

Rural Transformation?
Race and Space in Prince Albert, South Africa

Haley A. McEwen

Mcwhal001

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DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signed by candidate

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Abstract

This critical ethnographic study is concerned with dynamics of race and space in Prince Albert, a rural South African town. Proceeding in the wake of previous studies which have identified mechanisms of informal segregation in urban, post-apartheid contexts, this study aims to explore the ways in which transformation, as a national imperative to democratize South Africa's economic, political, and social landscape, is taking shape in small rural towns. It is found that fifteen years after the end of apartheid, Prince Albert's coloured and white residents remains spatially segregated. It is argued here that this persistent segregation and inequality has become further entrenched by changes which have occurred upon the arrival of white middle class English speaking South Africans during the past fifteen years. Specifically, in advocating for the protection of Prince Albert's 'heritage value' and concomitant development of the tourism industry, these new residents exert a symbolic control of space which centers their own interests and identities and ultimately re-assigns coloured residents a peripheral, disenfranchised socio-economic status.

PART ONE

1

Introduction

“A place on the map is also a place in history”¹

The transformation of apartheid era South Africa into a new democratic Rainbow Nation² has been noted both for its potential and its shortcomings. At the dawn of the new democracy, scholars revealed that process of democratization could be described not only as a "miracle", or a "rebirth" (Deegan 1999), but also as a "bold experiment" (Schlemmer & Giliomee 1994) or a "hopelessly misguided adventure" (ibid). When considered collectively, this spectrum of metaphors speaks to the complexity and uniqueness of the post-apartheid era in South Africa.

Fifteen years into the new South Africa, authors continue to speak to this complexity, documenting the persistence of socio-economic inequality between a privileged white minority and a disadvantaged black majority. Throughout the existing body of literature authors have, in their own capacities and contexts, consistently identified the persistence of informal segregation. This consistent finding provides a strong indication for the continued exploration of race, space, and identity in South Africa. More specifically, this literature gestures towards the need to develop knowledge of the informal mechanisms which create barriers to integration.

In attempting to explore this gap in the literature, many authors have pointed to the significance of space in the study of South African race relations, particularly in the residential, urban context. This development is unsurprising given the significance of space in the maintenance of white hegemonic rule during the apartheid era. Through the development of Grand Apartheid policies such as the implementation of the Group Areas

1 (Rich 1984: 212 in Geographies of Resistance (1997) Eds. S.Pile and M.Keith (Eds.) London: Routledge.

2 Archbishop Desmond Tutu first dubbed the new South Africa the "Rainbow Nation" in 1994 (Mangu 2004:105)

Act which resulted in the forced removal of thousands of black and coloured South Africans from their homes and communities, and petty apartheid policies which prohibited interracial intimacy and contact, the apartheid government aimed to protect the power and purity of the white race through the disenfranchisement of the 'non-white' majority. In reflecting upon such atrocities, the potency of space becomes clear as one considers that without the weaponry of spatial planning and legislation which prohibited interracial contact, apartheid would have meant or accomplished little. For, the word 'apartheid' itself, translated to from Afrikaans, denotes apartness, and the state of being separate (Western 1981: 141). While such legislation was formally dismantled in the early 1990's, and the election of Nelson Mandela in 1994 marked the momentous and dramatic transition to democracy, the legacy of apartness remains a striking feature of post-apartheid society.

1.1 The Research Problematic

As indicated earlier in this introduction, the investigation of racial and spatial dynamics has provided powerful methods of understanding current processes of informal segregation in post-apartheid South Africa. In particular, inquiry which focuses on the everyday, lived experience of race, space, and identity has provided insights for understanding why transformation has not proceeded entirely as anti-apartheid activists may have hoped or expected. Namely, the increasing relevance of class as opposed to race as a determinant of one's social position has been noted by authors who have examined changing patterns of racial integration in residential areas. With a few exceptions, much of this work has been deployed in urban areas and their surrounding suburban metropoli. While such studies have been deeply informative and insightful, they have yet to encounter rural contexts where dynamics of race and space could offer new and important insights.

With the aim to fill this gap in the existing body of knowledge, the Institute for Intercultural and Diversity Studies of Southern Africa (iNCUDISA) initiated the Rural Transformation project. With the aim to gain an understanding of how transformation is experienced in the rural context, the project, in its completion, will include case studies of nine small towns across the country. Through critical ethnographic data collection

methods such as in-depth interviewing and participant observation, the project will contribute qualitative investigation and nuanced understandings of transformation in South Africa's rural areas with specific regards to dynamics of race, space, and identity.

In February of 2008, I was asked by iNCUDISA to conduct one of the three pilot studies involved in the project. Thus, it is the research undertaken throughout this process which informs this study. The assignment was to choose a small town in the Western Cape in which a study of race and space could be conducted. Throughout the process of identifying a town and conducting qualitative research, I was to look for a "story" of the town which would speak to the shape of transformation in post-apartheid rural South Africa.

1.2 The Context

I chose Prince Albert. A town isolated by a surrounding semi-desert Karoo landscape and off the beaten track of the major highways which connect highly populated urban centers. In conducting desktop research and ethnographic fieldwork, a story began to emerge which told of inertia and change during an era of transformation. In further exploring the ways in which Prince Albert's residents have experienced the past fifteen years, it became evident that the unequal power relationships which characterized the 'old' South Africa are currently being reproduced in new ways. More specifically, it became apparent that a particular spatial representation of the town, mobilized by discourses of heritage and tourism development, served to maintain informal racial segregation as well as economic inequality.

It is argued here that the discourses of heritage and tourism produce a hegemonic spatial representation from which privileged residents of Prince Albert derive symbolic power. Kevin Meethan reveals the consequences, explaining that spatial manifestations of certain forms of cultural consumption act as tangible and visible symbols of power. According to him, the "control over space...imposes ways of perceiving and acting by precluding the articulation of alternatives" (Meethan 1996: 194). In Prince Albert, the symbolic control of space by elite residents excludes alternative representations which speak to the interests of a marginalized coloured community, ultimately presenting post-apartheid barriers to transformative processes.

1.3 The Method of Inquiry

Therefore, it will be through listening to the spectrum of voices heard throughout fieldwork, along with the consultation of various document sources that the alternative, buried story of Prince Albert will emerge. And, from a conceptual approach which is framed by a concern for ways in which unequal relations of power operate, the story will ultimately speak to the initial question which guided this research process: What is the shape of transformation in rural post-apartheid South Africa?

This question will be considered through a critical ethnographic framework, which will be mobilized by a discursive analysis of verbal and written texts. Namely, in-depth interviews will provide insight into the ways in which residents describe and evaluate change in the town since the end of apartheid, and written text will reveal representations of Prince Albert in local and national government, as well as in the popular press through mediums such as tourism promotion literature. In doing so, analysis will reveal the counter-representation of Prince Albert which is disabled, or closed down, by the current hegemonic spatial representation imposed by a privileged minority.

1.4 The Method of Analysis

Through a review of recent literature which theoretically and empirically examines the notions of tourism and heritage, it will be seen that in the context of Prince Albert, these concepts are firmly entangled within the dominant spatial representation of the town. Gentrification literature will also be consulted so as to shed light on the current socio-economic changes occurring in the town.

In listening to the ways in which an elite minority constructs the need for the 'preservation' of the town's heritage and promotion of tourism, such discourses will not be seen to "faithfully reflect reality like mirrors" (Riggins 1997: 3). Rather, from a critical approach to discourse, they will be seen as "artifacts of language through which the very reality they purport to reflect is constructed" and involved in the production of power relationships (ibid). Through special focus on the relations of power such

discourses re-create, the aim of analysis will be to uncover how these discourses open up or close down processes of transformation in this rural South African town.

1.5 The Purpose

Such investigation is considered vital at this point in the period of transformation in South Africa. As will be revealed throughout this thesis, discourses of heritage and tourism are prolific not only in Prince Albert, but in South Africa and the 'developing' world at large. As lower income nation, South Africa strives attract increasing numbers of tourist dollars as a means of spurring economic development. However, as critical literature reveals, these methods of economic development ultimately serve the interests of a privileged elite (both locally and internationally) in that it functions to reproduce unequal relations of power. Thus, this thesis serves as an empirical investigation of how discourses of heritage and tourism re-construct dynamics of race and space.

1.6 A Road Map to this study

The second chapter of this study details the conceptual framework which informed this research, and provides theoretical insights into post-apartheid dynamics of race, space, and identity. The concept of transformation will be further explored, as well as literature which theorizes notions of heritage, tourism, and gentrification. In the third chapter, I review the relevant literature which empirically examines race and space in post apartheid South Africa, along with that which investigates heritage, tourism, and gentrification in local contexts. Chapter four describes the methodology which guided the research process, detailing the ways in which data was collected, managed, and analyzed. In chapters five, six, and seven, I present findings which emerged through desktop research and fieldwork. Lastly, chapter eight discusses the significance of these findings, and their implications for processes of transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

2

How do we get there? Guiding concepts and theories

Any attempt to understand race and space in South Africa today requires that one begin with an understanding of the extent to which constructions of racial difference have been used as a means through which whites have legitimated their power and privilege, in light of their minority status, throughout the past three hundred years not only through apartheid in South Africa, but across what is now considered to be the ‘developing’ or postcolonial world. And, while it must be acknowledged that apartheid was only one instance of the white supremacy which characterized the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, it has also been referred to as “the most notorious system of racial segregation since Nazi Germany” (Long Night’s Journey into Day: 2000). Underpinning the enforcement of apartheid was a system of racial segregation which was an extreme case of those not belonging to the white hegemonic social group being marginalized in a variety of ways, rendered effectively powerless both economically and politically (Hubbard 2005:292). As human geographer Phillip Hubbard recalls (ibid), apartheid was also explicitly spatial, in that it was characterized by a hegemonic white population that was able to enjoy ‘Western-style’ standards of living, while the majority of the black population, which constituted 75 per cent of the country’s total, were forced to live in the Homelands (or *Bantustans*). “These amounted to only 13 per cent of the land area of South Africa, and were typically characterized by poor agriculture, lacked mineral resources and had little infrastructure” (ibid).

In the years of formal apartheid in South Africa, the protection of the ‘purity’ of whiteness from a ‘dangerous’ and ‘contaminating’ blackness became written into legislation that was fundamentally premised on racist segregationist ideology. Enforced by the National Party government which was elected into office in 1948, apartheid policies emerged from the history of colonization of southern Africa and culminated with the development of racist policies of forced segregation and a severely unequal

distribution of resources. This involved the formalization and expansion of colonial beliefs, policies, and practices into a system of structural racism that constitutionally ensured the subjugation of 'non-whites'.

2.1 Space as Weapon of Apartheid

A central means through which the apartheid government was able to reinforce the mandate to keep designated racial groups apart was through the manipulation of space. Namely, the Group Areas Act of 1950, which is often considered to be at the heart of the apartheid regime, was designed to maintain the separation of racial groups geographically. In the height of the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950, John Western (1981:6) expounded upon the complex dialectic of social structure and spatial structure which was made evident through the Act, illustrating that human social relations are both space contingent and space forming. This Act, as Western points out, is a clear manifestation of the intentions and interests of dominant whites whose power is reinforced through the imposition of rigidly segregationist racial policies. Speaking specifically about the implementation of the Group Areas Act in Cape Town, Western writes (1981: 6):

The majority of the people who have been forced to leave their homes and go to new racially homogenous residential areas are those who are by the government termed "(Cape) Coloured" persons. An investigation of their position in South African society over the past thirty or more years shows that in political, economic, and social spheres the people of "mixed blood" have lost their limited, second-class constitutional incorporation with the ruling Whites and...much of their erstwhile economic and social overlap with Whites has been eroded by laws made by Whites.

For Western, it is no coincidence that at the same time coloured people were being distanced socially, their place in spatial relations was changing as they shifted from having some integration with whites to being distanced and ghettoized to peripheral (and under resourced) areas (Western 1981: 7). As Western explains, the Group Areas Act attempted to bring *social* organization and *spatial* organization into congruence so that they would reinforce each other, and ultimately maintain white minority hegemonic rule.

In a more recent discussion, Social psychologists Durrheim and Dixon (2005a) describe apartheid as a “global icon of segregation” (Durrheim and Dixon 2005a: 1). In contextualizing their study of the contact hypothesis in post-apartheid South Africa, the authors begin with a discussion of the history of racial inequality and segregation. First pointing to ‘grand apartheid’ schemes³, the authors also point to the ‘petty apartheid’ policies which further entrenched racist ideology into the everyday lives of all South Africans. Through the provision of separate amenities for whites and non-whites such as park benches, public toilets, beaches, and graveyards, it became clear that the resources available for ‘non-whites’ were inferior to those which were deemed ‘Whites Only’ (Durrheim and Dixon 2005a: 3, see also: Christopher 2001a). While Western provides an intimate portrayal of life under the Group Areas Act, Durrheim and Dixon offer a recent account of how apartheid lives on in the hearts and minds of many South Africans. Taking us to the point where Western’s discussion left off, the authors recall that in South Africa, the 1990’s were remembered as the decade in which the struggle culminated into the victory of the African National Congress and the establishment of a democratic constitution⁴.

Through the replacement of racist segregationist policies with those which mandated redress, South Africa “seemed set for a shining future of racial equality and integration; the promise of a ‘rainbow nation’ beckoned” (Durrheim and Dixon 2005a: 3). Upon the demise of formal segregation, interest in patterns and processes of racial desegregation (mostly in residential areas) developed amongst scholars who wished to further probe the persistence of, what is now referred to by many as, *informal* segregation. Embarking upon the observation that residential integration had not gained momentum as many had hoped upon the demise of apartheid, scholars have resounded in their investigation of why and how racial segregation and inequality remains a strong feature in South African society today.

³ i.e. the Group Areas Act of 1950, the Homelands system, and the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949

⁴ Upon the victory of Nelson Mandela in the first democratic election in 1994, significant developments in legislation included the Human Rights Commission Act of 1994, the Employment Equity Act of 1998, and the Promotion of Equality and Prevention of Unfair Discrimination Act of 2000

2.2 Race and Space in post-apartheid South Africa

In the early years of this conversation, Grant Saff (1994, 1996, 1998) contributed his extensive research on the conflict between squatters and property owners in South African cities in which he examined processes of change in urban landscape since the 1980s. Presenting discussions of the spatial and class dynamics that have led to the manifestation of struggles for land, housing, jobs, and social services for the urban poor, Saff forecasted the strength of market driven forces to come as access to urban space would become based on economic rather than racial criteria.

As means of informal segregation became increasingly visible and prevalent, scholars began to conduct more context specific studies of race and space in post apartheid South Africa (Bloom 1971, Foster 1991, Foster and Nel 1991, Kotze and Donaldson 1998, Christopher 2001, Saff 2001, Ballard 2002, Durrheim and Dixon 2003, Stokoe and Wallwork 2003, Ballard 2004a, Ballard 2004b, Popke and Ballard 2004, Durrheim and Dixon 2004, Durrheim and Dixon 2005a, Durrheim and Dixon 2005b, Piper, et al. 2005). Such studies have concluded, in their own capacities, that racial segregation continues to be a pervasive feature in South African social relations.

Emigration has been pointed to as one way in which white South Africans have kept themselves apart from threatening ‘non-white’ Others. In studying migration patterns in post-apartheid South Africa, Alison Todes finds that while there is indeed significant movement into urban areas which have growing economies, there is also movement into areas with weak or declining economic bases. This finding presents a challenge to the ‘normalisation’ thesis which assumes that “with the termination of apartheid controls, people [will] migrate to the cities” and as people move closer to work, “the apartheid spatial disjunctures between population and economic activity at a national and regional scale [will] disappear... ‘normalising’ the settlement pattern” (Todes 2001: 1). Through a review of South African urbanisation dynamics in the late 1990s and existing schools of thought on the subject, Todes argues for a shift away from the “totalizing” narrative of the normalization thesis and narrow conceptions of policy (Todes 2001: 20). While Todes acknowledges that migration theory and the

normalization thesis have contributed to an understanding of why people migrate towards cities, other theories have presented important critiques and perspectives on migration⁵.

Through the presentation of a case study on Newcastle, Todes concludes that while there is evidence that some people move to cities and other centres of growth, there are also important exceptions that must not be overlooked as people also move to places with weak or declining economic bases. For Todes, such processes present questions about policy positions and decisions that assume that normalization can and will occur. Thus, Todes suggests the need to further investigate the particular constructions employed by those who move from centres of economic activity to places with weak or declining economic bases.

2.2.1 Semigration

In speaking to recent trends to both emigrate and segregate amongst white South Africans, Ballard points to 'semigration' as one way in which segregation has adapted to the post-apartheid deregulation of space (Ballard 2004: 60). Originally a term that was used to describe the migration of many whites from Johannesburg to Cape Town in the 1990s, the term has also been used to refer to high perimeter walls around properties, enclosed neighborhoods, and gated communities (Barrell 2000). Ballard suggests the expansion of the theoretical understanding of the term, explaining that semigration can also refer to a "hybrid of emigration and segregation" which occurs as whites flee racially integrated urban areas (Ballard 2004:61). For Ballard, an expression of its extreme form is the gated community which is the "creation of a 'self-contained town' from which residents seldom need to venture" (ibid). As Ballard explains, the gated community has developed in response to increasing fears of cities. And, as Caldeira has pointed out (1996:314), gated communities offer "a 'self sufficient town' from which some lucky people will seldom have to venture, residents will be able to avoid the city all together" (Ballard 2004:62). Ballard agrees, explaining that the appeal of gated communities "rests not only on the idealized neighborhood free from others, but also on the potential

⁵ Neo-classical theories, for instance, have focused on individual agency, and argue that migration is a response to differentials in conditions between places. Central to existing theories of this school is a focus on the variables which may or may not influence an individual to move out of economically stagnant or declining areas to those where greater opportunities are available (Todes 2001: 9). Post-structuralist arguments, on the other hand, argue that migration occurs within a culturally constructed context which is infused with particular meanings that may differ for certain groups of people within particular spatial and temporal contexts.

avoidance of the city as a whole” (Ballard 2004:62). Consequently, many have “found their ‘peace of mind’ by establishing privatized fortified enclaves”, a process which Ballard refers to as the “fortification of space” (Ballard 2004: 63). Noting that such trends are not limited to South Africa, Ballard explains such processes have been well documented in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Brazil (Caldiera 1996; Davis 1990).

Crime has often been cited as the primary reason for white flight from cities and the subsequent development of such urban forms (Caldeira 1996, Hook and Vrdoljak 2002, Landman and Schonteich 2002, Landman 2004). But, as Ballard also points out, fear of crime is not the only motivation for affluent residents to move to gated communities. Rather, these new and more extreme systems of security not only provide protection from crime, but they also create segregated spaces in which exclusionary practices are carefully and rigorously exercised. Namely, through the privatization of space, residents are able to exclude those who are seen as both criminally threatening and undesirable, or, the underclass (Ballard 2004, Caldiera 1996). According to Ballard, the fantasy of such exclusion is an expression of the desire to control these spaces so that access can be regulated.

2.3 Space and Identity

Recently, the role of space as a constituting factor in the construction of individual and group identity has become theoretically acknowledged in response to postmodern and poststructural reconsiderations of power and representation (Benko 1997). In these emerging debates, essentialized notions of identity are rejected along with the view that space is static or fixed.

Natter and Jones (1997) provide a poignant discussion of space and identity, which is framed by their postmodern and poststructural concern with power relations and discourse theory. In articulating a nonessentialist method of examining identity and space, Natter and Jones indicate two primary objectives. First, such an approach “conceive[s] of identities and spaces as open and plural sites of multiple identifications which suggests...that the praxis be conceived as an ongoing project” (Natter and Jones 1997: 154). Second, a nonessentialist method “would attempt to rework both identity and

space by reconfiguring the field of socio-spatial relations that maintain dominant meanings and practices in social space (Natter and Jones 1997: 158). Thus, the authors call not for the destruction of existing or the production of new material spaces, but rather an epistemological reconfiguration of spaces and identities.

While Natter and Jones point out that some may consider such a focus to overlook the lived, material affects that such categories engender, they contend that “precisely the opposite is true: it is only through the linkage of both- the construction of the category and the material effects that conform to and reproduce the category- that we can deconstruct with full force the deep structure that construct difference as meaningful and deploy it in hegemonic projects” (Natter and Jones 1997: 151). For, to question the social effects of a category, such as a certain space, without acknowledging the ways in which such a category is constructed through ‘difference’ and the operation of power relations, will reify the hierarchy inscribed in and by the category, thus sustaining the hierarchy as inevitable, natural, and unchangeable (ibid).

2.3.1 *Nonessential Identity*

According to Natter and Jones, any discussion of identity necessarily involves the question of boundaries as in “where and how identity becomes circumscribed” (Natter and Jones 1997: 146). Thus, it is argued that any consideration of identities must consider ‘what is at stake’ in the processes of drawing boundaries in attempts to categorize and hegemonize. In reference to Foucault’s assertion that “where one encounters the category, one of necessity also finds ordering, hierarchy, and-under the aegis of instrumental reason- tools for social domination” (Foucault 1970 in Natter and Jones 1997: 143) the authors point out that category itself is an exercise of power in which alterity is appropriated and assigned social significance.

From this nonessentialist approach, identity is recognized as being an imaginary construct that is inherently shaped by relations of power. More specifically, the question of how hegemonic social power attempts to fix identification around “‘nodal points’ where ‘identity’ can be constructed and policed” (Laclau and Mouffe 1985 in Natter and Jones 1997: 146) takes centre stage as hegemony is understood as “the process by which identification/identity congeals as apparently fixed, if not natural” (Natter and Jones

1997: 146). Even more, this poststructuralist approach to hegemony asserts that categories are not only social, but aspects of Otherness are appropriated and amplified into systems of social differentiation, always and contingently producing subjects in the interest of hegemonic power (Natter and Jones 1997: 148).

2.3.2 *Nonessential Space*

In developing a nonessentialist theory of social space, the authors assert that “in contrast to a category of space as self-present social essence, it is more useful to start with a conception of space that, like the subject, is a *lack* to be filled, contested, and reconfigured through contingent and partially determined social relations, practices and meanings” (Natter and Jones 1997: 149). Explaining that the danger inherent in essentialist conceptions of social space rests in the “strategic fact that hegemonic cultural practices will always attempt to fix the meaning of space, arranging any number of particularities, disjunctures, and juxtapositions into a seamless unity” the authors raise a critical brow to discourses which attempt to fix, define, or normalize “one place” and “one identity” (Natter and Jones 1997: 150)⁶.

