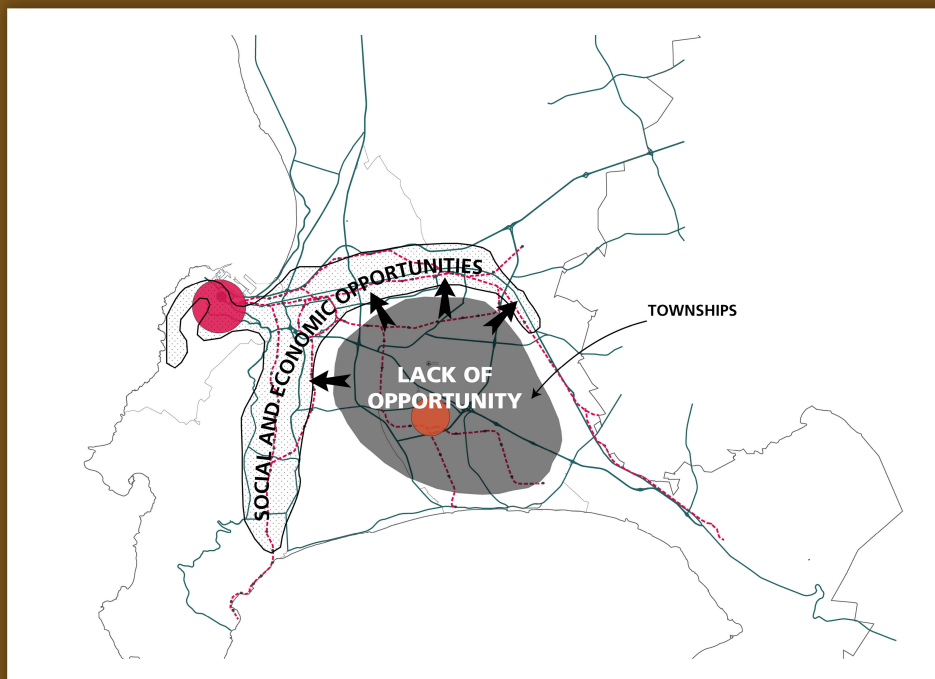# The Paradox of Capital:
Toward a Theory of Tourism Capital

- A case study of slum tourism in Cape Town, South Africa -

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Foreword / Forord

Denne bacheloroppgaven har blitt skrevet for å avslutte en treårig bachelor utdanning innenfor reiselivsfaget ved Markedshøyskolen i Oslo, våren 2015. Selv om temaet i denne oppgaven ikke direkte var berørt i utdanningsløpet ved MH, har jeg jobbet med lignende problemstillinger helt siden jeg har kommet hjem fra utveksling ved Universitetet i California, Berkeley. Fagene jeg hadde på utveksling har stortsett preget valg av problemstillingen. Det er derfor jeg er veldig takknemlig for at Markedshøyskolen gjorde det mulig for meg til å dra på utveksling til USA. Tusen takk til Szonja, en Professor ved UC Berkeley, som inspirerte meg og livet mitt og førte til et skift i fokuset på sosial, kulturell og økonomisk ulikhet som følge av reiselivsutvikling.

Det har vært en stor utfordring å arbeide med denne oppgaven, fordi det er et felt som, inntil i dag, forholdsvis har blitt lite forsket på. Samtidig har jeg brukt en metode som har blitt lite brukt i reiselivsforskning og som heller ikke var en del av utdanningen min. Jeg personlig er mer teoretisk orientert selv om utdanningen fokuserte mer på praktisk anvendelse og management av reiselivet fremfor det teoretiske og samfunnsvitenskapelige. Jeg er derfor veldig stolt på å kunne presentere denne oppgaven som både er et sluttprodukt for utdanningen min og som en begynnelse av min fremtidige karrieremål innenfor sammfunnsforskning. Jeg har gått gjennom en personlig og faglig utvikling i de siste 10 mnd, hvor jeg utelukkende har lest og jobbet med konteksten i denne oppgaven, og hvor både temaet og problemstillingen antakeligvis vil bli svært aktuelt for både samfunnet og reiselivet fremover.

Jeg vil gjerne takke Kjetil for nyttige og inspirerende timer med veiledning i denne bacheloroppgaven. I tillegg er jeg veldig takknemlig for Sharam, som har vært tilgjengelig utover hele semesteret for en rekke spørsmål fra min side angående metodebruk. En stort takk går også til familien min og vennene mine i Tyskland, ved MH og ved UC Berkeley. Takk for deres tålmodigheten med meg i denne tunge perioden, og all hjelp jeg fikk fra tilbakemeldinger og korrekturlesing. Å skrive på engelsk var en nødvendighet med hensyn til temaet og for å tilgjengeliggjøre oppgaven til det internasjonale publikumet. Til sist, men ikke minst, vil jeg takke alle foreleseren jeg hadde ved MH og UC Berkeley, samt alle medstudentene mine for tre fantastiske og lærerike år ved Høyskolen Campus Kristiania.

Tusen takk for alt og god lesing!   Oslo: 20.05.2015 - Kandidatnummer: 983805

Research Framework

Frame: Case Study

Paradigm: Critical Theory

Ontological position: Society and tourism is rife with inequality and injustice.
                             Reality exists and has been created by directed social bias.

Epistemology: Helping to uncover injustice and empowering citizens by
                             understanding the contradictory conditions of action, which are hidden
                             or distorted by everyday understanding and working to help change
                             social conditions

Research question: How can ideas of capital explain the inequalities and
                             power-relations in emerging slum tourism?

Research design: Case study combined with Critical Theory

Methodology: Critical interdisciplinary and historical perspective

Method: Ideological review and a mix between concept, content
                             and discourse analysis

Abstract

This thesis takes theories of capital to the unique situation in order to qualitatively analyze existing secondary literature on Cape Town and its tourism business and posit new theory is necessary to account for the paradox of capital in Cape Town and to allow for a holistic understanding of how ideas of capital can explain the inequalities and power-relations in emerging slum tourism. In this special case study, black lack is central to ideas of capital and consumption. While studies to date have focused on consumption of things, in this case, the slum tourism business is predicated on consumption of lack. Categories of capital are examined to show a relationship to this lack and the unique position of Cape Town slum tours to theories of capital, class and power. Ultimately, emancipation in the slums is dependent on this shift in our ideas of tourism capital, away from materiality, and toward concepts like lack and absence of material goods.

Keywords: slum tourism, capital, inequality, power, class, critical theory, Township, Cape Town

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Chapter N

Prologue

"Talk to us, not about us," is the message, coming from the grass-roots, community initiated as well as led movement ´The People of the Shacks´ (Abahlali 2014). This organization began to fight the demolitions of shantytowns post-apartheid, once communities began springing up as a response to jobs in the city and a new freedom of movement for blacks into urban centers. However, conditions are not improved when rural poverty is treated for urban slums that are, literally, crowded and in bad conditions. Basic services, like water supply, electricity and garbage collection are neglected and the South African constitutional mandate, responsible for adequate housing, seems to be lost in the shuffle. Residents move through garbage-covered streets, carrying muddy water buckets back to plots where wobbly slats of wood try to shield parents with their infants from these elements, and try to provide some sort of privacy from adjoining neighbors. Corrugated tin roofs are reinforced with tarps. The South African government built a couple of chemical toilets, and dug a few more pit latrines. However, they have not been serviced for almost a year (Journeyman 2013; Video 0).

Relocation to outlying areas is an idea by the government, but rejected by shack dwellers who see themselves as actively deciding to access jobs, education and healthcare of the cities at the cost of adequate housing while struggling to hold onto the shacks where they own no land, in order to be closer to these (lack of) services. "People have their reasons why they are squatting in the city. It's not that people are stupid," one community resident says in the video (Journeyman 2013). "It's not that people want to live in the shacks. No one ever wants to live in these conditions" (Journeyman 2013).

Clearly, this is an issue with control of geography at its heart, as shack-dwellers tell the government, but also tourists, to consider their voices, and reconcile the mandate for housing the duty to open up cities to the black population, not just replicate the social isolation and exclusion from services that always characterized apartheid but still remain in these townships. The city, as well as its promise, quite ironically keeps the shacks attractive to people who look for jobs and therefore need to move away from 'homeland' tribal areas. But shack dwellers also feel dismissed and try with collective voices to make their representatives hear their grievances, as well as to beg for a change for those extremely poor residents that are currently representing the shacks.

Conditions of the slums, quite obviously, though maybe their existence suggests a newfound access to urban inclusion, are miserable. One solution that is posed to extreme poverty is access to economic capital, through 'Western dollars', here in the form of welcoming tourists to the townships and offering a personalized, authentic, experience of exactly those conditions in these slums, which locals try to fight. 'Slum tourism' defines the experience of usually Western visitors who pay tour companies a lot of money so they can have an extraordinary cultural experience of the deeply impoverished areas in both cities and townships, usually with the purpose of witnessing poverty and conditions firsthand.

Thus, the dynamics of capital and class in Cape Town are significant for a study of slum tourism; the city has become less equal since apartheid, with bifurcated incomes and a legacy of specialization of race, class, and power more pronounced. If Western dollars are flowing to Cape Town and policy changed to be less repressive, why are increases in tourism happening alongside income decreases? Who listens to the voices insisting on their rights and how does this dialogue figure into discourses of tourism?

Chapter I

1.0 Introduction

The good in tourism lies in the notions of sustainable development, which, inevitably, ask for mutual respect and an equal distribution of benefits and cost in order to secure development and enlightenment also for the underprivileged through the already privileged. Although the possibilities are there, certain forms of tourism tend to reinforce inequality through an unequal access or distribution of different forms of capital, whether it is directly or indirectly, conscious or unconscious, by its stakeholders and participants alike, as for example in a variety of cases concerning slum tourism.

More and more, the tendencies are to facilitate for host-guest interaction, which somewhat is a prerequisite for tourism to take place, as means for value-creation for tourists, industry or government alike, while locals are left paying the prices by making sure the benefits are to remain in the hands of the view in order for them to reinvest into this vicious circle. Further, the lack of 'enlightening' by the 'winner-takes-it-all' philosophy, or the 'Western' way of doing business, is to secure and enlarge profit margins, fueled by price-competition, whether or not it causes inflation or deflation in highly tourism dependent economies, just to sell as many products and services as possible.

Tourists, on the other hand, seek experiences that are rich, unique and offer the best-value at a certain time, for a certain 'need' at a specific destination for them to escape into a new world of contrast when leaving their otherwise just ordinary middle-class life to gain a grasp taste of luxury, which nowadays, paradoxically, also includes the possibility to gawk at poverty. This begs for an investigation into the relationship between power, capital and tourism which is, while negotiated between its actors and stakeholders, embedded in, and mediated by, discourses as well as economic, political, social and cultural events, in the context of slum tourism.

Here, tourism brings together the poor and the middle class through the interests of the upper class or elites to commoditize on poverty and misery. Thereby it creates a situation of space where unequal power relations are both obvious and a reason for tourism taking place. Without the poor living conditions of the locals, tourists would have nothing to gawk at and the business class nothing to sell.

Without the middle class tourists there would be nobody who could gawk at the poor and, thus, generate no income. Without the commoditization of the poor through the business class, there would most likely be nobody who could bring the middle-class tourists to the poor local communities. Hence, it is this vicious cycle that seems to reproduce slum-tourism with all its inherent characteristics.

1.1 Thesis background

Tourism doesn't just depend on money, but on a lack of money, a spatial division of social space and an imaginary that renders deprived conditions and misery as valuable. The notion of the slum itself has its roots in Western colonialism and development, which can contribute to the classification of residents as lacking rather than just conditions. In the 19th century Victorian urbanism, London 'slums' and 'slumming' became a popular hobby of the wealthy bourgeoisie (Dürr 2012). This phenomenon soon spread, driven by the interest of the rich tourist to experience the economic poor as they are often, and unlike them, "culturally rich" (Harold Goodwin; in Moore 2009). Hence, the discourse earlier based the value on economic, social and cultural distinction between 'we', in terms of the dominant, and 'the other' (Steinbrink et al. 2012).

These elements then come together in the impoverished areas of Cape Town and beg connection to the historic slums of urbanization in the first world. Are the two related? Can they be theorized in the same way, with attention to the sociology of class, developed in a very different world of globalization, immigration, and the underclass? These questions and wonderings have formed the motivation and basis for this thesis.

1.2 Relevance

McGehee (et al. 2010, 486) already argued for a gap that persists within the literature when it comes to the relationship between tourism and forms of capital. Cohen and Cohen (2012, 2187) found that social class is another topic that is overlooked, and, especially in relation to space, both under-theorized and under-explored (Cohen & Cohen 2012, 2195). While reviewing the literature, it became clear that there is especially a lack in current research in terms of investigating the relationship between slum-tourism, class, different forms of capital, and power. Current research

somewhat fails to grasp this picture, as it concentrates often exclusively on interaction between two out of six important agents in tourism; (i) tourist, (ii) Locals, (iii) Tourism Industry, (iv) Governments, (v) Organizations, (vi) Media, (vii) Elites, where the latter half is usually missing.

It is, however, important to understand how power relations affect tourism in a way that enables tourism in return to affect these power relation and dominate over traditional sectors, fields and industries by controlling the outcomes of possible relationships between agents and capital. Tourism can be a phenomenon that is controlled by agencies and dependent upon different forms of capital, or it can be the phenomenon that is controlling agencies and make different forms of capital and agents dependent upon it.

In order to understand what is happening in slum tourism, tourism should be understood in terms of power and class, which is reproduced or mediated through discourses and agencies holding a certain volume of different forms of capital. Hence, tourism is not just a form of business or contemporary process of socialization but instead one of, if not, the most powerful phenomena in human history, and therefore something that can dominate rather than something that is simply dominated. That, however, is rarely paid attention to.

Thus, given the gap in, and the importance of, the application of concepts around capital, this paper ultimately asks the following question:

1.3 Research Question

How can ideas of capital explain the inequalities and power-relations in emerging slum tourism?

1.4 Objectives

Pierre Bourdieu's theories were chosen as touchstones for the case because they taxonomize categories of capital and account for relationships between travelers, locals, and objects of tourism. Using Bourdieu's idea of class distinction, this thesis is structured to develop a new category of capital; tourism capital, a distinct branch of actionable power that maintains boundaries of class (1984, 169). The concept of tourism capital as distinct from a tourism field adds validation and

reliability to the theory by extending it into situations where money does not just depend on tourism, but tourism depends on lack of money, and on a spatial imaginary that invokes ideas of poverty and human misery as both attractive and repulsive.

The case of slum tourism in Cape Town, South Africa, will be first presented via a historical and ideological review before the findings are critically addressed and discussed in light of theories of capital, power, class and tourism in general. Since the culture of poverty as a commodity is the central pull- and push-factor in slum-tourism, it is central for the conceptualization and theoreticization of tourism capital, which then, arguably, can offer a more holistic approximation in attempts to facilitate for a more equal and power-balanced form of tourism; an important step toward emancipation via slum tourism development.

1.5 Refinements

Habermas has described the essential conflict between capital and democracy, noting that where capitalist systems structure daily exchanges, no power of the people can reign (Wellmer 2014, 713). In fact, capitalism works against emancipation. However, in their initial critiques and expansions of Marxist theory, critical theorists did argue that such capitalist structures might be studied in context, in real historical, social, and economic terms with players defined and stakeholders identified. In this way, critical theory can help structure specific critiques of systems within political economy in order to understand better the ways that they subvert human emancipation.

A critical theory perspective is central to the way this thesis looks at slum tourism as a specific historical practice embedded in post-apartheid South Africa and Cape Town in particular. It pays attention to the social, political, and economic dimensions of this phenomenon. Further, it examines forms of capital from the point of view of the colonization of economy and public space important to shedding light on the erosion of democracy in the slums, and residents' ability to participate and benefit of tourism.

1.6 Thesis

Thus, in respect to this context, the thesis of this paper becomes the argument that existing categories of capital are inadequate to define these specificities and the ways they impact democratic participation and human emancipation in Cape Town, South Africa. Instead, a new category of tourism capital must be deployed to conceive of the capital of 'lack' stemming from slum tourism practices.

1.7 Thesis structure

First, the research framework is presented in order to allow the reader to understand the choices made throughout the paper. It follows the theoretical framework based on a literature review relevant to the case that is presented in the fourth chapter. Chapter five analyses the case in light of the theoretical framework and literature review. The sixth chapter presents the concept and theory of tourism capital. as well as critique of existing theory. In the next chapter a discussion is offered in order to brings all of the previous chapters together. At last, this thesis will end with a brief conclusion before offering the reader some limitations to the findings and suggestions for future research.

