

I hereby declare this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Urban Studies in the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

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List of Acronyms

ANC:	African National Congress
CBD:	Central Business District
COJ:	City of Johannesburg
CODESA:	The Convention for a Democratic South Africa
JDA:	Johannesburg Development Agency
JSF:	Joburg Shopping Festival
MICE:	Meetings, Incentives, Conferences and Exhibitions
SADC:	Southern African Development Community

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Abstract

Like many cities around the world Johannesburg began marketing to attract tourists in the 1990s. Johannesburg has in the last couple of years become a 'hot' tourism destination and is increasingly ranked among the top global tourist destinations. Tourist cities market their cultural, historical shopping, entertainment and lifestyle attractions to attract tourists and wealthy residents. They also regenerate older historical districts or build new attractions in the form of high profile infrastructure and architecture. To attract tourists, cities use discourse to represent themselves in certain ways to the prospective tourist. This discourse found in tourism marketing and other communications; creates certain expectations or commonly held imaginings of a city as a tourism destination. These are referred to as tourism imaginaries. In cities these 'tourism imaginaries' become absorbed as urban imaginaries that shape not only tourist spaces, but the whole city. The research aims to deconstruct the imaginaries represented in Johannesburg's tourism marketing to understand how tourism is shaping Johannesburg in line with this view. Discourse analysis is used as a method to achieve this. Michel Foucault understood discourse as a system of representation, where discourse is a way of creating meaning by representing knowledge and exercising power around a subject at a certain time in history and in a particular way. Besides the content analysis of the tourism marketing, the discourse analysis also captured how tourism businesses in three case study sites namely Newtown Precinct, Vilakazi Street and Montecasino Entertainment Complex have responded to the discourses in the City's tourism marketing. A central argument made is that the drive to create tourist cities reinforces rather than reduces power inequalities and creates further fragmentation by creating pockets of exceptionalism reserved for tourists. The research contributes to the recent interest in the cultural and political understandings of cities which considers the often invisible or overlooked manifestations of power that shape cities. In the research tourism imaginaries are conceptualised as central in the generation and shaping of social practices in the City. It was concluded that the move to create tourist cities has given tourists and other tourism actors symbolic power, shaping the city by remote control, and therefore reinforcing global power dynamics that have shaped the world since colonial times.

Chapter 1: Urban Imaginaries in the Tourist City

1.1 Introduction

Johannesburg is considered the commercial hub and gateway to South Africa and the African continent and in the early 2000s began to be promoted as a business tourism destination (Rogerson, 2002; COJ, 2001). Tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg shifted noticeably after 2012 in line with a new tourism strategy focusing on growing leisure tourism (COJ, 2012). The City resolved to:

“Promote ... Joburg as a business and leisure tourism destination of choice, offering much more than a stop-over on the way” (ibid: 4).

Business tourists and those using the City as a gateway were urged to re-imagine Johannesburg as “more than a stop-over” (ibid). Over the last year Johannesburg has glorified its increased global ranking by international media to confirm its status as a tourist city (JDA, 2015a; 2015b). The following three statements reflect this:

“Euro-centric Cape Town might have the beaches and mountains, but it doesn’t have Johannesburg’s infectious pulse and its distinctively African feel. Johannesburg feels like New York City did twenty years ago—a place in constant transition, with a gritty past and a bright future—but with a sprawling, Los Angeles-like footprint” (Mary Holland, in Condé Nast Traveller, August 21, 2015, retrieved 30 March, 2016).

“Jo’burg has a reputation problem. But South Africa’s biggest city is finally beginning to break free from the chains of its troubled past, and parts – like the arty Maboneng quarter – have rooted themselves as exciting cultural hubs. New clusters of forward-thinking museums, galleries and shops are set to emerge in 2015, though better-known attractions like Constitution Hill and the poignant Apartheid Museum should still be on the to-do list of any first-time visitor” (Rough Guides, www.roughguides.com, 2014, retrieved 30 March, 2016).

“Johannesburg has emerged as the continent’s new “it” girl. Ambitious and energetic, Jozi relies less on natural assets and more on the clout of cash—this is where the money is made” (Travel+Leisure, www.travelandleisure.com 2015, retrieved 30 March, 2016).

Tourist cities promote the consumption of culture including heritage, architecture, art, food, fashion, and music to attract tourists thus creating a ‘symbolic economy’ (Zukin, 1995; Fainstein and Judd, 1999). This involves regeneration of older inner city districts as well as the creation of new attractions to make “festival markets and shopping districts, arcades and atriums, sports stadium, pedestrian malls, and ... gaming casinos” (Fainstein and Judd, 1999: 7, 9). Tourist cities often also include the ‘global familiars’ such as: “waterfront developments, gated residential communities, enclosed ‘shoppertainment’ extravaganzas, luxurious golf estates, retirement villages for the

affluent, heritage museums, 'swagger buildings', five-star hotels, eye-catching bridges and cutting-edge architecture" (Fu and Murray, 2014: 845). Based on this criteria Johannesburg is a tourist city. Regeneration has taken hold in Newtown, Braamfontein and Maboneng. In 2015 the latter was voted by Travel + Leisure magazine as one of the coolest places to visit (JDA, 2015g). Shopping has been prioritised as a tourist attraction and 'shoppertainment' features in many malls and casinos (Rogerson, 2011; COJ, 2012; Fu and Murray, 2014). Heritage sites and buildings are being regenerated and are recognised with the blue heritage plaques around the city (JDA, 2014c). New attractions have been created such as the 'eye-catching' Nelson Mandela Bridge and FNB Stadium built for the World Cup in 2010. Tourism was placed at the centre of the city's economy in the *Joburg 2030* strategy (COJ, 2002).

Notwithstanding the economic benefits of tourism in cities, what are the other ways in which tourism shapes cities? Tourist attractions in cities tend to be close to residential areas and corporate offices causing the "blurring of the boundaries between tourist practices and other local cultural practices" (Neamtu and Leuca, 2007: 78). More cities are urging residents to behave like tourists meaning tourist sites in cities are patronised by tourists and locals alike (Judd, 1999). In Johannesburg Melrose Arch and Sandton City have become the entertainment and shopping focus for many middle-class local residents, while also being where tourists congregate as many of the city's five star hotels are located in their vicinity. Therefore city marketing is increasingly relying on tourism imaginaries to attract not just tourists, but "prospective well-off residents and wealthy investors" (Neamtu and Leuca, 2007: 80). At times this is seen to exclude less well-off residents from the parts of the city marketed to tourists (Holcomb, 1999). It can be argued therefore that there is a conflation of the urban and tourism imaginaries in tourist cities. But what is meant by the term 'imaginaries'?

The term 'imaginaries' comes from the idea of the 'social imaginary' first conceptualised by Cornelius Castoriadis and later developed by Charles Taylor (and others) (Gaonkar, 2002). These theorists found Marxist critique over-deterministic and thus limited (ibid). Instead they recognised the centrality of the imagination in social institutions, representations and social practices (ibid). Taylor (2002: 106) defines the social imaginary as the "common understanding that makes possible common practices and a widely shared sense of legitimacy". The social imaginary is collectively derived when "large groups of ordinary people imagine their social surroundings in images, stories, and legends" (ibid: 106). Gaonkar (2002: 4) states that social imaginaries "are imaginary in a double sense: they exist by virtue of representation or implicit understandings, even when they acquire immense institutional force; ... they are the means by which individuals understand their

identities and their place in the world". Salazar (2012: 864) further conceptualises imaginaries as: "socially transmitted representational assemblages that interact with people's personal imaginings and are used as meaning-making and world-shaping devices". It can be inferred from these statements that the social imaginary is represented in images, stories and legends. Accordingly uncovering the meanings of these representations reveals the social imaginary. In this research report I define urban imaginaries as the various social imaginaries of the different groups and institutions that make up a city. Urban imaginaries can also be understood as the "collective imagination that conjures up the city" (Çinar and Bender, 2007: xiv).

The idea that urban imaginaries 'conjure up' the city suggests that they have material effect. In agreement with this view Huyssen (2008: 3) states that: "[w]hat we think about a city and how we perceive it informs the ways we act in it". In Johannesburg the processes of planning, building, policy-making and governance are driven by the imaginary of a 'World-Class African City' as shall be seen in later chapters of this research report. In cities imaginaries have constitutive symbolic power defining "particular conceptions of spaces, places, and place relations" (Wetzstein, 2013: 72). Imaginaries have been found to produce symbolic boundaries of inclusion or exclusion; although in turn these boundaries can be re-constructed, negotiated, and contested by different imaginaries (Çinar and Bender, 2007). For instance city residents may be hierarchically situated based on certain imaginaries attached to their neighbourhood such as "old and historical or new, traditional or modern, rich or poor, 'black neighbourhood', 'upper-class' part of town, or a 'gay haven'" (ibid: xiv). In Johannesburg terms such as 'township', 'suburb', 'inner-city', 'northern suburbs', 'informal settlement', 'estate' infer certain hierarchical symbolic boundaries which have meaning in terms of class, race and social status. Those who belong within a certain symbolic boundary are guided by "tacit rules of contact based on prior exclusions and micropolitics of power" to the extent that those who don't belong automatically exclude themselves (Bridge and Watson, 2001: 357).

Understanding cities and the spatial politics within them in these terms recognises that cities are "embedded in broader social relations" and are not defined only "by the power of the state or of capital" (Brash, 2006: 341, 349). Identifying imaginaries circulating within a city is a way to deconstruct the cultural assumptions embedded within the physical, economic, and political form of the city, shaping "conceptions of the person, rational action, [and] economic convention" (Bridge and Watson, 2001: 352). Alternatively, urban imaginaries can be thought of as active creative forces "in the structuring of individual social, cultural and spatial practice" (Kelley, 2013: 183). Similarly tourism imaginaries can be understood as the commonly held ideas or collective imaginings about a certain tourist destination. As such they are the socially transmitted representations that help

visitors associate a tourist attraction with certain values, meanings and feelings; thus creating expectations (Salazar, 2010: 14). Though collectively formed, these tourism imaginaries are often based on unspoken rules and interpretations and are therefore not necessarily an acknowledged part of public discourse (Salazar, 2012). Tourism imaginaries also bring to light “how otherwise lived spaces are shaped by and are shaping tourism practices and fantasies” (ibid: 865). Like urban imaginaries they have material effect and are essential to place-making because they determine what tourism infrastructure and attractions are invested in, and can effect sociocultural and environmental change (Salazar, 2010). The conflation of urban and tourism imaginaries in tourist cities has several implications which are discussed below.