Therefore, the authors maintain that the spatial can never be rendered apolitical, arguing that space is “an always already, but never predetermined representation” (Natter and Jones 1997: 151). Pointing to the ideological brick and mortar upon which neighborhoods, streets, buildings, and monuments are erected, the authors explain that “social space, despite its apparent substantive materiality, is thus also characterized by an emptiness, one which social powers work to substantiate” through meaning, content, truth value, and objectivity (ibid). Thus space, like identity, cannot escape the naturalizing processes of hegemony.

2.3.3 *Hegemonic Spatiality*

For Natter and Jones, a nonessentialist view of social space and identity takes cognizance of “hegemonic spatiality”, which they define as “the categorically ordered possibilities for, and the construction of, meanings about any space, [which] is a

⁶ In considering constructions of space to be the product of categorisation, contestation, and control, the authors point to a beacon of hope for those who are Othered in such processes. Explaining that hegemony is like any other form of power in that it is never fixed or inevitable but rather always open to exposure, confrontation, reversal, and refusal, the authors indicate that counterhegemonic or disidentifying practices can function as mechanisms through which socio-spatial Others may exercise power and transform social space (ibid).

representational process that works to tie ‘readers’ –or ‘operators’-however tentatively, to ‘texts’- and ‘space’” (Natter and Jones 1997:151). As the authors explain, this approach has direct implications for the status of concepts such as “centre” and “periphery” which have been used as organizing principles in the structuring of space. Because the social processes of centering entail a structuring moment that is necessary to perform such ordering, it is argued that at the same time, any such structuring implies the assignment of a periphery. For the authors, “Assignment to the periphery ‘provides a home’- one of terror- for ‘the other,’” (Natter and Jones 1997: 150).

In considering how to construct a politics that is capable of confronting the solidifications of space and identity that have emerged from essentialist formulations, Natter and Jones utilize the equation (Natter and Jones 1997: 152):

certain spaces = certain identities

For the authors, while this equation is characteristic of modernist traditions which geographically mapped ‘peoples’ regionally and culturally (Natter and Jones 1997:152), it also can be used un-essentially, in that it raises questions for social theorists who are concerned with the ways in which certain spaces come to be equated with certain identities. In viewing their equation from a nonessentialist perspective, Natter and Jones point out that hegemony not only perpetuates process of identification, but it also operates to police the meanings and practices associated with social space. According to Natter and Jones, “this structuring, historically and geographically, has served the aim of stamping both identity and space with a resolute correspondence: every identity has its place” (ibid).

2.4 Whiteness

Providing an apt segue into a discussion of the relevance of ‘whiteness’ to the study of space and identity in rural South Africa, Natter and Jones’ discussion of nonessential space and identity is implicitly related to Melissa Steyn’s (2001) contention that *Whiteness Just Isn't What it Used To Be* upon her identification and analysis of narratives of whiteness in post-apartheid South Africa.

From a perspective which emphasizes the relevance of identity during South Africa's transition to democracy, Steyn (2001) points specifically to the social construction of whiteness as a particularly relevant and revealing site of social analysis in South Africa. Also, Durrheim and Dixon's social psychological theory of post-apartheid racial distance confirms Steyn's assertion that "South African's, willingly or unwillingly, successfully or unsuccessfully, are engaged in one of the most profound collective psychological adjustments happening in the contemporary world" (2001: xxi).

Drawing on literature which has emerged in the field of White/Whiteness studies, Steyn points to some of the field's leading scholars such as Delgado and Stefancic (1997), Fine et al. (1997) Frankenberg (1993), Hill (1997) and Roediger (1998). The emergence of this field, according to Steyn, has become a project which aims to debunk the "normative nature of whiteness" in Western scholarship and works against the theoretical grain which has silently conceived of whiteness as the racial norm. Therefore, the study of whiteness has become an established area of social analysis as scholars aim to 'expose' whiteness through investigations of the discursive, political, and economic factors which have contributed to the formation of whiteness.

In the context of South Africa, "in which whiteness has been particularly virile" Steyn's study reveals that while political power has been transferred to the majority black population, "whites still call the shots" economically (Steyn 2001:150). And, like whites elsewhere, white South Africans are described as being generally unaware of their own racialization, unconscious of their privilege, and ignorant to how their implicit assumptions of white entitlement are a consequence of context rather than something essential about whiteness itself (Steyn 2001:162). Consequently, discourses about whiteness have an ideological power which is "demonstrated by the fact that it has helped white people to maintain a dominant position in the organization of global relations, and to keep much of the world hegemonically in its grip to this day" (ibid).

Careful to avoid the essentialism of whiteness, Steyn points to these characteristics as she suggests that whiteness may have some overall coherence. More importantly though, she maintains that specific whitenesses take shape through particular social relations and historical socioeconomic situations, pointing to the significance of studying whiteness in a contextual manner (Steyn 2001:xxx).

2.5 Transformation

The current period of transformation in post-apartheid South Africa explicitly regards the reconfiguration of race and space. Discussing transformation as a multi-faceted concept which aims to effect social change in South African society in the post-apartheid era, Williams (2000) discussion is useful in that it considers transformation to be a spatialized, multi-dimensional process. Maintaining that while, on the basis of provisional evidence, there appears to be promising forms of socio-spatial transformation, such apparent change is rife with contradictions, tensions and potential conflicts at the structural level. Similar to works which attempt to provide insights into the processes, structures, and outcomes of the 'new' South Africa, it becomes apparent that this argument is an all too familiar one (see Giliomee, Schlemmer and Hauptfleisch 1994, van Rooyen 1994, Murray 1994, Maharaj 1999, Deegan 1999, Doxtader and Vicencio 2004, Robins 2005)

According to Williams and others who specifically examine the notion of transformation, "It is [the] historically-informed problematique of apartheid planning that orients the definition, substance and form of the multi-dimensional process of transformation since the birth of democratic South Africa on 27 April 1994" (Lewis 1999, Robinson 1999). And, it is against this backdrop that Williams positions "transformation", as a discursive/interpretive signifier, within the historically-driven context of social change in South Africa (Williams 2000: 168). Offering a definition of the term, Williams explains:

The concept "transformation" is central to social change in South Africa. This means...that sectorally, its differentiated substance, form and dimensions, impact directly on the extent to which there is a structural shift from the dominant, exclusionary relations of power of successive colonial-cum-apartheid regimes to the more equitable, inclusive dispensation of the "new" South Africa...Whilst the interpretation of "transformation" is problematic – there are, potentially, as many divergent/convergent meanings as there are potential interpreters/decoders of the term (Williams 2000: 168-169).

Despite the potential infinity of meanings, Williams discusses the dimensions of transformation in attempts to gain a deeper understanding of what this process of social change involves. Here, the epistemological, conceptual, historical/moral, and empirical dimensions will be discussed, as they are the most relevant to this study⁷.

2.5.1 Epistemological dimension

This dimension of transformation, for Williams, “refers to the origin and nature of specific sets of knowledge about social change, which, in turn, reflects our thinking and cognition about the world” (Williams 2000: 169). This means that “the substance, form and dimensions of existing knowledge and knowledge formations are being examined, interrogated and questioned” in the search to develop new ways of knowing (ibid). This problematisation of apartheid era conceptual and theoretical frameworks is, for Williams, dialectically linked to the various efforts that are being made to legitimate voices of the marginalized and oppressed at all levels of South African society. Explaining that the goal is not necessarily to replace one hegemonic (western) ideology with a counterhegemonic (African) one, but rather “to accentuate the co-existence, in dialectical unity of the African origins of being, in the context of a thoroughly Westernized meaning

⁷*Institutional dimension*

The scope and pace of change in South Africa, for Williams, is also influenced by the extent to which institutions adjust to and comply with the current directives of transformative planning (ibid). However, in view of the unequal relations of power imposed upon South Africans by the apartheid state, “the vested interests accumulated through a differentiated, racialized social order serve as a structural constraint in changing institutional practices” (ibid). Thus, institutions more often defy than comply with regulations and codes of conduct that seek to facilitate forms power relations that, amongst other imperatives, will facilitate the provision of equitable services to historically neglected, marginalized, and oppressed communities.

Managerial dimension

Transformation, according to Williams, is managerially orientated in that it is pursued in a co-ordinated manner and is a programmatically oriented and practice-driven process that is aimed at visible, sustainable results of systematic change in the South African social order (Williams 2000:171).

Programmatic/ Practical dimension

Transformation, as Williams explains, assumes the form of a particular vision of a non-racial, nonsexist, democratic social order, specifically in relation to the configuration of economic, political, and ideological relations of power (Williams 2000: 171). And although many governmental efforts suggest that progress has been made towards realizing this vision, Williams warrants caution in considering the depth of these findings, explaining that “while constitutionally apartheid has been buried, in practice, given the inertia of geographic space as a locational determinant, racialized space, as an existential reality, still largely dictates where the majority of ordinary South Africans can live, work and play” (ibid). Accordingly, Williams suggests that transformation of South Africa in general is marked by multiple tensions, contradictions, conflicts and struggles. From this perspective, Williams argues that transformation “is a fluid, open-ended, multi-leveled process and is perhaps most effectively captured by the notion of “tension-ridden planning-in-motion” (ibid)

and essence of human progress as mediated through more than 300 years of colonialism and apartheid practices” (Williams 2000: 169).

2.5.2 Conceptual dimension

Emphasizing the spatial orientation of transformation, Williams argues that conceptually, “transformation encompasses the vision of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic spatial order where different forms of geographic space, socialized through a specific configuration of social relations/experiences of work, residence, recreation and cultural heritage, amongst others, are readily accessible to most citizens” (RSA, 1998). As a spatially orientated, socially embedded process, transformation involves interrelated and materially-driven practices, in which urban spaces are changed to reflect the principles of a more equitable social order.

2.5.3 Historical/Moral dimension

More significant than the conceptual dimension, for Williams, is the fact that “the process of transformation is driven by a constitutionally enshrined concern for some measure of expiatory, compensatory, redistributive justice (RSA, 1996 in Williams 2000:169).

However, Williams indicates the contradictions involved in this dimension of transformation, explaining that “the reconstitution of socialized space from its colonized/racialized/ethnicized, propertied/ valorized forms is profoundly influenced by the dominant economic/political/ideological relations of power and is thus manifestly unequal” (Williams 2000: 170). This occurs as a result of the fact that the power relations which operated in the apartheid era are perpetuated as a result of defensive and exclusive responses by historically privileged groups who, for example, perceive the alteration of planning codes/zoning schemes as being an “encroachment of low quality residential structures into their high-quality neighborhoods”, resulting in the “not-in-my-backyard syndrome” in areas which have been identified for densification/equalization programmes (ibid).

2.5.4 Empirical dimension

This dimension, for Williams, speaks to the fact that transformation “has a political content in so far as it means the fundamental deracialization, de-ethnicization of the prevailing juridical boundaries of local authorities” (ibid). This is because transformation is inherently political in nature, and therefore the subsequent change-inducing process “is

often punctuated by the dialectical relations of power of cooperation/resistance, compromise/intransigence, consensus/dissent, profoundly affecting both the pace and scope of change in the society at large” (ibid).

2.6 Everyday Racism

Analysis refers to Philomena Essed's important work on everyday racism in discussion of the mechanisms of informal segregation and the reproduction of unequal relations of power in Prince Albert. Articulating an understanding of racism which goes beyond structure and ideology, Essed (1991) introduces the concept of everyday racism so as to relate structural forces of racism with routine situations of everyday life. In doing so, she links "ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes and interprets the reproduction of racism in terms of the experience of it in everyday life" (Essed 1991: 2). In other words, the notion of everyday racism acknowledges that racism and racist attitudes occur through familiar, mundane practices of everyday life. Purporting the need to recognize the everydayness of racism, Essed argues that "racism is transmitted in routine practices that seem 'normal', at least for the dominant group" (Essed 1991: 10). As a result, racism often goes unrecognized, unacknowledged, and unproblematized by the dominant group (ibid). In order to expose racism in the system, Essed explains that "we must analyze ambiguous meanings, expose hidden currents, and generally question what seems normal or acceptable" (ibid).

More specifically, Essed argues that such investigations must recognize not only the constraints imposed by ideas and practices, but also that such constraints are continually re-constructed in everyday life (Essed 1991: 38). A central explanation for the reproduction of racism in everyday life, for Essed, is power. Drawing on notions of power articulated by Arendt (1970) and Lukes (1974), Essed explains that power is never owned by the individual. Rather, power belongs to a group so long as the group stays together and acts in concert (Essed 1991: 40). From this approach, Essed is able to "conceptualize relations between White and Black individuals in terms of power relations, for they are representatives of groups with relatively more or less power" (ibid). Consequently, it is argued that individual members of a dominant group are empowered by the conscious or unconscious security of belonging to that group. Thus, "group power

can only empower individuals when they have a sense of group membership. Therefore, it is necessary to keep alive a permanent sense of 'us' (dominant group) as opposed to 'them'(dominated groups)" (Essed 1991: 41).

Often, as Essed points out, the operations of such power relations are not openly acknowledged. Rather, it is maintained that "a central quality of power is the attempt to successfully secure people's compliance by overcoming or averting their opposition" (ibid). Through the exercise of power over groups and people, dominated groups are affected, both through action or inaction, "in a manner contrary to their interests, whether or not those who exercise power are aware of the success or consequences of their practices and whether or not the other party is aware of the power being exercised over" them (ibid).

2.7 Gentrification

In understanding dynamics of race, space, and power in Prince Albert, it is vital to address the current socio-economic changes occurring in the town. Resonating with Ballard's understanding of 'semigration', the arrival of middle class white residents can also be considered through gentrification literature. Largely emerging from the field of human geography, the study of gentrification speaks to the ways in which the movement of affluent groups into non affluent areas alters social relations.

Much of this literature, as Phillips (2005) points out, posits a dichotomy between behaviorist 'consumption-side' and structuralist 'production-side' explanations. Beginning with some of the first interpretations which emerged in the 1960's, Phillips points to the 'production side' arguments pointing to works such as Glass (1964), Berry (1980, 1985), and Beauregard (1986) which have cast individual agency in the foreground as they attempt to explain (and predict) the behavior of gentrifiers and the gentrified, and why certain areas may undergo processes of gentrification.

While authors such as the above have referred to individual choice and behavior in their proposal of 'production side' arguments, others have emphasized the social structures within processes of gentrification. Within in the field of gentrification studies, two distinct strands of structuralist argument stand out; namely managerialism and Marxist political economy (Phillips 2005:329).

According to Phillips, managerialist perspectives contended that the social divisions of space should be seen as the outcome of a competition for 'scarce resources' which are mediated by a system of managers and gatekeepers (Pahl 1969, 1970; Rex and Moore 1967; Hamnett 1973). For instance, Pahl (1969) proposed that the study of gentrification should move away from a focus on the agency of individuals and towards the study of urban institutions such as local government and planning authorities, financial institutions, architects, and social workers. According to Pahl, these institutions were responsible for creating the patterns of unequal access to urban space within which individuals operate and compete.

Since the 1980's, according to Phillips, the study of gentrification has become increasingly fragmented upon the intellectual influences of postmodern debates. This is quite a gentle characterization in light of that proposed by Durbach and Steyn (forthcoming: 4) who describe the postmodern influences upon gentrification studies as creating more of a "theoretical log jam" as authors unsuccessfully attempted to synthesize 'production side' and 'consumption' side arguments.

Pointing out that the dominant methodological approach to gentrification continues to be quantitative analysis, the Durbach and Steyn express their preference for "listening to the 'voices of residents, community activists and similar kinds of qualitative evidence'" (Newman and Wyly 2006: 24 in Durbach and Steyn forthcoming: 5). In advocating a qualitative approach, the authors speak directly to the aim of this study as they point to race and class as fundamental features in understanding the ways in which individual subjectivity and 'difference' influence experiences and understandings of gentrification.

2.8 Tourism

In South Africa, and the developing world at large, tourism has been regarded as a solution to unemployment and weak economic sectors. In light of the need to become economically competitive, the benefits of tourism are often foregrounded at the expense of its costs. As Davis (2004: 8) notes, such benefits include "its ability to earn foreign exchange, contribute to GDP, and create employment, as well as its involvement in tax revenue, infrastructure development, and rural and regional development". Despite the

apparent gains to be made through tourism development, Davis notes the costs that result from the industry. Namely, “the opportunities forgone when tourism becomes a priority over other development options, the natural instability of the industry, the detrimental effects that can take place when countries become dependent on the industry, tourism’s contribution to inflationary pressures, and the negative effects that result from a high degree of foreign ownership” (Davis 2004:9). Concluding in agreement with Britton and O’Grady, Davis explains that as one of the few “easy options” by which small states can pursue economic development, tourism ultimately has adverse affects in that the “needs of the industry lead to greater reliance on external capital, which weakens the nation's economic and political sovereignty. Therefore, in small developing countries, the development of tourism ends up defeating its original purpose of achieving economic sovereignty” (Davis 2004:41).

Robinson’s (2001) critical discussion of the “World’s largest industry” provides a power-orientated discussion of the inherent costs of tourism in which he focuses on the different levels of conflict which have accompanied tourism. Working from the premise that tourism has become an increasingly significant driver of cultural remaking and reinvention, Robinson points to the geopolitical inequality which facilitates the industry’s growth. In revealing the ways in which world tourism has become a driver of cultural remaking and reinvention, Robinson makes the important point that, by and large, tourism is a product of Western ideology. As such, it is argued that world tourism displays fundamental inequalities. Pointing to World Tourism Organization statistics Robinson shows that between 1975 and 1997, there has been a growth in so called “exotic” destinations which has occurred as a result of vigorous competition for tourist dollars along with the increasing tourist demand for “difference” (Robins 2001: 36). And, while it is acknowledged that there has been some growth in “developing countries”, Robinson explains that despite claims to the panacea of tourism for economic growth and development, the majority of revenue garnered through tourism leaves the country⁸.

⁸ Robins refers to a startling statistic that, according to Survival International, an estimated 60 per cent of the \$40 billion generated in Thailand through tourism leaves the country (Robins 2001: 38).

Thus, Robinson argues that an imbalance exists between the tourists and the toured. Pointing out that the majority of the world's population does not engage in leisure tourism as participants, Robinson asserts that the culture of tourism remains firmly rooted in the western world, and forms part of wider consumptive ideologies that such nations have adopted. For Robinson, the inequality between consumers and the consumed is self-perpetuating by virtue of the tourists' ability to 'gaze'. Thus, tourism reaffirms the cultural dominance of consumption and its capitalist framework, and as Robinson mentions that one can cynically argue, "the very presence of poverty, underdevelopment, and the perceived threat of environmental degradation can add to the tourist experience" (Robinson 2001: 43).

Similarly, in asking whether tourism is a new form of colonization, Hall and Tucker (2004) have shown that the relationship between tourism and postcolonialism illuminates the ongoing political, economic and cultural influence of the former imperial powers in former colonies and the inequalities which exist between North and South (Hall & Tucker 2004: 4). Here, the authors point to Matthews who compared the tourism industry to the colonial plantation economy in that "Metropolitan capitalistic countries try to dominate the foreign tourism market, especially in those areas where their own citizens travel most frequently" (Matthews 1978:79). For Matthews, "tourism may add to the numbers of jobs available and it may increase the trappings of modernity...but if it does not contribute to the development of local resources, then it differs little from the traditional agricultural plantation" (Matthews: 1978:890)⁹.

As Hall and Tucker similarly explain, the situation of economic dependency which has arisen as a result of postcolonial relationships has been compared by some commentators as a form of imperialism. For instance, the authors point to Crick who argues that tourism is a form of 'leisure imperialism' in that it represents "the hedonistic face of neocolonialism" (Crick 1989:322). However, as Hall and Tucker point out, one must also consider that "a more complex notion of globalization has replaced simplistic ideas of imperialism" (Hall & Tucker 2004: 6). Nevertheless, for the authors, it is

⁹ Best extends this argument, arguing that the elements of a plantation tourism economy are that first, tourism is structurally part of an overseas economy, secondly, that the plantation tourism economy is held together by law and order which is directed by local elites and thus serves their interests, and thirdly, that there is little or no way to calculate the flow of values in such an economy (Best 1968).

apparent that a substantial legacy continues to exist between former colonizers and the formerly colonized. And, as Brett asserts, in developing countries, “a reliance on tourism can never be anything but shaky, and that, in creating low, rather than high-skilled employment, the tourist industry may actually disable the local population and reproduce a form of servant class” (Brett 1996: 127).

2.8.1 Tourism in South Africa

As previously mentioned, tourism in South Africa, like other developing nations, has been largely linked to economic imperatives and the aim to become globally competitive in the international battle for tourist dollars. “One of the immediate priorities of the new South African Government when it came to power was to redress the imbalances of the past and, in particular, to improve the quality of life of the poor” (Viljoen and Tlabela 2006: 6). As Viljoen and Tlabela explain, the government aimed to achieve this goal through the development of policy that would reduce inequality and create economic growth. Pointing to the tourism policy frameworks which have been developed since 1994, the authors refer to the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT 1996) and the later *Tourism in GEAR Development Strategy* (DEAT 1998).

In the former policy, as the authors explain, a vision to develop the tourism sector as a national priority was established. Stating that “tourism should be used to aid the development of rural communities,” the *White Paper* pledged to support investors in rural communities, maintaining that “the tourism potential of rural areas should be unleashed” (Viljoen and Tlabela 2006: 6). Later, in *Tourism in GEAR*, a framework for implementing policies within the context of macroeconomic strategy was developed (ibid). Here, the government indicated the need for a government led tourism industry that would be driven by the private sector.

In 2004, tourism (and more specifically, cultural tourism) became regarded as South Africa’s “new gold” when, for the first time, tourism revenue surpassed that gold revenues by US\$3 billion (Ivanovic 2008: 71)¹⁰. More specifically, it has been the growing market for ‘cultural tourism’ which has been identified and increasingly hailed as the central to economic growth. Ivanovic notes that cultural tourism is one of South

¹⁰ This is an ironic comparison, given the violence which continues to structure the gold mining industry

Africa's key growth areas, as well as the "fastest growing type of tourism in the world. According to Ivanovic, it is estimated that 17-35% of all travel in the world is culturally motivated" (Ivanovic 2008: xvii). Furthermore, as Ivanovic points out, it is estimated that 'inbound' tourism in South Africa will grow by 4.8% annually until 2020 (ibid).