Chapter II

2.0 Research Framework

2.1 Case Study

This paper uses the case study as a "transparadigmatic and transdisciplinary heuristic that involves the careful delineation of the phenomena for which evidence is being collected..." (Van Wynsberghe & Khan 2007). Here, it is further argued that a case study is relevant regardless which paradigm is used in research. An intensive (special) case study, for example, has the ability to give detailed insights into a complex setting, as well as to theoretically "generalize across a larger set of units" (Gerring 2004, 342; Van Wynsberghe & Khan 2007). In other words, theoretical contributions of this research can be useful in order to address inequality and power-relations in (slum) tourism, despite a different context. It is, however, this special context that suggests a combination of case study and critical theory.

2.2 Paradigm: Critical Theory

Also known as the Frankfurt School, Critical Theory seeks to highlight the contradictions of our time (Van Wynsberghe & Khan 2007) and aims to seek liberation, influence, emancipation from slavery, and to work towards creating a world that can satisfy human beings, their needs and powers (Bohman 2005; Horkheimer 1972, 246). That, however, requires self-reflection via a "critical attitude on all levels" (Sumner 2003). Then, it can shine a critical light onto slum-tourism in Cape Town, South Africa, namely as being dominated by interests that serve the wealthy elite rather than the local community living in the townships, but succeeded, so far, in convincing them that these interests are also in their best interest. It is believed that there exists the possibility of 'a better way' than capitalism in order to serve the interests the slum residents. This, however, does not only include economics but every aspect of "human agency and creativity" (Sumner 2003) and thus fits with the intention to investigate this case study through the variety of conceptions of capital. A case study is perfect in order to present these contradictions that, arguably, have led to the contemporary inherent injustice within slum-tourism in Cape Town, South Africa. Further, it criticizes, as Miller argues, the "patterned findings that underlie exclusions and other inequalities" (in Van Wynsberghe & Khan 2007).

2.3 Ontological position

The ontological perspective within this paradigm is then naturally that there exists a structure and mechanisms, a reality that is directed by social bias, and thus goes "beyond the pure constructivist idea, as elements in society and emergent and knowledgeable to the researcher" (Mills et al. 2010, 262)

2.4 Epistemology

Critical theory then provides the normative as well as the descriptive basis for future social inquiry that would lead to decrease the current domination within slum-tourism and thus increase the freedom of agents that are both directly and indirectly involved or affected by it. The normative orientation is then, consequently, the transformation from slum-tourism driven by capitalism into a more 'real' democratic outcome (Bohman 2005).

2.5 Research Approach

Critical Theory is neither pure science or philosophy tout court, but moves in between this contingency. It distinctively echoes the principle of Immanuel Kant, namely that human beings should never be treated as mere means, but "ends in themselves" (Corradetti 2011). Further, by following Horkheimer´s idea, critical theory "must explain what is wrong with current social reality, identify the actors to change it, and provide both clear norms for criticism and achievable practical goals for social transformations" (Bohman 2005). It is a social science approach geared toward situations where social change is desirable.

2.6 Methodology

"The social science must bear the tension of divergent approaches under one roof..." (Habermas 1988, 3). Habermas also accepts that there exists various methods and theories who have a relative legitimacy. That is the reason for why this paper draws upon general theories when investigating slum-tourism in South Africa by relating several methods and theories to each other (Bohman 2005), within a historical and critical interdisciplinary perspective.

This is accomplished by drawing and building upon theories from sociological, anthropological, philosophical, psychological, tourism (social science and management), marketing, media, cultural, urban, historical and other forms of studies – a methodology demanded by critical theory. Qualitative evidence is collected from previous research findings, documents, video material, and official promotional material.

The theoretical emphasis will be on Bourdieu's theory of the forms of capital and class distinction, but is extended by ideas and theories of status, power, domination, neo-liberalism, globalization, capitalism, social mobility, dependency, sustainability, authenticity, social identity and tourism management.

2.7 Method

One task of Critical Theory is to identify and criticize the "ideology" in contemporary slum-tourism, which then naturally incorporates power-relations and, thus, non-discursive and discursive elements (Geuss 1981, 6-8). The other one is to evaluate the rationality of slum-tourism in a system of social domination. Hence, as Habermas already argued, different methods are necessary in order to make sense of the results and also allow for their evaluation.

The methods of data collection are then naturally a combination of historical and ideological review combined with concept, content and discourse analysis, from a critical interdisciplinary perspective. Starting from the incomplete idea of capital, this thesis ultimately combines the case study within an critical theory paradigm, by applying a critical interdisciplinary perspective when analysing the variety of data-sets in order to clarify the connections between capital, class and situation that drive slum tourism, and thus can be used to map a more complete theory of class interaction.

2.8 Reliability and Validity

Critical Theory, ultimately, pays attention to the interconnection between theory and practice, or in other words; it links "empirical and interpretive social science to normative claims of truth, morality and justice" (Bohman 2005). Thereby it does establish reliability and validity. The validity of social criticism is defended on the idea that humanity is always embedded in historical processes where a clash derives through the "actualization of reason re-establishing a power balance and to struggle for group domination" (Corradetti 2011). This is the case when one comes to apply case study and its

empirical evidences from social research, which then is understood in a historical context, because as Horkheimer, like Marx, insist; "the world and subjectivity in all its forms have developed with the life processes of society" (Horkheimer 1972, 245), while "materialism requires the unification of philosophy" (Horkheimer 1993, 34), and together organizes the results of previous empirical findings into a "unified whole" (Bohman 2005). Moreover, reliability is established also due to the application of validated, grounded theories as well as verified, or official, empirical data sets from research, documents, video material, etc.

2.9 Ethical Considerations

There are always ethical considerations in a theory of emancipation and anti-colonialism grounded in a Western perspective and undertaken 'on behalf' of others who cannot speak for themselves. This is already a problem in the slums, where empowerment movements urge the voices of residents be heard and their input considered to alter conditions and make real changes that are desired by those most affected by this geographic inequality.

However, analysis of secondary research means that researcher, object, and data are primary in an inquiry; this may strengthen some claims and offer distance from ethical troubles of primary research on slum residents by outside scholars. This research tests no intervention, and poses no risks or benefits for residents, though in any secondary analysis, questions of informed consent may arise because the researcher does collect data for his or her own purpose, with a danger to misinterpret the data without paying attention to the context of the original data.

Chapter III

3.0 Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

3.1 Capital, Power and Class in Tourism

Tourism can be viewed as a quest for authenticity (MacCannell 1973) where tourists may be viewed as a modern form of pilgrim (Turner 1973) with the goal to experience the 'other'; the center of symbolic value, which in return becomes transformed into commercialized hospitality (Cohen 1988). Hence, tourism has become predominantly about profit through economic exchange that allows 'business' to create or commodify the value that lies between the differences of the 'other' and 'us'.

Originally the conception of class difference stems from Marx's understanding of the importance of production and the making of class difference from economic inequalities, which are ultimately enmeshed in social conflict (Marx & Elster 1986) High discrepancies in capital mean class distinctions, while Max Weber later included power, domination, and communal and societal action in this conception (Weber 2002, 17). Urban sociologists contributed to this critique of Marxism as the primary driver for urban sociological thought about class in the 20th century, arguing that inequality stems not just from production, but also distribution and management (Castells 1980, 138). Bourdieu, on the other hand, argues that class distinction, and thus also the driver for inequality, happens via a "set of actually usable resources and powers - economic capital, cultural capital and also social capital." (1984, 108)

Tourism scholars so far seem to agree that capital alone cannot account for new modes of tourism, like slum tourism, and explain the unequal distribution of power and wealth at play in these encounters (Mowforth & Munt 2003). They, however, also agree that those who lack skills, knowledge, assets and power, will, as soon as tourism clashes with the social fabric, fail to benefit from any trickle-down-ish effect of tourism development (Schilcher in Hall 2007, 62). Hence, expanding classic arguments about political economy are necessary to account for these encounters. This can be done by first exerting the conception of capital with political capital, symbolic capital, and relational capital. Tourism is a visible and invincible force that affects the global society. However, in the case of slum tourism, pro-poor benefits should not be taken for granted, or in other words become doxa (Drakopoulu-Dodd et al 2014), as this might cause unequal power-relations to remain unchallenged.

In turn, this might pose a challenge to slum tourism, because as Foucault (1977) argues is power not so much about a person but more situated in the distribution mechanisms which produce these relations between these people. Tourism then, becomes this sort of distribution mechanism where agents can exercise power as if it could be taken for granted. Tourists, for example may appear only as a 'hero' or distinctive more worth compared to 'the other', here the poor, and thus poses the tendency of power as favoring those who have the means to render it accordingly to their doxa as some sort of norm via, for example, discourses, as they allow power to become interwined with knowledge.

When combined with ideas of capital, it allows for a better explaination of how possession and dispossession over time can account for the visible and invisible power relations at play in slum tourism. The source, however, that gives agents in a social structure meaning, and therefore the possibility to what Weber would call 'Verstehen' (Elwell 1996), is habitus; peoples "structured and structuring dispositions" (Bourdieu 1980, 53).

Given the context, it is important to make the connection between Bourdieu's capital, doxa, habitus and class distinction, with Weber's theory of social status and power, Marx's theory of economic class, and Foucault's understanding of power circulation in discourses, and consequently treat tourism as a social field of struggle in the context of slum tourism. Those in different positions within society have different forms and volumes of capital, a distinctive habitus, and ultimately, a different status and potency to live under the umbrella of the dominating ideologies (as doxa) within or of a field, which for the purpose of the paper is (slum) tourism.

Slum tourism is consequently highly political, as processes do not only facilitate for dominating ideologies to suppress the 'other' but allows agents to access political capital, i.e. resources such like lobbying and voices in decision-making processes which can be used to influence policies and information processes in order to realise outcomes that "serve the actor's perceived interests." (Birner & Wittmer 2000, 298) Social capital is another important form of capital, as it helps to reach that goal because it allows agents to use their connections in order to gain from it personally or to mark distinction (Bourdieu 1984). Such social structures then become affected by the exchange of symbolic and material products and services, as they are unevenly distributed and consequently affect people's social spaces differently (Bourdieu 1986). That is why social capital is "part of the power relations within a system and embedded within its cultural and political context." (Jones 2005, 307; citing Mansuri & Rao 2004)

Symbolic capital, alternately, is a powerful resource (Bourdieu 1991) with a certain value, in a culture and its historical context, which can be converted into social or political advantages (Bourdieu 1984). Veblen (1899), on the other hand, has used the concept to explain how the nouveau riche have used objects to confirm or enhance their newfound class and status. Human capital refers to skills and knowledge necessary in order to find work and thus generate income, while cultural capital may is significant in social reproduction, which in turn renders class distinctions replicable (Bourdieu 1984; 1986). One example is the learned taste for culturally privileged foods, which lends itself to different restaurant choices, leading to different networking opportunities, and hence different job prospects.

Issues of tourist difference, for example, have been significant since the early 1970s when Cohen conceptualized four different types of tourists, and that these types are important for understanding the level of engagement tourists have with locals in a new environment (1972). Different types of tourists may pursue different levels of authenticity in their experiences, including whether and how to visit an area of urban poverty (Wang 2000). Some scholars note that the act of touring itself may be conceptualized differently, not within the realm of consumption, with a more postmodern 'travel' turning the scope of mass-produced 'tourism' upside down (Urry 2000). In this case, consumption is individual, and agents have the ability to forge personal, meaningful ties with locals that exist outside of the predetermined relations between consumers and consumed. It is a question of whether one can break free from the "gravity of the social field" (Munt 1994, 117).

Bourdieu himself noted that the idea of change, while its possibility is the characteristic of the system of social reproduction, is 'overestimated' (Bourdieu 2000; Holton 2000, 93). Ultimately, many tourists may travel to point out and prove their own authority, particularly when they consume the cultures of others. Such tourism has been associated with confirming one's own taste preferences of reinforcing an existing hegemonic habitus (Ahmad 2014, 492). It is self-affirming, and in a postmodern world, such tourists do not even flinch as they become aware of the irony, that the slum is dependent on remaining a slum in order to reap the benefits of a tourism that sustains it. In the end, Bourdieu´s class distinctions mean that tourism might be a desired action, which depends on the consumption of habitus that is appealing to the tourist.

By 2004, other scholars noted fissures in Bourdieu´s original accounting, and in studying consumption patterns in health and finance, developed an supplement called cognitive capital, which is about the ways in which coping mechanisms were distributed, and then replicated, between classes (Henry 2004, 375). Relational capital similarly expands on Bourdieu´s categorization in order to discuss the ability to interact as capital (Richards 2013). The possibility dates to a mid-1980s switch to the local and authentic, when a new kind of tourism replaced the already fading ideas of a mass produced and authoritative with a somewhat unstable localization (Richards 2013). Ultimately, these many threads need to be addressed and refined in theories of class.

3.2 Globalisation and Social Identiy

An important concept to tourism in this paper is the concept of globalisation, where global processes create networks of connections across national boarders and, consequently, allows integrating local communities into what Hall called "new space-time combinations" (in Mowforth & Munt 2003, 12). This concept, however, also points to the reality that local differences are continuously eroded and subsumed in a homogeneous mass or single social order that often favors the Western tourist. Major industries in the West do increasingly dominate over the developing world, where the latter usually comes to depend upon the former. Here theories of globalisation become interwined with theories of dependency. The most cited reason for this, as argued by Schilcher, is that the whole system favours the rich and by that reinforces poverty as it increases the inequalities between rich and poor (Schilcher in Hall 2007, 60; see also Mowforth & Munt 2003). Yet, what is concerning is the fact that the poor are more affected by negative impacts, while the middle-class is more affected by positive impacts of tourism (Cohen & Cohen 2012, 2187; Pritchard et al. 2011;).

This phenomenon can also be seen in the light of social identity theory (Eliasoph & Lichtermann 2003; Jenkins 1996; Tajfel 1982). Many scholars have expanded their perspectives on dependence with the authenticity paradigm by MacCannell (1973), or Turner's (1973) modern pilgrim, where tourists are striving to experience the other. Consequently, tourism here depends on the distinction between a host and guest (Smith 1989). It is this mobilisation between 'we' and 'them' that reinforces the inequalities and unequal power-relations inherent in global capitalism (Gibson 2009; Klepsch 2010) via, as argued by Robins (in Corner & Harvey 1991, 25), "the export of western commodities, values, priorities, ways of life". That, in return, creates room for a reinforcement of stereotypical images of locals in less developed countries (Britton 1979; Cohen 1989; Dann 1996; Palmer 2007).

3.3 Literature Related to Slum Tourism in Cape Town

The majority of research up-to-date is of qualitative nature, usually from a constructivist perspective only, and thus tend to be primarily concerned with (i) experiences and motivations of tourists vis-a-vis place, locals and the industry, (ii) locals´ experience vis-a-vis tourist, tourism in general and the tourism industr; (iii) socio-economic impacts of tourism upon the local community, and (iv) with the degree of success of tour operators as well as their relationship to local businesses, locals and tourists.

While some support slum tourism, most scholars point to its negative consequences. Possible positive outcomes include increased job opportunities, possibilities for empowerment, contribution to poverty alleviation agendas, reduce in stereotypical images via host-guest interaction, chances to overcome historical exclusion, and local development in general (Binns & Nel 2002; Booyens 2010; Dürr & Jaffe 2012; Frenzel 2013; George & Booyens 2014; Koens 2012; Müller-Lierheim 2007; Rogerson 2008; Rogerson 2014; Scheyvens 2002; Steinbrink et al. 2012). Others conclude that slum tourism does not bring any significant benefits to local communities (Biddulph 2015; Booyens 2012; Buescher 2010; Chok et al. 2007; Cohen & Cohen 2012; Goodwin 2008; Hall 2007; Harrison 2008; Van Wyk 2003; Mathers & Landau 2007).

One reason is that slum tourism, as it usally happens within developing countries, is somewhat an "economic image with political uses" (Higgins-Desbiolles 2006, 1196; citing Leiper 1995). Thus, many authors have previously noticed and addressed the involvement of the governments in tourism development, as they particularly aim to increase their economic share of benefits and to balance the power-relation vis-a-vis the industry (Akama 2002; Cohen 1984, 383; Hall 1994; Hochuli & Pluss 2005; Hughes 1984; Mowforth & Munt 2003; Powers 1987; Qin et al. 2011; Zhang et al. 1999). Current ideologies of transnational companies, organizations and institutions, however, either restrict government intervention or force them to capitulate (Schilcher in Hall 2007).