1.1.1 The ‘Tourist Gaze’ Determines the Official Discourse

In tourist cities tourism imaginaries gain prominence meaning that tourism actors and tourists can begin to influence the official discourse of a city. The official discourse is contained in marketing communications, strategy and policy and “produce[s] narratives of the city, as they attempt to direct the collective imagination into conjuring up of a city in certain ways so as to fulfil particular goals of the modernizing state” (Çinar and Bender, 2007: xv). To ‘conjure up’ the tourist city, cities are relying much more on marketing and branding to create the imagined city as a site of fun, leisure, and entertainment (Neamtu and Leuca, 2007). For example Darling Harbour in Sydney was branded ‘Play Darling Harbour’ “highlighting the shopping, attractions, events, festivals and cultural experiences offered by the precinct” (Edwards et al, 2010: 4901-4902). In turn much of these marketing efforts are directed at the ‘tourist gaze’ that is, the expectations and pre-conceptions of tourists and other tourism actors (Urry and Larsen, 2011). The tourist gaze is the manner in which tourists envision the people and places they visit and much like Michel Foucault’s medical gaze, is “socially organised and systematised” through the tourism industry and its agents (Urry and Larsen, 2011: 1). The increasing influence of the tourist gaze in Johannesburg is evident from this statement where infrastructure investments are justified using tourism:

“The Corridors of Freedom [will bring] opportunities to increase the tourist footprint throughout Joburg, opening previously marginalised nodal pockets, creating employment, ... development and stimulating a vibrant second economy. Accommodation, hospitality and a host of support services along the tourism value chain are set to benefit” (Tshidi Mlaba, COJ’s (then) Director for Destination Marketing, quoted in JDA, 2014b).

The influence of various tourism actors in shaping imaginaries is determined by power relations and the cultural discourses that are used to produce and systemise the ‘tourist gaze’ (Urry and Larsen, 2011; Codeiro, 2011). In South Africa though most visitors are from the African continent; because

tourists from overseas spend more, South African tourism agencies focus on attracting the latter (Cornelissen, 2005). As a result tourism marketing is geared to suit the 'gaze' of an overseas (mainly western European and North American) audience (ibid). Tour guides and tour operators are the main actors in the operation of the tourist gaze because they have the power to shape tourism imaginaries in their interaction with tourists (ibid; Salazar, 2010). Stereotypical representations such as wildlife, nature and pre-colonial representations of African culture have persisted in the post-apartheid period in international tour operators' marketing of South Africa to prospective tourists (Cornelissen, 2005). This was despite attempts by tourism authorities to shift this narrative (ibid). This is because in contrast to personal imaginings, commonly shared imaginaries represented in the tourist gaze are more "institutionally grounded ... implying power, hierarchy and hegemony" (Salazar, 2010: 7). As tourism imaginaries gain dominance in cities, the influence of local or national authorities and residents decreases and cities are influenced by externally driven 'global' narratives from tourists themselves as well as tour operators (ibid: 14).

Urry (1990) exposed the power dimension of the tourist gaze by revealing that "the manner in which tourists engage with the places, objects and societies they visit, is imbued with certain values and based on power discrepancies between hosts and visitors" (cited in Cornelissen, 2005: 679). For instance by inscribing tourist sites with "particular meanings and discursive practices which may or may not be visible", tourists may create symbolic boundaries that exclude some residents (Bridge and Watson, 2001: 356). These boundaries would define: "a normatively privileged public: an imagined group of people whose cultural, class, and bodily characteristics are the standard by which the 'permitted-ness' of actual users ... is measured" (Brash, 2006: 349). High crime levels in Johannesburg have resulted in the development of enclaves in the form of gated suburban entertainment and shopping malls, such as Melrose Arch and Montecasino. Though some malls have tangible exclusions, many rely on symbolic boundaries (for example controlled access or paid parking) that create a cocoon that can reassure tourists (and middle-class residents) of their safety (Fu and Murray, 2014). Symbolic power is conferred therefore on those who are included in these spaces. Tourism imaginaries have also driven inner-city regeneration precincts and created safe and clean spaces for tourists and wealthier residents thus determining more symbolic boundaries within the city (Zukin, 2009).

1.1.2 The 'Glocalization' of Culture and Heritage: Hybrid or Alternatively Ambivalent Identities?

Another way in which tourism imaginaries can shape cities relates to the way in which "tourism mobilizes imaginaries and changes places by tying them into global systems of representation" (Durr, 2012: 708). In this view tourism is a form of 'glocalization' because it has the twin objectives of

“homogenizing trends of the global travel and tourism system while at the same time trying to commoditize their local (and national) distinctiveness” (Salazar (2010: 14). This is not a one-way process. The practices and discourses of tourists, intermediaries and locals “together shape and translate global tourism imaginaries” (ibid: 16). In this view tour guides position themselves in a transitional space so they can shift between identifying as ‘locals’ with intimate knowledge of their environment, to identifying with a cosmopolitan identity which is familiar to the tourist (Salazar (2012: 871). This enables tourists to navigate between a ‘global’ or western narrative and local culture and heritage. It also means for a diverse and multi-cultural city like Johannesburg, that tourism imaginaries have the potential to lead to cross-cultural understanding or new hybrid identities.

However ‘glocalization’ has its critics such as Sihlongonyane (2015b) who finds that the imaginary of Johannesburg as a ‘World-Class African City’ is problematic. This imaginary is ‘glocal’ in the sense that it attempts to connect global narratives with “local African images” (ibid: 2142). For instance, the global-African imaginary has been used by the City as a “linguistic imaginary in the production of tourist products and spaces” especially in the Newtown Cultural Precinct (ibid: 2143). The problem arises because this narrative has not introduced an alternative post-apartheid discourse that is beneficial to the majority of the City’s residents (ibid: 2142). It has instead “simply supplied another means of inserting African cultural signs to the dominant discourse of commercial enterprise” (ibid: 2148). This has resulted in an ambivalent identity for the City created by “a paradoxical presence and absence for the African” (ibid: 2148). Therefore while the global-African imaginary is positive in the sense of recognising hybrid forms of culture, paradoxically it can be a smokescreen which is used to perpetuate the hegemonic narratives of capitalism (ibid: 2149). This critique of glocalization introduces the idea of potentially competing narratives and the potential for one narrative to become more dominant than others.

1.1.3 Tourism in Cities Silences the Imaginaries of Residents

Tourist cities rely extensively on the ‘narrative of regeneration’ to attract tourists to that city as well as wealthy residents back into the city centre (Fainstein and Judd, 1999, Zukin, 2009). More often than not the values and aesthetics of urban elites such as the middle classes, business, designers and government are informing this regeneration narrative (Wetzstein, 2013; Julier, 2005; Zukin, 2009). This is because “they have access to significant economic, political, social, and intellectual resources” (Wetzstein, 2013: 72). Many of the imaginaries promoted by urban elites emanate from what Zukin (2009) refers to as a ‘hegemonic global urbanism’. This has been defined by two imaginaries or landscapes of power: that is, the ‘corporate city’ and the ‘urban village’ (ibid). These imaginaries

have resulted in material and non-material changes such as the gentrification of older industrial parts of cities, which have impacted negatively on cities by increasing dependencies, reducing opportunity for the poorer residents, and limiting diversity and authenticity (ibid). Though various other actors including hipsters, gentrifiers, and creative retail entrepreneurs have played a role in promoting and supporting the 'upscaling' imaginary that defines this hegemonic global urbanism; it is the media and middle classes that have contributed most to its development (ibid).

Planners and city politicians on the other hand have played a supporting role in regeneration (via zoning changes, policing strategies, government subsidies and other support for new construction); and focused less on their traditional roles of mediating competing imaginaries (Zukin, 2009). Hegemonic global urbanism has had significant effect in Johannesburg with the corporate city represented in the northern suburbs; and the urban village represented in older suburbs such as Melville, Greenside and Parkhurst, and in regeneration of inner city areas such as Braamfontein, Newtown and Maboneng. The Maboneng precinct has been likened to dropping a diamond "in the mud of [the] city's decay" and is an inner-city regeneration initiative led by property entrepreneurs (Nicholson, 2015). Though embraced enthusiastically by the media and the middle-classes, some of the controversies around Maboneng illustrate the problem of promoting the tourist city in cities with extreme inequalities. Maboneng has undoubtedly resulted in the displacement (often with no alternative) of poor people, in some cases indirectly, as the success of the development has prompted other developers to upscale around the precinct (Nicholson, 2015). Although Maboneng is a private sector development, protests around it (ibid) show that gentrification is viewed by the poor as representing a City that relegates to the margins the imaginaries of the less powerful. This confirms Holcomb's (1999: 69) assertion that: "[p]ackaging and promoting the city to tourists can destroy its soul [t]he city is commodified, it's form and spirit remade to conform to market demand, not residents' dreams."

Another aspect of the tourist city that seems to give tourists symbolic power relates to the drive towards the ranking of cities as 'global destinations' as a measure of a city's attractiveness to investors and lately tourists. The tourist gaze has added another layer by which cities are subjected to this ranking system without question. In many cities including Johannesburg we have seen the effort of city authorities together with property developers, corporate businesses and smaller enterprises to favourably position the city "in the global cities hierarchy" in order to attract the "business traveller and tourist dollars" (Fu and Murray, 204: 843, 846). In order to conform to the aesthetics and stylistics of the world-class city, cities have sought to "refashion the urban landscape" with the construction of major flagship projects and inner-city regeneration (ibid: 843). This global

hierarchy becomes absorbed as a common sense and is “invoked” regularly without question to police cities to comply with a certain kind of “economic acceptability” (Friedmann (2016: online). Ghertner (2011) shows that this can be a form of tyranny because the hegemonic aesthetics of the ‘world-class city’ narrative are normalized through official discourse and reinforced by the might of the law. In the same way in Johannesburg the ‘world-class city’ narrative has been criticised for normalizing a “Eurocentric and global capitalist logic” (Sihlongonyane, 2015a: 83) at the expense of competing narratives. It is also criticised for being unrepresentative of the life of many of the City’s residents, thus making them ‘misfits’ in their own city wherein their cultural practices are characterised as ‘dysfunctional’ (ibid). Residents considered misfits are for example the informal street traders and window washers who were removed off the streets under ‘Operation Clean Sweep’ and ‘Operation *Ke Molao*’ (It’s the Law) (Nxumalo, 2013). These campaigns under the guise of cleaning up the City have been positively received by wealthier residents and likened to former New York Mayor Rudi Giuliani’s zero tolerance clean-ups (ibid). However on the other hand they have negatively affected the livelihoods of the City’s poor residents (Harrison, 2006).

1.2 Research Purpose and Questions

The discussion above highlights the many potential impacts tourism has on the urban imaginaries of a city. In Johannesburg and the country as a whole, tourism has been given priority because of its potential to grow the economy (Cornelissen, 2005). Though the characteristics and economics of tourism in Johannesburg have been studied extensively (see various publications by Rogerson), the impact of tourism imaginaries on the identity, form and spatial politics of the City has not been researched to a significant degree. Accordingly in line with this identified gap I have formulated the following research question:

What imaginaries are represented in tourism marketing of Johannesburg in the post-Apartheid era and what do these imaginaries reveal about relations of symbolic power in the city?

The research question has the following sub-questions:

- What imaginaries of Johannesburg are represented in the City’s tourism marketing?
- What is the source of these representations?
- What parts or aspects of the City are not represented in tourism marketing for Johannesburg?
- What is the material effect of the tourism imaginaries represented in tourism marketing for Johannesburg?
- Do the representations of Johannesburg found in the tourism marketing reveal or suppress contradictions and contestations over imaginaries within the City?

- In what ways are the tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg revealing and replicating symbolic power and inequalities?