2.9 Heritage

According to some residents of Prince Albert, the "heritage value" of the town is currently under threat and must be preserved for economic and aesthetic purposes. Moreover, it is this "heritage value" which is seen (by some) as that which has the capacity to transform Prince Albert into a tourist destination. Discourses which articulated the significance of the town's "heritage value" echo the ways in which understandings of the term 'heritage' have shifted throughout recent decades. Once relegated to the legal realm, the term 'heritage' is derived from the Old French *eritage* and is defined by the Old English Dictionary as "property which devolves by right of inheritance in a process involving a series of linked hereditary successions" (AlSayyad 2). However, as some authors have recently pointed out, while the concept of heritage once dwelt on heredity, probate law, and taxation, it now connotes roots, identity, and belonging (Lowenthal 1998: 4). In recent scholarship, explanations of why the meaning of 'heritage' has undergone such drastic changes have been developed through compelling interdisciplinary approaches as authors have delivered rich discussions of why and how heritage, as a concept, has acquired new meanings since the second half of the twentieth century.

In discussing the new meanings that the term 'heritage' has acquired, authors have illuminated the Western ideological framework which has informed their understandings of how the term has come to be used. For instance, in locating the historical moment when understandings of 'heritage' began to acquire new meanings, Lowenthal points to "Reagan's America, Thatcher's Britain, and Pompidou's France" (Lowenthal 1998: 4). Referring more broadly to modernity and the new meanings attached to heritage in the Western world, Lowenthal, like others, have argued that today's understanding of 'heritage' has resulted from modernization (Lowenthal 1998: 8). Pointing out that antique collection is no longer a preserve of only aristocrats, and

museum visitors are no longer strictly the elite gentry, he explains that “millions now hunt their roots, protect beloved scenes, cherish mementos, and generally dote on times past...our newly augmented heritage answers a congeries of needs” (Lowenthal 1998: 11). Directing one’s attention to aspects of the modern era such as the dominance of global market forces, dislocation of self from the self, family, community, and nation, modern genocide and iconoclasm, technological invention, and massive migration and displacement, Lowenthal argues that in this time of “loss and change”, “we keep our bearings only by clinging to remnants of stability” (Lowenthal 1998: 6).

While Lowenthal uncritically emphasizes individual, social, and national loss and nostalgia in the modern era as the central agent in the current heritage boom, others point to the growth in global tourism as a main driver for the growing demand for heritage. For instance, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) points to the premium placed upon difference in the making locations into destinations in assertion of the collaboration between tourism and heritage while Brett (1996) argues that representations of heritage are highly mediated and ideological. For Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, “sameness” is a problem faced by the tourism industry, pointing out that “it is not in the interest of remote destinations that one arrive in a place indistinguishable from the place one left or from any of a thousand other destinations competing for market share” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998:152). Similarly pointing to heritage as that which can be commodified for tourist thirst for ‘difference’, Alsayyad argues that in a time of growing global tourism and fears of the irreversible destruction of traditional places and historic sites, there is an increasing demand for built environments that offer “unique cultural experiences” (AlSayyad 2001: 5). Consequently, many nations (especially developing ones) are resorting to heritage preservation as a form of self-definition as they manufacture heritage environments for tourist consumption. And, as Robins (1991:38) explains, in this process, local, regional, or national cultures and their ‘heritage’ will be exploited to enhance the distinctive qualities of a locality. Explaining that heritage and traditions are factors that are used to emphasize the ‘quality of life’ of a place and to make them attractive locations for investment, Robins also points out that:

an emphasis on tradition and heritage is also... important in the development of tourism as a major industry...Even in the most

disadvantaged places, heritage, or the simulacrum of heritage, can be mobilized to gain competitive advantage in the race between places (ibid).

2.9.1 Heritage in South Africa

One can see where this argument hits the ground in considering the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) assertion that heritage:

is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change. The particular heritage...of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation of development, both now and into the future” (ICOMOS 1999 in Ivanovic 2008: 169).

Moreover, from this trajectory which emphasizes the ‘developmental’ rewards of heritage, new understandings of the term emerge from the perspective that “heritage-both natural and cultural- has become [a] primary tourist attraction” in a rapidly growing tourism market (Ivanovic 2008: 167). And, within the tourist industry, as Prentice (1993: 35) explains, “the term ‘heritage’ has come to mean not only landscapes, natural history, buildings, artifacts, cultural traditions and the like...but those among these things which can be portrayed for promotion as tourism product”. From this market perspective, it becomes clear that not every attraction has the potential to be a heritage attraction for tourists. Rather, attractions are selected based on their potential commercial value, and consumability.

Thus, as Ivanovic explains, the transformation of cultural heritage assets into tourism products requires that culture be “remoulded to facilitate both tourism as well as tourist use” (Ivanovic 2008: 168). This “remoulding” of culture serves the purpose of “maximiz[ing] profit by facilitating easy consumption” and “requires releasing the value of culture...which in turn facilitates and enhances consumption of cultural experiences” (ibid).

In the South African context, the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) presents an inclusive understanding of what can be considered ‘heritage’ in the National Heritage Resources Act of 1999 [Appendix 1]. In this Act, ‘heritage resource’ refers to “any place or object of cultural significance”. Here, ‘cultural significance’ refers to aesthetic, architectural, historical, scientific, social, spiritual, linguistic or technological value or significance of a particular resource. Within this general

definition, the act proceeds to provide more specific instances in which this definition applies, points to the diversity of tangible and intangible remnants of the past which may be considered heritage resources.

As the twentieth century unfolds unto an “age of voyaging” for a privileged minority, host communities around the world find themselves further embroiled in fierce competition for tourist dollars (AlSayyad 2001:1). Consequently, as discussed above, the theme of tourism is, to varying extents, woven throughout existing scholarship on the concept of heritage. This is not surprising when one considers the ways in which lower income countries such as South Africa seek to position heritage sites and cultural ‘products’ as tourist attractions. Framed within a larger discussion of the importance of cultural tourism in South Africa today, heritage is constructed as an asset which can be capitalized on in the current period of tourism growth

3

Where Rubber Meets Tar: A Review of Relevant Literature

3.1 Race and Space in Post-apartheid South Africa

This project aims to uncover post-apartheid dynamics of race, space, and identity in one rural South African town. Inherently concerned with processes of transformation, existing empirical studies which examine race, space, and identity in post apartheid South Africa have sought to uncover the ways in which individuals and groups negotiate changing spatial and racial dynamics in the 'new' urban South Africa. In addition to highlighting the need for further investigations in non urban contexts, this literature provides insights into the dynamics of informal segregation in the post apartheid era. Namely, dynamics of class begin to emerge as scholars identify the relevance of divisions between those who own property and those who do not. With the repeal of the Group Areas Act in 1991, and the demise of the apartheid regime in 1994, scholars from a range of disciplinary backgrounds began to investigate why racial groups were not integrating as many had hoped by the late 1990s. While such works are each, in their own right, compelling and relevant to the study of race and space in post-apartheid South Africa (See also: Horn and Ngcobo 2003, Simone 2004, Foster 2005, Mbembe and Nuttall 2004, Mbembe 2004, Charles 2003, Bremner 2004, Saff 1998a, Christopher 2001b), only those which speak most explicitly to the issues which emerged in this empirical study of Prince Albert will be discussed.

Within this gamut of literature, economist and geographer Grant Saff has conducted extensive research on the conflict between squatters and property owners in South African urban spaces. In examining processes of change that have occurred in South Africa's urban landscape since the 1980s, Saff (1994) frames his investigation of space within class dynamics that have resulted from struggles for land, housing, jobs, and social services for the urban poor. For Saff, in the post-apartheid state, class, as opposed to race is more likely to take precedence as access to urban space becomes based on wealth rather than racial criteria. However, Saff warns that this transition from race to

class may not proceed entirely as expected. Explaining that while poor communities may manage to occupy land in white areas through processes of informal settlement, they remain barred from accessing the social benefits from living in such areas, and continue to remain excluded from the benefits of desegregation. In order to further unpack this process, Saff uses the term 'deracialization of space' so as to account for parts of the process which cannot be conveyed by the term 'desegregation'. Through a discussion of migration to urban areas by black South Africans, Saff argues that the old apartheid urban landscape is experiencing a 'deracialization of space,' rather than predicted processes of desegregation.

Four years later, Saff (1998a) continues his investigation of the effects of informal settlements on suburban property values in Cape Town. While his previous work gestures towards the need for deeper analysis of the 'deracialization of space,' his 1998 work answers this call in its examination of the additional processes which occur within such changing dynamics of race and space. Namely, as the title suggests, this work examines the effects that an informal settlement had on property values in an adjacent suburb. Here, Saff reveals the relevance of perceptions of 'value' as a concern of suburban residents and homeowners. Moreover, he argues that despite resident's fears of increasing crime and decreasing property value, the informal settlement had little impact on property prices in the neighboring suburb. Thus, he asserts that such fears function as a means of exclusion as residents continually point to negative effects that informal settlements will have on 'their' neighborhoods. According to Saff (1998a:462),

the exclusion of the 'other' into deprived spaces thereby further reinforces the social construction of the 'other' and hence provides the middle class suburbs with the rationale for further exclusion

Thus, Saff points to the need to further investigate notions of 'value' and how they are used as a means of exclusion amongst predominantly white middle class residents.

In 1997, geographer A.J. Christopher contributed a brief history of the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950. Through a focus on key moments in the history of the process of racial segregation, Christopher establishes the political and historical context for any investigation of racially divided communities across South

Africa today. Three years after the end of apartheid, Christopher expresses the legacy of the Act, concluding, “It may be that the mental heritage of apartheid planning between 1950 and 1991 will survive for as long as the physical structure upon which it depends. Prospects of a rapid transformation have dimmed since the euphoria of 1994” (Christopher 1997: 321). In furthering this discussion, Christopher (2001) provides statistical analysis of desegregation in post apartheid South Africa through results garnered from 1996 Census data, in a comparison of segregation levels amongst black, white, Indian and coloured communities. While it is found that there has been a general decline in urban racial segregation in South Africa since the end of the Group Areas Act, Christopher reinforces the findings of existing literature, arguing that the repeal of the act did not equate to its destruction, as segregation levels remain exceptionally high resulting in the need for government intervention. And, while Christopher acknowledges that the main driver of residential integration is the reduction of income disparities between racial groups, he argues it will be difficult to create economic equality through means such as rapid economic development.

As means of informal segregation became increasingly prevalent, some scholars also began to conduct more context specific and comparative studies of race and space in post apartheid South Africa. Kotze and Donaldson (1998), for instance, contribute a localized analysis of race and space in their studies of Pietersburg and Bloemfontein in an examination of socio-political transformation in each capitol city after the abolition of the Group Areas Act. For the authors, while the desegregation process in the both cities indicates that positive changes have occurred throughout their transformation from apartheid to post apartheid cities, the authors caution that “it will take a long time to realise a totally integrated society in this country” (Kotze & Donaldson 1998: 476). For Kotze and Donaldson, the slower than expected processes of desegregation in each city can be attributed to the persisting disparity between the incomes of the majority of the black population in relation to whites.

Piper, *et al.* (2005) examine the capacity of government intervention to facilitate integration in a case study of the government managed village of Oribi, Pietermaritzburg. In their investigation of the extent and nature of racial demographic change in Oribi since the demise of apartheid, the authors refer to data derived first from the 1996 Census, and

also from a household survey conducted in 2003 which measured attitudes towards desegregation in Oribi. Their findings echo existing arguments that spatial desegregation does not equate social integration, often as a consequence of a post-apartheid market which often defeats the ambitions of state interventions.

The literature begins to take a methodological turn in the early years of the millennium as increasing emphasis was placed on the discursive practices of white South Africans. For instance, Saff (2001) deepens his discussion of white resistance to the development of informal settlements through examination of the discursive practices employed by property owners and the state to justify the exclusion of black squatters from suburbs in Cape Town. Selecting Noordhoek, Hout Bay, and Milnerton as sites where such spatial contestations were underway, Saff identifies increasing 'crime', 'decreased property values', the spread of 'disease', and the 'spoiling of the natural environment' as central themes which featured in such justifications. And, while these themes revolved around white residents fears of informal settlements, discursive justifications for the exclusion of squatters were typically couched in liberal 'colour blind' terms which masked racial prejudice. From this investigation, Saff (2001:88) finds that such responses from property owners raise the broader question of how discourse can be used to legitimate exclusionary and racist geographies.

Stokoe and Wallwork (2003) contribute a discursive analysis of neighbor disputes through examination of constructions of space, identity, and morality. While neighbor relations may appear at first to be mundane and insignificant, the authors assert that everyday routines of social life in a neighborhood "reproduce the ordinary space of neighbouring" and are symbolic of how notions of 'right' and 'wrong' are understood. In other words, as neighbors describe and explain appropriate and inappropriate social conduct, they employ a social-moral order that ultimately regulates everyday neighbouring practices¹¹. Through analysis of what is considered to be "bad" and "good" social practice in a neighborhood, the authors provide evidence of the relationship between identity and constructions of space.

¹¹ Moreover, this moral order becomes evident through complaints of spatial transgressions, which for the authors, are actually speak to a perception that a disruption has occurred in the socio-moral order

Richard Ballard (2004) has similar concerns to Saff (2001) in his examination of the hostile responses by some white suburban residents to informal settlements which have developed in 'their' communities. Like Saff, Ballard finds that white residents perceive squatters to be threatening to safety, pollution, privacy, morality, and material privilege. However, in his study, Ballard frames his discussion with a consideration of the ways in which the 'threat' of these new urban forms is understood through the relationship between identity and space in affluent residential areas. In this analytical endeavor, Ballard seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the role of "race" and "racism" as a motivating force in segregation. This is a departure from Saff, who maintains that private property and relative privilege rather than "racial prejudice" are the primary bases for exclusionary discourse. Responding to Saff, Ballard argues that while the defense of property value is indeed at the core of white resentment of informal settlements, this is an inadequate explanation on its own. Rather, according to Ballard, "Informal settlements impact on more than the bank balance: they impact on residents sense of place and therefore on their self-perception as western, modern, civilized people" (Ballard: 2004a :49). Emphasizing that the significance of identity cannot be separated from, the role of defending material interests, Ballard argues that the discussion of informal segregation must focus on the ways in which whites construct value and how informal settlements are seen to threaten that value (Ballard: 2004a : 49). Ballard's critical discussion of the role of white resident's sense of place and identity facilitates the conclusion that the property market is merely a representation of potential buyer's perceptions of certain types of properties. Therefore, it is argued that lower property prices are primarily a negative perception of squatters by formal residents rather than essential or objective market indicators (Ballard: 2004a: 70).

In their study of discursive mechanisms of informal segregation, critical social psychologists, Dixon and Durrheim (2003), examine processes and mechanisms of informal segregation through examination of an 'open' beach in post-apartheid South Africa. Through observations and interviews with beachgoers in Durban, the authors find that processes of segregation operate in various ways, ultimately limiting opportunities for racial contact. Namely, they are concerned with the apparent withdraw of white beachgoers in response to the influx of black beachgoers throughout holiday periods.

Their findings indicate that whites employ discursive mechanisms to justify and explain their collective behavior, embodying collective (white) constructions of ‘proper’ socio-spatial relations on the beach. Furthermore, such findings present challenges to existing social-psychological research and the contact hypothesis, which presumes that intergroup contact alone reduces prejudice. Through this discursive approach Durrheim and Dixon (2005a, 2005b) the authors conclude that while legally enforced segregation no longer exists in South Africa, racial isolation remains pervasive as segregation adapts to the post-apartheid context¹².

3.2 Small Towns

Existing studies of small towns in South Africa have considered dynamics of rural socio-economics as well as discussions of tourism development in such areas. In a 1953 National Regional Survey which was undertaken by the University of Natal for the Social and Economic Planning Council, the collaborators sought to provide a deeper understanding of the problems of, as well as insights into not only small towns of Natal, but rural Africa at large. Through a classical sociological quantitative methodology, the report provides an array of statistics which speak to demographics, household incomes and education levels in rural Natal. While the report speaks to the challenges faced by those who live in the studied areas, the authors are primarily concerned with the development potential of small urban centers, along with the role that these areas have in national developmental imperatives.

In the post-apartheid context, Murray (1995) examines structural unemployment in rural South Africa, revealing that forces of political transformation, drought, economic recession, and capital intensification have diminished the life-chances for men and women living and working in the white-owned countryside. Through case-studies of farms in Tweespruit, Murray explains that displacement from these farms has resulted from structural changes in commercial agriculture. Pointing out that as white farmers contemplate a future without the structural enforcement of white supremacy, Murray

¹² In later discussions of this study, Dixon and Durrheim (2004) emphasize the strength of qualitative methodologies. Namely, they point to those contributed by discursive psychology, asserting that a focus on rhetoric and meaning allows for an understanding of how dominant constructions of a moral-social order inform mechanisms of informal segregation.

explains that many “rationalized” their labour forces in response to their anticipation of political pressure to improve wages and conditions for farmworkers. In analyzing participant responses to the question, “why did you leave the farm” Murray reveals the grim prospects for the massive numbers farmworkers and domestic workers who have been evicted from white-owned farms, which contradict the concomitant processes of rural transformation.

3.2.1 Farm workers

The poor quality of life of South African farmworkers has also attracted much scholarly attention. For instance, du Toit (2004) presents an in depth study of the nature and dynamics of chronic poverty in Ceres, a commercial farming town in the Western Cape. In doing so, he contributes a detailed investigation of the livelihood activities and strategies of poor in this rural area within the greater national context of economic growth and development. Similarly, Carter and May (1998) explore the economics of livelihood and class in rural South Africa in an effort to contribute to the ongoing debate in South Africa about the alleviation of poverty. In an effort to understand not just *who* is poor, but *why* they are poor, the authors conclude that poverty is not only a matter of having limited access to few assets, but also of the constraints to effectively use those assets. For instance, South Africa’s rural poor also struggle to escape from a “time poverty” which is created by the need to fetch firewood and water, both highly time consuming activities (Carter and May 1998: 16).

In addition, London (1999) examines the perpetuation of the ‘dop system’¹³ as a means of social control of farm workers and their families. Although, as London explains, it is a minority of farms that currently practice the dop system, “the ramifications of the historical institutionalization of massive alcohol consumption are widespread” (London 1999: 1407). One dynamic London identifies is that the dop system perpetuates, and has been perpetuated by public perceptions that ‘coloured’ people have a “natural tendency” to drink heavily (London 1999: 1411).

¹³ the arrangement by which farm workers are given alcohol as a form of payment

3.2.2 Rural Identity

While the aforementioned studies are useful in that they speak to the particular features of everyday life for South Africa's rural poor, they are not explicitly concerned with dynamics or implications of race, space and identity in rural areas. Therefore, one must temporarily depart from South Africa in order to gain deeper insight into the later area. In response to the sociological underestimation of the rural-urban continuum as a source of identity for those who live in rural areas, Bell (1992) provides an ethnographic study of a village in England which indicates the contrary. Arguing that the continuum is an important source of identity for those living in the country, Bell reveals that those living in such areas derive social-psychological and material benefits from the rural identities they articulate. While Bell does not explicitly speak in terms of space in his discussion of identity, the relevance of space in the construction of identity remains an implicit feature of his study. In speaking directly to how identities are strategically crafted in relation to the countryside, Bell reveals the salience of space, as residents frequently contrast the village with urban areas, which are seen as being less desirable spaces.

3.2.3 Rural Tourism

As Viljoen and Tlabela point out, "as one of the most intriguing sustainable development themes, rural tourism has lately become very popular in both developed and developing countries" (Viljoen & Tlabela 2006: 1). In their study of rural tourism development in South Africa, Viljoen and Tlabela argue that it is important to develop tourism in rural areas so as to increase participation of the underprivileged in development and planning initiatives. In South Africa, as the authors explain, "rural tourism is viewed as a means to eliminate poverty and create employment opportunities in rural areas" (Viljoen & Tlabela 2006: 6). Accordingly, they point to the various studies which have indicated that community-based tourism may have positive outcomes for the poor (Ashley 1998, Viljoen & Naicker 2000, Ndlovu & Rogerson 2004). From this perspective, a number of authors have argued that community-based tourism initiatives are effective in that "local people have meaningful ownership, power and participation in the various tourism and related enterprises" (Viljoen & Tlabela 2006: 8).

However, from a critical approach to land reform, Samasuwo presents an alternative perspective. In relating foreign landownership with tourism, it is argued that tourism “tend[s] to bring foreign currency into the pockets of landowners themselves”, rather than a local and poor population. Even more, with regards to heritage which is often marketed for tourist consumption, Samasuwo points out that “A complicating factor is that some local landowners (with the government’s approval) have had their land declared part of world heritage sites and so called ‘game sanctuaries,’ thereby effectively locking it away from claimants” (Samasuwo 2004:11).

In a discussion of the relationship between visual representations and the changing patterns of tourism in Coffee Bay, a South African seaside resort in the Eastern Cape¹⁴, Kim Wildman (2005) reveals the ways in which travel guidebooks and postcards have informed the attitudes and behaviors of tourists who visit the area. Tracing Coffee Bay’s development over three separate periods (1945-1969, 1970-1989, and 1990-2005), Wildman locates three different groups of tourists who inhabited its space (cottage owners, hotel guests, and backpackers, respectively). Consistent amongst these groups and eras of tourism development, Wildman explains that each group sought the same thing-“an archetypal, mythical vision of a tourist ‘paradise’. They thus inhabited and confected Coffee Bay’s touristscape with their interpretations of this Utopia” (Wildman 2004: ii).

In this exploration of the creation and circulation of tourist myths, Wildman confirms Meethan’s (1996) contention that “tourist perceptions, motivations and understanding of a destination are shaped by their preoccupation with the overcommunicated, mythologized tourist view of the destination” (Wildman 2005: 5). As a former travel guide writer herself, Wildman takes a reflexive look at her own contribution in the production of such myths, and how these myths have become “visibly mapped into the landscape over time” (Wildman 2005: 8).

Moreover, in pointing to the ways in which such representations are involved in the appropriation of space, Wildman points out that one of the main features of tourism

¹⁴ former Transkei

promotion and postcard photographs she studied was the "patriarchal vision"¹⁵ they expressed:

Despite Transkei's status as first a black reserve and then in "independent" homeland, the black Transkeians have remained at the margins of the Coffee Bay beach. Identified with nature, they were cast from the tourist space and consigned to their place in the "wild". Spatially, black Transkeians only come into prominent view as the defining Other of the tourists's notion of Self. Depicted as "primitive", "uncivilized" and "traditional" black Transkeians, thus became the antithesis of the "modern", "civilized" tourist and tourist space" (Wildman 2005: 117).