Limited social mobility is one consequence, as most of the South African tourism-industry remains white-owned and dominated by large corporation, often foreign, and thus cause immense leakage out of the (local) economy (Muller-Lierheim 2007; Rogerson 2002; Rogerson 2003;Rogerson 2005; Visser 2003), which is likely to cause immense leakage out of the (local) economy (Scheyvens in Hall 2007; see also Cater 1987; Dogan 1989; Graburn 1980). Scholars thus tend to agree that slum-tourism in this context reinforces neo-colonial and colonial patterns in countries like South Africa, as

the tourism industry increases the dependency of Third World on First-Word economies (Dogan 1989; Gosovic 2000; Kwaramba 2012; Manyara & Jones 2007; Ringer 1998; Schilcher in Hall 2007; Southall 2007; Turner 1976). Some, on the other hand, despite overwhelming evidence, continue to argue against this 'oversimplistic' view (Wearing et al. 2010).

Township tourism around Cape Town, South Africa, offers a perfect example of how such neo-colonial patterns in tourism can create social spaces, as they become commoditized within an environment full of contradictions (Ludvigsen 2002, 90). Despite that tourism has increased significantly since the end of apartheid, the FDI still lack access to different forms of capital, which make Cape Town to remain a "segregated space of exclusion" (Findley & Ogbu 2011; Morais et al. 2011; Visser 2003; Williams 2008; Ryan 2002)

The question then becomes if one should talk about development through tourism, development of tourism, or development for tourism, when talking about Cape Town. Development is a multidimensional concept, which includes the "continuous and positive change in the economic, social, political and cultural dimensions of the human condition, guided by the principle of freedom" (Muhanna 2007, 43). Tourism, on the other hand, is an economic, social and political agent that can affect a wider socio-cultural environment and other sectors, and thus needs to be seen and treated not only with respect to its economic, but also social, political and cultural dimension if it is supposed to become a tool for poverty reduction and empowerment (Bartelmus 1986; Bartelmus 2002; Ferreira 2011, 275; Higgins-Desbiolles 2006; Stewart 1985; Todaro 1989; Tosun et al. 2003, 137-138)

Ultimately, capital plays a significant role, as the patterns of the findings indicate. But also that some of the findings clearly show that slum tourism does not always fit into the current concepts of capital as tourism is able to reflect and organize power-relations that go far beyond the commonly used socio-economic as well as constructivist perspective (Lash & Urry 1994; in Thurlowa & Jaworski 2012, 491). Tourism clearly is a catalyst for political, social, cultural and economic change (Sharpley 2002). Yet, besides of the concept of social and economic capital (see for example Portes 1998; Putnam 1993), concepts of capital remain, with a few exceptions (see McGehhe et al. 2010), unapplied, overlooked or underestimated. That despite the fact that, as Moscardo (et al. 2013) explained, all forms of capital directly and indirectly contribute to community well being in general. (see Appendix 1)

Chapter IV

4.0 Introducing the Case

4.1 South Africa

Slums have become not just a physical space, but also some sort of metaphor for residents, who, ultimately, become the deserving poor in the eyes of visitors. The same has been historically true in South Africa, while reinfoced by tourism as poverty is not just anymore a social problem but also tourist attraction. Poverty is consequently an increasing problem in the country. This might be partly the result of the neo-liberal course by the government in order to fight poverty and to create wealth simultaneously (Cheru 2001; Koens 2012; Koens 2014; Peet 2002), in addition to state withdrawal from responsibilities in terms of market regulation and decommodification (Hansen 2014; McDonald 2008; Seekings 2010).

All this contributes to that South Africa remains among, if not the most, unequal countries in the world (Hincks 2015; The Economist 2012b; see also Appendix 2). Despite that the upper class has grown slightly since the end of apartheid, also due to some black African elites (The Economist 2012), the share of the middle-class shrunk, and the lower classes increased by remaining predominantly black African. Thus, it both supports the findings of Seekings (2010), which indicate that the class structure today remains somewhat the same as under apartheid (see Appendix 3), but gives room to argue that South Africa has become more unequal as the country was under apartheid (Koens 2014; Sharp 2015).

Today, over 50% live below the poverty line, compared to 45% in 2009, 42,9% in 2007 and 40.6% in 1996. In average, the household lost 19% of its real income, while the richest increased their annual earnings by 50%. The richest 10%, for example, earned 50% of the national income in 1994. In 2009 the lowest held 1.2% while the highest 10% accounted for 52%. This distinction, however, remains largely unequal distributed by race, despite that the government official intention to fight and thus tend to argue for the opposite to be true. Eighty-five percent of black Africans are considered poor, whereas 87% of white Africans are affluent. Moreover, inequalities by race seem to increase as the income inequality between classes increase. (Appendix 4; Datamonitor 2010; Hewitt 2013; Hincks 2015, SAIRR 2012, Seekings 2010, Pothering 2015, Sharp 2015; Webb 2010)

On the one hand, this deterioration of income has major consequences for the quality of life of the poor. Partly due to tourism, South African food prices increases significantly since 1994 (Oezler 2007 in Saayman et al. 2012), which causes the majority living in the townships to struggle with meeting their basic needs (De Swardt el al. 2005; Saayman et al. 2012, 464; Sekhampu & Dubihlela 2012, 165). On the other hand, this particular income disparity by class and race is also unique as it simultaneously allows cities like Cape Town to gain an edge in tourism, by offering a sharp contrast to poor alternatives and at the same time, as argued by Williams (2008, 63), enables city to better meet Western standards.

This might be one alternative explanation to why tourism in South Africa could grow by more than 300% since 1994 (IDC 2014; see Appendix 5). Tourism has become the most important sector in the South African industry in terms of GPD growth and employment creation. Nevertheless, tourism growth does not necessarily mean pro-poor benefits. On the contrary, it seems that tourism growth has a positive correlation with the gini coefficient. In 1994, the gini index was 0,59, rising to 0,63 in 2005, to 0,65 in 2011 and to 0,70+ in 2013 (Mahajan 2014; World Bank 2014; World Factbook 2015; OECD 2013).

Hence, both inequality and tourism growth are rising within the past 20 years. Todaro also noted that in many developing countries, "rapid economic growth had failed to eliminate or even reduce widespread absolute poverty.... the distribution of incomes seemed to become less equitable with each passing year" (1989, 132 in Tosun et al 2003, 135). In South Africa, even a 10% increase in tourism would bring no significant benefit to the poorest (Saayman et al. 2012, 462).

Another reaso might be the labor market imperfection (Naude & Coetzee 2004; Saayman et al. 2012, 483) and the failure of tourism to attract educated and skilled workers (Tourism Department 2011, 30). Townships or pro-poor initiatives, however, are not even mentioned once in the strategy by the Tourism Department (2011). The priority today is not on the development of the poor, or the domestic tourist market, but on constructing self-sufficient enclaves of luxury to cater for the affluent population, the global tourist and the transnational business and capitalist class (Cavanagh 2013; Murray 2009, 173; Sklair 2002). Ultimately, one can argue that "racial Apartheid has been superseded by economic Apartheid" (Rolfes et al. 2009, 17) or, as it seems, by 'tourism apartheid'.

Here, white Africans remain dominating the higher-skilled and paid jobs (Lemanski 2007, 457; in Crankshaw 2012, 838). As long as there exists the distinction between the less educated, unemployed and poor in Townships versus the others in non-townships, one should not expect that tourism will be equally inclusive and redistributive anytime soon (Mahajan 2014, 136). But have the conditions under which tourism takes place and meets the local township community around Cape Town have changed?

4.2 Cape Town

Already in 1904, Cape Town was home to a social hierarchy and a three-tier economy, represented by the favoured 'European/White', 'Coloured' and 'Native', respectively (Bickford-Smith 2009, 1766). After the war, South Africa developed into a post-war pilgrimage destination for the rich in order to visit the graves of the fallen British soldiers. Guide books started to describe Cape Town and its violent history as a "glorious…. warmhearted Tavern of the Oceans" (Bickford-Smith 2009, 1769). Indeed, the official destination brander Cape Peninsula Publicity Association (CPPA), dominated by the white-middle-class, told the story and history of Cape Town as 'the fairest cape' to the international market by excluding any conflicts or controversies of slavery or misery (Bickford-Smith 2009, 1770-1771).

By 1994, the branding focus of Cape Town shifted to Nelson Mandela's release in 1990 and the multiracial elections in 1994, leading to the boom of 'new tourism'. Museums, monuments, development sites are now telling the story of slavery which is incorporated as the city's main attraction (Bickford-Smith 2009; Harrison 2004, 69). The city somewhat remains his vision from a white perspective as there is still a lack of evidence of real 'African Heritage'. However, sites like the Robben Island prison have gained status among the UNESCO world heritage sites, where former prisoners add new stories onto the history of their misery to entertain the middle-class and international tourist (see Bickford-Smith 2009; 2010).

What also remain visible are the racial categorized spheres of society. The difference between "who works in restaurant kitchens and who owns them" (Henri and Grunebaum 2004, 3) is stark. This becomes even more obvious when comparing townships with the city center, which remains a daily reminder of differentiation. Also, it does not only successfully delinks any structural relationship

between these places of contrasting socio-economic realities, deprivation and demography but legally dismantles "colonial and apartheid social, spatial and economic engineering that created 'race' categories and defined human existence and citizenship along scales of legal, illegal, native, migrant, citizen, and subject" (Henri & Grunebaum 2004, 4). Together with an ongoing gentrification in Cape Town (Rolfes et al. 2009, 14-15) and within the townships where prices rise even faster than in the city (Cokayne 2013; Kotze 2013; Nkoala 2015; IOL Property 2013), this creates a geography where the development and social mobility is increasingly defined by ones geographical location (see Appendix 6; Appendix 7; Appendix 8 and Western Cape Government 2014).

Tourism seem to support this segregation, as tourism businesses, intentionally, still do not locate themselves nearby the black townships because they remain, despite their 'value' for the tourist, defined as underresourced spaces and violence and even occasionally blockaded by police (Hincks 2015). On the other hand, township tourism does depend on these unique 'geographical' features (OECD 2008, 118), which, together with ethnic differences, creates another type of dependency that is commonly found in modern tourism (Graburn 1984). Despite the inherent contradiction, tourism presupposes unequal development, and thus, creates a political geography that ultimately becomes powered by the tourism industry as they intentionally assign elites, middle-class and poor to their places, both in a spatial and an economic order (Du Toit & Neves 2007, 20).

"What once was a racial divide, has now become a class divide" (Findley & Ogbu 2011) that characterizs the city of Cape Town to such an great extent, that one can come and divide into (i) the global, competitive and multicultural city controlled by the tourism industry, IT and financial sector, (ii) the fortress city of gated and surveilled middle-class neighbourhoods and (iii) the urban ghettos of coloured or black poverty and crime (Robins 2002, 684). Unlik the city, townships remain characterized by race, and nowadays also by class, considering the expanison trend of the city (see also Appendix 9).

4.3 Townships: The Example of Khayelitsha

Townships, like Khayelitsha, were usually located remotely and isolated, designed with two entrance points for safety reasons in the beginning of the 80s, growing with 5% annually and now unofficially home of not 400.000 but 1-1.5 million residents (Goldberg 2003; see also Appendix 10), mostly unskilled workers (Du Toit & Neves 2007). Public transportation from Khayelitsha to the economic

epicenter is poor, unsafe, expensive and time-consuming (Du Toit & Neves 2007, 18). Moreover, only 2.3% indicated to use their own car or motorcylcle, while 50% are dependent upon public or collective transportation modes in order to go to work (see Appendix 11). This causes more hardship, because there are only a few job opportunities in Khayelithsa, since most projects, as for example the local Business Service Center Project and Lookout Hill Tourism Facility is run, managed and administered through the City of Cape Town by Tygerberg Administration. Most other job possibilities are increasingly located outside of Cape Town, for example in Bellville, and thus unreachable for the local population unless they take a taxi (Goldberg 2003). Taxi and public transportation, on the other hand, presupposes the ability to pay for its use. As the poorest need to, but barely can, first pay in order to get to work, real job opportunities remain scarce. Hence, most people without a job are literally confined to "long-term poverty traps" (De Swardt et al. 2005, 111).

Yet, more townships are built (Poppendieck 2012), while others grow rapidly (Hincks 2015). The government is trying to preserve Khayelitsha through 'improving' conditions so people would remain in this metropolic ghetto (Goldberg 2003), which, paradoxically, will also keep them economic isolated. Even if the government would succeed to improve housing, it may only lead that many people need to relocate as new housing units are too small to house several families under one roof, in addition to the higher cost of living (Koens 2014). Furthermore, house ownership levels in townships are in general very low, as most cannot afford anything else but to live in rent, which, in return, lacks formal tenancy agreement that can make them homeless in short notice (Koens 2014, 44). This might then explain why townships as much as the city of Cape Town become increasingly geographical segregated in terms of socio-economic status, status of unemployment and level of income (see Appendix 12, 13 and 14)

A study conducted by De Swardt (et al. 2005) found that 52% of a random sample of 624 households in Khayelitsha had no income at all, 64% were unemployed, 23% were employed, most black African men who either received wage labour or worked for white and affluent people. More interestingly, varitation in education made not much difference when it comes to finding work, unless it was observed within one household with wage receipt. In fact, it seems that levels of education among the poor are insignificant unless they complete secondary or teritiary education, while employers pay the top 5% up to 13x more as the bottom 5% despite that both groups have no education at all (see Appendix 15). The interpretation suggests that as poorer people are, as more likely is it that an increase in human capital does not significantly affect their income and thus is insignificant in their attempts to gain both access and volumes of economic and cultural capital.

Ultimately, as more cultural capital, or in other words, as higher up employees are in the class structure via class distinction through inheritance, less education, the more likely it is that one comes to secure an significant amount of economic capital via income creation in future.

Despite that 82% of households fall under the poverty line, 22.6% live from less than R100 a month per household member, and 50% have less than R241 were combined, and about 50% had less than R241 at their disposal, these living conditions, with all its realities, are no reason to prevent the people and their environment to become rendered as highly valued commodities, or objects, for the tourism industry and tourists alike. Simultaneously as well as paradoxically, they are at the same time subjects, constructed through "racialised discourse of crime and fear as a potential threat to Cape Town´s lucrative tourist industry" (Du Toit & Neves 2007, 18). Somewhat, it reminds about historical events surrounding Victorian urbanism, where slumming London 'slums' was a hobby of the rich bourgeoisie (Dürr 2012).

4.4 Township Tourism in Cape Town, South Africa

Slum tourism is again booming, especially in Cape Town (Frenzel 2013; Rolfes et al. 2009; Rogerson 2014, 20). It started in Johannesburg almost 45 years ago, where white elites could observe the struggling black population. Koens (2014, 42) has come up with a detailed illustration of the history of township tourism in Langa and Imizamo Yethu. Back in 1990, the first township-tours were used for propaganda reasons by the apartheid regime (Koens 2014; Rolfes et al. 2009). First after 1995, township tourism had aimed for the international mainstream and today remains highly dependent upon foreign arrivals (ODI 2004, 1; Rolfes et al. 2009, 20; see also Appendix 16).

Today, one in four tourists participate in a township tours, offered by over 50 tour operators (Rolfes et al. 2009) to 400.000 tourists in Cape Town alone (NBC 2007). Koens (2014) found over 175 businesses to be involved in township tourism to and in Langa only. Most businesses, however, are in the hands of larger, white tour operators (Booyens 2010; Klepsch 2010; Koens 2014; Ludvigsen 2002; Rolfes et al. 2009) who promise to employ locals and to share their profits. Tourism ultimately plays a central role in the transformation of the townships, as slum tourism takes advantage of a geography that characterized by 'lack', poverty and misery and transformed them, and all they contain, into cultural destinations (Findley & Ogbu 2011).

Chapter V

5.0 Analysis: The Paradox of Capital

5.1 Social Capital

Social capital in township tourism can secure socio-economic development but depends on "information sharing, coordination of activities, and collective decision-making" (Grootaert 1998, 3; McGehee et al. 2010, 488). However, the literature clearly indicates that neither of these dependent factors are accessible. The case has already shown that tourism decreases the chances to access social capital via (i) price inflation, (ii) gentrification, and (iii) displacement at the peripheries, where the poorest ultimately can lose their bonds with the community (Dogan 1989, 231; citing Cohen 1979). It creates tension when residents come to see their neighbours flourishing and then develop negative attitudes towards tourism. Previously homogenous groups become segregated through tourism development that benefits residents differentially. Both groups accept the good in tourism passively as gains are witnessed, and in this way, the hegemonic perceptions of the dominant class, as Abrahams (2004) would argue, come to be accepted by both disgruntled and beneficiary residents.

However, not all prosper. Due to the lack of access to credit, insurance, training and financial services for the informal sector, township entrepreneurs have it increasingly difficult to grow their businesses. Ultimately, social capital can "define who is interdependent with whom" (Johnson & Johnson 2005, 367; in Kwaramba 2012, 117).