1.3 Rationale

A central argument made in 1.1 above is that the drive to create tourist cities creates or further entrenches power inequalities in cities by symbolically giving tourists the power to shape cities in which they do not live. I highlighted above how the conflation of tourism and urban imaginaries in cities has increased symbolic power of tourism actors to the expense of those not part of the tourism system. The research aims to uncover the imaginaries represented in Johannesburg's tourism marketing to understand whether and how tourism is shaping Johannesburg in line with this view. In this research the City's own tourism marketing is taken as a form of official discourse that has become a world-shaping and meaning-making device in the context of Johannesburg. Discourse is thus seen to be central in the analysing of the tourism marketing of Johannesburg, where it is assumed that the discourse around tourism creates particular imaginaries that shape the City. Michel Foucault understood discourse as a system of representation, where discourse is a way of creating meaning by representing knowledge about a subject at a certain time in history in a particular way (Hall, 1997). Discourse can also be understood as "a sequence of shared assumptions and rules that circulate through various texts ... to govern knowledge claims and discipline social and spatial relationships" (Grimwood et al, 2015: 24). In line with this view tourism provides opportunities to generate knowledge that can be used to exercise power (Hall, 1997). Tourism marketing in this conception uses discourse to create imaginaries that establish: "particular ways of communicating, understanding, and behaving [which] become 'normalized' and 'naturalized'; they privilege and accept only certain versions of truth, knowledge, or subjectivity" (Grimwood et al, 2015: 34).

Cities have traditionally been analysed by planners and geographers using predominantly spatial, technical and economic parameters. Understanding cities in relation to imaginaries recognises the mutually constitutive nature of culture and the economy (Bridge and Watson, 2001). Recently more cultural and symbolic understandings of cities have begun to emerge; though research in this area is still limited especially in relation to South African cities. My research is situated within this understanding of cities, which looks beneath the 'surface' to the often invisible or overlooked manifestations of power that shape cities. As such the research is in line with understandings of the city that delve into the symbolic realm, especially with regard to how representation has an effect on the spatial politics in cities. It is therefore extending recent studies that have delved into

representations of Johannesburg in architecture, literature, film, media and marketing to gain a deeper understanding of the power dynamics in the City.

Mbembe and Nuttall (2008) for example endeavour to broaden our understanding of Johannesburg as a metropolis beyond the predominant emphasis on the political economy and European intellectual history. They describe Johannesburg in terms of “how it is exhibited, displayed, and represented, its colourfulness, its aura, and its aesthetics” (ibid: 17). In the same book Nuttall (2008) considers how the City is represented in various media texts such as billboards, newsprint, magazine covers, road signs, and even entire surfaces of buildings. Sihlongonyane (2004, 2015b) has also considered the rhetoric behind the African symbolism in Johannesburg’s branding. Furthermore Kruger (2013) has studied how representations of Johannesburg have changed over time by analysing cultural forms such as theatre and literature. In a similar vein my research intends to supplement our understanding of Johannesburg by going beyond the “economistic focus on capitalism” (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 20). Tourism is used as an example of “the deeper mechanisms of the production, reproduction and incorporation of inequality [which] remain invisible and thereby very effective” in cities (ibid). Therefore the research also critiques traditional conceptions of urban planning that ignore the significance of the symbolic realm; instead I place the social imaginary centrally, making it fundamental in the generation and shaping of social practices in the City.

1.4 Research Methods

Discourse analysis is concerned with identifying and analysing the discourses “which make it possible for certain statements but not others to occur at particular times, places and institutional locations” (Fairclough, 1992: 40). Discourse analysis was identified as a suitable approach to answer the research question because it addresses the causes and determinations of urban imaginaries and can elucidate on their material effects, while placing them within wider societal power relations. While there are several approaches to discourse analysis Fairclough’s (1992) approach was chosen because it moves beyond linguistically oriented approaches to incorporate some of Michel Foucault’s social theories of knowledge and power. Fairclough (1992: 45) however rejects Foucault’s “structuralist flavour which excludes active social agency in any meaningful sense”. To address this I consider (in Chapter 2) how the theories of hegemony (Gramsci) and habitus (Bourdieu) can be adopted within discourse analysis. In his approach Fairclough (1992: 4) advances a three-dimensional analysis of discourse where any instance of discourse “is seen as being simultaneously a piece of text, an instance of discursive practice, and an instance of social practice.” Accordingly the discourse analysis broadly covers these three dimensions as discussed below.

1.4.1 'Social Practice': Desktop Contextual Analysis of Johannesburg

Fairclough (1992: 45) understood '*social practice*' as: "the institutional and organizational circumstances of the discursive event and how that shapes the nature of discursive practice and the constitutive ... effects of discourse". Accordingly the desktop contextual analysis focuses on how Johannesburg has been represented over time as well as the institutional and political factors that have determined these representations. This enables understanding of the sources of current representations, and where there may be continuities or alternatively ruptures in discourses over time. The information was sourced from the Wits library, various online media, and the COJ's various websites.

1.4.2 'Text': Content Analysis of the City's Tourism Marketing Material

Fairclough (1992: 45) understood '*text*' as: "any product whether written or spoken" although this can also include other symbolic forms such as visual images and texts with a combination of words and images. The objective is to understand how the meaning of a given object is being constructed through that text as follows:

- the "statements ... which give us a certain kind of knowledge about" tourism in Johannesburg;
- the rules which prescribe certain ways of talking about tourism in Johannesburg and exclude other ways – which govern what is 'sayable' or 'thinkable' about it, at this "particular historical moment";
- the 'subjects' or people who in some ways personify the discourse around tourism in Johannesburg, the attributes expected from these subjects, given the way knowledge about Johannesburg tourism has been constructed at this current time;
- how this knowledge about tourism in Johannesburg acquires authority, a sense of embodying the 'truth' about it, constituting the 'truth of the matter', at a historical moment;
- the practices for dealing with subjects whose conduct is being regulated and organized according to those ideas; and
- to what extent the current discourse around tourism in Johannesburg supplanted the discourses of previous historical moments; and created "new discourses with the power and authority, the 'truth', to regulate social practices in new ways" (Hall, 1997: 30-31).

This stage of the research involved the collection and review of various 'texts' that represented the 'official discourse' of the COJ (and its agencies) including: strategy, communications, marketing and policy documents as well as online content. These texts were inventoried to identify nouns, verbs,

and descriptors (such as adjectives and adverbs) in the text (Echtner and Prasad, 2003). An iterative process is used in which the texts are repeatedly studied until various patterns, discursive themes and dominant images emerge (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001; Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Buzinde and Santos, 2008). The interview of an official representative of the COJ responsible for tourism marketing was also regarded as 'text'. This interview sheds light on the sources of these representations, the silences, and how and if the discourses have changed in the post-apartheid period. Because discourse analysis looks beyond the 'text' to the "silences and omissions"; the context (1.4.1 above) is used to enable identification of exclusions, inconsistencies, and alternative discourses that exert less power in practice (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001: 172; Grimwood et al, 2015).

1.4.3 'Discursive Practice': Analysis of Case Studies

Fairclough (1992) refers to '*discursive practice*' as that which "specifies the nature of the processes of text production and interpretation" (ibid). Montecasino, Vilakazi Street and Newtown Cultural Precinct (see figure 1.1 below showing their location within the COJ) are analysed to reveal the:

- actual tourist practices and materials through which tourist imaginaries are produced in a given destination,
- the role that these practices and materials have in producing and maintaining that singular place as a tourist place, and
- the kind of tourism spaces they contribute to generate (Cordoba Azcarate, 2011: 184).

The case studies thus give insight into the social practices of tourism actors in Johannesburg and the extent to which the official discourse promoted by the COJ is adopted, adapted, or contested. A qualitative approach is used because "it enables an understanding of the phenomenon studied, through attention to detail and use of intimate knowledge about specific situations" (d'Hautesserre, 2011: 383). The qualitative methodology was also thought to be suitable in discourse analysis as it "focuses on meanings and on the interests that socially construct the images studied" and allowed the researcher "to raise questions of power and critique the political process that legitimizes certain constructions or representations" (ibid).

A multiple case study approach was identified as appropriate to portray different types of sites and to understand whether different imaginaries dominate because of the nature and location of the site. This enabled the consideration of how urban imaginaries are formed and used to represent different spaces in the city. Case studies were not however chosen as representative samples. This is in line with view that a case study is about uniqueness and understanding it as a particular case in the first instance (rather than using it to understand others) (Stake, 1995). The case studies do

however broadly represent some of the components of tourist cities identified in the literature review above. They also aim to reveal some of the imaginaries behind representations of the inner-city, township and suburb in Johannesburg’s tourism marketing. Information was collected from ten interviews and four site tours. Salazar (2012) identified tourism guides as key agents in (re)producing and circulating tourism imaginaries of peoples and places.

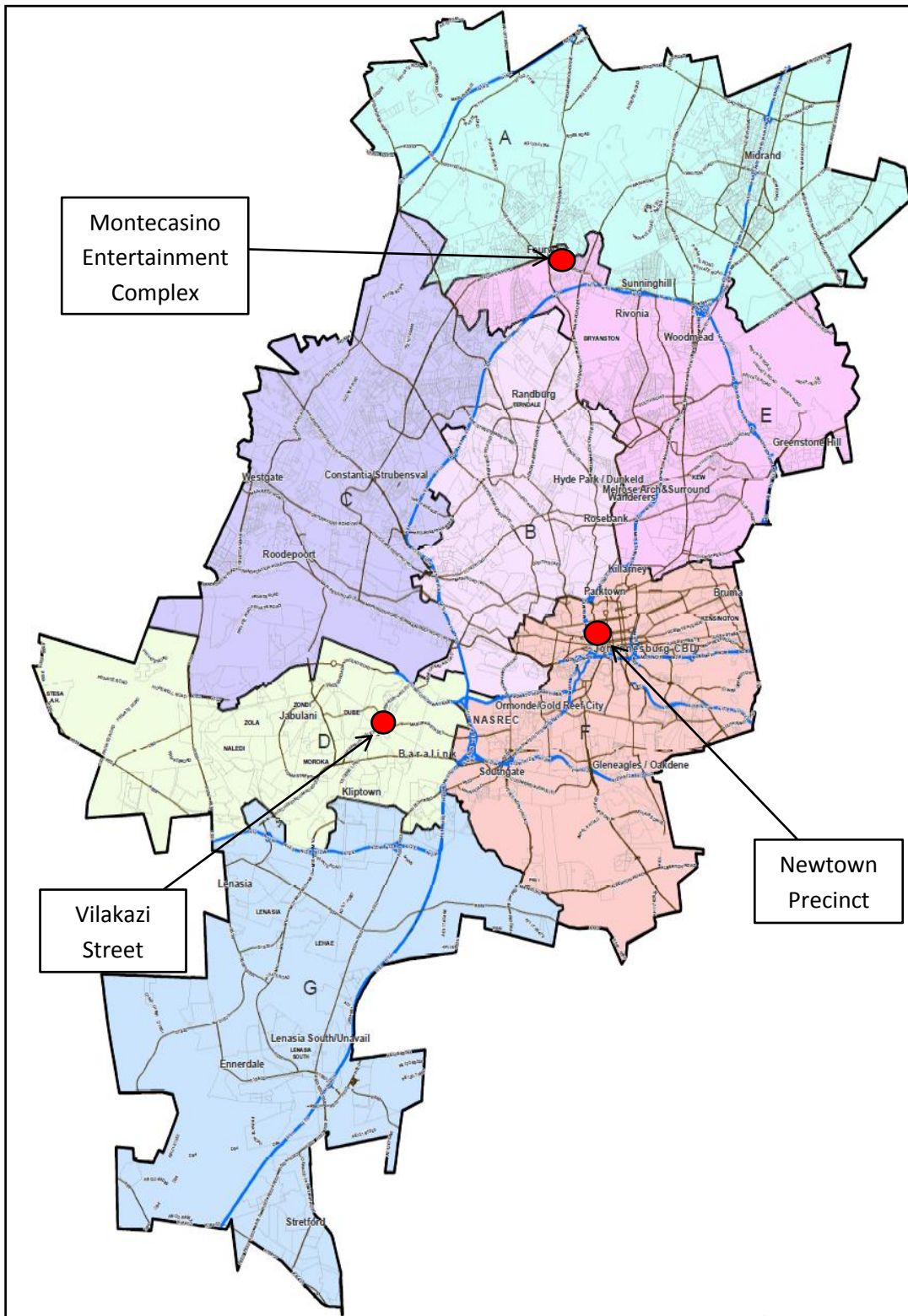


Figure 1.1: Map showing location of Case Study Sites (adapted from COJ map (source: www.joburg.org.za))

Managers of tourism businesses providing services within or in the vicinity of the case study sites were identified as key agents and targeted for interviews in line with this view (ibid). Businesses were interviewed and tourism sites visited (as if I were a tourist) to provide an understanding of how the official discourse is absorbed or alternatively rejected in practice. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. After transcribing the one-on-one qualitative interviews were analyzed in line with the requirements of discourse analysis outlined above. ‘Text’ from each tourism business or tourist site visited (marketing materials, websites, visual imagery, tour commentary) was also analysed in the same way. Tourism businesses were chosen via a purposive sampling strategy (Grimwood et al, 2015) while there was an attempt to get a varied sample. A brief overview of each case study site is provided below.