Noting the racial dimension of such texts, Wildman also notes that the tourists who frequent Coffee Bay are predominantly white. Explaining that in all of the times she has visited Coffee Bay, even as a tourist herself, she has "only ever seen two black tourists. Interestingly, neither one of them were South African" (Wildman 2004: 110).

Although he writes from the British context, Meethan's (1996) findings speak to those of Wildman. In his study of the social production and reproduction of place identity, Meethan examines Brighton, England as an object of tourist consumption. For him, the tourist experience is "irreducibly associated "with issues of power, (Meethan 1996: 177). "Behind the facade" of the tourist oriented representation of place, Meethan explains, is the wider process of economic change and cultural consumption (Meethan 1996: 191). With regards to economic change, one Labour councillor explained, "Behind its Regency facade, Brighton has severe social and economic problems' (*Evening Argus*, 5 October 1985 in *ibid*). Ironically, as Meethan explains, despite these economic problems, the image of Brighton was so powerful that it distorted the indicators of social deprivation used to calculate urban aid:

the image of Brighton as a rich, successful and prosperous town was so successful that in 1985 the government of the day removed Brighton from the list of areas that qualified for the Urban Aid programme" (*ibid*).

This image, produced through the symbolic appropriation of place in Brighton, was reinforced by certain groups of incomers to the town who employed a system of

¹⁵ Here, Wildman refers to Pratt (1992: 38) who describes this vision as a "naturalising" process, in that "natural history asserts an urban, lettered mae authority over the whole of the planet".

"distinction and exclusion" in which certain attributes of the town's urban forms were selected and taken to be the authentic town (ibid). Amongst the attributes excluded from the image was the severe deprivation in the town. As a member of the Brighton housing action group point out, although many of Brighton's residents are poor, six million pounds were spent renovating the town's largest tourist attraction, the Royal Pavillion. For them, the unequal distribution of government resources reflects that the tourist attractions are considered to be more important than places where people actually live (Meethan 1996: 192).

Upon relating processes of gentrification to the production of this tourism orientated image, Meethan refers to the perception amongst residents on the peripheral estates of the town, that the attention paid to the tourist trade and the attraction of the town center was a "sham" (Meethan 1996: 193). In addition, Meethan also explains that the spatial form became imbued with "values of heritage and culture by creating an image of the town that marked it as distinct". However, for those on the periphery, "phrases such as the 'glamour of the Regency era', 'stylish London by the sea', 'a young persons place' bore little relation to their lives" (ibid).

3.2.4 Rural Gentrification

Smith (2002: 447) indirectly confirms the relevance of the urban-rural continuum as he explains that "selective, highly prized, rural places are becoming the preserve of affluent new middle-class 'incomers'". As a theme which also emerged through in-depth interviews as residents described changes that have taken place in the town, it became evident that processes associated with gentrification have been taking shape in Prince Albert. Due to the impact that such changing class dynamics have on social relations, the study of gentrification has become a major area of interest, especially within the field of human geography. And, while much of this work may be considered relevant to this discussion, much of it will not be considered at length here on account of spatial constraints. Rather, only works which provide insight into the context at hand will be discussed.

Given the explicitly economic dimensions that processes of gentrification involve, much literature remains focused on the displacement of working class people upon the

arrival of middle class gentrifiers in the urban context. The majority of gentrification literature emerges from the American or British context, and is contextualized by urban settings. However, a few recent works have begun to consider processes of gentrification which occur in rural contexts (Smith 2002, Phillips 1993, Phillips 2004, Phillips 2005). Moreover, Mumm (2008) illuminates a major gap in the existing literature and debates on gentrification, pointing out that while “many scholars have identified the racial causes and effects of gentrification, few consider the meaning of the creation of racially separate, disparate but embedded urban social worlds as a shift in the racial landscape,”

Academic discussion of rural gentrification has taken shape amongst British and American scholars since the 1990's. Through empirical studies conducted in their respective contexts, authors have investigated and documented processes which often appear to be quantitatively similar to those taking place in urban areas (see Cloke, Phillips, and Thrift 1998; Halfacree 1993; Phillips 1993). However, from a qualitative, ethnographic approach, it becomes apparent that processes of, and those involved in, rural gentrification employ disparate constructions of meaning and identity.

In his examination of how ‘rural gatekeepers’ attempt to mediate processes of gentrification in an English village, Smith reveals the strategies used in enabling and constraining the possibilities that particular kinds of people will move to the area. Through a specific examination of the marketing strategies employed by estate agents, Smith contends that as gate keepers, estate agents influence perceptions of social, cultural, and economic capital, as well as construct distinct representations and discourses about rurality. In response to this finding, Smith gestures towards the value of examining alternative representations of rural areas. Through such investigations, as Smith maintains, one will be able to gain a deeper understanding of the perceptions and meanings of rural places so as to “provide more rounded accounts of what rural places mean, both socially and culturally (as well as economically), to different groups and institutional actors, and why they are produced and consumed in particular ways (Smith 2002: 460)

From the perspective of land reform in South Africa, Samasuwo (2004: 1) is concerned with unequal land distribution which results from gentrification, pointing out that:

Two-thirds of the country, including most of the best quality land remains in the hands of less than 60,000 white owners, while fourteen million blacks eke out a precarious existence in the former homelands and urban informal settlements

Steeped in the boiling waters of transformation politics, Samasuwo fingers market-driven land reform policy which, through “President Mbeki’s ‘quiet diplomacy’” have “actually encouraged local estate agents to pursue profit by creating a rich layer of foreign landed gentry under the guise of attracting foreign direct investment, and so-called ‘property safari’s’” (Samasuwo 2004:3). Indicating the pervasiveness of gentrification in rural South Africa, Samasuwo cites the 19 April 2004 edition of the local *Mail & Guardian* which dubs the Western Cape the “Cape of good returns” for local estate agents, and reports that (mostly) German and British property buyers were purchasing land in small towns such as Breede River Valley, Robertson, McGregor, and Bonnievale, resulting in the contention that “Selling Africa to non-Africans is becoming an institution” (ibid).

Explaining that South African land policy is unlike that of other countries such as India, Australia, and Switzerland which prohibit or restrict foreign landownership, Samasuwo also points, significantly, to “Britain, whose citizens have been buying land in South Africa, [yet] does not allow foreigners to buy its own land” (Samasuwo 2004:6). Unveiling this form of neo-colonization, Samasuwo reminds one that “White landownership in Southern Africa was established through colonial conquest, alienation and social engineering... Thus, to argue that market-led land reforms can help address the inequities of colonialism and apartheid is, at the very least, highly fallacious” (Samasuwo 2004: 10). And, unlike other descriptive accounts of rural gentrification, Samasuwo’s critical and politically conscious approach makes the relationship between gentrification and tourism explicit, explaining that:

Those who support foreign land ownership point to the economic impact of such a trend on the tourism industry...since the country earns millions of dollars each year from foreign tourists looking for an exclusive African getaway at luxury lodges” (Samasuwo 2004: 5).

3.3 Gentrification

Presently, few studies of gentrification within the South African context exist. However, Cape Town, as an urban centre, is a site for analysis for Montoya-Pelaez (1987) who examines processes of gentrification in Observatory, Shaw (2004) who conducts an analysis of change on upper Long Street, and Durbach and Steyn (in Press) who take a diversity studies approach in their investigation of gentrification in Bo-Kaap.

3.3.1 Gentrification in Observatory

In the study conducted by Montoya-Pelaez (1987), the suburb of Observatory was investigated with the aim to examine whether or not processes of gentrification were taking place. Noting changes in the suburb's population composition, along with the changing socio-economic dynamics occurring through the influx of "upmarket" businesses. Through analysis of 1980 and 1985 Census data along with structured interviews with local residents and business owners, Montoya-Pelaez concludes that it is possible to identify certain characteristics of the gentrification process in Observatory. Namely, a changing population composition in terms of age, class, and education. Unfortunately, the study does not consider the broader context of South African society, a limitation acknowledged by the author:

the possibility of influences of political instability, the present economic recession, and the social stratification unique to South Africa, is not considered...[the study] was conducted without sufficient regard to these macro effects (Montoya-Pelaez 1987: 73).

Despite such limitations, Montoya-Pelaez establishes that gentrification is, indeed, taking place in Observatory, although it may only be in its initial stages. However, it is argued that "the process of gentrification could continue to manifest itself in Observatory until the suburb is completely transformed into a middle and/or upper class enclave" (Montoya-Pelaez 1987: 75).

3.3.2 Gentrification on Upper Long Street

Shaw's (2004) study of culture and gentrification on upper Long Street, Cape Town, aims to provide a better understanding of Long Street's "evolution and character" so as to

facilitate a discussion of the ways in which cities have been represented in film. Acknowledging that gentrification in South Africa has not followed classic definitions, Shaw explains that "The Group Areas Act- forced removals based on race- gives gentrification in South Africa its uniqueness" (Shaw 2004: 6).

While Shaw's discussion is descriptive rather than critical of historical changes occurring on Upper Long Street, his discussion is useful in that he points to the relationship between gentrification and tourism. Here, Shaw (2004:8) refers to the Upper Long Street Conservation Study, which states:

If there is a guaranteed trend of upliftment in the area, owners will feel more secure about outlaying money for restoration purposes. Attracting tourists to the Long Street area through the upgrading of the historical architecture increases trade, improves quality of shopping offered and increases property values (AEA Town and Regional Planners 1982: 22)

3.3.3 Gentrification in Bo-Kaap

From a critical diversity studies perspective, Durbach and Steyn (forthcoming) examines gentrification from the perspective of the gentrified community of Bo-Kaap, a formerly "Malay" or Cape Muslim Group Area. In the post-apartheid era, Bo-Kaap has become a desirable place to live because of its location and architecture (Durbach and Steyn Forthcoming: 3). What is most significant about this work is that the authors explicitly address the ways in which gentrification is politicized, explaining that "Apartheid's legacy of spatial segregation has given gentrification a unique character and a particular significance to post-apartheid transformation" (Durbach and Steyn Forthcoming: 30). Explaining that while gentrification creates the possibility for racial integration in residential areas, the authors find that while, "In terms of numbers, the area is becoming more diverse...races are still largely segregated by class" (Durbach and Steyn Forthcoming: 25). Through in-depth interviews with long-term residents in the town, or the gentrified, Durbach and Steyn examine the discourses used to evaluate changes which have occurred in the area during the past ten to fifteen years. Also pointing to religion as an additional axis point of segregation, the authors also point out that according to longer term residents, gentrifiers were seen to be ignorant and intolerant of Muslim traditions

(Durbach and Steyn *Fortcoming*: 22). And, while the authors identify the divisions between the gentrifiers and the gentrified, they also locate ideological divisions within the gentrified community itself (Durbach and Steyn *Fortcoming*: 29).

3.4 Heritage in South(ern) Africa

While Meethan (1996) points to the dangers of heritage and the tourism industry in England, Fonteïn (2000) agrees with Samasuwo's contention that heritage in postcolonial Africa has deeply political consequences, contending that "it is through labeling something as 'heritage', that things are appropriated, and indeed 'distanced' (sometimes physically), from people's daily lives" (Fonteïn 2000:21). Through his examination of Great Zimbabwe, which has been classified a World Heritage Site, Fonteïn is concerned with the power relations and ideological discourses that operate through processes of labeling something as 'heritage':

The politics of heritage...goes deeper than the use of heritage in the construction of conflicting identities, or the politics of representation. Labeling something 'heritage' is in itself an intensely political act that legitimizes certain processes and actions over others (Fonteïn 2000: ii)

As Fonteïn continues, while the world heritage 'system' attempts to de-politicize claims to 'universal value' by claiming that certain objects, people, and places must be preserved for 'humanity', it can be viewed as an 'anti-politics machine' which attempts to evade postcolonial scrutiny over claims to objectivity. As one form taken by heritage, Fonteïn points to the "way in which certain discourses of the past have prominence over other ways of perceiving and discussing it" (Fonteïn 2000: 13). Like Williams (2000) discussion of the epistemological dimension of transformation, Fonteïn points out that in the postcolonial context, this aspect of heritage is particularly relevant, "as it is increasingly realised that historical and archeological discourses are Eurocentric, in that they are based upon perceptions of the past and time that originated as a result of the European Enlightenment" (ibid). Such perceptions of the past and linear views of time have, according to Fonteïn, led to archaeological and historical knowledge of heritage as being a means of reinforcing Eurocentric and racial stereotypes through the presumption

of Western advancement and superiority. Speaking back to 'heritage' claims to objectivity and universal legitimacy, Fontein points to Bender's (1998: 26) work on Stonehenge in which it is pointed out that

Those involved in the conservation, preservation and mummification of the landscape create normative landscapes, as though there was only one way of telling or experiencing. They attempt to 'freeze' the landscape as a palimpsest of past activity. But, of course, the very act of freezing is itself a way of reappropriating the land

In making explicit the implicit processes involved in the construction of 'heritage', Bender gestures towards the power relations and conflicting interests at stake in the handling and representation of the past.

In considering the ideological messages conveyed through 'heritage', Fontein emphasizes the importance of realizing its salience in the construction of national identity. In relating the intimate connection between archaeology (as a form of heritage) and nationalism, Fontein refers to Kohl and Fawcett (1995:11) who explain:

Archaeological sites are such potent symbols of national identity...that peoples today are frequently willing to fight over them. Archaeology and ancient history help define a people as distinct and occupying (or claiming) territories that were historically theirs.

The power that heritage discourses have within constructions of national identity and political ideology are, as Fontein (2000) and Gero and Root (1990) point out, buttressed by successful media which, in imposing a particular view of the past, promotes and legitimates the hegemony of Western culture and imperialism. Consequently, as Gero and Root (1990:19) explain:

The past we construct, then, is more than passively conditioned by our political and economic system; it is a direct product of, and an effective vehicle for, that system's ideological messages.

Therefore, the potential for contestation and conflict arises when 'heritage' is appropriated for processes of nation-building and when there are opposing and/or alternative identities which are being constructed (Fontein 2000: 16).

3.4.1 Heritage and National Identity

Flynn and King (2007: 474) employ this point in their central argument, arguing that “South African public history is not just symbolic reparation for biased portrayals of the national past but is also a crucial component of post-apartheid transition and development”. Upon the first democratic election in 1994 and the end of apartheid, the authors refer to the subsequent negotiations which took place in an endeavor to reappraise forgotten, overlooked, and suppressed aspects of the past (Flynn and King 2007: 462). As mandated by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, the propagation of a cross-racial identity which could encompass all South Africans was to be a main feature of this reappraisal which would serve to contrast the exclusionary policies and practices of apartheid (ibid).

However, as the authors explain, there has yet to be “agreement as to what qualifies as inclusive South Africa, rather than racially based history, and little coordination to encourage an overarching philosophy of how to present the new South African history to the public” (Flynn and King 2007: 463). In addition, as pointed out by the authors, post-apartheid South Africa remains a divided society with entrenched socio-economic rifts. As they reveal, the South African Census of 2001 speaks to the multiple inequalities which characterize post-apartheid society¹⁶. Such inequalities, as explained by the authors, are coupled with social cleavages based on fear and prejudice, and the fact that post-apartheid identities remain connected to old apartheid racial categories (Flynn and King 2007:465). In regards to the reconfiguration of public history, “the South African heritage sector has largely struggled to transform since the fall of apartheid” (ibid).

One reason why the heritage sector has struggled to transform, for Flynn and King, is because that at almost all sites, the majority of visitors are not members of the general South African public. Rather, they are either children on school fieldtrips or overseas tourists” (Flynn and King 2007: 467). According to the authors, this is the

¹⁶ black Africans fall into the most disadvantaged categories and whites the most privileged...just over 40% of the population has no education beyond the primary level, if at all...Twenty eight per cent of black Africans are listed as unemployed but only 4.1% of whites. Over three-quarters of employed whites work in the professions and white-collar jobs, while less than a third of black Africans do (Census 2001 in Flynn and King 2007:465).

result of both the lack of accessibility of sites (e.g. entrance fees and inconvenient operating hours and locations) for black South Africans and that “many African people don’t visit museums because they don’t feel part of them” (ibid). Thus, the authors strongly emphasize that heritage sites should be developed for local, rather than overseas consumption.

In her exploration of the ways in which the creation of heritage and the growth of tourism have converged since 1994, Hughes (2007) suggests that the deliberate act of display and the need for an audience (which is implicit in heritage) has created debates about the ways in which the past has been reinterpreted for tourist consumption in South Africa. Pointing out that “The often contradictory demands of social justice and profitability...have produced a number of disparate representations of heritage” Hughes explains that namely, “manifestations of heritage outside state control have produced surprising continuities with and resurrections from a pre-democratic past” (Hughes 2007: 266).

Pointing to various examples of heritage sites in South Africa, Hughes refers to contrasting examples which have more or less dependency on state funding and are motivated by conflicting political interests. For instance, while heritage sites such as Robben Island have been established by the ANC government in efforts to establish an official heritage in the service of nation building, social justice and economic advancement (Hughes 2007: 276), others such as the Voortrekker Monument are set outside of the state sector. While the Voortrekker Monument, which “seemed do inextricably linked to the exercise of Afrikaner power and apartheid indoctrination” remains a popular tourist attraction, it has survived because “its considerable operating costs and upkeep have been met by some filmmaking contracts and international visitors: tourism has effectively saved it” (Hughes 2007:280). Thus, as can be seen from these contrasting examples, not only does heritage have two dimensions; economics and politics, but these dimensions intersect in and through landscapes, monuments, sites, objects, places, and people who are ascribed a heritage value and become representations of group identities.

According to Hughes, the attraction of heritage reflects the middle-class preoccupation with lifestyle and the accumulation of cultural capital (Hughes 2000: 270).

And, in her examination of township tours and cultural villages, as the two main kinds of community tourism that have developed in the past decade, Hughes finds that “heritage precepts associates with the apartheid regime, most notably ethnic essentialism...have found new life in the process” (Hughes 2007: 285). Agreeing with Davison (1998:151) who concludes that “accommodating ethnic difference without resorting to essentialist notions of race and culture remains a challenge”, Hughes adds that tourism will remain a part of contestations over heritage (Hughes 2007:285).

As a “resource that can be used to promote economic regeneration, and...an expression of relations of power and subordination”, Hughes maintains that contemporary heritage has both economic and political dimensions (Hughes 2007: 268). Economically, heritage is seen as a means of development in that, in transforming a place into a destination, it will attract tourist dollars. And, politically, heritage not only contributes to processes of defining the meanings of culture and power, but it also “can be a particularly important element in the construction of national identity” (ibid). Pointing to the fierce contestations which occur within the politics of display, Hughes reveals the nature of political transformation, the declining role of the state as a result of strengthening market forces, along with the intentions and actions of the South African government itself as central explanations for such conflict (Hughes 2000: 271).

4

Mapping the Route: Research Methodology

Embedded with a greater endeavor to understand the ways in which residents in small towns in South Africa make sense of transformation in the post apartheid era, this study works from a critical ethnographic paradigm. Given the system of apartheid which enforced racist segregationist policies for over forty years, and the profound effect that this period had on the identity of South Africans, this project considers current dynamics of race, space, and identity to be the central points of interest. Locating the context in rural South Africa, the project seeks to cast light on what has otherwise been marginalized in scholarship and in the national imagination. In doing so, the project aims to explore “rural transformation”, assuming that transformation, as a national imperative, will take different shapes and forms in rural contexts.

With an explicit concern for power relations the project seeks to understand if and how race, space, and social identity in small towns functions to open up or close down processes of transformation. In uncovering if this understanding of transformation has taken place in small towns, this study takes a Diversity Studies approach, which:

...mak[e] sense of society by looking at various and interconnected ways that individuals and groups differentiate themselves from one another within power relations that are maintained by social structures. Social characteristics such as race, class and religion, among others, are not only fundamental features of individual subjectivity, they also serve to divide people into groups that simultaneously give coherence to society and provide the fault-lines along which contestation may occur (Durbach and Steyn: forthcoming).

In looking to uncover systems of power relations, a diversity studies approach advocates for the making sense of society through exploration of subjectivities which intersect within a matrix of social characteristics. Through uncovering such knowledge, this approach seeks to promote social justice through exposing systems of privilege and oppression.

4.1 A note on terminology

When referring to the peoples of South Africa, there have been a variety of terms that have been utilized and appropriated over the years. These have included, but are not limited to, "Natives", "Bantu", "Africans", "Blacks", and "Whites", "Indians" and "Coloureds". Such terminology can be attributed to the first grand apartheid law installed by the National Party, the Population Registration Act 30 of 1950, which required all citizens' to be categorized according to race and this being recorded in their identity passes (Western 1981: 69). Today, the use of any of these terms is problematic as they are all constructions that were appropriated and imposed by the colonial and apartheid governments in order to maintain control over the 'non white' majority (Boonzaier 1988: 175).

However, as West points out, "South African's cannot be easily pigeonholed into 'population groups', 'races', 'tribes', or 'cultures'. The population, as it has always done, moves, interacts, and intermarries, and therefore changes and denies rigid classification schemes" (1988: 108). Thus, while I do employ the terms "White" and "Coloured" in my analysis for purposes of clarity, in no way does this imply my acceptance of them. Even more, this study considers such categories to be socially constructed, in the sense that such terms are empty signifiers which become filled with meaning. However, while it is acknowledged that such categories do not preexist discourse, it is also acknowledged that such categories are a lived reality for all people as a result of the meanings they acquire. Thus, to undertake a 'colourblind' approach to this analysis would defeat the intention to uncover current dynamics of race and space, and undermine an attempt to acknowledge how such categories have shaped the lived realities of people living in post-apartheid, rural South Africa.

4.2 Data collection

4.2.1 The Rural Transformation Project

This study of Prince Albert forms part of a larger endeavor to document the shape of transformation in rural towns in South Africa. Initiated by the Institute for Intercultural and Diversity Studies of Southern Africa (iNcudisa) at the University of

Cape Town, the Rural Transformation project ultimately aims to assess how people in nine small South African towns experience and ‘make sense’ of social change. At a conceptual level, the project emerges from a social theoretical paradigm that links discourses of identity, race and transformation to physical spaces. And, through a focus on how identities and feelings of displacement, invasion, alienation and inclusion are mapped onto the identity-spatial organization of the selected towns, the project seeks to gain insight into the racialized nature of how different spaces have changed since the end of apartheid, and how racialized bodies move within and across them.