Township residents come to differentiate themselves via their "political or religious affiliation, language, work, generation, power and class" (Koens 2014, 47 citing Eppel 2007; Harte et al. 2009; Harvey 2011). That renders it difficult for locals to build social connections and consequently social capital. One tour guide, for example, struggled to survive because he lacked both skills and knowledge human and cultural capital) about other attractions nearby, as well as access to people and places that could reveal information on how to access and gain it (social capital) (Harvey 2011, 127; Koens 2014, 56). Furthermore, lucrative cooperation hardly takes place between people that do not know each other personally (Koens 2012, 16). Tourism then is lucrative for those who already have a strong and certain amount of social capital, and again confirms the exclusivity inherent in slum tourism development.

As already noted by Klepsch (2010, 95), it is clear that where relationship building is missing or limited, effects on poverty relief will be more negative. Simultaneously, the neglect of social capital "could also decrease the opportunities of a meaningful tourist experience" (Jensen 2010, 628). Tourism therefore creates a contradictory reality: chances to access social capital via tourism are decreasing for majority of locals as more tourism development, and outsiders, come to occupy their industry and facilities. At the same time, this allows, and traps, some locals in their current social spheres.

Ultimately, locals are actively, but unconsciously, involved in a value-creation for others that derives from negative social capital within the community. In the case of Cape Town slum tourism, inequality means success and reproduced lack of social capital. Further, via differences in lifestyle and habitus, tourists affect the cultural landscape and can cause tensions between host and guest, which then can not only reinforce the bond between people and place, but also simultaneously cause a state of hostility and envy (Dogan 1989, 218).

5.2 Symbolic Capital

Cape Town has been represented as a place worthy of bucket lists; it is somewhere to be seen before one dies. Further, in 2014, the city was awarded with a very prestige price: The New World Design City award, urging visitors to experience the wealthy and modern South Africa. The video (see Video 1) accompanying this pitch shows multiple trappings of the modern city and its striking natural surroundings: big shopping centers, huge music festivals and concerts, an amusement park, all along with happy, smiling and celebrating people. Paradoxically, even a slum with shacks appears for just three seconds.

There are both controversies and power relations that can be found in the discourses throughout the video. On the one hand, it is questionable how slums can be considered and thus included into what is called, and ultimately celebrated as, 'World Design'. On the other hand, however, are 240 seconds of the video refering to the life of the minority, or affluent population, while they enjoy high-brow cultural activities, while only three seconds pay attention to not only how the majority somewhat 'enjoys' their living conditions but also represent them as attractive as possible. Both support the argument that this award is everything but hope for the majority of the poor. Yet, it is stated in the

video that "we use design to show a more inclusive city" (Video 1) and ultimately promoted as such worldwide; an attractive Cape Town supported by the vision to 'celebrate democracy' and use 'simple design' to make public spaces more acceptable. In the end, however, the video fails in its attempt to reach this goal, not from a business perspective but at least from a critical theory perspective that seeks emancipation. Instead, it uses contested public spaces and constructs it as welcoming to tourists but, simultaneously, off-limits to at least 40% of slum resident locals who cannot access due to their lack of different forms of capital. This privatization of public space is then also part of a critical theory warning about the uses to which space can be put to further a hegemonic agenda and relegate the powerless to ever more restrictive existences.

Anton Groenewald, for example, said in the video that thanks to multi-billion dollar foreign investments the city has become more than a leisure tourism destination, which then can lead to investment into upgrading urban areas. However, there has been little improvement for the majority of the formerly disadvantaged, but for the "urban" areas in the city of Cape Town, within the last 20 years. Townships, which actually are residential areas with millions of people, then are quite obviously treated as 'objects', which are 'attractive' and worth being a part of the 'World Design' and encourages tour operators to include them in the future - which also suggests that they do not address 'local' businesses from the townships with this appeal. Operators are included in a discourse of subjectivity, while residents are not.

Instead Groenewald continues in an interview that these communities "rely on mainly international tourists for support; we urge Capetonians to do something different by exploring what their own city has to offer. Hop on a tour bus and experience the rich cultural diversity of our city. The view from Lookout Hill makes it well worth a visit" (in Philip 2014). First, international tourists are addressed as heroes the others rely on. Second, there is a distinction between 'we', from his perspective, as he urges 'Capetonians' (who clearly are not the same people as those who rely on the international tourists) to explore 'something different', which then obviously are 'the others'. Thirdly, he encourages to uses the phrase 'hop on a tour bus' to invite a voyeurism to experience cultural diversity by sitting on a bus, safari-style.

These "postmodern place-selling strategies ultimately trump social history or political economy" (Bickford-Smith 2010, 109), as they diffuse codes of consumption through images and discourse (Hughes 1995). Residents become symbolic objects d'art, to be looked at and consumed as part of understanding South Africa, but they are kept in their place, and not asked to tour and consume their

own city. Nor are they welcome in any of the public spaces that have been symbolically constructed as white, trendy, and worthy of exploration.

These tourism media can be seen as promoting the "aura and mystique of the Third World...and in turn sustain the value of travel as a commodity" (Mowforth & Munt 2003, 144). A final example of this is the success of the new "Shanty Town Hotel" in central South Africa, Emoya Hotel & Spa, a slum experience itself outside the slum.

Video 2 represents not only the official promotion to the international tourist, but also the resort as an attractive illumination of colourful housing units. Up to 52 people can enjoy a fake environment and "imagine" how it would feel to live the lifestyle of approx. 12 million South-Africans. The resort promotes its "authentic feeling" as the "only slum in the world equipped with under-floor heating and wireless Internet access" (Hewitt 2013). The 80 Euro per night hotel's website argues, "now you can experience staying in a shanty within the safe environment of a private game reserve...our Shantys are completely safe and child friendly" (Emoya). This resort is a performance of a slum that even guests recognize is purposefully inauthentic, yet preferable to the real thing (Video 3). Here one can witness the satisfaction of both business owner and its guests. Both agents, ironically, are white and obviously everything but poor. So where are the locals in this tourism setting? They are not far away and hope to become the object of attraction as soon as the tourist decides to purchase a tour into the real slum, safari style, with hope to reach out for tourist dollars as soon as they reach out to them by chance through the window.

Despite that this hotel is not in the Cape Town area, it is relevant. Obviously, these informal settlements have positive symbolic capital for the tourist, which then translates back into economic capital for the industry. Yet, this positive symbolic capital is not only reinforcing the negative stereotypes of townships in general, thus affects the tourist flow from Cape Town to the townships, as they are, and remain, perceived as too dangerous, impoverished and not worth to even experience (Rolfes et al. 2009, 50). Furthermore, it both proofs and thereafter reinforces, the obvious but ignored unequal power-relations as well as inherent inequality in slum tourism around Cape Town. After all, tourists reside in their first-class hotelroom, escape their luxury environment as soon as they feel motivated enough to experience poverty by participating in a tour, which at the end today delivers them safely back to the comfortable environment in order for them to continue with their privileged habitus. Theoretically, there are possibilities for the poor to reach out for social mobility. Practical experience and evidence, however, hint towards an opposite reality.

5.3 Human Capital

The structural unemployment and the lack of skills, due to inadequate education and training opportunities, exclude many of the poor from the formal job market. Kaplan (2004) already found that there is a critical shortage in finding people who are skilled in the South African tourism industry, and the country is therefore only capable of satisfying 10% of its training needs (Klepsch 2010, 37). Given this fact, it can be anticipated that tourism increases, rather than decreases, the problem of structural unemployment, because the demand is higher than the capacity, which together with an unskilled majority, make it unlikely to attain any goals of sustainable development via tourism expansion.

The degree of empowerment possible for residents depends on access to tourism assets that one can utilise in order to secure benefits (Mahony & Van Zyl 2002, 100). Kwaramba (2012) found that home-stay women who operate a tourism business get little chances to become independent from institutions despite that they aspire to operate their business autonomously in order to once be able to realize economic autonomy. Instead, they struggle with "negotiating tourism development processes that require the same skills that they were historically excluded from (education, business and tourism management skills)" (Kwaramba 2012, 191). Institutions and their top-down approach fail to equip these women, which ultimately are forced to remain financial aid recipients. That leads them again to expect the government to ensure financial help, while they need to try to remain disadvantaged enough so they would qualify for any Black Economic Empowerment reparations and become eligible to receive their minimum safety net.

Working, thus, becomes a liability in Cape Town slums. Also, most women in the townships around Cape Town want to become educated but cannot stay away from home because they need to support their children and their husbands (Arendorf 2012; Hülsekopf 2011). Moreover, one must accept that those unemployed with no skills and knowledge will less likely find a job because they are less likely to deliver the required performance to satisfy the expectation towards the international standard within the experience economy. If township or slum tourism as a special interest tourism "is an alternative to mass tourism then it will become a cancer, endlessly reproducing its small groups across the globe invading previously untouched communities. It is as large a threat to sustainability as the worse examples of mass tourism" (Ryan 2002, 23).

Hence, there are many barriers in order to access human capital, if it is not denied, which does not allow for any cultural or economic capital formation, and hence leads to social reproduction as they cannot pass on any cultural capital to their children, which again would be an investment in human capital as children are the hope for their future. Tourism then contributes to this negative spiral as policies surrounding tourism, education possibilities (Campbell 2014) and business development possibilities are insufficient in order to combat poverty at its roots, since those in power follow different interests in utilizing tourism, less for empowering, but rather to gain profits for their own.

Negative stereotyping, dependency on tour operators, lack of access to knowledge and information, then further leads to a stagnation rather than development (Hülsekopf 2011). It is then clear that promotional material that says written: "It's no longer a struggle; it's a lifestyle" (Soweto Funk Tours, in Klepsch 2010, 66), are giving a completely inaccurate picture.

5.4 Cultural Capital

Mowforth and Munt argue that cultural capital, unlike economic capital, cannot be bought but relies on knowledge, appreciation, and the ability of people to join the game as well as the skill of "reading the cultural significance of certain types of consumption" (2003, 132). In South Africa, education requires often an enormous amount of income. If one is unable to acquire economic capital, one ultimately becomes isolated from any chances at cultural capital. For instance, tourism itself is a way to acquire knowledge of difference.

This difference is predicated on consumption. If tourists can enjoy a hot dog for $8 in the epicenter of the city (Cavanagh 2013), which costs half of what some of the poorest earn in a month, then one can imagine the barrier between the tourist and the poorest of the population, as it is unlikely for them to socialize together. For those living in the slums, it is nearly impossible to follow such consumption patterns and that kind of lifestyle of the affluent population and hence make connections that can enhance their economic wellbeing.

Yet meeting in the townships is often out of the question too. For example, due to the influx in tourist dollars, lunch at local restaurants is now only available to "patrons…willing and able to pay

the price of a tour as well" (ODI 2004, 2). Given that tour prices range to up to R1000, one lunch would cost as much as most households earn in a month. That is also the reason why many township residents are still denied the benefits of tourism. This argument becomes supported by the fact that a lack of knowledge of foreign languages, especially English, makes meaningful social exchange with tourists unlikely.

Tourism takes a lot of time and in order for the locals to gain economically, they need to be willed and ready to receive tourists at any time or day (Kamaldien 2014). This also affects the daily routines and family life and precludes participation by many. Koens (2014, 168) found in addition that peoples' lifestyle orientation in business is mitigated because they feel the need to ensure subsistence fist and do everything possible to please their clients until they obtain a reliable income. Tourism then has an impact upon social stratification as some people aspire to this service, while others, like care givers or parents, cannot. That makes the township more heterogeneous in terms of status, class and power.

That again can be observed by the fact that increasing professionalisation is raising the threshold for local tour guides (Koens 2014) as they need to keep up with education, accreditation and making adjustments to their life in order to keep their business. Because of barriers, most small businesses in the slums are quite new and many fail quickly, while outsiders operate most companies. As "township businesses have limited human, financial and organisational resources" (Koens 2014, 188), it explains why 80-90% of all tours are provided by larger businesses outside of townships. One of the first township-tour operators in Cape Town said to Gumede (2006, 50; in Koens 2014): "I've come to realize that black people who do well in the tourism industry are those who have learnt to adjust and conform to the white mainstream tourism game rather than challenge it."

5.5 Economic Capital

The industry, the media, tourists and institutions have changed the notion of the township through their discovery of acceptable value that lies within it (Ludvigsen 2002, 82). On one hand, tourism has done what the post-apartheid regime could not do on his own in now more than 20 years of democracy.

A primary problem is that South Africa rarely produces touristic products like arts and souvenirs, but imports them (Ludvigsen 2002, 84). First, this suggests that what tourists consume does not support or generate local employment. Second, it suggests that the poorest have to acquire products and manage to re-sell. However, if locals cannot afford it, tourists will not get the chance to buy it. This does not lead to meaningful pro-poor economic capital creation, but for those who have the means to invest first gain profit opportunities in the future.

Another issue is that township residents who are successful tend to move out of the townships, and are viewed as disloyal by residents who must stay (Koens 2012). Thus, economic effects even for residents do not stay in the communities. Some solutions percolate through the community. Some residents, according to Koens, do try hard to stay and transform their homes into bed and breakfast facilities. Yet, is it recommended to make a hostel out of homes where up to 60 people share three bedrooms?

Also, as more people build B&Bs, as more competition will arise, which then would press prices and negatively affect people's social capital. Rivalry in township tourism is very high (Muller-Lierheim 2007). Paradoxically, people then devalue themselves via competition, and prices fall. Further, as tourists tend to visit townships once only (Muller-Lierheim 2007, 38), the value for second-time tourists decreases, as the value for first-time tourists increases, which makes the townships an constant process of value-negotiation. As more tourists come, competition arises, and with it, tour prices fall. This means more tourists but less economic benefit.

Nevertheless, businesses, especially local tour guides, are found to primarily compete on price (Koens 2012). This despite their already low payment of R30 per tourists, officially, although Koens believes this to be much lower in reality because some do not even get paid at the end of the day. One guide, for example, provided tours worth over R2000 with no payment but a promise to keep his job in the future where he then could earn money (Koens 2014, 120). Another tour guide is only successful because he has the ability and power to keep others from competing with him.

5.6 Political Capital

Tourism is politics, and politics is about power. It seeks to find ways to answer "who gets what, where, how and why" (Hall 1994, 77; in Ondicho 2010, 208). The government now wants to capitalise on opportunities that lie in the tourism sector (Entrepreneurship 2012). It is therefore why township tourism can also be viewed as business opportunities for those operating in the industry, with strong political connections. As Xasa, the minister of tourism says, is the focus now on developing township-tourism via tour-packages and by showcasing African culture and heritage (in Entrepreneurship 2012). Despite that this might open up for more pro-poor activities, it inevitably leads to an exclusive tourism development as larger tour operators can decide whom to include in these packages. This renders tourism highly political, and why so many argue that it operates within a "neo-liberal market economy, which presents severe challenges to meeting pro-poor and sustainable development objectives" (Chok et al. 2007, 144).

The national tourism policy hopes that through targeting the black entrepreneurs that could eradicate the 60-70% of white ownership pattern (Joseph 2013, 57). However, barriers exist. Unequal education leads to unequal employment, and therefore also unequal access to tourism, both in terms of becoming tourist and running a successful business. Other related business opportunities are likewise out of reach.

Accommodations and restaurants, for example, need licensing and to follow certain standards of health, fire and safety (Koens 2014, 42). Tour guides need to pay R6000 to obtain a license first, while public transportation businesses pay R3615 a year for membership in the South Africa Tourism Services Association (SATSS) (Koens 2014, 42; Nemasetoni & Rogerson 2005, 203), in addition to all the expenditure for obtaining a public driver license, vehicle and insurances (Koens 2014). It is clear, those with adequate education, skills, access to information, money, or political connections have higher chances to succeed or realise opportunities (Nieman et al. 2008, 294).

On the other hand, the local or national government have it difficult to enforce policies and laws as it is the UNWTO, IMF, UN, World Bank, Unesco and others who set the parameters of "tourism planning, promotion, identification of tourism products, investment and infrastructure construction policies often in conjunction with metropolitan tourism companies" (Mowforth & Munt 2003, 284; citing Britton 1982, 339). Further, the EU, IMF, WTO, WEF or organizations like Greenpeace, all

have political connections that reach beyond national boarders with the power to impose policies upon Third World countries with significantly social and economic consequences (Mowforth & Munt 2003, 34).

The WTTC for example, is a coalition of approx. 70 chief executives from the tourism industry, centered in the first world (Mowforth & Munt 2003). This, however, is not much different with organizations. The World Bank is linked to the WWF, IUCN, CI, and others who give, just like the WB itself, "total management control to the private or NGO sector" (Mowforth & Munt 2003, 171) and therefore fail to recognize local initiatives or movements who are against tourism development or strive for pro-poor outcomes. Instead, these organizations ask for pro-poor outcomes via economic growth, but forget that economic growth does not necessarily mean poverty reduction (Hawkins & Mann 2007, 360). Instead, it foregrounds an elite and further excludes slum residents.