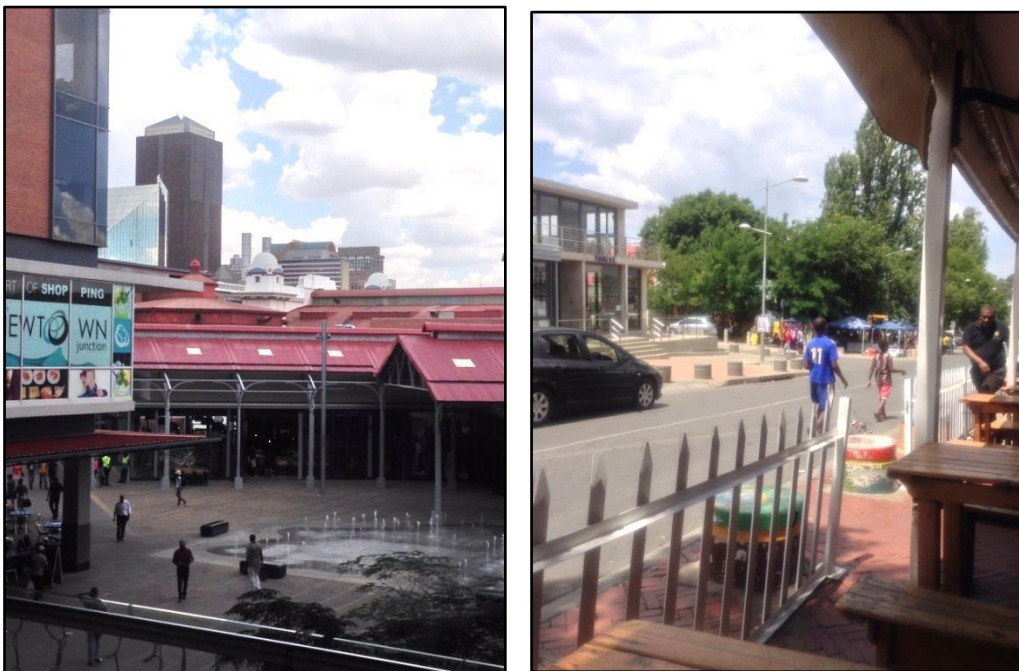


Figure 1.2: View from Newtown Junction mall, Newtown (left) and from Sakhumzi Restaurant, Soweto (right) (photos by author)

i. Newtown Cultural Precinct:

Newtown is situated in the western part of the inner-city of Johannesburg and typifies many of the imaginaries around regeneration that characterise the tourist city. It is also “crucial for the branding of the inner city and the City of Johannesburg at large” (Mlangeni, 2008: 79). The precinct is significant as a case study because it has for many years received various types of support from the COJ including “infrastructure, renaming, street furniture improvements, monumentalization, [and] graffiti ... revitalising the city” (ibid: 65). Newtown is one of the Johannesburg Development Agency’s (JDA) major flagship projects and is considered “one of five tourism developments aimed at inner-city regeneration” (www.newtown.co.za, retrieved 2 February, 2016). Besides tourists, it is intended to attract retail and commercial business and office workers back into Newtown, as well as

“restaurants, events and attractions which will give the area a boost from foreign visitors as well as locals” (ibid). The priority placed on Newtown and its centrality in the Council’s plans to revitalize the inner-city can be seen in the fact that it has its own website reflecting specific discourses which hype it as a site of historical relevance to the City.

ii. Vilakazi Street:

Vilakazi Street is located in Soweto, west of Johannesburg about 30km from the city centre of Johannesburg. Historically it is probably Johannesburg’s best known apartheid style township physically representing the move to grand apartheid in the 1950s, where separate development and large scale forced removals became a reality. Most significantly Vilakazi Street and the nearby Hector Pietersen Museum represent symbolically and physically the site of the major challenges to the apartheid government. Vilakazi Street was home to many of the key anti-apartheid leaders such as Nelson Mandela, Winnie Madikizela-Mandela, Walter Sisulu and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. It was the first township post-apartheid to be toured mainly as “a kind of niche tourism for politically interested travellers” thus paving the way in making township spaces an integral part of the City’s cultural heritage (Steinbrink, 2012: 216). This site can be seen as symbolizing an alternative tourism imaginary introduced in the post-apartheid period, contesting previous narratives that saw the township space as a no go area for tourists (Rogerson, 2004). This site could shed light on how the ‘township’/ ‘struggle site’ narratives have been used as a post-colonial representation of black culture and history in the City.

iii. Montecasino Entertainment Complex:



Figure 1.3: Montecasino as seen from Pineslopes Shopping Centre (across Witkopp Road), Fourways (photo by author)

The Montecasino complex is part theme park, casino resort and shopping mall and thus represents the 'shoppertainment' said to characterise tourist cities. It also represents the fortified enclaves which define boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and are used by the middle-classes to cocoon themselves from the unattractive parts of the City (Murray, 2011). Montecasino was interesting to me because it is hugely successful and popular but has been maligned for its fakeness, unapologetic borrowing of Eurocentric (Italian) design and cultural imagery (Mbembe, 2008; Fu and Murray, 2014). Thus it responds to questions around authenticity and fakeness, consumerism, and middle-class tastes and styles which feed into the urban imaginaries of Johannesburg. As a purely private sector-led initiative; it also sheds light on the private sector's alignment (or lack thereof) with the official discourses of the City.

1.4.4 Limitations

The research is limited to identifying imaginaries promoted as official discourse and investigating whether and how these are taken up by tourism actors. The study does not aim to provide an exhaustive portrait of all the representations of Johannesburg. The conclusions are not intended as generalizable findings about tourist cities; rather they try to show that tourism impacts cities in various ways, some of which may be detrimental to principles of equity and social justice. Thus conclusions focus only on defining new understandings of power dynamics shaping the City. These limitations relate back to the adopted qualitative methodology which does not "seek generalizable principles" and so "creates challenges for direct comparisons and for repetitive hypothesis testing in other sites" (Stedman, 2003: 824; cited in d'Hautesserre, 2011: 383). Discourse analysis also has limitations as it depends on the interpretation of the researcher, and how well the researcher holds his or her own preconceived notions in abeyance (Santos et al, 2008).

1.4.5 Ethical Considerations

The research does not involve any information collection methods that are of a highly sensitive nature or involve a vulnerable target group. It was made clear to interviewees upfront that they would be audio-recorded and their agreement was sought before the interview was recorded. Interviewees were also asked for written text (hard copies and online) and were asked for permission to quote from these as well as use photographs from their websites.

1.5 Outline of Chapters

The research report is set out in the following chapters. **Chapter two** reviews the theoretical underpinnings of the thesis. Relevant theories of knowledge and power are reviewed and applied to tourism. **Chapter three** provides the context by reviewing the discursive themes behind historical representations of Johannesburg and how these might have an effect on current representations. **Chapter four** presents analysis of the official discourse in the form of the tourism marketing materials of the City. Additionally the omissions and silences, and the sources and processes by which these discourses take effect is covered in this chapter to understand where power lies symbolically. **Chapter five** is the analysis of 'discursive practice' of the tourism actors in the three case study sites to understand how they take up or differ with the official discourse. **Chapter six** is the overall conclusion on the research.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided the basis for the formulation of the research question. The literature reviewed indicated that tourism imaginaries can potentially become the overriding imaginaries in tourist cities and that this may create or reinforce inequalities in the city. The research aims to uncover the imaginaries represented in Johannesburg's tourism marketing with a view to understanding whether and how they are shaping the City. In this research tourism marketing is taken as form of official discourse that can become a 'world-shaping device' in the context of a city. In order to develop this argument further and to lay the basis for the discourse analysis, it is necessary to understand how representation creates certain meanings which become imaginaries; how discourse is used to create this meaning; and how discourse can be used as tool to exercise symbolic power. I will consider various social theories that provide different approaches to these concepts in the next chapter.

Chapter 2: Discourse, Hegemony, Habitus and the Post (or Neo?) -Colonial Tourist City

2.1 Introduction

The cultural and critical 'turn' in tourism research since the late 1990s brought to the fore the influence of representation and discourse in understanding the impact of the global tourism industry on people and places (Bianchi, 2009). This conception of tourism firstly views tourism sites as social constructions created by the imaginaries of tourists and other tourism actors about these sites (Pritchard and Morgan 2001; Cordoba Azcarate, 2011; Durr, 2012). Secondly it is argued that these imaginaries are represented in tourism marketing and become the discourses that shape our conception of people and places (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001: 167). Thirdly tourism sites are conceived of as relative and symbolic; implying that ideology, power, culture and history are important components to understanding the impact of tourism in shaping any destination (Pritchard and Morgan, 2001: 169). This is because tourism imaginaries (and their representation in tourism marketing) are created and mediated through broader cultural and ideological structures (Salazar, 2010). These points suggest that the analysis of tourism representations from the perspective of discourse can reveal the power dynamics in a particular society. In this chapter I aim to develop this view of tourism; firstly by defining representation from the constructionist perspective meaning that it constructs meaning and therefore reality. Secondly, based on this constructionist approach and taking the view that representation uses discourse to create meaning; I will then go on to discuss some of Michel Foucault's theories defining discourse. This will explain how discourse is used to construct the knowledge that creates particular power dynamics in a society. To enhance the understanding of how power dynamics are created within a tourism destination I will also discuss hegemony (Antonio Gramsci) and habitus and symbolic power (Pierre Bourdieu). Finally the post-colonial theories of Edward Said and Homi Bhabha will be used to reflect on how tourism imaginaries are influenced by power dynamics created by the political history of colonialism and apartheid.