4.2.2 Project Steering Committee

Given the large scope of the project conceptually and practically, a steering committee was formed to guide the research process. This committee is composed of a team of researchers across disciplines who are interested, fundamentally, in issues of race, identity, and social justice. This team includes Associate Professor Melissa Steyn and research coordinator Claire Kelly from iNcudisa, Don Foster from the UCT department of psychology, Lungisile Ntsebeza from UCT, along with social psychologist Professor Kevin Durrheim from UKZN, human geographer Richard Ballard from UKZN, and Philomena Essed of Antioch University.

As set out by the Rural Transformation project committee, exploration of rural transformation are to be facilitated through data collected by junior researchers from the University of KwaZulu Natal and the University of Cape Town. As a pilot study in this larger project, the data collected in Prince Albert will be incorporated into a larger meta-analysis of how residents in South African small towns experience transformation.

4.2.3 Critical Ethnography

Data collection and analysis is guided by a critical ethnographic methodology. In response to mainstream social scientific methods of qualitative research which presume the neutrality of the researcher, critical ethnographers have indicated the politicized nature of the data collection process. Punch (1994) discusses the politics and ethics of qualitative research, making the central point that:

much field research is dependent on one person's perception of the field situation at a given point in time, that that perception is shaped both by personality and by the nature of the interaction with the researched, and that this makes the researcher his or her own "research instrument" (Punch 1994: 84).

In being one's own research instrument, as Punch explains, researchers must remain self-conscious of the various ways in which they (and their positionality) influence and contribute to the collection of data. More specifically, Punch points to various factors which affect research in the field. Namely, the personality of the researcher, the geographic location of the field to be researched, the nature of the research object, the researchers institutional background, the presence of gatekeepers, and other factors such as the age, gender, class, and ethnic background of the researcher influence their experience and perceptions of the field.

Such factors, for critical ethnographers, call for researchers to be aware that where they stand in relation to the field will determine not only what they will research, how they will research it, and what they will find (Punch 1994:94). Therefore, such research proceeds from the assumption of the ways in which intersubjectivity and commonality create meanings and realities between the researcher and participants (Olesen 1994).

As Fine explains, when critical ethnographers explore the Self-Other borderland, they also engage in the politics of translation. For those who write from a position of status and privilege, analyses have looked reflexively at the authority granted to their own voices over those whose stories they tell. As Fine recalls, her own work with high school dropouts exemplifies the political brew in which critical ethnography is steeped, and how her own translation, in some ways, colludes in structures of domination:

I (white, academic, elite woman) represent the words of African American and Latino, working-class and poor adolescents who have dropped out of high school, in texts, in court, and in public policy debates (Fine 1991), and it becomes scholarship. Some even find it compelling. My raced and classed translation grants authority to their "native" and "unarticulated" narratives. My race and class are coded as "good science" (Kitzinger 1991). The power of my translation comes far more from my whiteness, middle-classness, and my education than from the stories I tell (Fine 1994: 80)

Here, Fine speaks reflexively to the contradictions and ethical questions that boil for “researchers who step out, who presume to want to make a difference, who are so bold or arrogant as to assume we might” (Fine 1994: 80).

Despite such contradictions and ethical considerations, Fine maintains that it would be essentialist to argue that only women can or should study gender, only people of colour can or should do race work, and only lesbians and gays can or should study sexuality. Moreover, Fine cautions against the stance that no one may speak for Others than the Others themselves. Drawing on the work of Caraway (1991) Fine points to the alternative risk of remaining silent. For, as Caraway maintains, “if we recognize race, class, gender, and sexuality to be socially and historically contingent (Hall 1991), then silence, retreat, and engagement all pose ethical dilemmas. All are tangled with ethics of knowing, writing, and acting” (Fine 1994:81)

4.3 Choosing a town

4.3.1 Criteria for selecting a small town

In defining a “small town” the committee refers to Alison Todes (2001) who posits that small towns in South Africa are those which have a population of less than fifty thousand. Also, the committee indicated that this pilot study should be conducted in the Western Cape, and that the town must have a mixed racial demographic, along with central spaces shared by all residents such as “the” supermarket, “the” petrol station, and “the” library. Otherwise, the committee has turned the selection of towns in which case studies will be conducted over to junior researchers on the optimistic grounds that important insights can be gathered from any small town selected (Stake 1994).

4.3.2 Consulting government publications

In selecting a town, I worked through a list of towns in the Western Cape from Van der Merwe, I. J., *et al.* (2005) *Growth potential of towns in the Western Cape*. In this report, I was able to obtain the population figures for each of the one hundred and thirty one towns listed. Given the aim of the study to examine the ways in which residents ‘negotiate’ and ‘make sense’ of shared spaces, along with the general sense of unknowingness when conducting a pilot study, I was inclined to choose a town with a

population smaller than that indicated by Todes. Therefore, in my first round of eliminations, I eliminated towns that had a population below five hundred and over five thousand, leaving fifty towns to choose from.

I then searched for information about each of the remaining fifty towns in efforts to gain a basic understanding of each town. Generally, I was able to distinguish between the ‘types’ of small towns in the Western Cape. Namely, three main types emerged; mission towns (i.e. Zoar, Pniel), former railway towns (i.e. Leeu-Gamka, Touwsrivier), and agricultural service centers (i.e. Prince Albert, Botrivier, Merweville). While I had no criteria for the ‘place identity’ of the town, I was most interested in towns that had an agricultural industry, as it would ensure a mixed racial demographic.

4.3.3 Taking a tour

Prior to making my final selection from the remaining towns, I felt that it was necessary to see as many of them as possible so that I could be sure that the town I chose matched the criteria set by myself and the Rural Transformation committee members. Additionally, I sought to determine which town generated the most questions for me. Therefore, I decided that taking a road trip through each of the small towns over three days would be helpful in guiding my decision. With the exception of a few, all of the towns remaining on the list were located in the Overberg and Karoo regions, thus making a three day tour a feasible amount of time to at least ‘get a sense’ of each town. And, if none of the towns in these areas were suitable, I planned to visit those in other parts of the Western Cape.

In each town, my Afrikaans speaking traveling companion would stop and speak with people as we drove through residential areas. In doing so, I was able to gain a rough understanding of the town’s spatial and racial dynamics, and recorded observations and conversations in a field journal.

4.4 Desktop Study

As set out by the committee, prior to conducting fieldwork, researchers are to conduct a desktop study of the town that they select. The desktop study consists of

gathering and analyzing document sources so as to gain a 'preliminary' understanding of the town.

In preparing for fieldwork, I began an initial desktop study of Prince Albert through internet and library resources. I was able to obtain two works from the University of Cape Town library about Prince Albert; *There's something in the air in Prince Albert* (Janssen 2007) and *Prince Albert in the Anglo-Boer war: 1899-1902* (Marincowitz 1999). Given that the former is a collection of photographic images of Prince Albert and the later is a historical text, I was unable to gather recent information about the town from this literature.

4.4.1 Government Sources

Therefore, my desktop study relied heavily on information available on the internet. More specifically, government publication¹⁷ and tourism information¹⁸ websites proved to be the most useful. In addition to the *Growth potential of towns in the Western Cape* report, I reviewed the *Central Karoo District Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2007-2011* along with the *Prince Albert Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan 2007/2008*.

4.4.2 Popular sources- tourism promotion

Tourism information websites were located using search engines such as Google.

4.5 Exploratory Study

In April, I was able to attend the annual Olive Festival, and experience Prince Albert as a tourist. For this exploratory study, I restricted my method to participant observation, and sought only to participate in the tourist activities offered by the olive festival. Again in the company of my partner who functioned as an Afrikaans translator, I was able to gain deeper insight into what was happening around me. Throughout the festival, I took photographs, and recorded observations, conversations, and collected contact details in a journal. I was also able to make accommodation arrangements for fieldwork which was to be conducted in June.

¹⁷ www.capegateway.gov.za

¹⁸ <http://patourism.co.za/>, <http://www.explore-sa.com/olive.htm>,
<http://www.storyweaver.co.za/pawgbook.htm>

4.6 Fieldwork I – General Interview Schedule

Fieldwork was conducted throughout the month of June. While four weeks is an inadequate amount of time, budget and time constraints were the primary limiting factors. However, given the relatively small scale assignment to interview sixteen residents, four weeks was ultimately sufficient to accomplish this task and I was able to obtain a sample of twenty five respondents. In conducting fieldwork, my translator and I lived in the town, in a rented a house which was located in the South end of town. Other than conducting in depth interviews at various locations across the town, my interaction with residents occurred mainly at two small café's in the town, the Internet café, the grocery store, at the Saturday market, and with our neighbors. Also, we were, on a few occasions invited to attend local events, meetings, and "in for tea". Overall, fieldwork was mainly characterized by conducting in depth interviews and participant observation.

As determined by the steering committee, the methodology for the project falls mainly into an in-depth qualitative frame which is responsive to contextual considerations in each of the nine towns selected for study. Therefore, a general interview schedule was created by the committee which was to be used in each case study and took the form of a 'template' or 'guidelines' for researchers. This interview schedule takes two paths in exploring residents racialized and spatialized identities, first, through asking in-depth semi structured questions, and second, through a mapping question/exercise [Appendix 2].

4.6.1 Afrikaans translator

As an American born person who has lived in Cape Town for the past three years, my knowledge of the Afrikaans language is minimal. Given the dominance of Afrikaans in Prince Albert and the Western Cape at large, it was vital that I have the assistance of a person who could conduct interviews in Afrikaans as well as transcribe and translate interviews to English. Therefore, I chose to request the assistance of my partner who accompanied me.

As a young white South African male from a working class/military background, Adrian is a fluent speaker of both English and Afrikaans. Also, as a friendly and amiable person, he often functioned as my 'camouflage' in that he could easily 'fit into' the town and its everyday social order and practices whereas my lack of knowledge of Afrikaans

often relegated me to the position of observer. He would often initiate conversations with people in the shops and on the street, and would share what they had said with me, or, if possible, provide me with an English avenue into the conversation.

4.6.2 Questions

While the committee provided the questions as recommendations for researchers rather than rigid instructions, researchers are instructed to integrate 'prompting' questions into the context of the interview. Beginning with a 'warm up' discussion about each respondents biographical background, the interview schedule proceeds to prompt respondents on 'what is happening in the town', 'what has changed in the town' since 1994, and the relationships between people in the town. These questions are aimed to uncover resident's perceptions and evaluations of social change in the town.

4.6.3 Mapping

In taking a more explicit turn towards gaining an understanding of how the town is spatialized, the interview schedule includes a section in which respondents are asked to engaged with a map of their town, which is to be provided by the researcher [Appendix 3]. Here, respondents are asked to indicate where they feel most comfortable, and second, where they feel the least comfortable in the town. While doing so, respondents are to be prompted on why they feel this way.

4.6.4 Sampling

In seeking to gain a racial/gendered/classed/cultural cross-section of the towns to be researched, the steering committee selected 'role players' to be interviewed in each town.

4.6.5 Demographics

In following the sampling instructions provided by the committee, I was able to obtain a dynamic sample of respondents. Additionally, it came to my attention that such a sample of sixteen 'role players' could potentially be satisfied by interviewing less than sixteen residents. Given the 'smallness' of the town, many residents have fulfilled more than one role throughout their time living in the town¹⁹. Therefore, while I still interviewed one person from each sector or 'role' I was able to, in essence, 'indirectly' interview more

¹⁹ For instance, one resident had been worked at the municipality, the school, and the church, and had been involved with the museum, the tourism bureau, and a community club, and had admitted that there was not a single organisation in the town that he had not been involved with.

than one person in each role. In addition to the ‘role players’ identified by the committee, I was able to interview additional figures in the town²⁰.

With more specific regards to the demographic topography of residents interviewed, which can be viewed in more detail in Appendix 4, my sample was most balanced in terms of gender, and duration of residency. Whites are overrepresented in the sample, as are older residents, wealthier residents, and Afrikaans speaking residents. And, while the majority of respondents are Afrikaans speakers originally, they chose to have the interview conducted in English when given the choice. Therefore, the majority of interviews were conducted in English. In using a ‘snowball’ sampling method, I inadvertently had access to more white residents than coloured residents, in that respondents would often suggest people that I interview, and by far, these residents were white²¹. Although the guidelines provided by the committee requested that researchers interview people across the power spectrum, it was more likely that those in leadership positions were white while those in non leadership positions were coloured given the persistence of inequality between the two groups. Therefore, the sample group was not representative of power dynamics which currently characterize the town in that of the eight coloured residents interviewed, half were in ‘leadership’ positions (1 principle, 1 teacher, 1 police inspector, 1 community development worker). While the other half worked as casual/farm laborers.

Also, the sample obtained is predominantly ‘older’ rather than ‘younger’. This can be explained by a number of factors. First, given ethical considerations, I did not interview anyone under the age of 18. Therefore, the ‘younger’ sample consisted of people between the ages of 18 and 35. However, finding residents in this age group was influenced by the fact that I was instructed to interview role players in various sectors or workers. Typically, the role players in each of these sectors were ‘older,’ and when I would interview ‘older’ residents, they often would refer me to other ‘older’ residents to

²⁰ i.e. a social worker, a community development worker, two shop owners, and an additional laborer.

²¹ In addition to approaching potential respondents at their place of work and through opportunistic measures, I would often ask respondents if they knew of someone in a given industry who would be good to interview. Often, respondents gave me suggestions and contact details which were useful when approaching potential respondents. Additionally, respondents would often make suggestions for people I should speak to throughout the course of an interview. While I was unable to follow up on all recommendations, I often took such advice. This was the most effective method for locating a farmer, a religious leader, a business person, a real estate agent, and someone in the tourism industry.

interview. Thus, while I was asked to interview one student, it was the only category which explicitly called for a 'young' person.

4.6.6 Locating Respondents

Following the list of 'role players' to be interviewed, I located some respondents by first locating the institution or sector²². This was an appropriate method for making contact with someone from the police, people from the school, the social worker, someone in the health sector, a hotel owner, and someone from the municipality.

In locating people who were not 'professionals' such as a farm laborer, a domestic worker, and a student, I took a more opportunistic approach. In Prince Albert, many casual workers go door to door asking for work. Therefore, on two occasions, people looking for work agreed to an interview²³. These respondents represented 'a domestic worker' and 'a farm laborer' and both residents worked both on farms and in resident's homes doing gardening, cleaning, car washing, etcetera. The weekly market held on Saturday mornings was also a useful meeting place, and it was here that I found a 'student' respondent.

4.6.7 Interviewing Respondents

Respondents indicated, upon agreeing to an interview, the time and place that they would like the interview to be conducted. Typically, 'professional' residents chose their place of work. While most interviews which were conducted at respondent's places of work were private, some interviews were interrupted by phone calls, customers, and co workers.

Every 'non professional' interviewed chose to have the interview take place at the house where Adrian and I were staying. As a quiet and comfortable setting where respondents could relax on the couch and drink tea, these interviews typically lasted longer than those conducted in working environments. Also, one resident invited me to her home, which also was conducive to a relaxed setting and a lengthy interview.

On two occasions, residents requested that interviews take place at a local café or restaurant. Both interviews in such settings took place outside, and therefore were

²² I would tell this person about my research project and that I was a graduate student from the University of Cape Town, and last that I needed to interview someone from their institution.

²³ In exchange for time they could have otherwise spent working, I offered R25 vouchers to the local grocery store

subject to the distraction created by people walking by and saying hello, as well as by servers taking orders and checking up on our table. Fortunately, on both occasions in which interviews were conducted in restaurants and café's, we were afforded virtual privacy in that we were the only patrons at the restaurant and servers remained inside.

4.6.8 Choosing a language

When asking residents if they would be willing to participate in the study through one one-hour in depth interview, I was usually able to discern if the person would request to be interviewed in English or Afrikaans. Given that there is a relatively large population of English speaking residents, a growing tourism industry, and a subsequent need of most residents to speak English on a daily basis, many residents were either originally English speaking or felt comfortable speaking it. For respondents who were originally English speaking, I conducted interviews without the aid of Adrian as a translator.

When preferred language was not explicit upon scheduling the interview, the respondent would be asked in the beginning of the interview which language they would prefer to speak in. In instances where the respondent chose Afrikaans, Adrian would ask the questions and I would follow along with my copy of the interview schedule. While my knowledge Afrikaans is minimal, I was often able to discern if the respondent was confused about a question or needed clarification. In such instances, I would make suggestions to Adrian which he would translate to Afrikaans. Also, when Afrikaans speaking respondents needed clarification in a question, Adrian would ask me for a suggestion, which he would then translate for the respondent.

In some instances when originally Afrikaans speaking residents would request that the interview be conducted in English, Adrian functioned as a 'backup' translator and could quickly clarify questions upon request by the respondent.

4.7 Fieldwork II - Heritage Advocates interview schedule

As previously mentioned, observations and the general interview schedule for the first phase of the case study are used to identify emergent themes that are specific to each particular town. In Prince Albert, it became evident that there is a proactive community

of residents who have taken it upon themselves to advocate for the preservation of what they refer to as the ‘heritage’ of the town. Therefore, for the second, and more contextually refined, phase of the case study, I identified some of these role players, and developed a second interview schedule [appendix 5] for these individuals.

4.7.1 Questions

The general aim of this interview schedule was to gain deeper insight into the ‘heritage industry’ in Prince Albert. Beginning with questions extracted from the general interview schedule provided by the committee, the schedule begins with a ‘warming up’ discussion of the respondent’s biographical background. Then, as in the general interview schedule, it prompts the respondents on their experience and evaluation of change that has occurred in the town since 1994.

In gaining more specific insight into the respondent’s role in ‘preserving’ the town’s history, the interview proceeds to ask how the respondent became interested and involved in the work they currently do. Upon gaining such background information, the questions proceed to ask respondents why they feel that the work they do is important, and what they think it contributes to the town.

4.7.2 Locating Respondents

Through participant observation undertaken at the Olive Festival in April of 2008, I identified three residents who are involved in the collection and preservation of Prince Albert’s history and heritage. I encountered these residents while taking part in heritage related activities offered during the festival; a ghost walk, a museum tour, and a historical walk. Upon interviewing one of these respondents, an artist who has created an exhibit in memorium of the forced removals of the 1960s, she introduced me to her partner who is also involved in the town’s heritage industry. In total, I interviewed four ‘heritage advocates’ during fieldwork in June, each of whom are in positions of leadership in the ‘heritage industry’ of Prince Albert. Also, these respondents and the data they provided are included in the sample and findings of the general interview schedule.

As mentioned, these respondents were identified during participant observation at the Olive Festival. During my participation in the activities they offered, I spoke with each of these residents about my research, and informed them that I would be conducting fieldwork in June and that I would like to interview them. Each agreed and instructed me

to contact them when I arrived, providing me with necessary contact details. Upon arriving in June, each respondent agreed to participate in one in-depth interview.

4.7.3 Interviewing respondents

Following the procedure employed for the implementation of the general interview schedule, I asked respondents where and when they would like to be interviewed. One respondents chose a café, one chose to be interviewed at the museum, her place of work, and one respondent chose to be interviewed at home. In the case of the later respondent, her choice to be interviewed at home was apt in that it allowed me to perform an impromptu interview with her partner who was involved in the creation of the proposal to declare Prince Albert a provincial heritage site. Each of these interviews was recorded using an MP4 device and later transcribed by myself.

4.7.4 Language

Each respondent interviewed with this interview schedule was a 'newer' English speaking resident. Therefore, there was no need for the assistance of an Afrikaans translator.

4.8 Participant observation

Given that fieldwork consisted of 'immersing' myself into the town for one month, participant observation was a method employed everyday and was more or less rigorous, depending on context. In going about 'everyday' activities such as going to the grocery store, going to the market, and conducting interviews, I was actively participating and observing and recorded field notes in a journal.

On occasions where I attended community events upon invitation, I also recorded field notes in a journal. These activities included a recycling event held for school children from the Prince Albert Primary School and the Swartberg High School (which has students from grade one to matric), a fundraising meeting at the Swartberg High School. I was invited to both of these activities by interview respondents, and an outing with the Dutch Reformed Churches from south end and North End.

Also, Adrian and I were invited for dinner on one occasion by an interview respondent, and in for tea on another occasion by our neighbor. Both of these casual encounters were recorded in the form of field notes in a journal

4.9 Data analysis

4.9.1 Social constructionism

In empirically investigating the field, critical theorists and researchers (Giroux 1983, McLaren 1986, Weiler 1988, Kincheloe and McLaren 1994) relate such a critical ethnographic framework to an epistemological approach for conducting fieldwork. Arguing that the meaning of an observation or experience is not self evident and contains no ‘kernel’ of truth, these authors have argued that the meaning of any experience depends upon the struggle over the interpretation and definition of that experience. And, as Kinchloe argues, the analysis and interpretation of empirical data is conditioned by the theoretical framework in which it is positioned and is dependent on ideological assumptions of the researcher. Thus, critical ethnographers do not treat empirical data as ‘facts’ but rather as representations of hidden assumptions. As Kinchloe and McLaren argue, the task of the critical ethnographer is to unearth and expose such assumptions.

4.9.2 Postmodern social theory

In rejecting mainstream research practices, the trajectory of critical ethnography engages with broader postmodern theoretical trajectories that reject the assumptions of Enlightenment rationality, traditional Western epistemology, and any allegedly “secure” representation of reality that claims to exist outside of discourse itself (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994: 143). This rejection of the rationality and objectivity presumed by modern scientific inquiry has informed the postmodern epistemic project of debunking the belief that knowledge is legitimate only if it reflects the world as it “really” is. Rather, postmodern social theory and research typically views ‘reality’ through the lens of social constructionism and employs a poststructural view of language and power. Starting from the assumption that the meaning of the signified is constituted by a signifier, postmodern thought is aimed at deconstructing dominant Western narratives of truth and their underlying centralized assumptions.

Therefore, critical ethnography is challenged with moving beyond imperial endeavors to retell experiences in the field through uncritical description of cultural difference, and to break through the Western framework that espouses universal values at the expense of local subjugated knowledges (Kincheloe and McLaren 1994: 153).

