX G: LETTER FROM GRAMMARIAN

# APPENDIX A: CPUT ETHICS COMMITTEE APPROVAL LETTER



P.O. Box 1906 • Bellville 7535 South Africa • Tel: +27 21 8601660 • Email: [salieta@cput.ac.za](mailto:salieta@cput.ac.za)  
Symphony Road Bellville 7535

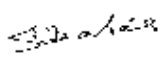
Office of the Chairperson Research Ethics Committee	Faculty: <b>BUSINESS</b>
--	--------------------------

At a meeting of the Research Ethics Committee on 12 June 2013, Ethics Approval was granted to RASSADIEN, Mshkah (207154511), for research activities Related to the MTech/DTech: MTech: Tourism & Hospitality Management at the Cape Peninsula University of Technology.

Title of dissertation/thesis:	The Effect of Gentrification and Responsible Cultural Tourism Development in Bo-Kaap, Cape Town
	Supervisor: Prof Spencer

**Comments:**

**Decision: APPROVED**

	12 June 2013
Signed: Chairperson: Research Ethics Committee	Date
Signed: Chairperson: Faculty Research Committee	Date

Clearance Certificate No 12013TRR/0099

## APPENDIX B: LETTER OF PERMISSION FROM CULTURAL & HERITAGE GATEWAY



---

Contact: +2772 643 0054    email: [hokaapheritage@gmail.com](mailto:hokaapheritage@gmail.com)    074-991-NPO

### CONSENT LETTER

To whom it may concern

Mishkah Bassadien is known to me as a member of the Bo-Kaap Cultural and Heritage Gateway, a non profit organisation in Bo-Kaap.

We are happy to have Mishkah conduct research on gentrification and sustainable tourism in the Bo-Kaap.

The information she gains could be invaluable to understanding the present and future culture of our area, and what influences affect us at present.

Thank you

Yours sincerely

Bilqees Baker  
Chairperson  
Bo-Kaap Cultural Heritage Gateway  
Contact number: 0741011837

## APPENDIX C: LETTER OF PERMISSION FROM BO-KAAP CIVIC ASSOCIATION

**BO-KAAP**  
**CIVIC ASSOCIATION**  
23 Jordaan Street, Bo-Kaap 8001

30 May 2013

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

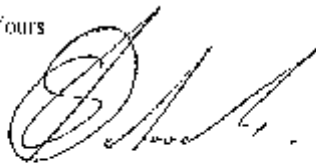
Dear Sir / Madam

The Bo-Kaap Civic Association is pleased and willing to assist Ms Mishkah Bassudien in her Masters studies on the Bo-Kaap area.

She is welcomed by the community to do her fieldwork research on gentrification and its effects on Bo-Kaap.

Her study aims to investigate responsible cultural tourism as a tool to holistically develop our community on an economic, socio-cultural and environmental level. This will ultimately aid in the Bo-Kaap Civic Association's goal to mitigate the effects of gentrification and to develop, yet preserve this special heritage community for our future generations to benefit.

Yours



O.A. SHABOODIEN  
CHAIRPERSON

(076) 178 8520  
(082) 881 3857

## APPENDIX D: QUESTIONNAIRE COVERING LETTER



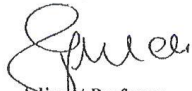
Ms Mishkah Bassadien is a Masters' student of the Cape Peninsula University of Technology. The topic for her study is the effect of gentrification of the Bo-Kaap area. Gentrification can be defined as the change on an area as a result of low income residents being replaced by high income residents.

This research aims to establish, and develop, responsible cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap. The information gathered from your input in this survey will lead to recommendations which could aid in reviving this spiritedly cultured community through tourism job creation and thus reduce social problems across the age span of the Bo-Kaap population. There is no 'right' or 'wrong answer'. Your information will be held confidential.

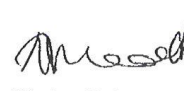
Please allow Ms Bassadien to use your knowledge and expertise to gather information for her study. All data collected will be treated in the strictest confidence. No people details will be asked, and no personal details will be made known to any person or organisation except for a summary in her dissertation.