2.2 Conceptualising Imaginaries, Representation and the Construction of Reality

Based on my discussion so far (Chapter 1) imaginaries can be viewed as the ideas about a place which are filtered through or mediated by power dynamics and are symbolized in different forms of representation. Representations of imaginaries can be found in architecture, art, popular media, monuments, statues, novels, advertising, film and television, face-to-face communication and other communication practices, the internet and digital media, travel and tourism, high profile planning projects, policy, city branding, eating habits, trade and market relations, personal networks, and

migration (Çinar and Bender, 2007; Bridge and Watson, 2001; Greenberg, 2000; Huyssen, 2008; Kelley, 2013; Wetzstein, 2013). Face-to-face encounters and print media are being increasingly surpassed by digital media in generating and circulating imaginaries (Kelley, 2013). It is well established that tourism marketing relies on representation of certain tourism imaginaries to ignite prospective visitors' imaginations. However the impact of these representations on shaping the material reality of that place is not always obvious. Representation is commonly thought of as the symbolizing of, standing in for, or substituting of a real or imaginary object, or even an idea (Hall, 1997). It can be defined as the description, depiction, and portrayal or imagining of something in a manner that brings it to mind (ibid). Representation uses language to produce meaning, where language is defined broadly to include written, spoken or visual depictions that convey a meaning, as well as facial expressions, gestures; and basically anything that functions as a 'sign' (ibid: 4). A sign stands for the conceptual relations between the words, sounds or images that make up the meaning systems in any culture (ibid: 4).

Representation based on this definition gives meaning and establishes certain expectations that shape our view of the world, and thus the social imaginary. For instance Paris is known as 'The City of Love' while New York is known as 'The City that Never Sleeps'. These slogans or representations of each city when deconstructed give meanings that determine residents and visitors' expectations of each city and the kinds of activities they would engage in there. These slogans could also be seen to have become the overriding social imaginaries of each city; meaning that representation constructs imaginaries but also can reinforce existing imaginaries as illustrated in figure 2.1 below.

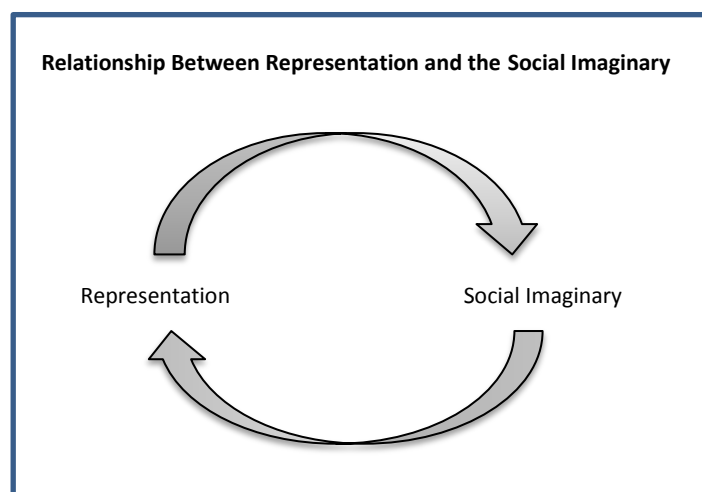


Figure 2.1: Conceptual relationship between representation and the social imaginary

In line with this Hall (1997) considers three approaches to representation and rejects those that do not recognise that representation constructs meaning or for the purposes of this discussion the social imaginary. The *reflective approach* (that language reflects existing meanings) and the *intentional approach* (where meanings are derived from the author's intention) to representation are rejected because they do not allow for interpretation and nor do they recognise that language is a social system (ibid: 11). He rather adopts the *constructionist approach* because it recognises that "we construct meaning, using representational systems – concepts and signs" (ibid: 11). This approach focuses on symbolic practices because the material world does not convey meaning; rather it is the language system that conveys meaning (ibid).

One perspective of this relationship suggests that representations of cities in tourism marketing can be used as a tool to construct tourism imaginaries. In turn because imaginaries have material effect (as discussed in Chapter 1) this means that representation creates a certain version of reality. Various theorists have argued that representation is no longer just about representing the real or authentic; but can also be a representation of a created reality which then takes a life of its own and becomes the 'truth' in its own right, that is, the 'hyperreality' (Baudrillard, 1993; Fu and Murray, 2014). This idea has become more relevant in recent times because visual representation is increasingly being used as signs such that it is increasingly difficult to distinguish between representation, fantasy and reality (Urry and Larsen, 2011, Alraouf, 2010). This concept is often applied to critique 'fake' tourism sites such as the Disney and Vegas type developments found in many tourist cities, defining them as 'reality by proxy' (Baudrillard, 1994). Hyperreality when applied to tourism implies that tourism representations create certain tourism imaginaries, which take a life of their own or become the 'truth' in their own right, even if the original representation was of a fake reality or an enhancement of reality (Alraouf, 2010). The extreme of this is what Baudrillard (1993, 1994) viewed as "the simulation of something which never really existed" suggesting the existence of a "copy world, where we seek simulated stimuli and nothing more" (Alraouf, 2010: 52).

In line with this simulation can be viewed as the representation of 'the authentic fake' (Eco, 1986: 2) or even further a 'pseudo-world' (Debord, 1995: 35). In Johannesburg casinos and entertainment malls such as Montecasino and Gold Reef City are depicted as such and criticised. Fu and Murray (2014: 845) criticise these spaces not so much for being fakes but more because these "exotic locations, surreal dreamscapes, fantasylands and other 'pseudo-worlds' are preferred over actual places" thus representing romanticized versions of urban life. However the idea of hyperreality can also be applied to heritage sites. For instance township tours in South Africa have been questioned in terms of whether they provide "authentic representations of local cultures" or whether they are

in fact “pseudo-trips that do not reflect past or present realities” (Booyens, 2010: 277). There are also questions about how township and struggle history is presented, with critics arguing that the authenticity is diluted and compromised to suit the demands of an international tourism economy (ibid). These perspectives should also be borne in mind in analysing the discourses represented in tourism marketing in order to clarify “the blurred line between hyper and real, authentic and fake” (Alraouf, 2010: 52). To build further on the relationship between representation, discourse and imaginaries and to address how imaginaries relate to symbolic power, I consider next how systems of representation operate to create the knowledge and power that makes one group’s imaginary gain dominance over another. Hall (1997) in line with this argues that this occurs because representation uses discourse to create meaning. To further elaborate how and why this occurs I discuss below Michel Foucault’s conception of discourse and how it used in the exercise of power.

2.3 Discourse and the Construction of Knowledge and Power

Michel Foucault’s notion of discourse can be considered a ‘rupture’ from the Marxist concept of ideology where power relations are explained in terms of “the interests of a ruling economic class” (Stoddart, 2007: 191). Instead discourse considers issues of culture, shared meaning and the construction of knowledge as determinants of power relations (Hall, 1997). Discourse can however function as ideology where it is “mobilized to reinforce systems of social power” (Stoddart, 2007: 193). Foucault saw discourse as that which determines how a topic is discussed and debated (Hall, 1997). He also distinguishes it from language, instead saying that discourse *uses* language to produce knowledge (ibid). Discourse defines and determines for a particular topic and historical moment: the statements that define the topic; its rules; its subjects; how it acquires authority as ‘truth’; and the conduct within institutions or society (ibid). Representation uses discourse to construct and constitute society in terms of objects of knowledge, social subjects and forms of ‘self’, social relationships, and conceptual frameworks (Foucault, 1972, cited in Fairclough, 1992: 39, 55; and Fairclough, 1995). Interpreted as such representation uses discourse to construct the social imaginary, and the social imaginary gains material effect as social practice.

Discourse has material effect because it “influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others” (Hall, 1997: 29). Discourse can also be restrictive by ruling out or limiting “other ways of talking, of conducting ourselves in relation to the topic or constructing knowledge about it” (ibid: 29). Discourse is usually widely pervasive such that it “will appear across a range of texts, and as forms of conduct, at a number of different institutional sites within society” (ibid: 29). However a *discursive formation* comes into being when different discourses or discursive events are coordinated in a concerted way in the form of a strategy, or through institutional and

political effort (ibid). A discursive formation defines a particular moment in history and is tolerant of contradictions indicating a certain level of stability (ibid). Foucault rejected the existence of permanent 'truths' but argued rather that knowledge and power together "assume[s] the authority of 'the truth'" (ibid: 32). Central to this is that any discourse should be understood within a particular historical moment and that 'truth' is not fixed, rather there is "a discursive formation sustaining a regime of truth" at a particular point in history (ibid: 34). A regime of truth is a society's:

'general politics' of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true, the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned ... the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true (Foucault, 1980: 131).

For example being globally competitive can be considered a discourse because it is reflected in a number of texts and across different institutions within the City as characterised by the city's branding as a 'World-class African City'. The preoccupation with global comparison can be seen in this statement made by Johannesburg's current mayor Parks Tau:

"We are re-inventing the city of Johannesburg ... We are turning this city into a New York of Africa"
(Sapa-AFP, 2013).

Furthermore this statement shows that being globally competitive in turn influences what urban imaginaries cities choose. Fu and Murray (2014: 857) call this "tapping into global fantasies". Various 'institutions' such as travel magazines, travel blogs and other media who are the arbiters of 'what's hot and what's not' in terms of travel give authority to this discourse by ranking cities as global destinations, including lately Johannesburg. Furthermore being globally competitive as discourse supports a certain discursive formation which in this case is the global tourism industry or more broadly the current neo-liberal international economic system. Global tourism can be characterised as such because it even tolerates 'contradictions' such as poverty tourism (Wynne-Hughes, 2015) suggesting a stable discursive formation. The global tourism industry's regime of truth includes for instance statements and research on the benefits of tourism to poorer economies. These 'truths' in the form of tourism discourses are thus used to jolt countries and cities to compete in the global ranking race. For instance the Department of Tourism in the post-apartheid era saw tourism "... as an effective means through which South Africa could successfully enter and compete in the international economic system and in which it has a competitive advantage *vis-à-vis* other destinations" (Cornelissen, 2005: 680).

In recognition of the power of discourse Foucault made it a central element of his theories of knowledge and power, seeing the production and circulation of discourses as necessary to the exercising of social power (Stoddart, 2007: 205). However discourse does not only create and

maintain systems of domination; it is also the instrument for resistance as reflected in the statement: “discourse is the power which is to be seized” (Foucault, 1984: 51). Therefore Foucault presented discourse as an important factor in achieving social change as follows:

Discourses are not once and for all subservient to power or raised up against it... We must make allowances for the complex and unstable process whereby a discourse can be both an instrument and an effect of power, but also a hindrance, a stumbling point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it, but also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart (Foucault 1990: 100-101).

In this way discourse can be used to “constrain and challenge the exercise of power” such that sites of knowledge generation become “sites of resistance” (Stoddart, 2007: 205, 206). This can happen when the “contending discourses ... become empowered to compete with and contradict privileged discourses and their effects of truth” (Waite, 2005, cited in Grimwood et al, 2015: 34). Films are often used to empower contending discourses by presenting a counter-narrative to the dominant discourse. For instance the movie *Miners Shot Down* by Rehad Desai sought to counter the state narrative of the Marikana massacre with an alternative view of what happened as illustrated by this quote about the movie:

“It’s about giving the public information on what happened so they can make up their own minds”
(Koketso Moeti (activist), quoted in Nicholson, 2014).