This then renders the discourse within reports of the WTTC and WTO, which is clearly written from a First World perspective, contradictory, when they talk about: "´out travel and tourism activity", ´our consumers´, ´our interests´" (in Mowforth & Munt 2003, 298). Moreover, also the WTO principle of 'most-favoured-nation requirement', prevents, rather than promotes, a tourism industry that strives for sustainability rather than development for profit, as it would demand "equal treatment of all investors (both foreign and domestic)" (Hochuli & Pluss 2005, 9). Decentralization is also impossible to reach when agreements of fair trade between national boarders, like GATS, applies also on local levels (Hochuli & Pluss 2005). In this instance, it cannot be assumed that tourism development involves the local community meaningfully or that benefits will be equitable distributed (Chok et al. 2007, 159).

Chapter VI

6.0 Towards a Conceptualization of Tourism Capital

The case and the analysis suggest that slum tourism business is predicated on consumption of lack. As categories of capital were examined in relation to lack and theories of capital, class and power, it became clear that emancipation in the slums is dependent on a shift in our ideas towards a new form of capital, tourism capital, by including, and thus paying attention to, concepts like lack and absence of material goods.

Tourism capital can be defined as an individual or collective asset. It is physical, economical, political, cultural, social and symbolic, and it ultimately allows its agents to develop and to position themselves within the field of tourism, thereby gaining advantages and power within tourism and other fields (like politics or economies). Perhaps holders make gains within tourism activities, earning status. In turn, status can lead to invisible privileges, like disseminating tourism capital and reproducing it along with its socio-cultural and political benefits. These holders of capital can become instrumental in the development of tourism and the balance in power-relations between places and between agents, depending on the amount and quality of tourism capital one holds and has access to vis-à-vis to other individuals, groups, organizations, institutions, activities, markets, and places in this field.

This form of capital is not bound to either place, agent or time, but is accumulated, or ascribed, over time to places and (to and by) agents, and thus can also decrease, and become discredited, over time for places and (for and by) agents. Consequently, tourism capital can be conceptualized with five dimensions who can affect tourism capital and that can be affected by tourism capital: (i) socio-cultural, (ii) socio-political, (iii) socio-economic (iv) geographic/environmental, and (v) mediatic, and thus function as internal and external forces in tourism. These forces can be controled by (i) tourists, (ii) locals, (iii) tourism industry, (iv) elites, (v) governments, (vi) media, and (vii) organizations, who ultimately interact and affect these dimensions in their attempt to access and gain tourism capital.

With tourism capital, one can adapt local resources to national or global conditions as well as affect global conditions. Thus, tourism capital accumulation needs to be understood as a dynamic process that is dependent upon its direct, but to a certain degree also indirect, involved agents. Hence, everybody has tourism capital, but the quality and quantity, and the access to it, varies immensely. This capital then complements Bourdieu's initial taxonomy, but adds to it by paying attention to the secondary documentation of new ways capital can form in such a situation as slum tourism.

One problem, however, is that agents and their actions are not always in harmony. That also suggests that they can create, mediate and enforce norms and laws within the field of tourism without mutual agreement of the majority of local residents or even tourists, which again affects other sectors and fields that are dependent on tourism or tourism as it is dependent on them. The power and/or the advantages within or over the fields of or in tourism are the main elements of tourism capital. Actors in tourism rearrange resources, selecting what is adequate in terms of subjects and objects, ascribe them value, meaning, representation, quality and a price, and offering it to the local, regional, national or global market.

The opportunities opening up in the process of tourism, however, depend on the quality and volume of tourism capital. Unequal access to opportunities for the local community, imbalance in power-relations, conflicts in interests and the intentions between agents and stakeholder, regulations that favor the minority over the mayority, lack of meaningful participation, exclusion from decision-making processes, would deny local communities to access tourism capital and thus pro-poor outcomes in tourism

In the next section, a figure illustrates how tourism capital is conceptualized, accompanied by its underlying theory of how it is accumulated, mediated, altered and exerts power over, or power is exerted over it, by different forms of capital, external and internal forces, stakeholders and agents that are directly or indirectly involved in tourism, as well as fields and sectors that are dependent upon tourism or vice versa.

6.1 The Concept of 'Tourism Capital'
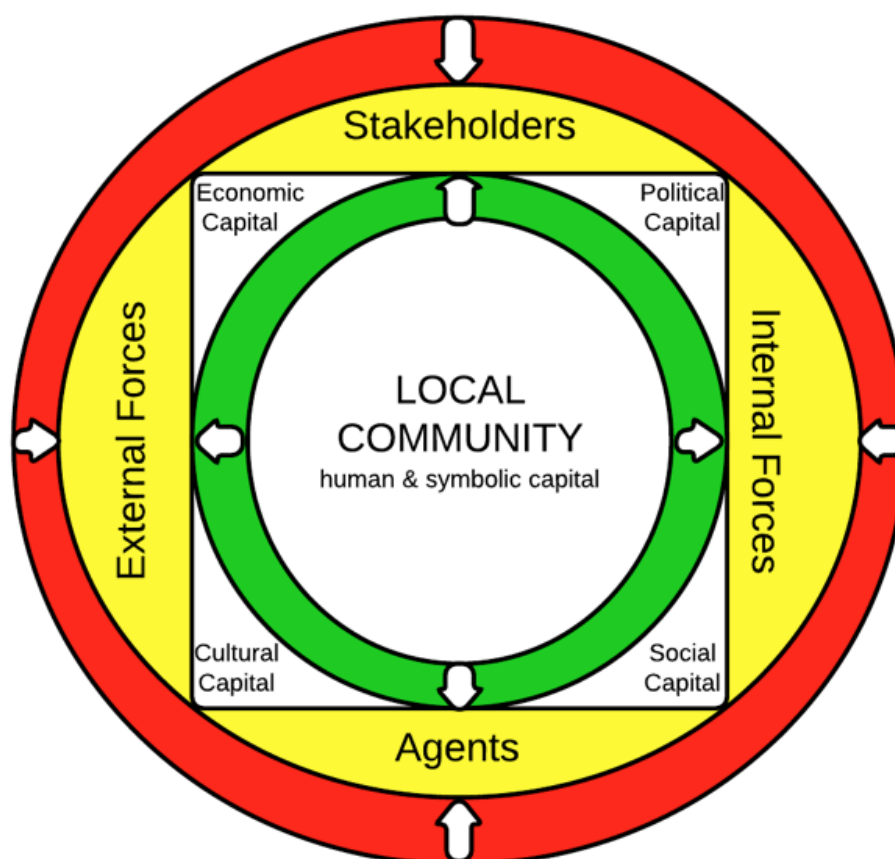
6.1.1 The Arena of 'Tourism Capital'

The white square, or center, is the arena of slum-tourist and includes both the townships, as the destination, and their population; the local community. As the previous sections indicated, tourism capital can be transformed into other forms of capital, both for and by the local community, for example into (i) economic capital, via business creation through commoditization, (ii) social capital, via interaction with tourists and relationship building with tour operators, (iii) cultural capital, via socializing with (high-brow) agents and stakeholders, (iv) symbolic capital, via symbolic value that becomes ascribed to the local community as well as status building through (i) (ii) and (iii), (v) human capital, via knowledge and skill building, and (v) political capital, via inclusion in decision-making processes and local tourism boards. This 'development via tourism capital', however, depends upon local voice, as well as their access to and control over tourism (capital).

6.1.2 The Inner Sphere: Local control

Green (inner) circle, or inner sphere, indicates that tourism capital is primarily under local control. This is the optimal situation, where tourism capital is accessible to the local community. Stakeholders, agents, external and internal forces, can control, manage and distribute tourism capital at the same time as the local community can exert a certain power over tourism, i.e. involvement in decision-making, policy-making, distribution of benefits and cost, and management. Access to tourism capital by the local community may lead them to easier access other forms of capital, quantitative and qualitative, effectively transforming this capital. In the case of Cape Town, tourism capital exists. It exists as a specific, racialized lack, which counter-intuitively, can hold some power to imbue local residents with other kinds of capital. For instance, lack makes the slums attractive to tourists, but lack exists in a specific, historicized and imperialist context, whereby authentic African experience comes to represent the slum. Different townships might compete with one another for a monopoly on this kind of authentic displacement and lack in order to attract tourists, who, in turn, come to consume that lack.

Some residents can transform the opportunity into meaningful economic transactions by representing themselves in this context, or offering local crafts that do, but not all residents can. Other kinds of capital are likewise important; for instance, those residents that are already well off, owning restaurants or other amenities for travellers tend to benefit more from tourism capital. However, since all residents are in theory on 'display' as some sort of attractions, they might all wield some kind of tourism power, for instance, the power to resist the gaze, to boycott, to hide in their homes, and to prevent themselves from unfair tourism practices at their expense. There is a cost for this resistance: resistances must be found that keep tourism, yet begin to transform tourists into real opportunities for residents who do not control the tours.

Furthermore, the arrows in the model indicate that tourism, and hence tourism capital, is continuously negotiated, internalt and between locals, external agents and stakeholders. Within the green circle, this negotiation allows not only for a meaningful interaction between the local community and those external to the community but also to utilize tourism capital to achieve local empowerment and poverty alleviation. This presents a slightly different point of view and possibility to the rest of this thesis, which suggests residents are not benefiting from tourism and are offered a tourism capital that benefits a tiny minority at the expense of the many. Tourism lack is, however contradictorily, a form of capital that might be converted with the right mix of complementary capital opportunities.

6.1.3 The middle sphere: External control

The yellow circle, or middle sphere, points towards tourism capital to be primarily under external control. Agents and stakeholders administer resources for, and management of, tourism with little respect to local sustainability but external and internal forces. Therefore, cultural, social, economic, and political capital becomes difficult to access by the local community via tourism capital, as a consequence of their exclusion from tourism development, decision-making and participation, which in return has a negative impact upon human and symbolic capital as a tourism resource, as well as local empowerment.

6.1.4 The outer sphere: (Out) of control

The red circle, or outer sphere, suggest that those with privileged amounts or qualities of tourism capital, can control tourism to such an extent that it has become able to dominate over access to, and distribution of, the different forms of capital, as well as stakeholders, agents, external and internal forces. This is the case when a whole community, region or nation, becomes dependent on tourism, rather than tourism dependent on them. Tourism development is out of control, bypassed local sustainability and chances for stakeholders and agents to gain exclusive control over tourism, and thus allows what can be called a circulation of "touristic elites" that is not bound to time or space. Furthermore, tourism then also affects external and internal forces, which traditionally rather affect tourism than vice versa. The local community is in great danger of exploitation, yet with little chances to make use of tourism so it can serve as an empowerment tool, contribute to significant pro-poor benefits / poverty alleviation

Hence, tourism capital, and its power over other forms of capital and actors involved, ranges between the green and red circles, with a continuously negotiation taking place between locals and other agents and stakeholders, influenced by external and internal forces, between situations of dependency and globalization.

6.2 A Critique of existing theory

Capital, for Bourdieu and the Marxists, was labor. But both assets and competence can also be transformed into labor. In the case of slum tourism, the production of tourist value comes not from these things, but from the marked absence of them. Yet who will then harness the opportunities of tourism? It is not all third parties, though these are the primary beneficiaries of tourism activities in the slums. Residents somehow also manage to, in their objectified state, transfer some tourism capital into economic capital by performing authentic African displacement for tourists, and providing other tourism services to those that might want to encounter them.

Tourism capital, like cultural capital, must be invoked and used by agents. It is, however, distinct from social and cultural capital because it must be transmitted, not based on socialization and through similarity and acculturation, but through establishment of difference. Tourism, especially in the global context and in the slum, relies on difference. Tourists arrive not because they can impart their lifestyles to residents, but so they can consume their difference from this hegemonic lifestyle. Tourists do not mean to transfer capital to residents, as in a process of education or gift giving. In fact, they seek to learn from residents, to be reminded of their own place and power, and to gratefully acknowledge their own habitus in the face of deprivation. Yet tourists do transfer something when they arrive in the slum. It is a capital of agency. Inherent in desire is power, and the desire to see is no different. Residents have some power in their deprivation in this way, though this particular slum tourism has not seen residents convert this power to economic capital.

Thus tourism capital is fundamentally different from existing forms of capital, especially from social or cultural capital, which is transferred through teaching, or transmitted purposefully. Instead, the consumption of lack creates a relationship, for example between tourist and resident, guest and host, which is predicated on the reproduction of lack and difference, yet at the same time offers the promise of capital, the continuing circulation of the power group through deprived spaces, allowing for encounter, interaction, performance, and in the end, resistance.

Chapter VII

7.0 Discussion

Foucault once said that power is and comes from everywhere (Foucault 1990). He was especially concerned with the idea that power is embedded in discourses (Blunden 2005), and together with knowledge (Foucault 1990; Boudreault 2012), becomes a subject of social construction, which then can become objectified in books, pictures, video material, documents and promotional material. Tourism, in this sense, is a socially constructed activity where power is exercised not only at a certain time in a particular space of host and guest interaction, but also in the premises that lead to the motivation, expectation, and experience, before, after and during their socialization. In this understanding, power truly comes from below and it is therefore important to understand how such discourses shape our perception of reality through power-laden, often hidden, processes.

So what? For Foucault, power cannot be opposed, as one needs power in order to oppose it (Blunden 2005). Hence, this subjective only understanding does not allow for systemic power relations within a reality of social structure, and hence making it almost impossible to locate domination as a result of power relations. Tourism takes place in a market, and the market is a place where capital is created, selected and collected. Today, this market is a network of power relations operating in a capitalist economy where individuals occupy a certain position within it and poisition themselves with help of discourse. Blunden (2005) already suggested that with Foucault alone, one might be unable to account for these power-relations, as there exists "objective measures of the validity of a discourse" (Blunden 2005). Both the case and the analysis of this thesis support this argument.

Moreover, it can be argued that it is even necessary, because in slum tourism power translates into, or from, the production, accumulation and consumption of material, or 'materialized', e.g. commoditized, resources that can be controlled, monopolized or dictated, consequently also dominated, by individuals, groups or institutions with a certain authority over a sphere. Hence, poverty, seen from this perspective, and from the empirical evidence of its commoditization and thereafter translation into economic value for slum tourists, can indeed become a social construction through discourse and simultaneously reality as it somewhat constitutes a form of capital in itself. Tourism capital(ism) then has the ability to commodify both entire places and all they contain.

If one comes to commodify poverty, however, one does also essentialise, fetishise and romantice it (Frenzel 2013, 124); citing Freire-Medeiros 2012), and tour operators, as they present and represent the slums, become curators (Frenzel 2013, 124; citing Butler 2012). They make it into a narrative to be consumed. In this understanding, tourists would have the power to co-create poverty, and therefore, as it is a conditions and characteristic of class, 'make class' and, ultimately, also contribute to social stratification that would affect the whole community.

But how does one co-create poverty? How can poverty become a commodity with a value? And how can poverty as a commodity translate back into more poverty for the community? Marx once said that, as long as "the relation of wage-labor to capital is permitted to exist, no matter how favourable the conditions under which you accomplish the exchange of commodities, there will always be a class which exploits and a class which is exploited" (2008, 224). For Marx money is capital and capital is commodities (Marx & Elster 1986). However, in order to become a commodity, there needs to be a certain quality inherent in it, a value that was produced by human labour. In this understanding, poverty has no value, nor can it become a commodity because poverty is not produced by human labour nor can one claim that poverty is a quality in itself since it is unable to add value to itself, as it has no exchange value of itself.

Yet, tourism has accomplished that even a human condition of abject poverty has officially become a commodity as well as value, and consequently also a form of capital, where the industry is ascribing a price that ultimately is turned into an exchange value for tourists as soon as they consume or purchase it. This means that by participating in slum-tourism, one needs to be aware of the contradictories inherent in this form of tourism. The market demands, hence the producer produces and sells the product in a free market to a price the consumer comes most likely to accept to this conditions at this time and place. First, to support the production of poverty is everything but moral justifiable. Second, by purchasing a slum-tour, a tourist accepts that his demand is as much responsible for the commodification of poverty as the tour operator who does commodify it. Third, both producer and consumer do value and appreciate the product as it is, at the moment he is buying it with its inherent qualities. Moreover, since the free-market regulates itself without external intervention, the value, the offer and the price of a slum tour is dependent upon both the increase in tourist demand and the amount of competitors that come to enter the market with their substitutes.