4.9.3 Critical ethnography

Pointing to Malinowski's detailed recipe for qualitative Othering, Michelle Fine explains that "Early in the century, 'twas noble to write of the Other for the purposes of creating what was considered knowledge. Perhaps it still is now" (Fine 1994: 79). Fine (1994) reinvents the Self and Other in qualitative research as she critiques the ways in which researchers have spoken "of" and "for" Others while concomitantly occluding themselves and their interests in attempting to avoid the contradictions that inevitably seep into the Self-Other hyphen. In writing against Othering, Fine suggests that researchers "work" the hyphen. This involves an unpacking of notions of scientific neutrality, universal truths, and researcher dispassion in an attempt to "braid critical and contextual struggle back into our texts" (Burawoy *et al.*, Fine & Venderslice 1992 in Fine 1994). In undertaking such analytical endeavors, as Fine explains, researchers "erod[e] fixed categories and provoke[e] possibilities for qualitative research that is designed *against* Othering, *for* social justice, and pivoting identities of Self and Other *at* the hyphen" (Fine 1994: 81 emphasis in original text)

According to Fine, writing against Othering involves the "a radical rethinking of the ethical and political relations of qualitative researchers to the objects/subjects of our work" (Fine 1994: 75). Such writing has emerged through qualitative research which has interrupted Othering by foregrounding subjugated voices. As Bhavnani (1991) reveals, qualitative researchers with such intentions see their work as disrupting Othering through provoking a sense of possibility. In aligning themselves with those who have been deemed Others, critical ethnographers self-consciously translate "for" Others in support of social justice.

4.9.4 Discourse analysis

A method of discourse analysis will be employed in the analysis of qualitative data gathered through in depth interviews, documentary analysis, and participant observation. As Howarth and Stravakakis explain, discourse theory "offers novel ways to think about the relationship between social structures and political agency, the role of interests and identities in explaining social action, the interweaving of meanings and practices, and the

character of social and historical change” (Howarth, Stravakakis 2000:5). Also, as noted by Wetherell, Taylor, and Yates (2001), discourse theory is useful in the study of social interaction, sense making, culture, and social relations. Because “discourse theory assumes that all objects and actions are meaningful, and that their meaning is conferred by historically specific systems of rules” (Howarth, Stravakakis 2000: 2), it focuses the ways in which social reality is contested or articulated through social practices, maintaining that “we are always internal to a world of signifying practices and objects” (ibid). Thus, data is viewed as sets of signifying practices that constitute a “discourse” and its “reality”, thus providing the conditions which enable participants to experience the world of objects, words, and practices (Howarth, Stravakakis 2000:4). In performing such analysis of qualitative data, identities are to be conceptualized as socially, politically, spatially, and historically contextual, and thus never fixed, static, or essential (Howarth, Stravakakis 2000, Gergen 2000).

In performing a discourse analysis of the qualitative data gathered, it was necessary to identify the signifying practices employed by residents as they ascribed particular meanings to Prince Albert during the current period of transformation. Namely, in listening to the voices of residents, I was particularly interested in identifying the themes which emerged across the garnered sample and which spoke to the ways in which residents evaluate changes occurring in the town, and the possibilities they opened up or closed down through such articulations. Themes were identified upon transcribing, translating interviews, and coding interviews. In performing this exercise, I was able to identify specific themes of “gentrification”, “heritage”, “tourism”. It was through these themes that residents spoke to the ways in which the town is “better” or “worse” than it was prior to 1994.

More specifically, as Riggins explains, critical discourse analysis is particularly useful in “advancing the study of prejudice and social inequality in modern multicultural societies” (Riggins 1997: 1). Based on the perspective that the relationship between words and truth is highly tenuous and problematic, critical discourse analysis focuses on the relationship between language, power, and privilege (Riggins 1997: 3). Therefore, in listening to the ways in which residents ascribed value to such changes, I sought to gain further insight into the interests at stake as residents discussed each theme.

As residents “opened up” or “closed down” possibilities for various interests, I was interested in the underlying power relations which informed their perspectives. As mentioned above, the themes of “gentrification”, “heritage”, and “tourism” emerged as residents described changes which have occurred in the town during the past fifteen years. Therefore, it became apparent that all three intersecting lenses would be necessary in the performance of a discursive analysis of data. Rather than treating these themes as “essential” or “self explanatory” features of life in Prince Albert today, analysis was interested in uncovering the ways in which these themes were framed and articulated by residents across the town so as to gain a deeper understanding the interests at stake.

As articulated by Fairclough (1989), critical discourse analysis involves the convergence between linguistics and social research and is interested in the ways in which different kinds of texts reproduce power and inequalities in society. Therefore, while qualitative interview data served as the primary texts through which the discourses and relations of power at work in the town were uncovered, document sources also provided insight into ways in which these discourses are activated by some residents. More specifically, tourism information websites and the proposal for the protection of Prince Albert’s heritage value, sources both authored by residents of the town, were reviewed in efforts to gain an understanding of how relations of power proliferate, reaching potential tourists along with local and national government bodies. In addition, while some document sources vocalize a particular narrative of Prince Albert, highlighting aspects of the town which may draw potential tourists, others speak to alternative representations of the town. Namely, municipal reports authored by the Prince Albert Local Municipality (PALM) and the Central Karoo District Municipality (CKDM) speak not to the aesthetic aspects of the town, but rather its inconsistencies, inequalities, and challenges through a focus on the low quality of life experienced by the majority of residents. As Speer (2002: 513 in Peräkylä 2005:869) acknowledges, “The status of pieces of data...depends largely on what the researcher intends to ‘do’ with them”. Therefore, in this study, while some documents are read as those which speak to the dominant representation and discourses of privileged residents of Prince Albert, others are read as being documents which speak to the subjugated, or buried, discourses of marginalized residents.

4.9 Limitations

4.10.1 Language

As mentioned, a central limitation in this study was that of language. Had I been more fluent in Afrikaans at the time of conducting fieldwork, I would not have had to rely on a translator, and possibly would have gained a more nuanced understanding of how Afrikaans speaking residents speak about changes in the town outside of the interview context. As a result of my lack of Afrikaans proficiency, I became more inclined towards the stories of English speaking residents at the expense of Afrikaans speakers whose stories I received second hand, with the aid of my translator. It was for this reason that I focused on the current stories of heritage and tourism emerging in the town.

4.10.2 Respondents

One finding which emerged from fieldwork was that many people who were born and raised in Prince Albert have sold properties and moved elsewhere during recent years. Also, many residents of the town explained that often, the new comers who purchase such properties only stay in the town for a few years, as they soon ‘realize that the town isn’t for them’. One limitation in my sample is that I was unable to interview either of these groups.

4.10.3 Urban Gaze

As a person who was born and raised in the suburban context, my view of Prince Albert was, in many ways, informed by an urban gaze. This gaze manifests itself through rhetoric which Others the rural, marking the non-urban with vague and generalized characterizations. Namely, throughout my upbringing in the United States, I became accustomed to referring to rural America as “the country” where life was “slower”, “everybody knows each other” and is sometimes even a bit “backwards”. Overall, however, I have always enjoyed time spent “in the country”, and saw my own rural fantasies reflected in the stories told my Prince Albert’s newer residents as they explained their reasons for moving to the town. Throughout the process of analyzing data, however, I have become more critical of my own desire to one day move to “the country”, and have interrogated my perceptions of the rural-urban continuum.

4.10.4 Ethnography as Research Method

Ethnography, as a social science research, method, emerges from legacy of colonial domination which was legitimated by modernist pursuits of Truth through the accumulation of ‘objective’ knowledge. However, the “academic revolt” which was ignited in the 1960s by Marxism or neo-Marxist critical theory has sought to transform knowledge production in the academy by “replacing the grand positivist vision of speaking from a universalistic, objective standpoint with a more modest notion of speaking from a historically and culturally situated standpoint” (Foley & Valenzuela 2005: 218). Therefore, the emerging postmodern critical ethnographic research methodology is inherently limited, in that it acknowledges that all knowledge is located (Haraway 1988), or partial (Harding 1998). As Foley and Valenzuela illustrate:

Critical ethnographers are mere culture-bound mortals speaking from very particular race, class, gender, and sexual identity locations. Because all standpoints represent particular interests and positions in a hierarchical society, they are “ideological” in the sense that they are partial.

In this study, my positionality as a young, white, middle-class, English speaking, American born heterosexual female tinted the lens through which I have perceived Prince Albert. Therefore, let it be acknowledged that this study is merely one of an infinite possibility of interpretations, representations, or narratives of the town.

PART TWO

5

Prince Albert: Multiple Routes, Multiple Realities

According to any South African roadmap, there is only one way into Prince Albert and only one way out. In preparing for my own journey to Prince Albert, however, it became evident that there were more discursive avenues leading into the town which are unrepresented by such geographical sources.

5.1 The Municipal Route

The Prince Albert Integrated Development Plan 2007-2011 (IDP) takes one directly to the challenges of everyday life, for most, in the town. In route, the IDP gestures towards the town's colonial heritage, explaining "The town of Prince Albert was established in 1762 when a loan farm named Kweeckvalleij – "the valley of cultivation and plenty" was established in the Northern foot-slopes of the Swartberg Mountain ranges (Prince Albert IDP 2007-2011: 10). This document also positions the town geographically, explaining that Prince Albert is "Situated in the Central Karoo, 400km north of Cape Town and 170km south west of Beaufort West" and is "characterized by the dry arid to semi arid climate, and frequently experiences drought (Prince Albert IDP 2007-2011: 11). The IDP also tells that Prince Albert is an established agricultural hub and tourist destination, which consists of "a centralized 'Dorp' with the main business area and predominantly white residential area" along with "North End, Prince Albert's predominantly coloured residential area" (ibid).

A document which seeks to address the challenges faced by the coloured community of North End, the IDP is primarily concerned with the later group rather than the former. According to this document, in the year 2008 "The main problem at people's level is: inadequate quality of life for the majority of the people, especially the poor" (Prince Albert IDP 2007-2011:16). Furthermore, it is explained that the main causes for the unsatisfactory living conditions of the people are multifold. Low education levels,

poor health services, a large housing backlog, and high unemployment are cited as the primary reasons why the Provincial Treasury Social Economic Profile 2006 ranked Prince Albert seventeenth on the Provincial Index of Multiple Deprivation. Prince Albert was the only Municipality in Central Karoo that appeared on this list of the 50 most deprived Municipalities (Prince Albert IDP 2007-2011: 13).

5.2 The Scenic Route

While government sources direct one's attention towards the multiple ways in which the majority of Prince Albert residents struggle day to day, popular sources such as newspapers and tourism promotion literature tell a much different story. The Prince Albert tourism information website²⁴ tells that one should visit Prince Albert in order to "Discover our oasis in the Karoo – where sparkling water bubbles along the furrows, gardens bloom, fruit orchards flourish and peace will restore your soul"²⁵. And, according to The Olive Branch, the official newsletter of the Prince Albert Tourism Association, the small Karoo town has much to offer to visitors:

Stroll round the village with its beautifully preserved Cape Dutch, Karoo and Victorian buildings – 19 of which are national monuments....Try our local delicacies...Enjoy traditional Karoo hospitality...Wander to the dairy, visit our Saturday market, our weavery...Go on a guided historical walk...visit the Swartberg Pass and the Fransie Pienaar Museum. You can visit a cheese-maker, go hiking, bird-watching or star-gazing with experts

For decades, the voices of the popular press have echoed in agreement as travel writers find themselves seduced by the 'magic' and 'charm' of the small isolated town. In a 1986 *South African Garden and Home*, journalist Alex Cremer entitles an article about Prince Albert entitled "Charm in the Great Karoo." Cremer begins, "Flanked by rugged mountains and endless desolate plains, the picturesque hamlet of Prince Albert has retained its old world beauty". Ten years later, Marianne Alexander writes an article which appeared in a 1996 issue of *South African Country Life* "Prince Charming of the Karoo: Time spent discovering the delights of a small town can be rewarding". Nearly a

²⁴ www.patourism.co.za

²⁵ <http://www.patourism.co.za/>

decade after the appearance of Alexander's article, Colin Sharp writes an article for *Habitat* an article entitled, "Karoo Jewel" which begins, "First populated in the 18th century-and until a decade ago-the best kept secret in the Karoo". These select articles stand within a larger canon of popular press which has reported primarily on the 'charm' and 'old world style' of this "Prince Charming" town in the Karoo. According to Henderson (2004:113), such descriptions are consistent with the genre of tourism promotion literature in which "images and texts are often employed to evoke nostalgia for an imperial age among markets from developed countries of the West".

5.3 A Bird's Eye View: a map of Prince Albert

These two routes, when juxtaposed, seem to lead to two different destinations. While neither governmental nor popular sources account for this discrepancy, a geographical representation of Prince Albert indicates how, in this context, one can be in these two places at once. From the map [appendix 3] it can be seen that the southern end of Prince Albert is characterized mainly by large properties, many of which are referred to as 'town farms' where residents are able to maintain small orchards or vegetable gardens. What can not be seen from the map is that these properties are owned by whites, and that it is only in this end of the town where residential properties have water rights, which are made available by the water furrow system which continues to operate in the southern end of the town. It is this area which most resembles the 'charm' and oasis-like descriptions offered by tourism information literature, journalists, and newer residents alike, for the south end of town is green, lush, and fertile.

Also from the map, one can see that the north end of town is characterized by properties which are significantly smaller than those in the south. Officially named North End, this area is a former coloured Group Area that has been in existence since the forced removals which ensued upon the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950²⁶. This area on the periphery of Prince Albert, like many of the group areas established in the nineteen fifties and sixties, can make claims to none of the descriptions which speak to

²⁶ Before 1950 there were already various Acts which provided for the reservation of certain areas for occupation by certain groups. The Group Areas Act of 1950 was, however, the first to regulate this matter country-wide. Later, The Group Areas Act (Act 36 of 1966) consolidated these Acts, reenacting the measures of the 1950 and 1957 Acts (Western 1981: ix).

the beauty of “Prince Charming” of the Karoo. Situated on dry and rocky land, North end does not share in the privilege of water rights, as it officially begins where the water furrow system diverts to the western and eastern sides of the town. Thus, the North End of Prince Albert begins to look like the place described by the IDP report.

6

Race and Space in Prince Albert: an unexpected transformation?

6.1 Introducing race and space in Prince Albert

As the previous section suggests, Prince Albert is home to (at least) two contrasting realities; one of struggle and poverty, the other of leisure and plenty. While one of the aims of transformation has been to change urban spaces to reflect the principles of a more equitable social order, these divergent realities suggest that such processes have not taken place as expected in Prince Albert, if at all (Williams 2001: 169). According to the Acting Municipal Manager at the time of fieldwork, while an estimated eighty percent of North End's residents work in the South end of town, none can afford to live there. Speaking from his office in the southern end of town, he explains:

In this part of the town you will find there are a lot of rich people...so integration hasn't taken place as it should have, because they can't buy houses here

Here, the Municipal Manager reveals that the southern end of the town is populated by "rich people" while the northern end of town is a lower income area. While he explains that although residents of the north and south are integrated during working hours, they retire to the historically created and racially segregated areas of residence at the end of the day. While this is not what "should" have happened after the end of apartheid, he proceeds to assure me that:

The relationship between the two different groups is very good...really good relationship between us, this side, and North End side, and there's no problem at all, really, we are living together very peacefully

Suggesting that the day to day relationships between those of the lower income coloured north and wealthy white south is a harmonious one, the Municipal Manager also implies an acceptance of the status quo. The following resident, David* who was born and raised

in North End, paints a different picture of the social order in the town, particularly with regards to his experience of working for white people:

I work with white people, maybe five years or more... and white people when they drive in their cars, its something I can't take ... its like, "What's up" because you knew that person, and...you don't see a hand coming from the car...but...when they ask you to do something, and when you are out there, they are purely nice to you, "Hi, howzit" whatever, it looks to me as long as they've got the thing done, its fine, you're alright, but when you see them... and you are walking downtown and the sun is coming up, and you wave and they don't see you, it makes you feel like you are stupid

Here, David tells that while white people may extend gestures of friendliness when they want his help, relationships change once the job is done and the workday is over. As a recurrent and familiar experience, the significance of David's grievance is illuminated by Essed's (1991) notion of everyday racism. According to Essed, everyday racism involves "systematic, recurrent, and familiar practices...Because everyday racism is infused into familiar practices, it involves socialized attitudes and behaviors" (1991:3). As David describes the everyday experience of walking down the main road with the rising of the sun, he also points to the recurrent practice of privileged white residents ignoring his gestures as they drive past; for David, this experience is deeply racialized and frustrating.

Through these accounts offered by individuals who are positioned on opposite ends of the town's power spectrum, one can begin to see the ways in which disparate realities collide, repetitively, in everyday situations in Prince Albert. And, in simultaneously looking through the lenses offered by both residents, it becomes evident that these accounts can only be the tip of the iceberg in understanding race and space in the town.

6.2 Semigration to Prince Albert

In asking residents about the changes that have occurred in the town since the end of apartheid, however, I was surprised by the silence of this story through their consistent focus on the ways in which the influx of middle class white English speakers has spurred the contested economic growth and development of the town. As the dominant story

which emerged from interviews, it became evident that the most visible form of change, which for residents, was this aspect of life in post-apartheid Prince Albert. Ultimately, intimate analysis of the discourses employed by newer residents illuminated that such changes have, indeed, had profound implications for current processes of transformation in Prince Albert.

As Ballard (2004: 60) explains in his discussion of “semigration” in the post-apartheid era, city spaces are increasingly seen as unpleasant places for many white South Africans, primarily because of the “unregulated mixing and unrestricted access they permit” (Ballard 2004:62). While Ballard speaks specifically about the establishment of gated communities and the fortification of space they engender, one can also see the applicability of the notion of semigration when listening to Prince Albert’s newer residents explain why they moved to the town. The following resident makes this point explicit as she draws on notions of an urban-rural continuum:

I love living here because it’s peaceful and quiet, its slow paced, I couldn’t possibly live in the city with the rush, with the traffic lights, it’s a slow pace which suits me

Similarly, for this resident who recently moved to Prince Albert:

we like the peace and quiet...and we like the fresh air, and we grow our own veggies, and we buy from people who grow them. You know where things come from that you eat, we know that they haven’t been sprayed with chemicals, we hope they haven’t, those sort of little things like that...There is a certain energy here that is great, it is catching.

And, in describing what attracted her, and other newer residents, to Prince Albert, the following resident begins by explaining that she is not unique in her perception of the town:

I think that people are attracted to something intangible in this area, you know, they are touched by it, they come and they are renewed, revitalized... if you were to write a book on how people came to live here, you will find a common thread, and that is that they were spontaneous about making the decision that they wanted to live here...

Confirming this assertion, an estate agent in the town testifies that often, people who have passed through the town for the first time express an interest in purchasing property. Here, it also becomes evident that financial resources are necessary if one wishes to make a spontaneous decision to move to the isolated Karoo town. As Deborah* explains, those passing through the town for the first time will:

...stop in and say, “What do the houses cost?” And they have been here for half an hour. I have actually sold two houses to people who were not ever in the town longer than one hour, because it just grabs them and they don’t want to go

This resident offers a hypothesis of why many residents in the town have acted spontaneously in their decision to purchase property or move to the town is offered:

...I don’t think that they were conscious of what was influencing them, it was maybe the river, the water, the trees, but I think it is more than that... because I think Prince Albert has a very good energy and... people who come here all have dreams of an idyllic life...Its almost as if it is good for your soul...there is just something about it that gives you scope for doing what you want to do, or finding out who you are and what you want to be

As these newcomers construct the relationship between the town’s natural elements and their own search for identity, they ultimately confirm Ballard’s contention that “the post apartheid phenomenon of semigration represents some white people’s attempts to re establish a comfort zone that reflects their self conceptions” (Ballard 2004a: 64).

6.2.1 The ‘Real’ vs. the ‘Rich’

In speaking with lower-income white residents about changes which have occurred in the town since the end of apartheid, many who were born and bred in Prince Albert often pointed to newer residents or, “incomers”, as the harbingers of change. As this non-property owning resident, who identified himself as a “white Boer Afrikaner” and who was born and raised in Prince Albert explains:

* Pseudonym

I grew up here in this country town and where it is a very close community and where everybody knows each other's in and outs. And, that, I do not experience that any more. The new people coming in are not quite the same, where they gossip a lot here and they know you better than you know yourself. It isn't the close knit town that it used to be.

In addition to naming the ways in which newer residents have changed the relationships between people in Prince Albert, this resident continues to explain the ways in which newer residents have altered the housing property market:

the houses for rent, a place wasn't a problem but now almost half the town is guest houses, and to buy a house now for the ordinary person is out of reach

Similarly, as this white Afrikaans speaking resident who was also born and raised in the town, yet who does not own property, explains:

There has been a lot of building... lots of new houses... There are English speaking people staying up there at the top of town that only come here one week in the year, and those places stand closed. One thing, there aren't any places here for people to rent, and houses that you can rent are so expensive that you can't afford it... the expansion of the town its good, but the people that have been here for a long time don't like the way that people come and buy houses here, they fix it up, and then they sell it again... it seems like its just a money making story

However, in speaking with Johannes*, the acting Municipal Manager of Prince Albert (who also owns property in the town), it became evident that newer residents and their interests have reached the listening ears of the local government. Although he explains that other residents, like him, who have lived in the town since childhood "don't like the foreigners, like the German or English speaking people," he explains their dislike, contending that it is "typical Karoo small town mentality":

That's the first sort of thing. "We are Afrikaners and they are English speaking" ...My opinion about those people who came here,

rich people, they bring in capital, that's why you see the houses, they have nicely renovated, and they bring in some expertise in different ways and they are very useful. So, I go to them and say, well I am trying to do this for this part of the town, come and help me, and they are very willing to, because they are retired, and they have the time, so ... I welcome those people here

From this diplomatic response to the tension which arises between the "original" residents and the newer residents of the town, the municipal manager points to the various ways in which the later group contributes to his endeavors, along with the general economic and social development of the town. Thus, it becomes evident that a clear boundary between the ambitions of "original" residents and "incomers" can not be fixed, as Johannes was born and raised in Prince Albert yet considers newer residents to be valuable resources to Prince Albert. Moreover, it also becomes apparent that Johannes agrees with the assertions of newer residents who understand their interests and actions to contribute to the betterment of the town.