Another illustration of a counter-narrative is slum and poverty tourism which is used to expose areas which are traditionally neglected or ignored to the tourist gaze. This type of tourism can be seen in line with Foucault as an attempt to resist or undermine the power that determines which areas are deemed outside of the tourist gaze, either because they are considered too unattractive, dangerous, poor or grimy. It can also be seen as an attempt to make the urban imaginary of a city more inclusive, such that areas previously not represented in a city’s imaginary “are now tentatively included as integral parts of the urban environment” (Durr, 2012: 720). In Johannesburg tours to townships like Soweto and Alexandra, and to inner-city areas like Hillbrow are seen to be an attempt to change the narrative about certain parts of the city. For instance Dlala Nje offers a tour that attempts to change the discourse on Hillbrow as reflected in the following statement:

“Hit the streets of Hillbrow and discover the truth about one of the city’s most notorious and misunderstood suburbs” (www.dlalanje.org, retrieved 13 March, 2016).

However in other cities around the world bringing these areas under the tourist gaze has not shifted power and slum tourism has in fact been criticised for commodifying the lives of vulnerable social groups while not necessarily benefitting them (Durr, 2012; Wynne-Hughes, 2015).

Foucault's later work looks more closely at the relationship between knowledge and power and explains why these attempts at resisting power do not always have the required effect. Using the institutional settings of various 'disciplines' (mental health, criminal justice, sexuality), he analysed "how knowledge was put to work through discursive practices in specific institutional settings to regulate the conduct of others" (Hall, 1997: 32). He considered how these disciplines produced discourses that had given them influence in modern society in defining our 'truths' akin to religion in previous eras (ibid). Certain "institutional *apparatus* and ... *technologies* (techniques)" were used to support power including: institutions, architecture, regulations, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophic propositions, and morality (ibid: 32). Foucault thus established that coercive force was not the only factor in the exercise power; he incorporated the discursive nature of power, meaning that discourse can be viewed as a technique of exercising power (Foucault 1979, cited in Fairclough, 1992). In this view knowledge is put to work in the form of discourse to regulate, control and punish conduct using "certain technologies and strategies of application" (Hall, 1997: 32).

This can be seen in the case of Johannesburg where the COJ has adopted various technologies and strategies of application to regulate, control and even punish the conduct of informal traders. News releases from the COJ's website show that the City exercised its power initially by using discourse that promotes and rewards orderly conduct through training and infrastructure support. This can be seen in the titles of news releases:

'Informal traders grow business'; 'Improved stoves for traders'; 'Plan to help informal traders' 'Linear markets for city'; 'Informal traders earn their keep'; and 'Trained vendors get aprons' (www.joburg.org.za (various 2011, retrieved 12 March, 2016).

The City then used the discourse of 'cleansing' under *Operation Clean Sweep* as well as the City's by-laws as a technique of power to 'punish' traders and justify their removal from the streets. However in this case traders were empowered to use the law as a technique of power, and won a Constitutional Court case which provided counter discourses empowering their resistance to the City's discourses:

"Evoking the spirit of Nelson Mandela, Acting Chief Justice Dikgang Moseneke condemned Operation Clean Sweep as an act of "humiliation and degradation" which rendered thousands of people, and their children, destitute" (www.seri-sa.org, undated, retrieved 12 March, 2016).

There were still reports of sporadic incidents of evictions of informal traders and confiscation of goods after the court order (Moatshe, 2014) meaning that the traders won a respite at best, thus illustrating how difficult it is to shift power relations.

In this example it can be seen that access to knowledge (of the law) and power are intertwined and Foucault's theories confirmed that knowledge and power were "always inextricably enmeshed" and are simultaneously present when one or the other is there (ibid: 32). The difficulty in shifting power is attributed to this and also to Foucault's further contention that power is relational without an identifiable source and focus (Hall, 1997; Stoddart, 2007). He used the example of the Panopticon design of prison surveillance which had a circular structure and inspection house at the centre where the guard *could* be watching at all times thus regulating inmates' behaviour (Foucault, 1979). He applied this to social theory to illustrate how this insidious type of power is "operating throughout a multiplicity of sites at a local level" and as flowing "in multiple directions" (Stoddart, 2007: 205). The idea of power being all pervasive also implied that Foucault saw sovereign power becoming more irrelevant in modern society either as a form of discipline or in the exercise of power. *Sovereign power* is the power derived from a specific source that is "radiating in a single direction – from top to bottom" (Hall, 1997: 34). Foucault (1980: 144) observed how the modern criminal justice system relied more on 'disciplinary power' and less on sovereign power due to "the growing importance assumed by the action of the norm, at the expense of the juridical system of the law". Disciplinary power normalizes practices and behaviours which sustain the regime of 'truth', and is supported by discourses and the various apparatuses and technologies of power outlined previously (Hall, 1997). This type of power is thought to rely less on external "exercise of force" and more on the diffuse and insidious forms of social surveillance which is normalised through discourse (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 24). Thus Foucault shifted attention away from preconceived notions of power where it was understood to be exercised through the state, the law, the sovereign or the dominant class. He rather recognised the "many, localized circuits, tactics, mechanisms and effects through which power circulates" (Hall, 1997: 34-35).

Foucault further introduced the notion of *bio-power* as another layer of disciplinary power where the "techniques of regulation are applied to the body" thus determining what is normal, acceptable, or deviant behaviour (Hall, 1997: 35). As a result he placed the body "at the centre of the struggles between different formations of power/ knowledge" (ibid: 35). This form of power creates disciplined and productive bodies using both their active participation and unconscious submission (Foucault, 1995: 26, cited in Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 24). In later writings Foucault (1991) referred to 'technologies of the self' as the self-governing discourses that are employed by individuals to police themselves into behaving in a certain prescribed way. All these types of power, sovereign, disciplinary and bio-power reinforce each other to maintain a particular regime of truth. Resistance to power becomes a difficult exercise in the context of diffuse and ever present power, which operates through an invisible gaze, and appears to be scientifically based (Foucault, 1979). In other

words: “[s]elf-control takes the place of control and discipline takes the place of the personal ruler” (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 24). The disciplined body has no appetite for resistance because it benefits from “conformity with disciplinary power” and the discourse around the norm projects it as something that “seems to work for the individuals' own benefit rather than that of the ruling power” (ibid: 24).

The above discussion further explains the limited impact that alternative tourism imaginaries such as township or slum tourism have in shifting symbolic power relations in cities. For instance the global tourism industry (as a discursive formation) puts people with less power and resources in tourist cities under the surveillance of tourists, and conditions them to conform to the disciplinary surveillance of tourists (the tourist gaze) without question. Wynne-Hughes (2015: 1) did research on slum tourism in Cairo showing how it relies on a particular form of disciplinary power to “obscure the ways that international and local neoliberal practices, in which tourists are complicit, have increased the marginalization” of poorer residents. She further highlights how slum tours normalise certain behaviours in that they “shape the standards and means for individuals to become ‘good’ international neoliberal subjects who develop and fulfil themselves according to market logics” (ibid, 2015: 1-2). This is because as Foucault explains “we take up discourse and incorporate it into our sense of self – our subjectivities” such that it becomes “taken for granted and consolidated... [within] a range of social sites” (Stoddart, 2007: 206). Foucault’s work has been criticised for focusing too much on discourse and neglecting “the influence of the material, economic and structural factors in the operation of power/knowledge” (Hall, 1997: 36). Be that as it may, his theories still show that when tourism imaginaries are represented (for example in tourism marketing) they become discourse that can be used to construct knowledge about a specific tourism site or destination and therefore exercise power.

Foucault’s analysis thus makes one uneasy about the increasingly touristified cities we live in; as it implies that the ‘tourist gaze’ is a form of panopticon surveillance with insidious and diffuse power over various tourist spaces in cities. In light of this, representations used in the marketing of tourism sites are seen to be a “political process that encodes and reinforces the dominant ideology of tourism culture” (Ateljevic and Doorne, 2002: 618). This works to normalise certain behaviours and conceptions that reinforce the global tourism discursive formation within cities; thus creating norms by which residents discipline themselves to behave in those spaces in line with the tourism imaginaries. Foucault has also been criticised for not addressing the question of “how disciplinary power is embodied and why it becomes a core element of our vision and emotional perception of the world” (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 24). To address this I will discuss the potential relevance of

Antonio Gramsci's concept of hegemony and Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus to enhance my arguments regarding the increasing impact of the disciplinary gaze of tourists in cities.

2.3.1 Hegemonic Discourse

Antonio Gramsci introduced the concept of hegemony to "illustrate how the state and civil society produce and maintain consent to the class hierarchies of capitalist society" (Stoddart, 2007: 193). Hegemony refers to the ability of dominant classes to convince other classes to accept their worldview (ibid). As the worldview of ruling elites or dominant social groups hegemony may appear as discourses that are accepted as 'common sense' (ibid: 201). In some ways this is an interpretation of the Marxian concept of ideology but Gramsci "rejected class reductionism" (Hall, 1997: 33). In so doing, he elevated the significance of culture as "a central location for the exercise of social power" (Stoddart, 2007: 202). He contested the notion of power being created only through ideology, where ideology is "a relatively stable body of knowledge that the ruling class transmits wholesale to its subordinate classes" (ibid: 193). Hegemonic power convinces individuals and social classes "to subscribe to the social values and norms of an inherently exploitative system" (ibid: 201). It marginalizes those who do not subscribe to this 'common sense' thus is a "form of social power that relies on voluntarism and participation, rather than the threat of punishment for disobedience" (ibid: 201). Although the state does play a role in producing and disseminating hegemonic power, to a large extent hegemony is maintained by the on-going social action of the institutions of civil society to sustain it (Gramsci, 1996: 9, cited in Stoddard, 2007: 201). This includes for instance the Church, schools, the mass media, and the family (Stoddard, 2007). An example of hegemony is the (previously) unquestioned portrayal in the media of the white, blonde, thin, blue-eyed women as the epitome of beauty. This worldview of dominant social groups became accepted as 'common sense' even in South African -- though the majority of women are black. Until the last decade or so magazine covers predominantly projected this image of beauty. This hegemony has been further reinforced and becomes ingrained as 'common sense' by families and retailers wherein children are ingrained to think the 'Barbie' type of doll is the standard of beauty.

The concept of hegemony goes some way in explaining why some discourses become more powerful than others and are thus likely to become the common sense that shapes behaviour and social practice. Hegemony also explains why individuals and social classes who do not benefit directly from tourism within their surrounds are convinced "to subscribe to the social values and norms of an inherently exploitative system" without any "threat of punishment for disobedience" (Stoddart, 2007: 201). This can be seen in the invoking of the reconciliation ideas of Nelson Mandela which have become a hegemonic discourse used even in tourism as the common sense that convinces

black or alternatively poor people that racial and social inequalities are a thing of the past. Although hegemony can create a state of “moral and political passivity” (Gramsci, 1971: 333), contestation between those with power and those without is considered to be fundamental to the constitution of hegemonic power. This is because “[h]egemony and counter-hegemony exist in a state of tension; each gives shape to the other” (Stoddard, 2007: 201). Therefore although hegemony represents a form of power it “is something that is always contested, always historically contingent and always unfinished” (ibid: 202). In the South African political landscape the ‘common sense’ of neoliberalism and the bowing to invisible ‘markets’ has gained hegemonic power in economic discourse. However recently this has been challenged by workers, university students and newer political formations (such as the Economic Freedom Fighters) who have presented competing discourses. This has created a ‘state of tension’, but has also highlighted that the democratic transition that occurred in 1994 was ‘unfinished’. Gramsci (1971: 328) argues that in this as in other situations of hegemonic power, the challenge is for the ruling elite or dominant social groups to maintain “the necessary degree of ‘ideological unity’ to secure the consent of the governed” (cited in Stoddard, 2007: 201). If this does not exist, hegemonic power can be overturned after a “prolonged cultural ‘war of position’” (Femia 1975: 34, cited in Stoddard, 2007: 202). Gramsci presents the possibility of change; for instance where this ‘ideological unity’ within the ruling elite is tested or challenged, or where it is overturned as those on whom hegemonic power is exercised become conscious of the hegemony and a new hegemony forms (Stoddard, 2007: 202).