You may however leave your contact details at the back of the questionnaire *if you so wish*, as per the request of the Bo-Kaap Civic for residential data purposes.

I thank you in advance for your gracious contribution.



Adjunct Professor  
Department of Tourism and Events Management  
29 May 2013  
Professor John Spencer  
T (021) 460 3022



Masters Student  
Mishkah Bassadien  
Cell (079) 373 6269



## APPENDIX E: QUESTIONNAIRE

### SECTION A

1 Where applicable, please indicate the most suitable response in the following tables by placing an X or tick in the chosen block.

1.1 In which street do you live in Bo-Kaap? .....

1.2 Do you rent or own property in the Bo-Kaap? .....

1.3 How long are you / your family living in Bo-Kaap?

0-15 years	1
16-30 years	2
31-45 years	3
Over 45 years	4

1.4 Has anybody viewed your property with an intention of purchasing the property?  
 Yes  No  Maybe  I don't know   
 Please provide a reason for your answer?  
 .....

1.5 How many family members/ members in your household?

0-2	1
3-5	2
6-8	3
9-11	4
12-15	5
Above 15	6

1.6 What is your age range?

18-25	1
26-35	2
36-45	3
46-55	4
56-65	5
66-75	6
Above 75 years old	7

1.7 What is your gender?

M	1	F	2
---	---	---	---

1.8 What racial category do you fall under?

Cape Malay / Cape Muslim	1
Coloured	2
Indian	3
Black	4
White	5
Other (Please specify)	6

1.9 What is your highest educational qualification within your household? Please specify which qualification in the block below.

0 – Grade 8 (std 5)	1
Grade 9 – Grade 11 (std 9)	2
Grade 12 (Matric)	3
Certificate/Diploma	4
Degree	5
Honours	6
Masters/Doctorate	7

*The following information will be remain confidential and will not be singularly used in the research. It is however beneficial to our overall findings. Answering is completely optional.*

1.10 What is the respondent's monthly family/ personal income range?	
R0 – R5000	1
R5001-R10000	2
R10001 – R15000	3
R15001 – R20000	4
R20001 – R25000	5
R25001 – R30000	6
R30001 – R35000	7
R35001 – R40000	8
R40001 – R45000	9
R45001 - R50000	10
R50001 - R55000	11
R55001 - R60000	12
R60001 and above	13

1.11 If employed, into which employment category do you fall?

Artisan (mechanic, construction, plumber etc)	1
Craftsmanship (tailor, dressmaker, shoemaker etc)	1
Self-employed (please specify)	1
White collar (CEO, director, manager)	1
Professional (Lawyer, engineer, doctor)	1
Other (please specify)	1

## **SECTION B**

- 2 Please indicate whether you Strongly Agree (1), Agree (2), Neutral (3), Disagree (4) or Strongly Disagree (5) with the following statements by ticking the column which represents the option.**

	<b>Strongly Agree</b>	<b>Agree</b>	<b>Neutral</b>	<b>Disagree</b>	<b>Strongly Disagree</b>
2.1 I know all my neighbours.	1	2	3	4	5
2.2 We attend community gatherings / events.	1	2	3	4	5
2.3 Bo-Kaap is a friendly community.	1	2	3	4	5
2.4 Social problems amongst the youth are on the increase in my community.	1	2	3	4	5
2.5 Life in the Bo-Kaap has changed.	1	2	3	4	5
2.6 There is a tourism regulation body protecting Bo-Kaap interests.	1	2	3	4	5
2.7 Bo-Kaap tourism is owned by the local community.	1	2	3	4	5
2.8 Bo-Kaap tourism is controlled by the local residents who make decisions.	1	2	3	4	5
2.9 Bo-Kaap locals benefit economically and socially from tourism in the area.	1	2	3	4	5
2.10 Tourism protects the culture and heritage of Bo-Kaap	1	2	3	4	5
2.11 Practice and knowledge of my culture and heritage has decreased in the last 10 years in the Bo-Kaap.	1	2	3	4	5
2.12 I pass down my traditions and heritage to my children.	1	2	3	4	5
2.13 My parents have passed down their traditions to me.	1	2	3	4	5
2.14 I respect Bo-Kaap culture and want it to be preserved for future generations.	1	2	3	4	5
2.15 The historical and cultural tourism value of the area has changed in the last 20 years.	1	2	3	4	5
2.16 The standard of living in my household has improved.	1	2	3	4	5
2.17 The standard of living in Bo-Kaap has improved in general.	1	2	3	4	5
2.18 The value of my property has increased in the last 10 years.	1	2	3	4	5
2.19 The values of properties in Bo-Kaap have increased in general.	1	2	3	4	5
2.20 My rental costs have increased in the last 10 years.	1	2	3	4	5
2.21 The rental costs of property in Bo-Kaap have increased in general.	1	2	3	4	5
2.22 Increases in rates make it unaffordable to maintain my property.	1	2	3	4	5
2.23 Increase in rates make it unaffordable to start my own business	1	2	3	4	5
2.24 I understand the meaning of the word 'gentrification'	1	2	3	4	5
2.25 I would sacrifice a high increase in my income for a short period of time for the long term economic benefit of the entire community, including myself.	1	2	3	4	5