The local, or in this case the person living in the slums, becomes thus turned into an object whose value is decided and ascribed by others, partly via discourse, and ultimately negotiated, via price-competition, between mass-production and mass-consumption. Moreover, as tourism tends is likely to cause or reinforce inflationary tendencies in the supply of inelastic resources, for example food and land, slum tourism inevitably affects the whole community. Thus, even when tourism comes to benefit a selected local minority who, by chance, get involved in this form of tourism, it "causes hardships for the rest of the population" (Cohen 1984, 384). In the worst-case scenario, slum tourism may not only reinforce slum conditions, but actually reproduces them. However, as poverty is 'value' in the first place, these 'worsen' conditions might in return add more value to the locals; value in form of 'lack' and simultaneously, though contradictory, 'commodity'. As poverty obviously cannot be treated anymore exlusively as a commodity, it was necessary to offer an alternative theoretical universe where it is treated as 'Tourism Capital' instead.

Tourism capital, in the context of this paper, can be viewed as an asset that depends on 'difference'; access to, and consumption of, 'lack'. Thus, in order for 'lack' to become value and tourism capital, slums must remain 'lack', or in other words slums, that can attract slum tourists. Value, as the case suggests, derives from situations of local abject deprivation and misery. Greater contrast vis-a-vis the middle class tourist may translate back into greater valuation and thus also access to tourism capital. Tourisms' interest and curiosity, thus, renders 'lack' as 'tourism capital' and makes slums and their people 'subject' to valuation by the industry. As soon as the local community can transform their 'lack' and tourism capital (back) into other forms of capital, their poverty and 'lack' becomes reduced.

Despite that this is the desire of the majority, it has a downside, as it prevents pro-poor outcomes to remain pro-poor. Reduced lack and poverty would ultimately reduce the value of slums to slum tourism and therefore also local access to this tourism capital as it does depend on 'lack'. Thus slum tourism creates a situation where locals devalue themselves vis-a-vis the industry and tourist as soon as they become less distinctive in terms of class, power and capital. Decreased access to tourism capital then also decreases chances to access other forms of capital via tourism. Distinction, poverty and lack, consequently tend again to increase and thereby their value in terms of 'lack' and tourieam capital for slum tourism that creates the illusion of potential benefits through converting tourism capital into other forms of capital, as it starts to devalue locals again simultaneously. Ultimately, slum tourism reinforces a situation of 'lack', while unequal access to tourism capital somwhat enforces social reproduction rather than emancipatory or 'real' poverty alleviation outcomes.

Chapter VIII

8.0 Conclusions

The case has shown that townships do not only depend upon international tourists, the industry, or the commoditization of poverty by them and media discourses alike, but also on social and political power relations that are in favor of the wealthy and 'White' city of Cape Town as this limits the supply of tourists and services and the inclusion of the local community. Also, tourism policies by the government are almost exclusively directed towards the development and marketing of core attractions that are either within the wealthy regions of the cities or nearby un-populated areas, for more safari-like experiences. Thus, in the case of Cape Town, tourism gains are not seen among residents, while power differential increases are. Consequently, increases in tourism are suggestive of increases in the inequality between Cape Town elites and slum residents, and a reproduction of social, economic, and cultural, political capital that privileges power groups.

This study also suggests that secondary literature on slum tourism in Cape Town points to inequality forged through lack and the commoditization thereof. This particular 'black lack' is both, predicated on a history of apartheid and a history of a romanticized colonial South Africa, alongside a commoditized emancipatory impulse in the apartheid-constructed township slums. While history of resistance is consumed by tourists, tourism capital simultaneously uses this history to elevate a lack and offer it up to be consumed by the 'white Westerns' and their discourses, which ultimately depend on the ongoing existence of misery among slum dwellers.

Thus, tourism capital comes into play in order to conceive the capital of 'lack' stemming from slum tourism practices. Moreover, it offers a more complete explanation of how ideas of capital can explain inequalities and power-relations in emerging slum tourism in the case of Cape Town, South Africa. Existing categories of capital were somewhat inadequate to define these specificities; especially the ways they impact democratic participation and human emancipation. Instead, their application created numerous situations with various examples of paradoxes and thus room for a the theory of tourism capital in order to account for them. Bourdieu, for example, did not contend with forms of capital predicated on absence, but such a conception is necessary to fully understand the ways the other forms of capital converge in the slums, and how the work against the subjectivity and ultimately emancipation of slum residents.

It is this theoretical contribution of the paper that shows that there is a connection between lack and capital, a value predicated on absence, as significant in locating power relations in the transaction of slum tourism. It also suggests that a re-doing of power relations and a relocation of competence and privilege are behind any emancipatory policy on behalf of slum residents, rather than a mere attention to traditional ideas of capital. Capital loses its value when residents need 'stuff' to overcome inequality, and only have the potential to access 'stuff' when they do not have 'stuff.'

8.1 Limitations and future research

The thesis analyzed a special case that is drawn through centuries of imperialism and a particular relationship to the West and to black residents. It is the emergent birthplace of slum tourism, which makes it a worthy care to examine in the context of capital and an East/West 'encounter'. As it is unique, findings are not statistically generalizable to other spaces without further research.Using Bourdieu and a taxonomy of capital has, in this case, opened up a space for discussion about the emergent ways globalization has altered the traditional Marxist discourse about value, and such discussions have a central place in future research. While identity politics, post-identity and post-modern discourse, and accelerated globalization have dominated scholarship, capital remains the centerpiece of tourism predicated on poverty. The very idea of poverty as authenticity in tourism discourse draws on as it upends a history of class hegemony building. Can tourists use a capital of lack to resist this hegemonic world making? While this seems impossible at the present time, it is the foundation for future resistant policy.

It is suggested that future research should account for theory on colonialism and emancipatory acts of slum dwellers themselves in the context of tourism, and analyze it vis à vis (tourism) capital in order to have a greater sense of the reproduction of social categories of capital that ultimately affirm the hegemonic position of colonizer, without attention to theories of resistance on the part of the oppressed. Last but not least, it suggests that policy-makers and participants should continuesly evaluate whether or not the outcomes of slum tourism are most likely "leading to a reduction or increase in the inequality of access to power and resources" (Bianchi 2002, 297; in Kwaramba 2012, 88), via, and in form of, tourism capital. The concepts surrounding the theory of tourism capital may help in attempts to understand and facilitate for an evaluation of pro-poor outcomes. Thus, it is a theoretical to, working to help change social conditions.

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Appendix 1: Capital and community well-being

Table 1. Summary descriptions of seven types of capital that contribute to community well-being.
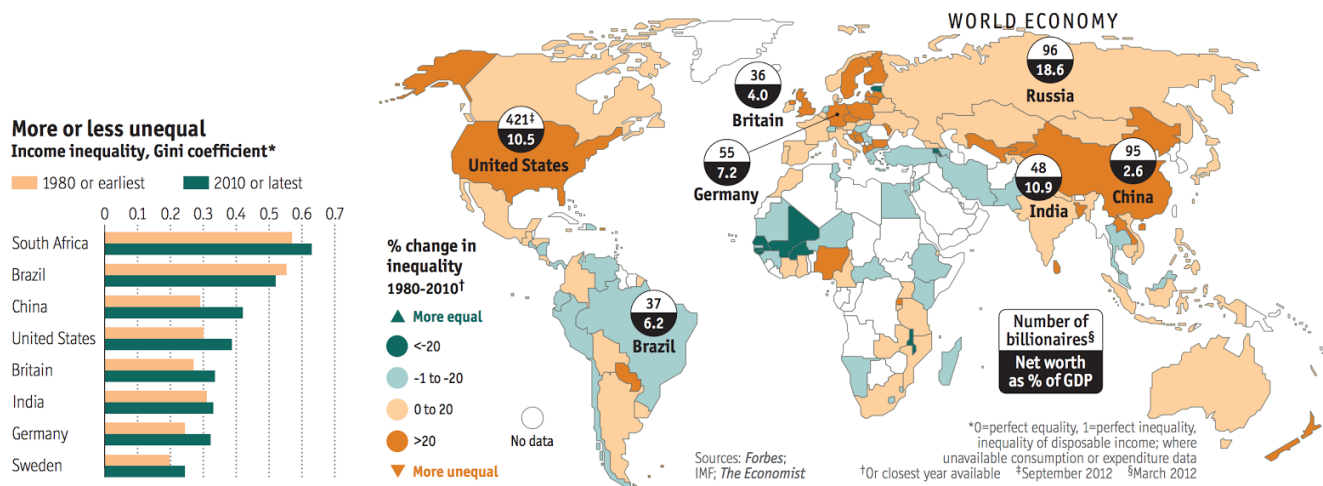
Type of capital	Key features
Financial	Income, savings and access to funding for investment.
Natural	Natural ecosystems and the assets, services and resources that they provide. It includes landscape, environmental systems, green spaces and conservation areas.
Built	Physical facilities and infrastructure that communities have available for use including buildings, transport systems, public spaces, technological systems and distribution systems for water, waste and energy.
Social	Features of social networks such as trust, reciprocity and cooperation and social institutions and associations.
Cultural	Values and symbols shared by human groups and manifested in things such ritual and social activities, arts and crafts, spiritual practices, languages and celebrations.
Human	The capabilities, skills, knowledge and health of the people who make up a community.
Political	Ability to access political decision-making processes and influence governance.

Sources: Emery and Flora (2006) and Fey, Bregendahl, and Flora (2006).

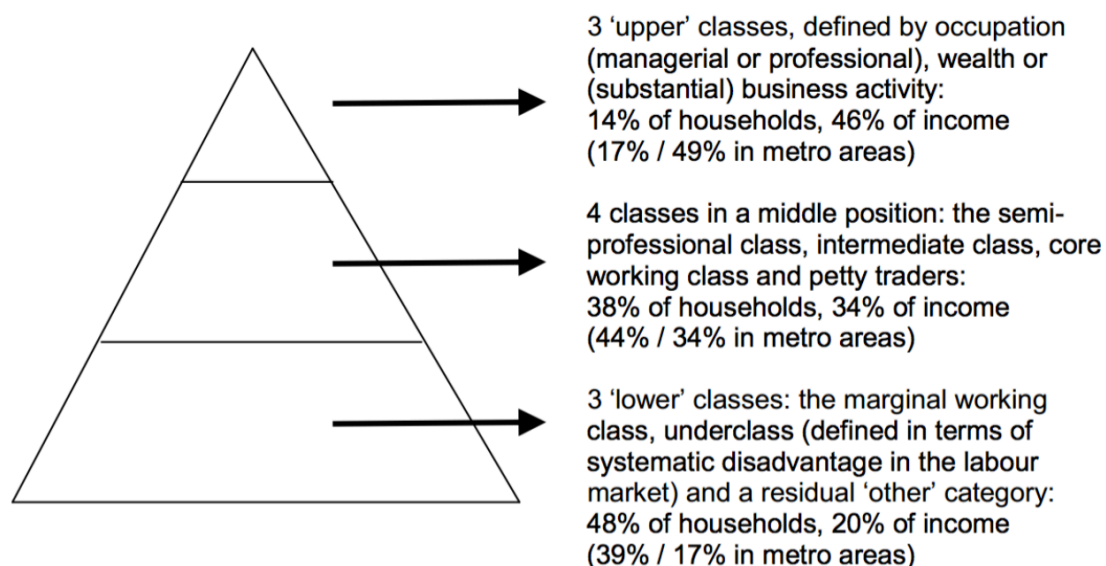**Source:** Moscardo et al. 2013, 534

Appendix 2: Income Inequality

More or less unequal
Income inequality, Gini coefficient*

1980 or earliest   2010 or latest

0 0.1 0.2 0.3 0.4 0.5 0.6 0.7

South Africa
Brazil
China
United States
Britain
India
Germany
Sweden

% change in inequality 1980-2010†

▲ More equal
● <-20
● -1 to -20
● 0 to 20
● >20   ○ No data
▼ More unequal

WORLD ECONOMY

96 / 18.6 Russia
36 / 4.0 Britain
55 / 7.2 Germany
421‡ / 10.5 United States
48 / 10.9 India
95 / 2.6 China
37 / 6.2 Brazil

Number of billionaires§
Net worth as % of GDP

*0=perfect equality, 1=perfect inequality, inequality of disposable income; where unavailable consumption or expenditure data
†Or closest year available ‡September 2012 §March 2012

Sources: *Forbes*; IMF; *The Economist*

Note: South Africa is less equal today than under apartheid

Source: The Economist 2012b, 3
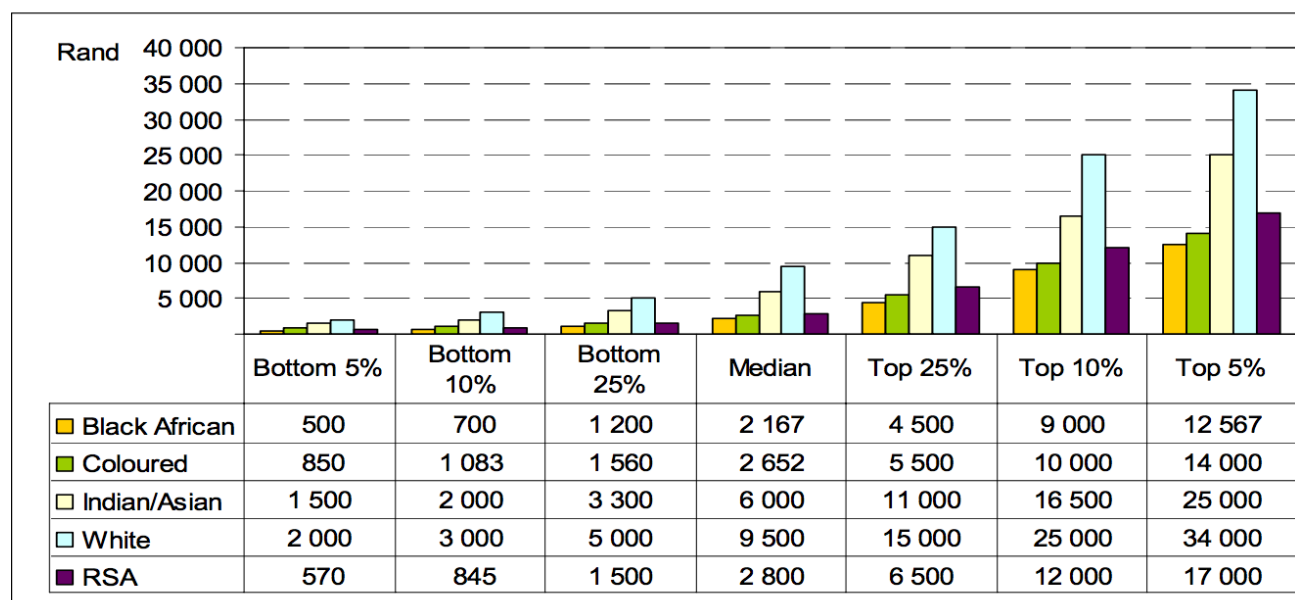
Appendix 3: Class Structure of South Africa

3 'upper' classes, defined by occupation (managerial or professional), wealth or (substantial) business activity:
14% of households, 46% of income
(17% / 49% in metro areas)

4 classes in a middle position: the semi-professional class, intermediate class, core working class and petty traders:
38% of households, 34% of income
(44% / 34% in metro areas)

3 'lower' classes: the marginal working class, underclass (defined in terms of systematic disadvantage in the labour market) and a residual 'other' category:
48% of households, 20% of income
(39% / 17% in metro areas)

Figure 2: The Class Structure of South Africa, 2008 (calculated from NIDS data)

Note: It is found that the class structure is somewhat unchanged today, compared to as it was earlier under apartheid.

Source: Seekings 2010, 7-10

Appendix 4: Distribution of income by population group

**Figure 2: Distribution of monthly earnings for employees by population group**

	Bottom 5%	Bottom 10%	Bottom 25%	Median	Top 25%	Top 10%	Top 5%
☐ Black African	500	700	1 200	2 167	4 500	9 000	12 567
☐ Coloured	850	1 083	1 560	2 652	5 500	10 000	14 000
☐ Indian/Asian	1 500	2 000	3 300	6 000	11 000	16 500	25 000
☐ White	2 000	3 000	5 000	9 500	15 000	25 000	34 000
☐ RSA	570	845	1 500	2 800	6 500	12 000	17 000

Note: First, there is still a racial categorization. Second, racial inequality is persistent despite democratization processes and anti-apartheid politics. Third, in addition to racial inequality, there is an immense income inequality among classes, especially when one comes to compare the bottom 15% and top 15%. The bottom 5% of Black African earns 25x less than the top 5%. The bottom 5% of White African, however, earns 'only' 17x less. Consequently, the inequality between races rises as the inequality between class increases.