Deconstructing hegemonic discourse in any situation becomes therefore one of the ways in which change can be achieved. For instance the documentary film *Dear Mandela* provides a counter-narrative to the hegemony of the ANC (and Nelson Mandela) as liberator, a discourse that has become sacrosanct. Discourses around the movie that seek to displace this hegemonic discourse include the following:

“We are all agreed that there is a serious crisis in our country. We are being forced off our land and out of our cities. For too long, we have been subject to evictions from our homes. For too long, the promise of housing has been downgraded to forced removal to a transit camp. These transit camps are more like prisons.” – Abahlali baseMjondolo statement of demands, March 2011 (www.dearmandela.com, retrieved 16 March, 2016)

“‘Dear Mandela’ dares to document the rising bitterness against the ANC, and its figurehead — Nelson Mandela — by a generation of young people who feel let down by their government” (review by Basia Lewandowska Cummings, Africa is a Country Blog, cited in www.dearmandela.com, retrieved 16 March, 2016).

To add another perspective on how the 'common sense' that guides our behaviour and thoughts develops and is maintained and how it is used to exercise power I will discuss below Pierre Bourdieu's concept of habitus.

2.3.2 Habitus and Symbolic Power

Bourdieu is thought to go further than Gramsci by demonstrating how individuals play an active role in developing the 'common sense' behaviours and thoughts "by internalizing and subjectively reinterpreting the institutionalized models of action" (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 25). This has some similarity to what Foucault referred to as 'technology of the self' but Bourdieu explains it differently. To start off with Bourdieu provides two overriding principles of human behaviour on which he bases his argument; the first being that "*all actions* by individuals in social arrangements are interest-driven" (Navarro, 2006: 14). This leads to a persistent search for accumulation of resources, resulting in entrenched hierarchies that require permanent vigilance to legitimise them (ibid). For example the system of property ownership results in hierarchies which are maintained through constitutional provisions and constant vigilance to maintain social order and resist land invasions. Secondly, and I believe most importantly for this discussion, Bourdieu argues that culture is the 'terrain of domination' because culture "mediates social practices by connecting people and groups to institutionalised hierarchies" (ibid: 14, 15). Therefore culture "embodies power relations" and has value as a method of perpetuating social differences and hierarchies (ibid: 15). Cultural capital is thus considered to be a source of power just as much as physical resources or assets. In South Africa the current debate around the removal of colonial and apartheid era statues can be seen to be an arena of struggle regarding culture and symbolic systems reflecting either an imminent shift in society, or a society that is becoming increasingly differentiated or complex (ibid). Based on these understandings, Bourdieu advanced the following formula for determining what social practices will be in place in a particular era or society: $[(\text{habitus}) \times (\text{capital})] + \text{field} = \text{practices}$ (ibid). Each of these concepts is explained below.

Habitus can be thought of as the "patterns for action and perception" (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 25) which are socialised into us that determine and guide our behaviour and thought processes. Bourdieu refers to habitus as a "...system of acquired dispositions functioning on the practical level as categories of perception and assessment or as classificatory principles as well as being the organizing principles of action" (Bourdieu, 1990: 12-13). For example habitus operates in the proverbial 'old boys club' and signifies the intangible and invisible ways of operating that those who grew up within a certain environment (for example a boys private school) use to navigate that environment. Because habitus is understood as "a durable set of dispositions that are formed,

stored, recorded and exert influence to mould forms of human behaviour” (ibid: 16), it is further reinforced generationally. For instance, in the previous example if a son goes to the same school as his father the son almost ‘inhales’ these dispositions unconsciously. Habitus is accordingly social group or class specific, and is internalised through processes from childhood onwards to become something that the society imparts that determines behaviour; preferences and tastes; how individuals view themselves; how they fit into their world; and how they make sense of the world (Navarro, 2005). Bourdieu (1990: 63) as a result saw habitus as being “society written into the body, into the biological individual”. Habitus helps individuals decide how to act and respond because it “gives them a ‘feel for the game’, ‘what is appropriate or not’” (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999: 498). Habitus is not only manifested in others through various signs and characteristics, but also consists of “the signals, which constitute the social classification of us by others” and thus expresses a hierarchy of values which help us to be understood or accepted (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 25).

Habitus can become so normalized that those who do not possess the traits that are considered to be within the norm are considered “deviant, disturbed or failed” (Rehbein and Souza, 2015: 26). For instance a so-called Affirmative Action candidate can fail to fit in with a certain corporate culture (the habitus), and thus be considered ‘deviant, disturbed, failed’ because this culture is based on a broader societal culture that he or she is unfamiliar with. Habitus is slow to change over time as each layer of social practices produced is filtered through the existing or preceding layers (Navarra, 2005). However, habitus while durable, is not static: the ‘dispositions’ may be influenced by the environment, and may stimulate change and innovation especially in unstable social domains where the dispositions no longer fit their environment (ibid). *Capital*, the next part of the equation according to Bourdieu (1986, cited in Navarro, 2005: 16) refers to “all forms of valued resources ... whether they are material, cultural, social, or symbolic”. Therefore resources gain value and become capital “after interest is manifested (and/or disputed) by people” (ibid: 16). A *field* such as education, religion, business or tourism is necessary for the construction of social practice since it is the structure that defines where habitus operates and is conceived within “specific types of capital or combinations of capital” (Navarro, 2005: 17). Power is present in all fields but can also be “a ‘meta-field’ that organises differentiation and struggles through all fields” or a field on its own representing the dominant class (ibid: 18). Bourdieu understands struggle for both material resources and symbolic power to be the “heart of all social arrangements” (ibid: 18). This makes the “study of the field of power ... crucial to unearth a clear interpretation about the origin, the meaning and the consequences of power and power relations in any specific society” (ibid: 18).

Power is therefore defined symbolically in this conception and is what determines the habitus or norms for a particular era and how these are legitimised. Resources and activities gain symbolic power when their power is unrecognised by other social groups, while dominant social groups use “mystifying discourse” to legitimise it (Navarro, 2005). This mystifying discourse is what creates and maintains social inequalities, meaning its exposure can result in social change (ibid). Understanding power as symbolic can unlock previously unrecognised fields of power and be the basis for a change in power relations (ibid). Rehbein and Souza (2015: 27) argue following Bourdieu that inequality is reproduced symbolically in a capitalist society because social groups do not share a common discourse and “establish a hierarchy of discourses, which is based on a hierarchy of values” (ibid: 30). This creates a moral hierarchy which “defines who is regarded as worthy by institutions and individuals”. However the lack of recognition of this “symbolic dimension of capitalism makes the hierarchy of values invisible and thereby efficient” (ibid: 30).

Tourism within this conception can be seen as a field of power within which a hierarchy of values occurs determined by the cultural capital possessed by the various actors. Tourist actors can use culture, heritage and other symbolic assets as *capital* which is used *together with habitus* to create certain tourism imaginaries and social practices. Habitus in this case might mean dispositions constructed over time by tourists from one region or country about another that determine how they view a tourism destination. For example tourism imaginaries of South Africa found in the British media around the 2010 World Cup were based on “Afro-essentialist, Afro-pessimist and neo-colonial representations” using “images of fear, insecurity and moral panic” (Hammet, 2014: 221). It can be argued that the British media possessed cultural capital which together with the habitus of long-held stereotypes of European conceptions of Africa was used to gain symbolic power over South African tourism actors, who struggled to counter these perceptions (ibid). Bourdieu’s theories can also therefore explain why certain tourism imaginaries persist even when alternative imaginaries are introduced. This again illustrates the difficulty in completely shifting the discursive formation once established as argued by Foucault. Habitus explains how there is always a residue from previous tourism imaginaries that filters through to influence the current ones. In the next section I explore post-colonial theories to further explain how the habitus created by colonial/ apartheid narratives filters through current narratives of the post-apartheid state.

2.4 Post-Colonial Theories and the Construction of Neo-colonial Narratives in Tourism

Tourism researchers have incorporated post-colonial theories as an analytical lens to highlight the persistence of the legacy of colonial domination as seen in the on-going cultural political, economic and cultural hegemony of the West (Tucker and Hall, 2004; Echtner and Prasad, 2003; Hall and

Tucker, 2004). This involves paying attention to the role of language, text and representation in perpetuating colonial discourses (Hall and Tucker, 2004). In *'Orientalism'*, Edward Said (1994) revealed how colonial discourse contrasts the image, idea, personality, and experience of the West with the East (the Orient) thus establishing the 'superiority' of Western culture (Echtner and Prasad, 2003). Colonial discourse has been used further to create symbolic boundaries which become hierarchical binary opposites (ibid). They contrast the West as "forward and advancing" with the "backward and stagnant (or decaying)" East (ibid: 667). Examples of binaries which are used to contrast the West with the East (which could also apply to current conceptions of the global North/global South) include: First World/ Third World, civilized/ primitive, scientific/ superstitious, industrialized/ undeveloped, disciplined/ unrestrained, and normal/ exotic (ibid: 668). It is clear that these conceptions could be applied to any other culture stereotypically characterised as inferior to Western culture, relying on the fixing of the colonised people as 'the other' and characterising them in the form of stereotypes (Bhabha, 1994).

The relevance of post-colonial theories to tourism imaginaries becomes clear when one considers that tourism relies on promoting 'otherness'; at times relying on the stereotypes around travel and exploration in "imperial lands" (Hall and Tucker, 2004: 8). This can result in a desire to 'fix' the identity of the people and places visited such that they meet the requirement for this 'otherness' thus preventing the formation of self-determined identity (Tucker and Hall, 2004; Grimwood et al, 2015). It can go as far as essentializing the identity of people and places to the extent that they become a caricature of what they really are (ibid). Furthermore it can result in the romanticization of the past, using static notions of what is considered the authentic cultures of indigenous peoples, without taking into account that their culture has evolved, diversified and adapted over time (ibid). In South Africa the idea of the 'Cultural Village' (for example Lesedi Cultural Village) is intended to represent pre-colonial African culture and is a big feature in the country's tourist offerings. Cultural Villages could also be conceived as hyperreality or fake authenticity as discussed above. Bhabha (1994) however extended this idea of 'the other' to show that the formerly colonised are not just "passive objects of cultural formation"; they also mimic, adapt, collaborate with and/or contest or oppose colonial discourses (Hall and Tucker, 2004: 15). Mimicry of the colonizer in post-colonial societies can be seen as a sinister residual of the symbolic domination of colonized people (Bhabha, 1994) and is in line with Foucault's notion of techniques of the self. However Bhabha (1994) also suggested that the colonists' identities and discourses are not only mimicked, in some cases they create ambivalence in the identities of individuals and nations. This establishes a hybrid culture or identity incorporating the cultural identity of the colonised with the coloniser's cultural identity (ibid).