**3 Please tick in the box the relevant answer to your questions and explain where necessary.**

3.1 The Bo-Kaap culture is still the same as 20 years ago.  
Yes  No  Maybe  I don't know  If yes, please explain why

.....

3.2 There are class / income changes within the Bo-Kaap population.  
Yes  No  Maybe  I don't know  If yes, please explain why

.....

3.3 New businesses replace local businesses threatening the cultural charm of the Bo-Kaap.  
Yes  No  Maybe  I don't know  If yes, please explain

why.....

3.4 The physical appearance of Bo-Kaap has changed in the last 20 years.  
Yes  No  Maybe  I don't know  If yes, please explain why

.....

3.5 What, if any, in your opinion are the cultural changes within the Bo-Kaap area, in the last 20 years? Please explain WHY and LIST the impact of these changes on the Bo-Kaap peoples' lifestyle.

.....

3.6 Please list how you think the traditions that have died out (if there are any) can be brought back (*revived*) and preserved? Please list examples of them and how they can be revived:

.....

3.7 If any, which Bo-Kaap traditions are still being practiced today, which can be used for cultural tourism that has not been done in Bo-Kaap tourism yet? Please explain how by giving examples.

.....

3.8 What is your opinion of Tourism in the Bo-Kaap in general? Please motivate your answer.....

.....

3.9 Do you think that existing tourism companies operating in the Bo-Kaap area are providing authentic (*truthful and accurate*) tours to the tourists? Please explain by providing examples

.....

## APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

### Interview Schedule: Bo-Kaap community leaders; businesses and organisations.

1. As far as gentrification in the Bo-Kaap district is concerned, do you consider it to have positive or negative effects on the community? Why?
2. What do you consider to be the changes and impacts of gentrification on Bo-Kaap residents? cultural; economic; physical; age and youth.
3. What do you consider to be responsible management of these changes in the Bo-Kaap?
4. What is your interpretation of tourism in the Bo-Kaap?
5. Please give your views of staged authentic tourism and gentrification in the Bo-Kaap.
6. Who is responsible for sustainable cultural/community tourism in the Bo-Kaap? Is there a local tourism authority protecting the interests of the community?
7. Is there a function for heritage preservation and cultural renewal in the Bo-Kaap? (This includes youth sustainability)
8. What do you consider to be a sustainable tourism legacy in the Bo-Kaap?

.....  
.....

## APPENDIX G: LETTER FROM GRAMMARIAN

22 Krag Street  
Napier  
7270  
Overberg  
Western Cape

September 2015

### EDITING & PROOFREADING

Cheryl M. Thomson

---

### ***THE EFFECTS OF GENTRIFICATION AND SUSTAINABLE CULTURAL TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN THE BO-KAAP, CAPE TOWN***

This is to confirm that the above-titled Master's dissertation of MISHKAH BASSADIEN, student number 207154511, at the CAPE PENINSULA UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY, was edited (language and technical) by Cheryl Thomson in preparation for submission of dissertation for assessment.

Yours faithfully

CHERYL M. THOMSON

e-mail: [cherylthomson2@gmail.com](mailto:cherylthomson2@gmail.com)

cell: 0826859545