6.3 Fixing meaning in a time of change

Residents who have moved to the town since the end of apartheid also express their concern for the damaging effects that new development has had on the town. However, their concern is not centered on keeping Prince Albert as a place where lower income residents can afford to establish themselves and live. Rather, for newcomers, it is the town's "cultural landscape"²⁷ and "vernacular architecture"²⁸ which are currently under threat. These 'high' cultural elements, for them, symbolize the "essence" of Prince Albert. For participants who have moved to the town since the end of apartheid, the "original character" of the town is positioned as that which is under threat as a result of changes imposed by antagonistic elements such as "development", "modernization", and

²⁷ Cultural Landscapes have been defined by the World Heritage Committee as distinct geographical areas or properties that "represent the combined work of nature and of man." UNESCO (2005) Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention. UNESCO World Heritage Centre. Paris. Page 83.

²⁸ While newer residents refer, specifically, to the Cape Gabled, Karoo Style, and Victorian architectural forms in the town, The Vernacular Architecture Society of South Africa (VASSA) considers vernacular architecture to be "*Building in indigenous styles, constructed from locally available materials, following traditional building practice and patterns, and not architect-designed.*" (<http://www.vassa.org.za/intro.htm> accessed on 1 December 2008)

the “wrong people” with the “wrong attitudes”. For instance, as this “newer” resident explains:

Its changing, when I first arrived, very peaceful, very small, and not much development, a few dozen houses have been built since I moved here ten years ago, some of the people who have come to live in the village, their ideas about living here are more, “what can I get out of the village?” rather than “what can I put into it?” So it’s different from when I first arrived.

The following newer resident points to personal desires as she explains that the town should remain untouched by developers:

...I always had this deep seated dream, to just live simply off the land...to eat the tomatoes from the garden, and herbs from the garden, not to eat Maggie and Knor, and the sauce made up, you know... this is why we want to try and preserve this, we don’t want them to build up on the tracks of ground in the town, because it has always been this mixed um, agricultural and living, and that’s the essential part of ... living in Prince Albert, you can grow your own few veggies

And, for another newer resident:

there is a magic here, there is something here which nobody can put a finger on, this magic, which draws people, okay, so they come to live here, and then, they want to change their houses, they want to start subdividing their beautiful agricultural plots, and destroy exactly what drew them here... and after two years they leave, and they leave their rubbish for us, you know, and that annoys me very very much

For these residents, the peacefulness and beauty of Prince Albert were what motivated them to purchase property in, and relocate to, Prince Albert. What is significant here is that, according to these residents, the development and subdivision of the town infringes upon their own “deep seated dreams” and identities. It also becomes evident that development threatens not only certain material aspects of the town, but also the symbolic power of these residents.

As mentioned above, descriptions of Prince Albert, as offered by ‘incomers’, journalists, and tourism promoters are, at first glance, characterized by an emphasis on ‘high’ cultural aspects of the town. However, in considering Natter and Jones’ warning

that “the danger inherent in essentialist conceptions of social space is the strategic fact that hegemonic cultural practices will always attempt to fix the meaning of space, arranging any number of particularities, disjunctures, and juxtapositions into a seamless unity” (Natter and Jones 1997: 149). Thus, it becomes apparent that one must pursue a more rigorous investigation of existing silences and implications which are marginalized by such representations.

6.3.1 Naming space: cementing symbolic power

In listening to the ways in which residents evaluate change in Prince Albert, it becomes evident newer residents currently enjoy “special access” to the discursive construction of the town through a hegemonic spatial representation which serves elite interests. Moreover, the relationship between space and identity becomes explicit as a vocal group of elite residents appropriate symbolic control of the town. This choir, which is predominantly comprised of residents who have moved to the town since the end of apartheid, forms a privileged group of “power elites” who sing to private, property owning, interests in harmony.

The endeavor to exert symbolic power over the town is made most explicit by the current advocacy work of these newer residents to preserve elements of the town which attracted them. Newer residents evaluate changes that have occurred in the town since the end of apartheid as undesirable in that they have contributed to the erasure of an ‘authentic’ Prince Albert which, for new residents, is symbolized by material objects such as architectural forms and agricultural elements. In attempts to prevent further change, some residents in the Southern end of town are currently advocating for the protection of the town’s heritage and the development of the tourism industry.

While upon a first listening these initiatives appear to be orientated towards the empowerment of the coloured community through job creation, further investigation reveals the contrary. The protection of the town’s ‘heritage’ features secures its future as a popular tourism destination, yet shifts residents’ own attention, and the attention of others, towards an “authentic” and desirable past rather than a present characterized by contradictions and severe inequality. The emphasis the concerned group of residents places on the need to protect and preserve remnants of the town’s history such as the

water furrow system, the large agricultural properties, and various architectural forms constructs a spatial identity of the town which centers and serves the interests of privileged residents through its emphasis on a particular construction and use of the past.

Amongst participants interviewed, those who expressed concerns for heritage and tourism had lived in the town for less than fifteen years, and tended to be white, middle class, retired professional English speaking South Africans. It is this group which has made itself and its interests most audible in mass communications through mediums such as the popular press and the internet²⁹. From a diversity studies approach, to interrogate such interests is to illuminate the ways in which systems of domination and oppression are maintained and reproduced at the everyday level by dominant groups. And, as van Dijk (2001: 303) points out, the social, political and cultural organization of dominance also implies a hierarchy of power. For instance, “some members of dominant groups and organizations have a special role in planning, decision-making and control over the relations and processes of the enactment of power” (ibid). Referring to such privileged individuals, groups, or organizations as “power elites”, van Dijk explains that it is these groups who are “especially interesting to note” in that they have “special access to discourse: they are literally the ones who have most to say” (ibid). Such an approach to the discursive mechanisms employed by newer residents can uncover that underlying post-apartheid dynamics of race and space can be uncovered.

The privileged nature of discourses of heritage value and tourism development becomes apparent when considering that, amongst residents interviewed, concern for the protection of the elements of the town associated with its past character and physical elements was voiced mainly by those who owned property in the southern end of Prince Albert³⁰. More specifically, these newer residents covered a spectrum of areas of expertise in government (one respondent worked for the International Labour Organization and another once worked in the Diplomatic Service), education (two were teachers), architecture (one respondent studied architecture), and private enterprise (two

²⁹ As an English speaker, I was able to have casual conversations with English speaking residents more frequently than with Afrikaans speaking residents and ultimately, it was through casual conversation with English speaking curators at the museum that I became aware of their current advocacy work, and the extent to which such interests were organizing and strategizing within a system of power relations.

³⁰ Property owners interviewed in the South were predominantly white, middle class, English speaking South Africans who had moved to Prince Albert from urban areas such as Pretoria, Cape Town, and Johannesburg upon retiring from professional careers.

respondents were business owners and currently owned businesses in Prince Albert). Moreover, some of these participants are currently acting in roles which allow them to make use of expertise and skills developed throughout their professional careers³¹.

While such residents claim that the development of the tourism industry and the protection of Prince Albert's heritage value will contribute towards a solution to problems such as those identified by the local municipal government, interviews with residents from across the town indicate that these two imperatives are not currently serving the interests of Prince Albert's poor. Rather, mechanisms of exclusion which operate at the everyday level function to reproduce unequal relations of power between residents of the north and south.

Through the articulation of a discourse which centers the town's 'high' cultural elements as a top priority, privileged residents produce a hegemonic spatiality which not only silences alternative issues to be raised in the town, but also aims to gain the acceptance of those whom it attempts to dominate. Moreover, from a critical approach to this discourse, one can more clearly see the ways in which hegemony operates to define space through discourse for the ultimate purpose of gaining power and control over resources and the minds of those who it excludes.

6.3.2 An undesirable past: placing blame

Newer residents disable the possibility that they are responsible for the current marginalization of the coloured community through a hegemonic spatiality which employs a particular and selective representation of the past. Namely, as newer, property owning, residents speak to the inequality and separation which exists in the town, the damages incurred during the apartheid era and its perpetrating architects are often named as the main culprits rather than groups or actions presently taking place. According to one newer resident:

if there was ever one event, that altered time...in the very early history, it would have been when the trekboers arrived, because they didn't have the same approach to owning property as the locals... territory was never owned, it was shared... And I think that that would

³¹ For instance, one participant who worked professionally as an art teacher offered art classes free of charge to young people from North end, while the architect interviewed currently serves on the Prince Albert Building and Heritage Advisory Committee which actively encourages homeowners to renovate in ways which are 'in style' with the other existing Cape gabled, Karoo style, and Victorian homes.

have been a big change...and then I think the next big thing would have been the apartheid, because up to apartheid they were quite an integrated community... but then, it became a harsher thing in that their homes were demolished, and they weren't allowed to take their animals with them... in the time, there was always food available... so that I think was very hard, because that brought on the poverty...and then from then, I think that there was a change when there was an influx of 'semigrants' when the white community... left the city, people retiring, and with them they brought their skills, and they brought a different approach to the coloured people

In naming the important historical periods in Prince Albert, this resident focuses on events which have contributed to the denigration and the empowerment of the coloured community. While the arrival of the trekboers and the implementation of apartheid policy and planning are named as occurrences which caused the current problems of poverty and inequality in the town, the arrival of "semigrants" and their "different approach to the coloured people" is positioned as providing a beacon of hope for the disadvantaged coloured community. Similarly pointing to the abuses of the past, another newer resident who has lived in the town for four years explains:

there are still terrible divisions, apartheid is still here in many ways, but I don't think it's the mean and nasty apartheid of the past, but I think the fact that there are the sort of two distinct communities...its not institutionalized, but I think people still suffer from apartheid in the sense that... the damage has come from years of being, excuse my language, "donnered" you know, people have been told that they are useless

The divisions which continue to exist in the town, for this resident, are the result of past injustices which ultimately "damaged" the coloured community. And, in expounding on consequence of this past, the following resident reveals her frustration with the ways in which the history of apartheid continues to affect her interaction with coloured people, despite her own perception that she has not been a perpetrator of apartheid:

I get mad because I think its on both sides of the divide as well... its not just white people... someone will come to the door, or a child playing with his friends will have an attitude, and then turn to you and ask, in a groveling way, for five rand or something, to go and buy

bread, and to me, I am like, “Don’t talk to me like that, man” and it makes me so cross, and I lose my temper, and my blood boils, and that’s worse. Talk to me like we are both people, don’t grovel, it doesn’t suit you and it doesn’t suit me

Here, this resident explains that the continued segregation and inequality is not only because of white people, but because of coloured people themselves. Explaining that when approached for money in a “groveling” way, she is also ascribed an identity that she feels is not her own. We gain deeper insight into why she experiences frustration in such an event in listening to similar complaints from other newer residents:

I saw a chap in the post office today, and you know, he was sort of wringing his hat and doing this thing to me, now only because he came out of the old apartheid days, and I am a white guy, and somehow, I represent that thing for him, I am not part of that, I have never been a part of it, I left South Africa during that political period...because I didn’t like what was taking place, and I came back and I worked at various things to try and make a difference.

Expressing a similar frustration as Miriam, this resident explains that he was never part of apartheid and therefore should not be burdened by its residual effects. Rather, he should be recognized as an individual who has attempted to make a difference in a country ravaged by its history. Another newer resident similarly asserts that because she is originally from Zimbabwe, she is free of apartheid and its effects:

I am not a South African, so I kind of was never affected by apartheid, apartheid means nothing to me

From the residents quoted above, it becomes apparent that newer residents disassociate themselves from undesirable elements of the town’s past. Yet, at the same time, these same residents are those who voice the most concern for other aspects of the town’s colonial past.

While elite white residents of the South express concern for the everyday struggles experienced by coloured residents in the North, such awareness typically takes place through a discourse which refrains from taking responsibility for this inequality as white residents disidentify themselves from such issues:

I don't have problems in this part of the town, I think the problems are in the coloured area, they are poor poor poor...there is a vast number of them that have state subsidies, old age pensions, child care grants, and disability pay, but you know, if they have illegitimate children, then they get paid, which just causes them to have more children, but there are drug problems there and alcohol, oh, they just live for Friday to get their pay and to go and get drunk and then Monday we start all over again

Here, it becomes evident that for this resident, problems are not located in the predominantly white side of the town, but isolated to the "coloured area" where sex, drugs, and alcohol combine to create a variety of social ills. Moreover, these "problems" are attributed to the residents of the "coloured area" rather than to injustices of the past or the existence of structural inequalities.

As this resident assigns a particular (coloured) identity to the "coloured area", one can more explicitly see the ways in which hegemonic spatialities function to categorize and Other certain groups. As made evident here, "this" part of the town is a distinctly innocent space which is unaffected by the "problems" of the North. Even more, as this resident continues, it is necessary to keep quiet about these 'realities', or the tourism industry in the town could suffer:

we need tourists, we mustn't start talking about...violence going on because the tourists won't come anymore!

In silencing the poor quality of life experienced by the majority of its residents, elite residents direct potential investor and visitor attention to the extraordinarily high quality of life experienced by its elite minority.

7

“Heritage” in Prince Albert: A Discourse of Exclusion

*How are places forged from spaces, who has this power to forge, how is it contested and fought over, and what is at stake in these contestations?*³²

7.1 Constructing Prince Albert’s ‘heritage value’

One such means of achieving social and economic development, according to some residents in the southern end of town, is to protect and cash in on Prince Albert’s ‘heritage value’. As discussed above, it was those who had moved to the town since the end of apartheid who expressed the greatest concern for the protection of certain desirable features of Prince Albert’s past, and who are most vigilant about gaining the support of local and national government. As Linda*, who is currently a member of the Friends of the Museum, the Prince Albert Cultural Foundation, and the Building and Heritage Advisory Committee, confirms:

...its all people who came into town, who love it and think its beautiful. It’s very sad to say, the local community doesn’t realize what they’ve got, its very very sad.

Currently Linda, along with a number of newer other home owning residents, are in the processes of applying to the South African Heritage Resources Agency (SAHRA) to establish Prince Albert as a provincial heritage site in terms of the National Heritage Resources Act (No.19 of 1998) in efforts to gain official support and recognition for the protection of what they consider to be the town’s ‘heritage value’. According to the proposal, entitled “Prince Albert: Unique Karoo town at the foot of the Swartberg World Heritage Site: Proposal for protected status as a provincial heritage site”, a document I was able to procure from a generous participant (in its unfinalized stages), Prince Albert should be protected as a heritage site because:

³² Pred and Watts 1992: 195

The town is embedded in a multi-layered cultural landscape in a magnificent and largely unspoilt natural setting ...the natural setting in which Prince Albert is embedded is an integral part of the heritage value of the town as it provides building-free vistas out onto the engulfing Karoo landscape and contextualizes the town structure in a very potent manner: the landscape which defines the town and the resources of the natural environment have directed the cultural activities that have marked the last 250 years, making it a truly symbiotic cultural landscape (3)

As part of the “natural setting” of the town, the authors of the proposal point to the elements of original agricultural activity which remain in the “Vibrant 150 year old Farming Town” (Prince Albert: 17), such as the water furrow system, an actively cultivated alluvium which formed part of the original 1762 loan farm *Queekvallei*, the existence of traditional farming structures, productive vineyards and the raising of livestock within the village environs,. The architecture and “urban character” of the town are also cited as being of “high heritage value and authenticity” in that they“ ha[ve] evolved from the natural landscape and its Karoo setting” and “strongly reflec[t] the historical cultural life of the town and presen[t] a uniqueness not found in other towns” (ibid). As the authors go on, it becomes apparent that some buildings are welcome features of the vistas and that certain aspects of the town possess what heritage advocates refer to as ‘heritage value’:

“In the building types, which range from simple Karoo cottages to complex Victorian, the mass and volume of buildings is distinctive and remarkably consistent. Within each architectural type, the aesthetic treatment is generally harmonious yet individualistic” (ibid).

Moreover, one can see that the authors of the proposal are not concerned with one particular style of architecture, just as they do not restrict themselves to a particular form of heritage. Fontein (2000: 62) provides further insight into the power which operates through the construction of heritage, explaining that the idea of ‘heritage’ involves the construction of a past which is based on a concept of linear and progressive time, and in which certain kinds of knowledge are seen to have a particular authority. Therefore, it is argued that the politics of the past are not, in themselves, Eurocentric. Rather, Fontein it

is the “framing of the past through discourses of history and architecture” where one can uncover the Eurocentrism which underlies heritage discourses (ibid).

According to ‘heritage advocates’, Prince Albert’s heritage value is woven through the brick and mortar upon which the town was established. This explains why the proposal has provided a topographical indication of the proposed heritage site [appendix 6], including the entire town, from north to south rather than featuring specific houses, farms, or monuments. At this point, one can begin to see where rubber meets tar with regards to Natter and Jones understanding of “hegemonic spatiality”. The “categorically ordered possibilities for, and the construction of, meanings about any space” (Natter and Jones 1997: 151) in this case is being facilitated through a discourse of heritage, and as will be discussed later within this analysis, tourism. As the authors articulate such representations of Prince Albert, they also engage in what Natter and Jones refer to as “a representational process that works to tie ‘readers’ –or ‘operators’- however tentatively, to ‘texts’- and ‘space’” (ibid). As they locate what is valuable about the town in symbols of its past, these residents also legitimate and normalize neglect for the present. As Natter and Jones explain, because the social processes of centering involves a “structuring moment” that is necessary to perform such ordering, it is argued that at the same time, any such structuring implies the assignment of a periphery:

Assignment to the periphery ‘provides a home’- one of terror- for ‘the other,’ the mere existence of which is both a provocation to, and raw material for, the centre” (Natter and Jones 1997: 150).

As human geographer Phil Hubbard (2005: 292) reminds us, it is important to realize that processes of marginalization can be explicitly spatial, as specific marginal areas become associated with marginal groups over time. More specifically, Hubbard (2005) explains that the placement, or ghettoisation, of subjugated groups into environmentally degraded and poverty-stricken areas serves to enhance their powerlessness. In considering the ways in which newer, elite residents attempt to position Prince Albert as a national heritage site and tourism destination, the interests they seek to protect become increasingly pronounced.

7.2 *Tourism: Cashing in on Prince Albert's 'heritage value'*

According to Henderson (2004: 118) “Ideological, political and social currents...underlie the heritage conservation movement...there have also been strong economic motives for official support derived from the notion of heritage as a resource which attracts tourists and their spending”. From the proposal and in speaking with residents who advocate for the establishment of the town as a provincial heritage site, and in light of this argument, it becomes apparent that entangled with the identity interests served by the town's ‘heritage’ elements, one justification for preserving the “original character” of the town is to attract tourist dollars.

7.2.1 ‘Its common sense’

Often cited as being a guaranteed means of economic development, tourism is positioned as being a “common sense” approach to curing the problem of poverty in Prince Albert:

...it's a known fact, worldwide, that tourism creates jobs, and I think something like, every 30 tourists that visit your town creates one job, that's the international standard... so, we need tourists, we mustn't start talking about...violence going on because the tourists won't come anymore!

As this resident refers to the “fact” that tourism creates jobs, she illuminates Essed's (1991:8) warning that one must “generally question what seems normal or acceptable” for a dominant group. For the above resident, tourism as a means of creating employment opportunities is a “fact” known around the world. As she explains the power of the tourism industry to create employment rates, she also warns that too much emphasis on the present ‘problems’ of the country would inhibit its ability to flourish.

According to Linda, who is a member of the Friends of the Museum, the Prince Albert Cultural Foundation, and the Building and Heritage Advisory Committee, it is rather the remnants of the town's past which must be promoted for tourist consumption:

we do have some control over the development of Prince Albert, and this whole conservation thing is not to stop development, its just to manage it to the best advantage of everybody, to conserve this beautiful character that we have in town which attracts the tourists, and brings money to the town, because it is money that comes from other

places, into the town, its not money that's just circulating round and round...

Making explicit the connection between the conservation of the town's "beautiful character" and money brought in by tourists, Linda reveals the inextricability of heritage and tourism development in the town. For, in her perspective, without heritage, there would be no tourism. Moreover, it becomes evident that in order to promote the heritage and tourism industries, it is important that she and others have control over development.

7.2.2 Keeping out the unwanted: the "Coke and Hamburger Brigade"

In naming one way in which newer residents seek to control the tourism industry, Linda points to the ways in which residents currently assert a spatial identity of Prince Albert in efforts to protect certain aspects of the town through the exclusion of what is considered to be unwanted 'low' cultural elements:

One of the tourism industry people once used the term, 'Coke and Hamburger Brigade' [laughing] we don't want those people here, thank you very much!...fortunately our tourism association...draws the right kind of people, it's a very important thing...to market our natural things, our olive farms, our hiking trails, those sort of things, extremely important, we don't want to have a limelight kind of, there's no limelight in Prince Albert, it's the simplicity

Arguing that some kinds of tourists are undesirable, Linda illuminates the ways in which the tourism association aims, through a carefully crafted discourse, to attract "the right kind of people" and to deter others. Namely, those interested in consuming the town's 'high' cultural elements are welcome. Allison, another resident who is involved in the preservation of the town's memory through participation in storytelling and the Prince Albert writer's guild, reaffirms Linda's argument, explaining that it is important that the town is marketed to:

the 'right sort' of tourist, 'our sort' of people. The right sort of people will come, the village will attract people who want what the village has to offer

Explaining the importance of attracting the “right sort” of people, this resident further reveals the conscious attempt to not only create Prince Albert into a destination for a niche market, but also that it is only “our sort” of people who are desirable visitors. The importance of tourism for the town’s development and growth is confirmed by Johannes, the acting Municipal Manager at the time when fieldwork was conducted:

I think the future of this town is mainly based on tourism, so we must expand and try to improve all our tourist attractions in town, and around the town in our area. One thing the people admire about Prince Albert is not only the quietness and the tranquility, and the wonderful Karoo atmosphere, but also the building styles of the houses here... they are very precious to us, and popular amongst tourists

Here, the Municipal Manager further reveals the expectation that tourists will be economically resourced and will enjoy ‘high’ cultural aspects of the town, explaining that the future of the town relies on the capital these tourists will bring with them.

7.3 Implications

7.3.1 Government funding schemes

Review of the CKDM Integrated Development Plan 2007-2011 reveals the extent to which the development of the tourism industry is considered vital by the district municipality- a sentiment shared by the national government as well as property owning residents of Prince Albert. For the 2007/2008 year, tourism development was allocated a total of R5,248,903. It is in comparing this budget allocation with those for the social, health, and environmental sectors that the gravity of this figure can be experienced. For the same year, R1,500,000 was allocated to “social” areas for the development of a multipurpose centre in Prince Albert, the area of “health” received R1,232,000 for “moral regeneration /social cohesion” strategies, along with R444,000 which was to be allocated to HIV/AIDS prevention programmes. Lastly, the area of “environment” received R113,000. From this brief glance at the CKDM budget allocation for 2007/2008, one can begin to see the emphasis placed on the development of the tourism industry, as it received more in this year and nearly double (R5,248,903) what “social”, “health”, and “environment” related areas combined received (R2,845,000).