Source: Statistics South Africa 2010, viii

Appendix 5: Foreign Arrivals in South Africa

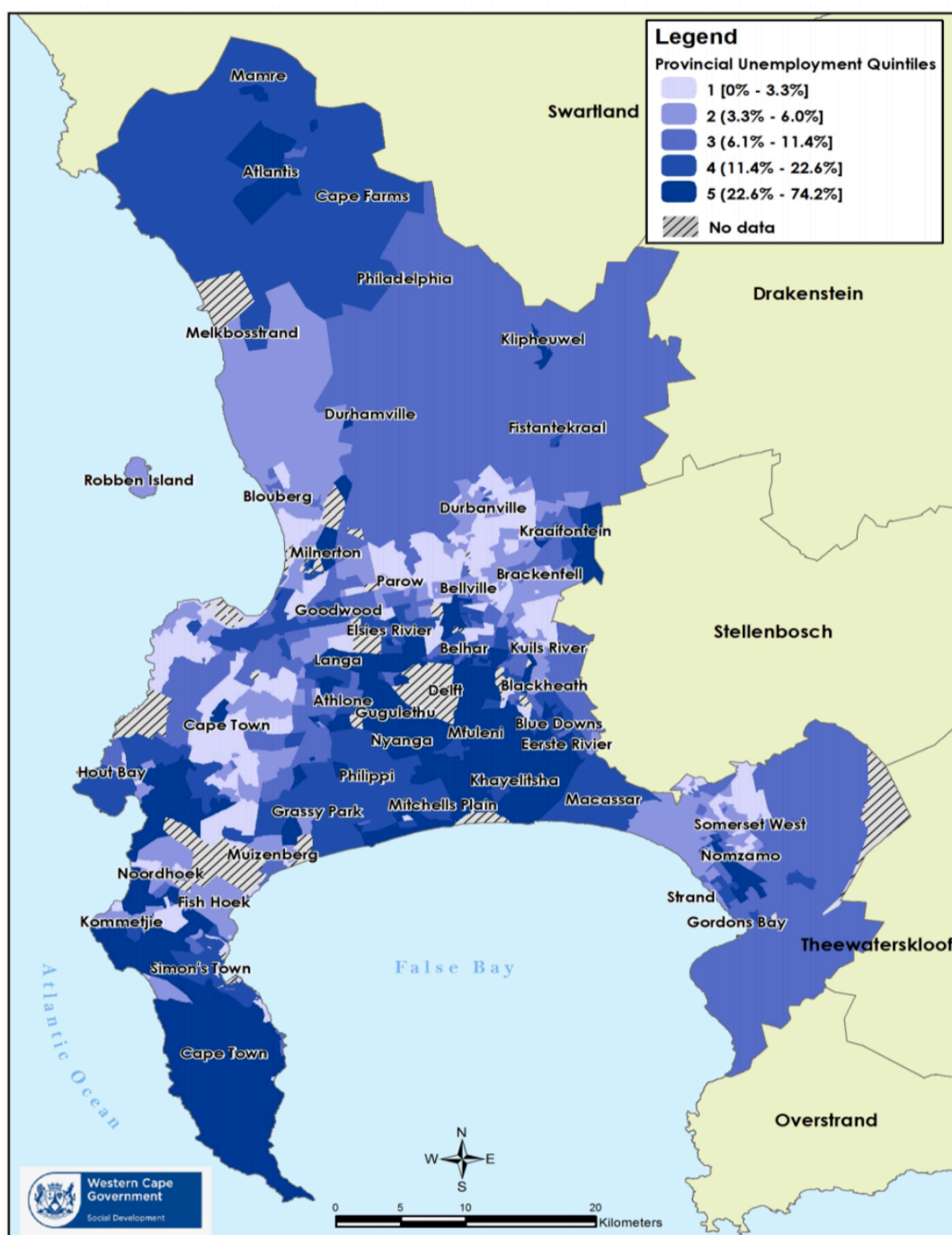Figure 3:   The Number of Foreign Arrivals in South Africa
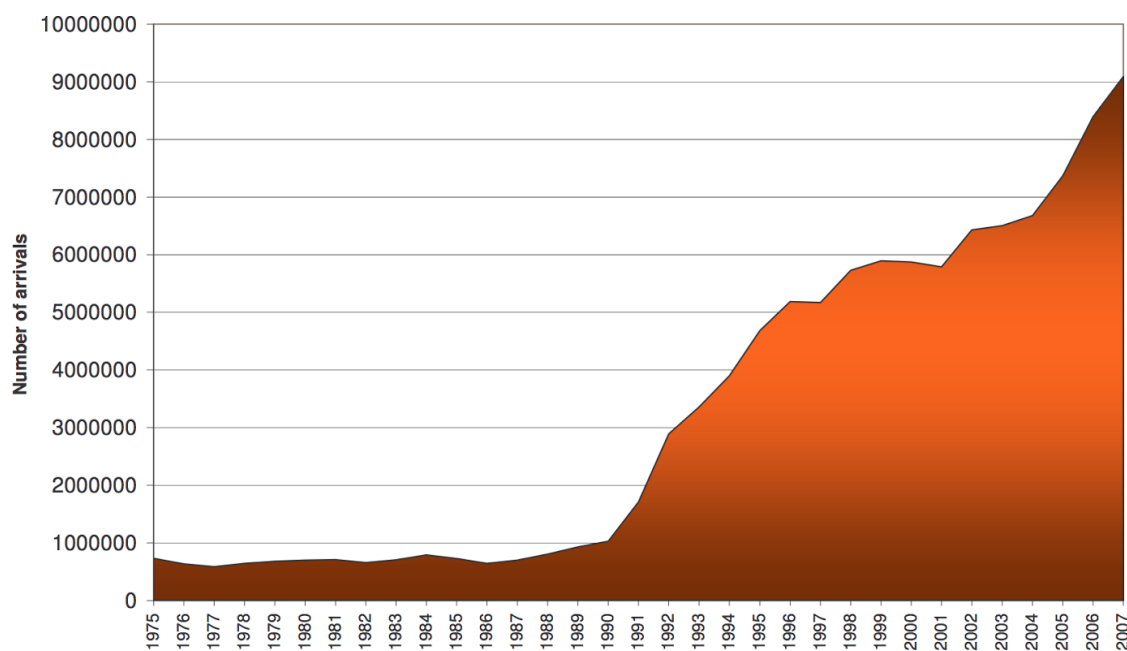
Source: StatsSA

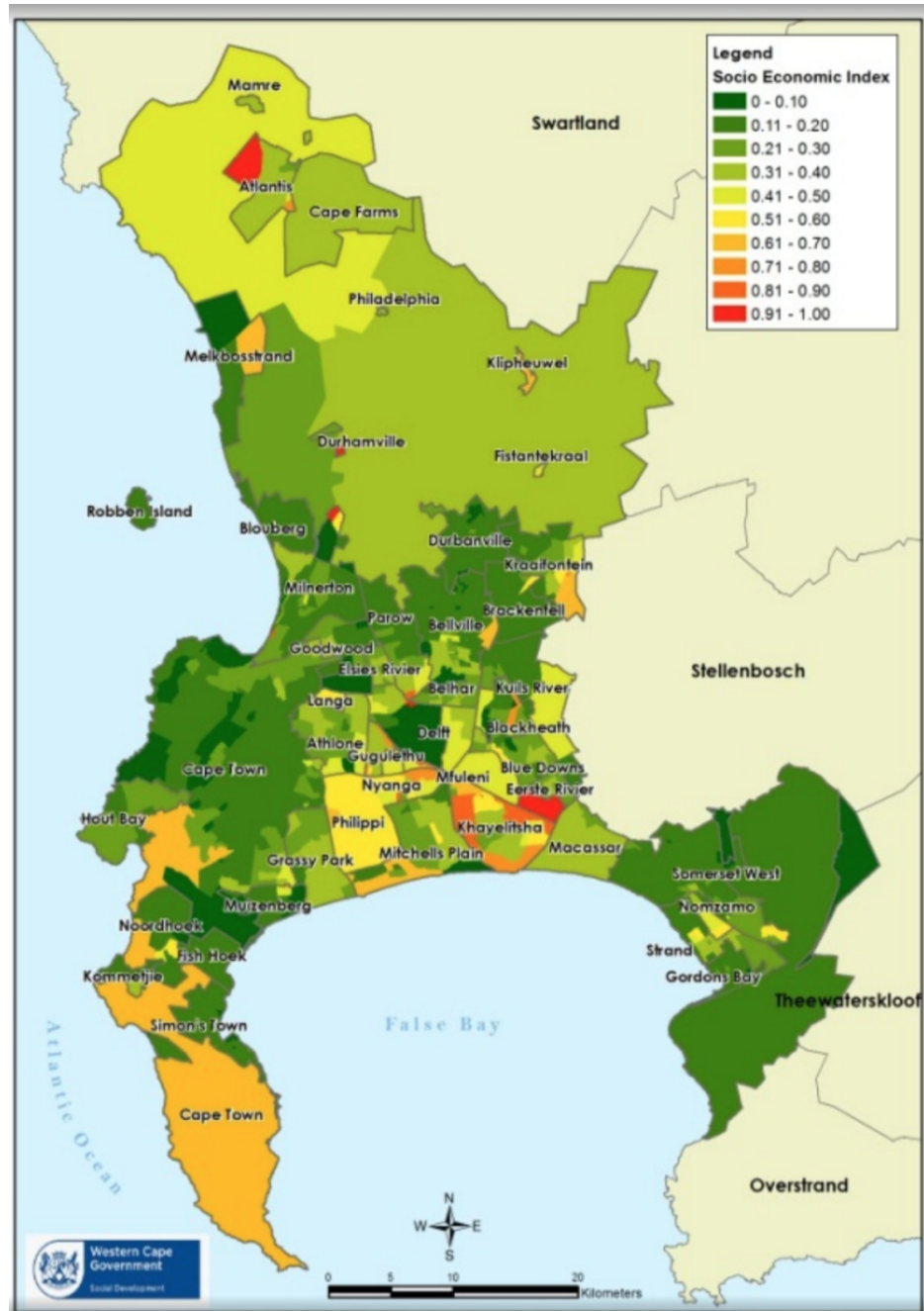Note: Tourism growth was steady from 1975 until the end of apartheid and rose dramatically ever since.

Source: PAIRS 2008, 10

Appendix 6: Unemployment rate in Cape Town by provinces

Source: Western Cape Government 2014, 110
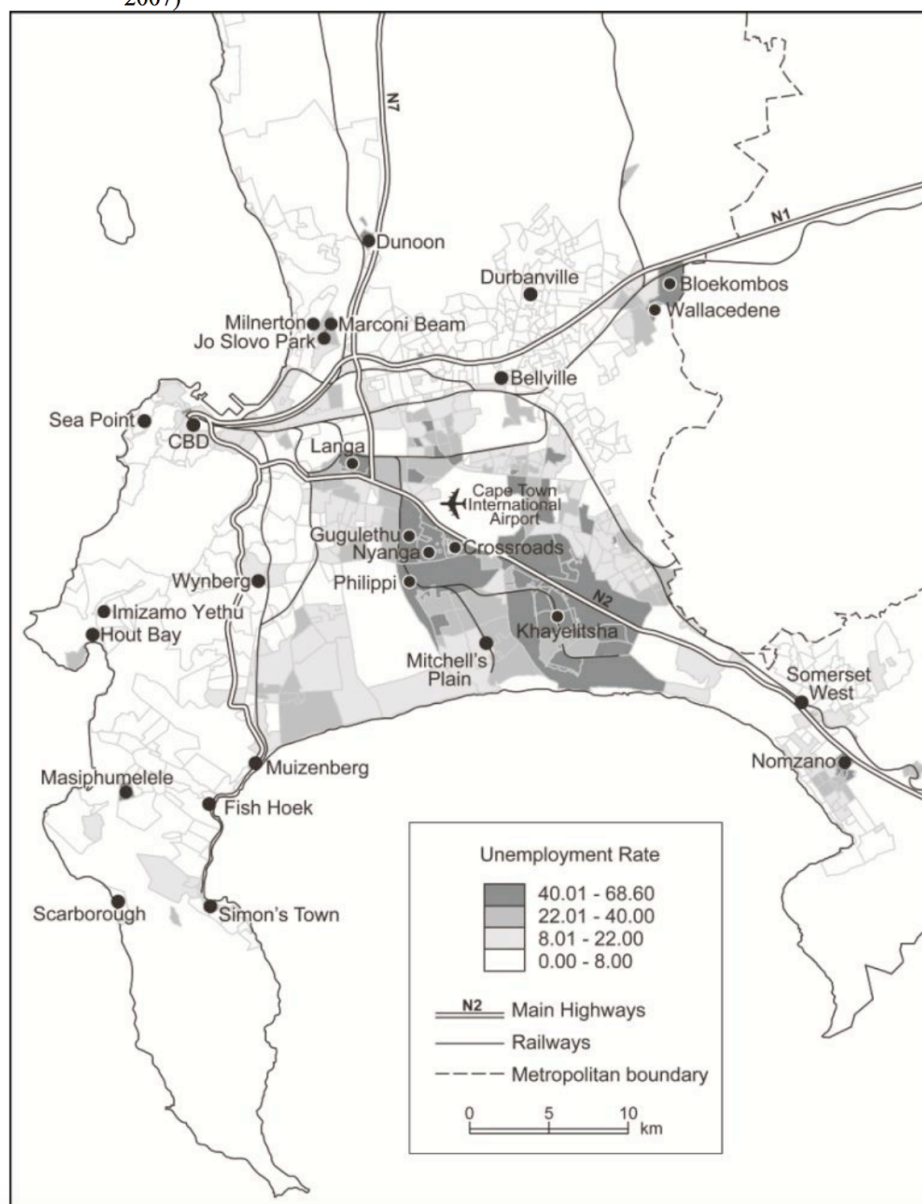
Appendix 7: Socio-economic Index of Cape Town

Note: The life quality remains largely defined by ones geographic location

Source: Western Cape Government 2014, 126

Appendix 8: Unemployment rate in Cape Town by neighborhood

Figure 10. The unemployment rate by neighborhood in Cape Town, 2001 (Source: Graham 2007)
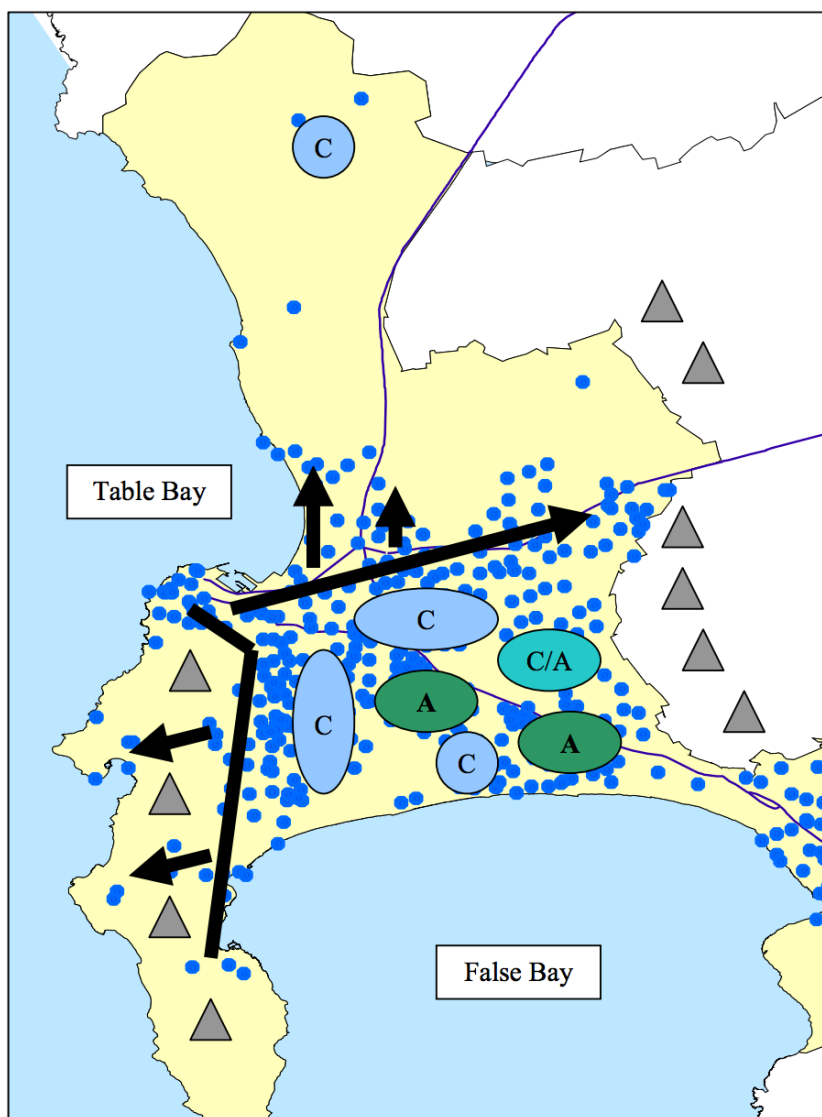

Note: Unemployment rate is higher as further one lives from the city center. Also, unemployment remains high especially in the townships. Social mobility defined by geographic location.

Source: Graham 2007

Appendix 9: The Expansion of the African and Coloured population

Cape Town: expansion at end of 20th Century

Note: Racial segregation persists. Colored, black Africans, and consequently also white Africans, are largely clustered exclusively, with only a few exceptions.

Source: Seekings 2010, 7-10

Appendix 10: Comparison of Census Data in Khayelitsha 2001/2011

Note: These are the official estimated total population, although it is argued that the inofficial number is between 1 and 1.5 million.

Total population: 329 000 in 2001
Total population: 391 748 in 2011

Not economically active: 67,726 in 2001
Not economically active: 95 751 in 2011

Economically active: 160,656 in 2001 (81 609 unemployed)
Economically active: 179 235 in 2011 (68 142 unemployed)

No income or less than 1600 Rand in 2001 = 61.527
No income or less than 3200 Rand in 2011 = 87.501 (22.300 have no income at all)

Income between 1600 and 6400 Rand in 2001 = 16.527
Income between 3200 and 6400 Rand in 2011 = 17.904

Income above 102.401 Rand in 2001 = 21
Income above 102.401 Rand in 2011 = 153

Income above 25.601 Rand up to 102.401 in 2001 = 117
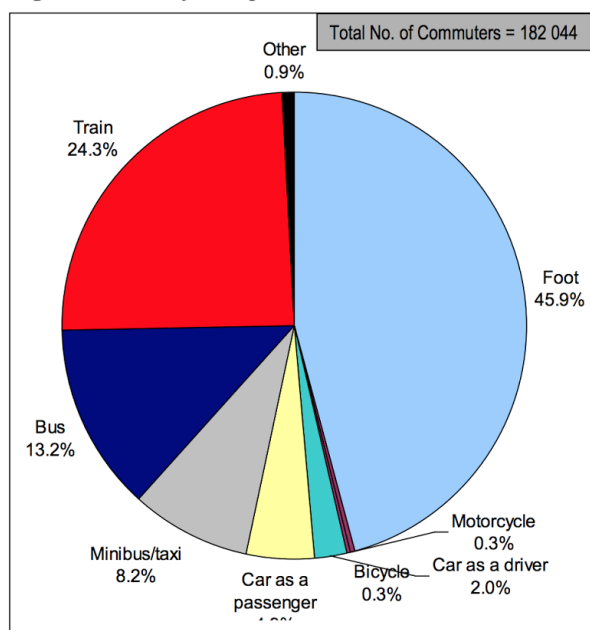Income above 25.601 Rand up to 102.401 in 2011 = 1311

Dwellers in 2001: 85.983
Dwellers in 2011: 118.809

Sources: Census Data 2001 and Census Data 2011

Mode Of Transport

Figure 38: Mode of Transport to School and Work

- About 46 % of those who travel to school or work indicated that they do so by foot

- Only 7% traveled to school or work by car, either as driver or as passenger.

- 46% made use of the various forms of public transport (taxi, bus, train)

A Population Profile of Khayelitsha - Compiled by Information and Knowledge Management from Statistics SA Census data   *59*

Note: This indicates the difficulties to get from and to Khayelitsha in order to pursue education or get and keep a job in the city of Cape Town. Almost 97.7% are either dependent on public transportation, which again presupposes economic resources, or use modes of transportation that denies access to the city center of Cape Town. 2.3% indicated to take their motorcycle or drive with their own car, which somewhat confirms to the inequality inherent in the townships.

Source: IKMD 2005, 59

Appendix 12: Unemployment rate of Economically Active

% Unemployed of Economically Active by Enumerator area (EA)
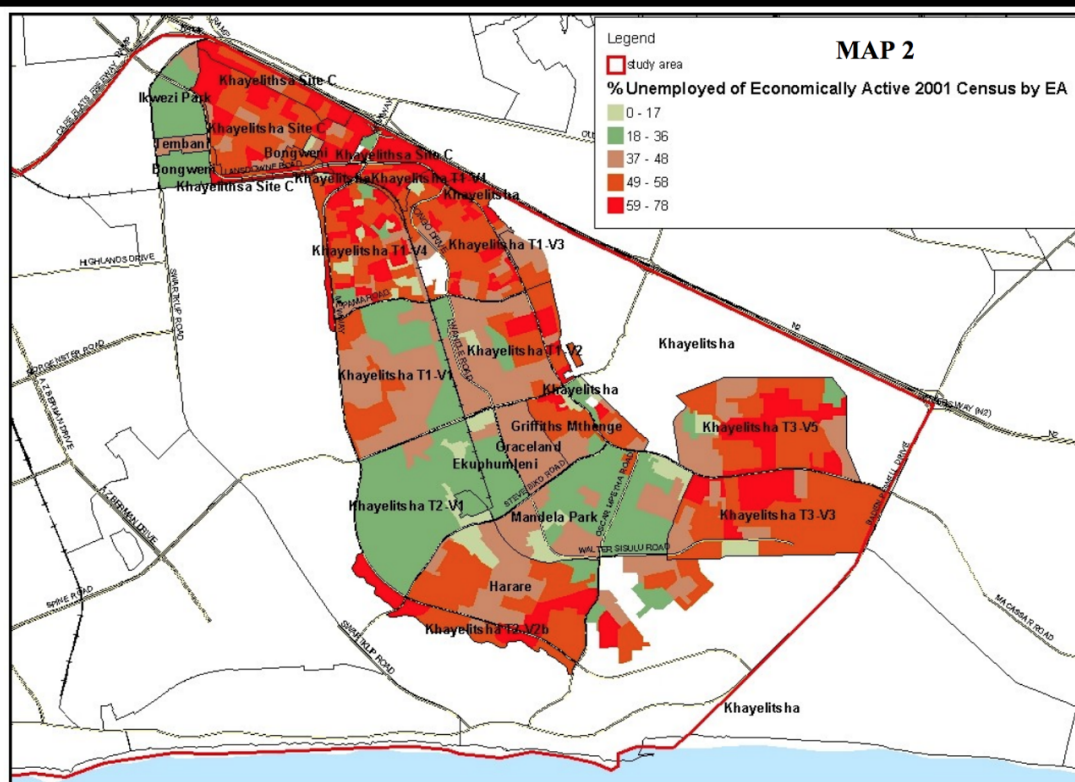
Population Profile of Khayelitsha - Compiled by Information and Knowledge Management from Statistics SA Census data   *30*
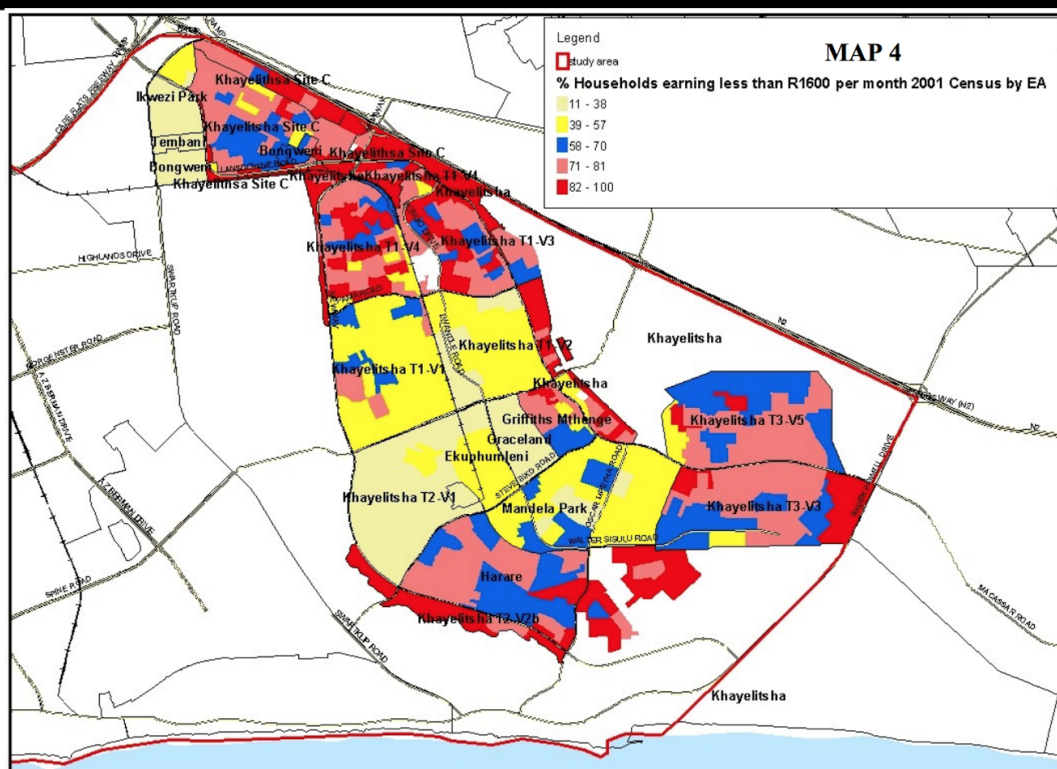
Note: Unemployment rate by geographic location.

Source: IKMD 2005, 30

Appendix 13: Households earning less than substitence level

% Households earning less than Household Subsistence Level by Enumerator area (EA)

Population Profile of Khayelitsha - Compiled by Information and Knowledge Management from Statistics SA Census data   *39*
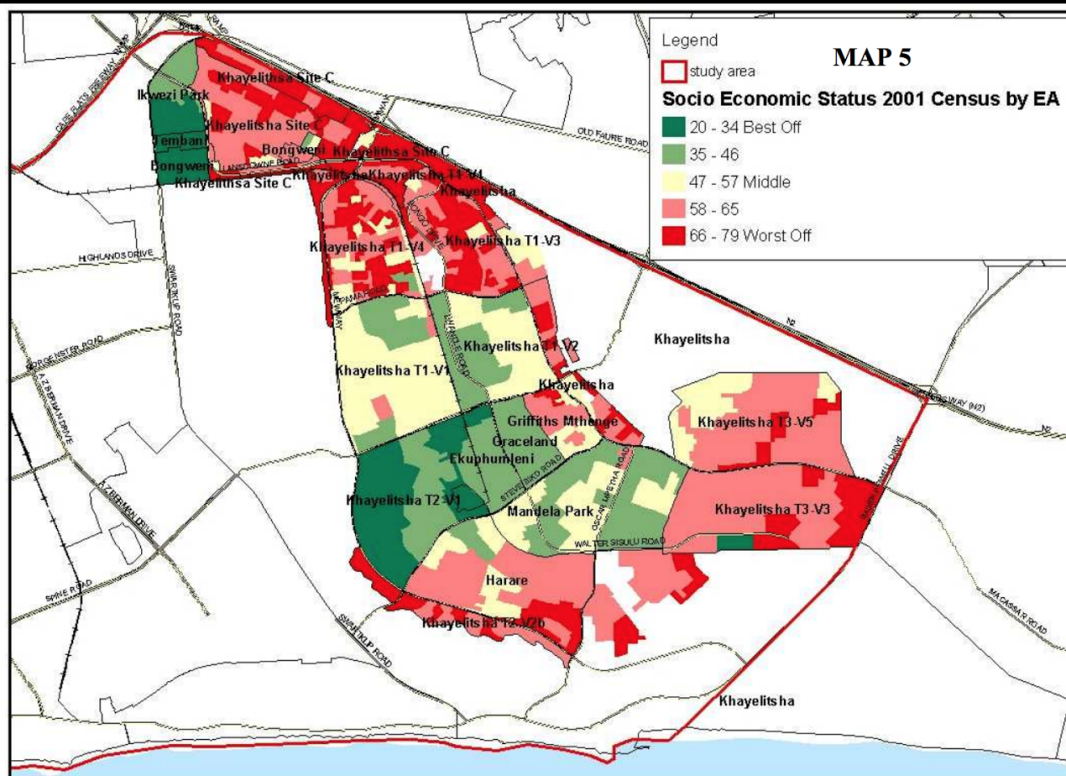
Note: Geographical segregation by class, not only in the affluent regions of Cape Town, but as well within the townships.

Source: IKMD 2005, 39

% Socio Economic Status
by Enumerator area (EA)

A Population Profile of Khayelitsha - Compiled by Information and Knowledge Management from Statistics SA Census data   *42*

Argument: Status defined by geographic location

Source: IKMD 2005, 42

Appendix 15: Income distribution by levels of education

Table C: Distribution of monthly earnings by education

Education level	Employees Thousand	Bottom 5%	Bottom 10%	Bottom 25%	Median	Top 25%	Top 10%	Top 5%
					Rand			
All levels of education	11 058	570	845	1 500	2 800	6 500	12 000	17 000
No schooling	307	400	450	700	1 100	1 950	3 800	5 500
Less than primary completed	897	390	470	800	1 300	2 167	4 000	5 000
Primary completed	512	450	600	975	1 500	2 600	4 333	5 600
Secondary not completed	3 607	500	750	1 200	1 993	3 467	6 000	8 950
Secondary completed	3 455	900	1 200	2 000	3 500	7 000	11 000	15 000
Tertiary	2 134	1 500	2 500	5 500	10 000	15 000	23 333	33 000
Other	146	500	700	1 300	2 380	5 400	10 000	15 000

Note: There is little difference in income between employes that have 'no schooling' all until 'Secondary not completed' schooling, among the bottom 15%. Among the bottom 5%, income even declines somewhat, and rises minimal as more educated they are. Significant differences first appear with 'Secondary completed' and 'Tertiary' education. This, however is not much different for the top 5%, However, the top 5% still earns almost 14x more than the bottom 15%, despite that both have 'No schooling". If one compares the Bottom 5% and the Top 5% with tertiary education, the former earns 22x more than the latter. Hence, as poorer you are, as more likely is it that an increase in human capital does not significantly affect income, and is thus insignificant in attempts to gain both economic and cultural capital. Ultimately, as more cultural capital one has, or in other words, as higher up employees are in the class ladder, the more likely it is that one comes to secure an significant amount of economic capital via income creation. Thus, employers seem to follow an immense differentiation of salery distribution, which is less dependent upon the level of education, until one comes to complete secondary school and tertiary education, but more upon class and status.

Source: Statistics South Africa 2010, x

Appendix 16: The history of township tourism
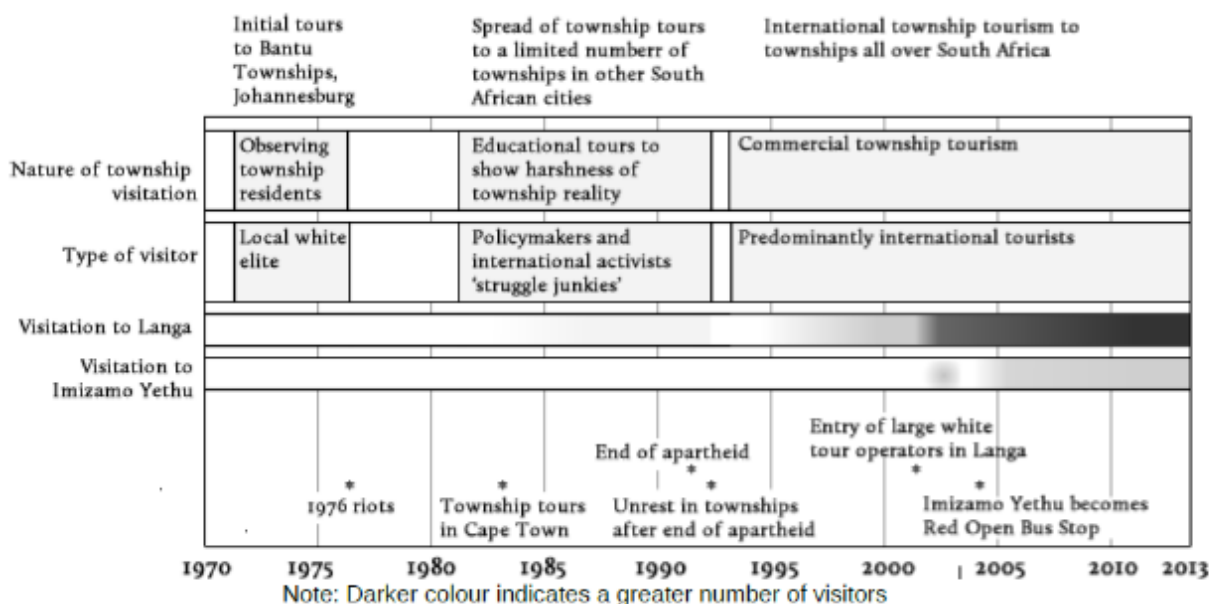
Note: Township tourism started to rise since the 90s, and began booming from approx. 2002 and continued to rise until today. Earlier it was the local white elite, then the interest shifted to those who wanted to become educated, policymakers and activists, and somewhat back again to the international middle-class via the commoditification process.

Source: Koens 2014, 48