7.3.2 “Assigned to the periphery”: the problem of ownership

According to Simmons (2004:51), the promotion of the tourism industry involves the erasure of present-day tourism relations in favor of past relations” in that it upholds the fantasy of colonial relations. While such discourses position the traveler as “free, autonomous and able to colonize a place in a way that modernity precludes” Simmons maintains that the traveler adopts the social position of a colonial elite who does not interact with local people who are considered to be inferior due to the class, racial and gendered power relations within colonial relations” (ibid). Consequently, it is argued that because tourists become caught in a colonial gaze, tourism lacks any real capacity to transform tourists through interactive contact with the Other (ibid).

In Prince Albert, the possibility of tourist interaction with the coloured community is foreclosed through relations of power which currently exist in the town. As noted in the Prince Albert IDP, “Prince Albert has a big potential in tourism, which have not yet been fully developed. This has so far been in terms of Bed and Breakfast where the blacks, majority of whom are poor, have not tapped into this sector” (Prince Albert IDP: 15). While the IDP does not suggest explanations for why this group has not “tapped into” or cashed in on tourism, residents in the south end of Prince Albert (and who wish to develop the tourism sector) offer some insight:

...it isn't a case of people saying that “we don't know anything about tourism” we teach tourism as a subject at the school, from grade 10...and there is all sorts of material and information, and skills development which youngsters could use...but so far we haven't had the want to, and one of the big problems in South Africa, as far as I can see, is that the government has been very quick to move to a socialistic perspective of handing out money...and the people just sit back and say, “Okay, well then I will have a baby, three children...but they get paid...there are a great number of opportunities, but, until people take the opportunities and say “I want to I will do something, I will make a career, I will grow” then, it's not going to work

Pointing to practice of providing social grants to the poor, this resident places blame on the post-apartheid South African government and lack of initiative amongst coloured

residents in her attempts to explain why this group has not become involved in the town's tourism industry. From a 'practical' perspective, the following resident offers an alternative explanation which acknowledges the significance of ownership in determining who will and who will not be interested in involving themselves in the tourism industry:

...well tourism... why don't we have more involvement of people in tourism, maybe there is attempts to do it, but the fact of the matter is that the members of the tourism association pay their dues, are the people who are in businesses, and those aren't people in North End... If you look at it from an ownership point of view, and being part of owning businesses.

The implications of the lack of ownership amongst the coloured community of North End is further revealed when listening to the perspectives of those who vouch for the employment opportunities created by the tourism industry:

... it creates a lot of jobs, I mean, we have about 56 guest houses, they are not all big grand guest houses, some of them are just one or two rooms in a house that people let, but it creates a job for a coloured woman to come and do the cleaning

Here, it becomes apparent that coloured residents are not in positions which will empower them, economically or socially within the tourism industry. In contending that tourism development will serve the interests of disadvantaged residents from North End, the above resident confirms Brett's argument that "a reliance on tourism can never be anything but shaky, and that, in creating low, rather than high-skilled employment, the tourist industry may actually disable the local population and reproduce a form of servant class" (1996: 127).

Indicating the operations of power at work in such spatialised identity projects, Natter and Jones subsequently indicate the "violence which structures space/identity [which] is part of everyday life at all scales" for its victims. Namely, the authors point to the violence which takes shape through "the license of exclusion issued through private property relations...[and] the patriotic identities forged in nation states" (Natter and Jones 1997: 152). While a resident quoted above acknowledges the relevance of ownership, he

also points out that coloured residents from North end are not currently positioned within private property relations so that they may directly benefit from tourism development. In speaking with residents of North End about life in the town and the tourism industry, the experience of exclusion amongst this community is illuminated:

for some [tourism] might work, there are people moving there, and they do have stalls, but people have different opinions. Some still, uh, won't put up and think that the Olive Festival favors one group...the other thing is pricing in the festivals, some people don't go to them because they can't afford it, to buy something, especially people who are unemployed, who don't have money

For this resident, the people of North End do not take part in the Olive Festival due to the perception that the festival 'favors' whites. Moreover, as this resident explains, many residents are unable to afford to attend the festival.

7.3.3 The politics of exclusion

In reviewing Prince Albert tourism promotion websites, it becomes further evident that North End does not feature in the town's tourist image³³. While each of the photographs made available on these websites presents a 'birds eye view' of Prince Albert, they exclusively focus on the southern end of the town and exclude North End.

The annual Olive Festival is the largest event which occurs in Prince Albert each year, and it attracts thousands of visitors from South Africa and abroad. However, as noted by the resident above, the offerings of the festival are largely unavailable to the lower income residents of North End. While the streets of Prince Albert were shared by residents of the North and South (along with visiting guests) during the festival, as I observed in April of 2008, those working at food and craft stalls were predominantly white. Jeremy* A student from the South end of town who had recently moved with his family to Prince Albert told of his own investigation of this phenomenon:

³³ -http://lubke.net/mediac/400_0/media/DIR_19801/DSC04409~copy~prince~albert.jpg
-<http://www.maisbandb.co.za/images/princealbertview.JPG>
-http://www.patourism.co.za/images/koppie_view.JPG
-<http://www.knowles.co.za/Striata%20Nov%202005/Prince%20Albert%20-%20view%20from%20Kopje%20.JPG>
-http://www.centalkaroo.co.za/images/pakoppie_view.JPG

I've asked around, and at first, the coloureds, they didn't really want to get into it.... Every Olive Festival, everybody can chip in and make something, and the school up here, they usually do a beer tent and a braai, and they usually make a lot of money, R10, 000, R20, 000, but the schools down there don't and, ya, I was just like asking around and they were like, "No, because it's a racial thing" and they don't feel welcome

Presenting his own finding, Jeremy explains that although there is money to be made at the Olive Festival, coloured residents do not feel as though they have access to it as a result of racial tensions which currently exist in the town.

As another resident reveals, discourses which exclude coloured residents from capitalizing on tourism in the town can be found in the local newspaper, *The Prince Albert Friend*. In describing "the biggest problem" in Prince Albert, she explains:

It's mostly the coloured children that beg at the people and tourists, for example, when the tourists stay at the hotel, then they hang and they hang, but there is a soup kitchen for them down there. It has been in the newspaper that the people must not give them any money, they must go to the soup kitchen, because there is a place for them to eat, that's actually the biggest problem

Here, one learns that white residents and the local newspaper they publish each month instructs tourists not to give children food and money. One also becomes privy to the expectation amongst the white community that if the coloured community is to benefit from tourism, they are to do so according to prescribed methods; working in their businesses.

8

Conclusion

Space is ‘a *stake*, the locus of projects and actions deployed as specific strategies, and hence the object of *wagers* on the future’³⁴

Throughout this study, I have painted a critical ethnographic portrait of the shape of transformation in Prince Albert, one rural South African town. Through detailed readings of written and spoken ‘texts’, I have explored how dynamics of race and space are currently re-produced through a hegemonic spatiality which has been facilitated by the entangled (and seemingly benevolent) discourses of heritage and tourism. In order to understand how white and coloured residents remain informally segregated and socio-economically unequal, it has been necessary to employ a variety of overlapping conceptual lenses. Namely, concepts of gentrification, heritage and tourism have provided insight into the underlying power relations which currently operate in the town, and function to protect the interests of an elite group of white residents.

In the course of the last three chapters of this study, I have examined ways in which Prince Albert has changed since the end of apartheid, and explored the extent to which these changes have promoted the democratic vision of transformation. From this journey into the constructions of heritage and tourism which currently constitute dominant representations of the town, I have been able to uncover the underlying dimensions of a raced power order in Prince Albert which protects the privileges enjoyed by elite white residents.

As discussed in Chapter 5, Prince Albert is home to multiple realities which are shaped and contextualized by the history of apartheid. In Chapter 6, it becomes evident that in Prince Albert, apartheid era dynamics of race and have been perpetuated by socio-economic inequality throughout the past fifteen years. Namely, as discussed in Chapter

³⁴ Lefebvre 1991: 142-3 in Meethan 1996: 179

7, it has been through discourses of heritage and tourism development, as mechanisms of symbolic power, that elite identities and interests have become reinforced and socio-economic inequality has been re-created.

In this final chapter I therefore want to underscore the relationship between the symbolic appropriation of space which is inherent in notions of heritage and tourism, and the re-production of racial inequality in Prince Albert. In doing so, I will also identify key contributions that the study of Prince Albert, as a rural South African town, can make to the existing theories employed in this study.

8.1 The Legacy of Apartness

As made discussed in this study, the relationships between racial groups in South Africa have been shaped by their colonial legacy and the racist segregationist ideology which was at the heart of the apartheid regime. As one rural South African town, Prince Albert is no exception, and certain racial groups continue to be associated with certain geographical areas, and disparate degrees of social power. While the areas deemed 'whites only' and 'coloureds only' during the apartheid era have now become formally deracialized, informal mechanisms of segregation continue to entrench such associations, and social relationships remain shaped by apartheid dynamics of race, space, identity, and power.

8.2 Semigration & Gentrification: Watch this Space

Currently, in Prince Albert, dynamics of race and space have been influenced by the post-apartheid influx of retired, middle class, white, English speaking people. Therefore, Richard Ballard's understanding of 'semigration' is particularly poignant in that it reveals that Prince Albert is not unique in this regard. Pointing to semigration as one way in which white South Africans have attempted to establish comfort zones for themselves after the demise of apartheid, Ballard refers to the growing fears of urban areas amongst whites. Ballard also reveals that this current trend is part of a longer history of colonial strategies to manage the social hierarchy by ensuring that Others are far away (Ballard 2004, 52). As he explains, in post-apartheid South Africa, the fear of mixing which motivated apartheid state projects has become privatized as whites have

increasingly fled urban areas as a result of a perception that “they lack control” in such spaces (Ballard 2004: 59). The result, for Ballard, is that “they attempt to find spaces within which control can be adequately maintained” (ibid).

Ironically, Ballard points to a planned town near Cape Town called “Heritage Park” in exemplifying his argument. The fortified village, Ballard points out, is to consist of 2,000 homes, will provide jobs for most residents, and will meet all of their retail, health, education, religious, and recreational needs in its attempt to be self sufficient (Ballard 2004: 61). The name of the town, according to Ballard, suggests “The landscape of this ‘ideal town’... [and] is inspired by colonial European architectural styles such as Cape Dutch and Tudor English” (ibid). Similar to Prince Albert in its Eurocentric construction of heritage value, “Heritage Park” also aims to provide residents with a sense of control over who has access and who does not. Therefore, the context of Prince Albert and Ballard’s notion of semigration together indicate that scholars of race and space must pay close attention to the movement of elite white groups as they attempt to establish controllable “comfort zones”. Moreover, in the case of areas undergoing processes of gentrification, Durbach and Steyn (forthcoming) reveal that discourse analysis can function as a powerful method of understanding the ways in which the gentrified experience changes in their communities, and the diversity issues highlighted by such processes.

8.3 Discourse as Mechanism of Exclusion

As scholars of race and space in post-apartheid South Africa have shown, informal mechanism which perpetuates segregation can be discursive (Ballard 2004, Durrheim and Dixon 2004, Durrheim and Dixon 2005). However, unlike the explicitly exclusionary discourses of the past, as Riggins (1997) explains, discourses of exclusion in the postcolonial era have gone underground:

Public expressions of racism, ethnicism, and intolerance is more complex than it was in the past because it tends to occur in situations where tolerance of diversity is a socially recognized norm, frequently one that is legally sanctioned...consequently, the lexical terms that are likely to be preferred in public today are those that *mitigate and*

disguise a speaker's or writer's tendency to discriminate (Riggins 1997: 7 emphasis in original text)

Thus, Riggins explains that while individuals may not explicitly voice prejudice, one must not assume that old attitudes have subsided. Therefore, one must pay close attention to the ways in which speakers attempt to “mitigate and disguise” their tendency to discriminate. Philomena Essed's (1991) notion of everyday racism provides the conceptual tools for exploring and understanding such discursive mechanisms. Illuminating the usefulness of the distinction between overt and covert forms of racism, Essed (1991: 46) explains that “It is not the nature of specific acts or beliefs that determines whether these are mechanisms of racism but the context in which these beliefs and acts operate”. Moreover, it is argued that because “Actors do not always have knowledge about, much less do they intend all of, the consequences of their actions...racism often operates through seemingly nonracial practices” (ibid). Nevertheless, as made evident in this study, it is necessary to pay close attention to centers of power.

In Prince Albert, it is evident that two lexical terms or practices which are seemingly nonracial are ‘heritage’ and ‘tourism’. While elite residents employ these terms in what appears to be a nondiscriminatory discourse, further investigation reveals the underlying power relations at work. As critical authors have revealed, concepts of heritage (Fontein 2000 Samasuwo 2004, Meethan 1996) and tourism (AlSayyad 2001, Davis 2004, Hall & Tucker 2004) conceal their discriminatory effects through claims of universalism and economic development. The reproduction of unequal relations of power which are involved in these increasingly popular imperatives are made explicit when considering that residents from the marginalized community of North End feel that they are excluded from the tourism industry which is currently bolstered by the town's ‘heritage value’. Considering that the development of the tourism industry has received nearly twice the amount of government funding as “social”, “health”, and “environment” related areas combined, it becomes evident that the symbolic control of space by elite residents has serious implications for North End's historically disadvantaged community.

Such consequences, although not overtly intended by elite residents, indicates the need for further exploration of how heritage and tourism operate against their claims to

create jobs through economic development. Namely, through emphasis on particular fragments of the town's past, a white privileged minority downplays the everyday struggles experienced by lower class residents in the town, effectively closing down alternative representations which could serve the interests of the later, historically disadvantaged group. As revealed in this study, one must pay close attention to who is able to capitalize on heritage and tourism, or, which groups are in positions of 'ownership'. Even more, as discourses of heritage and tourism become increasingly prolific as South Africa strives to develop an economy which is internationally competitive, this study signals an important site of analysis for scholars and policy makers who are concerned with processes of transformation in the new South Africa.

Kevin Meethan clearly reveals the consequences of spatial representations for social justice, explaining "the spatial manifestations of certain forms of cultural consumption act as tangible and visible symbols of power. Control over space, the appropriation that creates distinctive places, imposes ways of perceiving and acting by precluding the articulation of alternatives" (Meethan 1996: 194). Within the post-apartheid context, the symbolic control of space in Prince Albert by a privileged white minority has implications for the town's ability to transform politically, economically, socially.

8.4 Rural Transformation: Expecting the Unexpected

The current period of transformation in rural South Africa generates a variety of assumptions and expectations. While some may expect to see the results of land reform legislation, the fair treatment of farm workers, or the integration of previously segregated racial groups, others may expect to find the persistence of poverty, the legacy of the 'dop system', and the deepening backwaters of white supremacy.

However, as revealed by this study, transforming rural contexts may be influenced by unexpected and seemingly benevolent social changes such as gentrification, heritage, and tourism as social spaces also experiences processes of transformation. Prince Albert, as one small town in rural South Africa, provides a privileged lens through which one can see how these unexpected elements of post-apartheid rural South Africa have influenced spatialized processes of transformation.

Through the power of representation and symbolic control exerted by elite groups, new mechanisms of exclusion covertly operate in this post-apartheid rural South African context.

Appendices

Appendix 1

National Heritage Resources Act of 1999

- (a) Places, buildings, structures and equipment of cultural significance
- (b) places to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage
- (c) historical settlements and townscapes
- (d) landscapes and natural features of cultural significance
- (e) geological sites of scientific or cultural importance
- (f) archaeological and palaeontological sites
- (g) graves and burial grounds, including—
 - (i) ancestral graves;
 - (ii) royal graves and graves of traditional leaders;
 - (iii) graves of victims of conflict;
 - (iv) graves of individuals designated by the Minister by notice in the *Gazette*;
 - (v) historical graves and cemeteries; and
 - (vi) other human remains which are not covered in terms of the Human Tissue Act, 1983 (Act No. 65 of 1983);
- (h) sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa;
- (i) movable objects, including—
 - (i) objects recovered from the soil or waters of South Africa, including archaeological and palaeontological objects and material, meteorites and rare geological specimens;
 - (ii) objects to which oral traditions are attached or which are associated with living heritage;
 - (iii) ethnographic art and objects;
 - (iv) military objects;
 - (v) objects of decorative or fine art;
 - (vi) objects of scientific or technological interest; and
 - (vii) books, records, documents, photographic positives and negatives, graphic, film or video material or sound recordings, excluding those that are public records

Furthermore, according to the act, an above place or object can be considered a heritage resource if it has cultural significance or other special value because of:

- (a) its importance in the community, or pattern of South Africa's history;
- (b) its possession of uncommon, rare or endangered aspects of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;
- (c) its potential to yield information that will contribute to an understanding of South Africa's natural or cultural heritage;

- (d)* its importance in demonstrating the principal characteristics of a particular class of South Africa's natural or cultural places or objects;
- (e)* its importance in exhibiting particular aesthetic characteristics valued by a community or cultural group;
- (f)* its importance in demonstrating a high degree of creative or technical achievement at a particular period;
- (g)* its strong or special association with a particular community or cultural group for social, cultural or spiritual reasons;
- (h)* its strong or special association with the life or work of a person, group or organisation of importance in the history of South Africa; and
- (i)* sites of significance relating to the history of slavery in South Africa.

Appendix 2

General Interview Schedule as provided by Steering Committee

Student researchers please note the following:

- Interviews should be designed to fit within about **an hour**. Anything longer is bonus time.
- Try to get a good cross section of the “racial” demographics of the town (or whatever is appropriate given the demographics of the town –e.g. include **foreigners**)
- Students may choose to interview additional individuals using **additional questions** tailored to their theses
- All **raw data (transcripts, tapes, etc)** and desktop studies must be given to the Rural Town Transformation Project in hardcopy and/or electronic format that will be stored at INCUDISA
- Try to interview as many people listed below (20 maximum)
- The interview questions (below) are a **guideline**. Ask questions that suit the context and flow of the interview

Template for the interviews

Participant selection aim:

To gain a racial/gendered/classed/cultural cross-section of the towns to be researched.

Conduct interviews with as many people listed below as possible:

1. mayor (or someone from the mayoral office), someone at the municipality or local councillors from major parties represented
2. education: school principal or teacher

3. Chamber of Commerce or Business person in a position of leadership
4. Religious leader(s) – 1 leader from each major religious grouping if possible
5. Health – Chief or nurse
6. homeless person
7. farmer
8. farm labourer
9. domestic worker
10. Chief of police
11. Pub owner or Hotel owner
12. individual in the field of Tourism or Real Estate
13. industry worker (e.g. miner)
14. student
15. housewife or “ordinary” resident
16. leader or owner of the town’s main local industry

Interview guideline

Aims:

- How do people talk about their town? What is the story of the town?
- What are the burning/underlying/repressed issues on the town?
- How have these issues been racialized, if they have?

Suggested questions

*Prompting questions appear in bullets. Ask the PQ’s questions that fit the context of the interview

Conduct a 5-10 minute ‘**warm up**’ **discussion** with each person about their **biographical background**.

- Where were you born and raised?
- Did you move away at any point?
- What do you do for a living and how did that come about?

1. Tell me about this town. What is happening here?
 - What is it like to live here?
 - What do you like about living here?
 - What are the things that people complain about here?
 - What are the major problems here?

2. Has anything changed in this town since 1994? If so, what has changed?
 - Do people like these changes?
 - How is this town coping with this change?

3. Would you describe this town as a single community?
 - What are the groups in this town?
 - Does everybody know each other here?
 - Who are the ones everybody knows?

4. Have relationships between groups in this town changed in the last 15 years?
If so, how?

5. Are you aware of groups in this town that dislike each other?
 - Is there conflict in this town?
 - Are there friendships across different communities in this town?

6. Are things better or worse in this town than it was prior to 1994?
 - In what ways?
 - Is this true for all parts of the town?

7. Can you tell me one or two stories that would illustrate some of the things we have spoken about transformation in XXXX?

8. What areas are included in your town? Please draw a red line around the town.

- Provide interviewees with a **local municipality map** and **red koki**
9. Mention 3 or 4 places in your town that you feel most /least comfortable in?
- Ask interviewees to mark these places with an X on the map provided. Allow them to label the map as they see fit.
 - Why do you feel comfortable/uncomfortable here?
 - Where do you never go? Why?
 - If you could change something about this place what would it be?
10. How town is connected to other places?
- What do you know about folks from places further down the road (coast, whatever is suitable).
 - Do people visit those places?

Appendix 3
Map of Prince Albert

Appendix 4

Respondent Demographics

Racial	8 coloured	17 white
Income	17 wealthier	9 poorer
Age	20 older	5 younger
Gender	13 female	12 male
Duration of residency	13 Long term	12 newer
Home language	17 Afrikaans	8 English

Appendix 5

Interview Schedule for Heritage Advocates

First, I just want to ask you a few basic questions...

1. How long have you been in Prince Albert?
2. Where did you go to school?
3. Are you a member of a church or religious group?

Tell me a bit about this town. What is happening here?

4. What is it like to live here?
5. What are some things that people complain about here? Major Problems?
6. Would you describe this town as a single community? What are the different groups in the town?
7. How do you think outsiders perceive this area? What do people think of when they think of this area?
8. What, if anything, attracts people to this area (is there anything unique or special about this area?)

I'd now like to focus a bit more on the *general* history of this area

9. What have been the defining moments/big historical events in this history of this area?
10. How, if at all, has this area changed since you have lived here?
11. How, if at all, have these events changed the community?
12. Have relationships between groups in this town changed in the last 15 years?

Now I would like to ask you about your contribution to the history and memory of the area

14. What is your position/role and how did that come about?
15. Why should keeping these stories alive be part of memory work in the town?

16. Earlier, you mentioned some changes that have occurred in the town, how have these changes affected the work that you do?
17. Why do you think they contribute to the town?
18. How would you like to be remembered in the history of the area?
19. To an outsider (me), it seems as though there is a strong community of people who want to preserve the memory and history of this area. Would you agree? Who makes up this community of memory makers?

And now to close...

1. How did you find these questions? Easy or difficult to answer? Had you thought about them before?
2. Do you think that others who are involved in the memory work of the area would have answered these questions in the same way that you have?

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