Applying Bhabha's concept of hybridity to tourism imaginaries implies that there isn't always a 'false binary' between "mobile tourists and place-bound locals" (Salazar, 2012: 871). It thus moderates the theories of power and knowledge discussed above by suggesting in line with Salazar (2012) that there is a co-production of tourism imaginaries by locals, mediators and tourists. This implies that all actors (tourist, intermediary, and local) are enacting and shaping various tourism imaginaries, thus confirming or challenging certain versions of history, culture and moral values (Chronis, 2012). The different tourism practices and interpretations by these actors ensure that the imaginaries around that site are not static or fixed (Edensor, 1998; Ku, 2011). Constitutional Hill illustrates this as it represents various tourism and urban imaginaries of Johannesburg thus reflecting hybridity in the City's identity. There is the Constitutional Court which is "a symbol and guardian of the South African Constitution, one of the most democratic public declarations in the world" (Gevisser, 2008: 317). The location also represents the City's painful past in the colonial prison (the Old Fort) and the apartheid era maximum security prisons (ibid). It is also seen to be an urban regeneration project (ibid) in a part of the City (Hillbrow) which had previously been off bounds for tourists. It further represents the "disparities of Johannesburg ... in one glance you can take in both the inner city with all its social problems and the leafy green forest of Johannesburg's affluent northern suburbs" (ibid: 318). Finally the permanent Mahatma Gandhi exhibition introduces another narrative as does the use of the site as an events and entertainment space. Due to this and because the site is used as both a day-to-day working space and a tourist space, it can be seen that these imaginaries would not be static or fixed and are influenced by both local people and tourists.

2.5 Conclusion

In this Chapter I have sought to establish the central role that representation plays in our construction of meaning and thus the imaginaries of cities. Firstly I considered how representation, in creating meaning, also creates material reality. I interpreted Baudrillard's idea of 'hyperreality' to suggest that tourism representations 'create' tourism sites and destinations thus can be considered a form of simulation. In time the representations become a created reality as they take a life of their own and become the 'truth' in their own right. This concept will be further analysed to see whether this has occurred in Johannesburg and what impact this has had on the urban imaginaries of the city. Secondly in line with Foucault, tourism can be conceived of as a site of knowledge generation where discourse is used to position a destination and thus to create the 'truth' about that destination. Foucault presented various ways to understand the difficulty in shifting discourses once they have gained dominance, suggesting that tourism imaginaries engage with discourses in order to exercise power. For instance if the global tourism industry is viewed as a discursive formation it can be

deconstructed to reveal which actors gain power from representing Johannesburg in line with certain tourism imaginaries. Foucault's theories on knowledge and power also explain the relevance of deconstructing the tourist gaze in understanding the impact of tourism in Johannesburg. Tourism could be considered in this view as specific discipline that normalizes practices and behaviours which sustain the discursive formation of global tourism. This suggests that in a tourist city local residents would be under the disciplinary gaze of tourists and tourism actors and therefore under constant, real and symbolic surveillance which governs how they behave or engage with the City.

My application of discourse analysis in tourism does not really make sense without engaging with Gramsci's concept of hegemony which can be used to explain why certain discourses gain precedence over others. In the case of a tourist city the idea of hegemonic power advanced by Gramsci explains why discourses regarding for instance the value of tourism to the city's economy; which tourist sites are worthy of being visited; and how to behave in tourist sites have become the 'common sense' about tourism that we do not question. The literature reviewed also indicated that hegemonic tourism discourses are difficult to change even when attempts are made to construct and represent counter-hegemonic discourses over time. This suggests that hegemonic discourses are persistence and difficult to counter. The concept of habitus adds another layer to understanding how this 'common sense' forms and why once established it persists and is durable. Habitus can be used for instance to explain the durability of colonial discourses in tourism marketing in post-colonial contexts, and why newer discourses presented by the government in the post-colonial/ apartheid period failed to gain traction. This is because some of the discourses from the colonial/ apartheid period have been internalized as group norms and dispositions which are used to regulate and generate practices, perceptions, representations, and reflect and reproduce social structures. It explains why certain views about specific tourism sites may be difficult to shift even when alternate discourses have been constructed and marketed. In essence due to the persistence and durability of the apartheid habitus where the newer post-apartheid-narratives are created they are still filtered through the apartheid gaze. This then shows how symbolical power relations between the 'coloniser' and 'ex-colonised' remain relatively unchanged and may be reflected in representations of the City today.

An interpretation of Bourdieu's theories show further that tourists and tourism actors can gain symbolic power as the 'dominant social groups' in a city even though they do not reside there. This is the case when their resources and activities go unrecognised (as being a source of power) through the 'mystifying discourse' used to legitimise tourism. Tourism actors may include an array of groups such as tourism marketers, tour operators, tourism business owners, tour guides, tourists

themselves and the media. They would thus be the social group that gain dominance through having recognised the symbolic capital (i.e. resources whether material, cultural, social or symbolic) related to tourism. Certain 'capital', in the form of specific tourism sites, icons, and symbols within the city may have only gained value when recognised as symbolic capital and then promoted as tourist sites by the City authorities or various tourism entrepreneurs. The Council may also promote a certain representation of the city that becomes symbolic 'capital', for instance about the safety, trendiness, hipness, authenticity and value of certain parts of the city. Symbolic power in this case can be seen as the exercise of power through the establishing of a hierarchy of values in terms of what is considered worthy. The next three chapters present the findings on Johannesburg.

Chapter 3: Continuities (and Ruptures) in the Imaginaries of Johannesburg

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to outline the discourses used to represent Johannesburg since its origins. This is done from a historical perspective because it is assumed in accordance with Bourdieu's concept of habitus that current tourism imaginaries would draw on these discourses. On the other hand the historical context gives a basis on which I can illustrate (in the next Chapter) where tourism representations have been used as a form of hyperreality to create a certain imaginary of Johannesburg that did not previously exist. The historical context will also seek to reflect on the degree of the shifts that occurred over time and understand whether a change in discourses reflects a new discursive formation with a different regime of truth; or simply that a shift has been tolerated within the existing discursive formation. To do this I will seek to show how the many identities of Johannesburg have resulted in the city being characterised as the 'elusive metropolis' (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008). Thus I draw on discourses reflected within the multiple imaginaries of Johannesburg; the African (by virtue of its location), European (by virtue of colonialism), and American (because it is deeply connected to a culture of consumption) (Mbembe and Nuttall (2008). I will also draw quite heavily on Johannesburg's history of resistance to colonialism and apartheid, as a particular imaginary that has shaped the City in line with the idea that hegemonic discourses can and do need to be contested in unequal societies. While the imaginaries are categorised as discursive themes; there is an attempt to follow a historical sequence in terms of the origination of the discourse. I will also highlight key statements that epitomise how the City was represented in each era.

3.2 'The European City in Africa'

Gold mining which began in 1886 barely registers in current imaginaries of the City though Johannesburg is still at times affectionately called the 'City of Gold' or eGoli. It is more the 'boomtown' that followed that features strongly in urban imaginaries of the City; Johannesburg is often represented as the commercial hub of South Africa (Rogerson, 1996). In the early 20th century Johannesburg was called the 'little New York, 'the New York of Africa'; 'the European city in Africa'; or 'Africa's Wonder City' (Rogerson, 1996; Bremner, 2000; Kruger, 2013) reflecting a tendency to dissociate from the African continent. Finding references to tourism imaginaries for this era proved to be somewhat difficult as tourism in Johannesburg did not feature significantly until the late 1990s (Rogerson, 2002). Tourism imaginaries for South Africa as a whole provide a hint of the official tourism discourse of the time. An advertisement in the American travel journal *Travel* (1929) placed by the South Africa Government Bureau reflects the following tourism imaginary:

“South Africa is one of the most modern and progressive sections of the world ... luxurious hotels and railroads, delightful golf and yachting clubs, superb motor roads, and all the comforts and conveniences of modern civilization. But there is also the immensely picturesque native side of South Africa, so alluring to the tourist... the quaint Kraal life... wild war dances ...weird, age-old tribal customs the dignified Zulu chief and his retinue of dusky wives ... stalwart warriors with their spears, shields, and knobkerries ... the primitive musical instruments ... the women’s fantastic headdresses the superstitious mummerly of the witch doctor” (Travel 1929: 51; cited in Wolf, 1991: 103).

In this way South Africa was marketed as a place where “westerners” could experience “non-western society in easy proximity to modern conveniences” (Wolf, 1991: 106). These were presented as a hierarchical binary reflecting colonial stereotypes as seen in the American travel journal *Nomad* (1929):

“... meet this Zulu Warrior face to face. See him in his thrilling but peaceful war dances.... in South Africa you find picturesque, quaint, colourful, native Kraal life side by side with modern civilization” (cited in Wolf, 1991: 106).

In accordance with the tourism imaginaries of the day; Westerners wanted to experience the “darkest Africa” and then “return home and tell how daring they had been, how superior their ways were to what they had seen, and what an adventurous time they had had” (Wolf, 1991: 108). Thus the imaginary of a ‘European City in Africa’ was carried through to tourism imaginaries where South Africa’s advantage as a tourism destination was seen as “the blend of familiar with strikingly unfamiliar people [and] the proximity of the cities to the rural, black African communities” (ibid: 110). Barring a few changes in wording to reflect the more politically correct language of today these adverts would be believable as being still broadly reflective of current European and American tourism imaginaries of South Africa (Hammet, 2014; Cornelissen, 2005, Grundlingh, 2006). The Great depression in 1930s and the second World War in the 1940s stalled overseas tourism in the country somewhat (Wolf, 1991). I will now consider the alternative imaginaries of Johannesburg.

3.3 ‘All roads lead to Johannesburg’ⁱ: The Migrant versus the Cosmopolitan Urban African

Following the gold rush, subsequent industrialisation and various restrictions on rural land in the late 1800s and early 1900s Johannesburg became a migrant city for those in search of employment and opportunity. Migrants flocked to freehold townships like Sophiatown, Alexandra, Martindale, and Newclare which represented a space where migrants could rent and gain a foothold into the City (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). These townships became slums by the 1930s due to the absence of basic municipal services and overcrowding (ibid). On the other hand they represented the spaces

ⁱ From *Cry the Beloved Country* by Alan Paton

for the foundation of the cosmopolitan urban African as 'elite Africans' distinguished themselves from 'tribal Africans' in the freehold townships (ibid; Kruger, 2013). This established Johannesburg as a site of contestation about what it means to be African and also challenged the official discourse at the time that Africans were 'temporary sojourners' in the City (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). This statement from the Stallard Commission report (1922) laid the basis for the Urban Areas Act (1923) and determined the official discourse of the City for many years:

"Natives--men, women and children-- should only be permitted into municipal areas in so far and as long as when their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population [they] should depart there from when they cease to minister to the needs of the white man".

In contrast to this view freehold townships represented a challenge to the state's imagining of black people as temporary residents in urban areas (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). Property ownership resulted in a sense of permanence, independence, and respectability, thus challenging official discourse at the time (ibid). Johannesburg did feature in some of the discourses of tourists visiting at the time but showed that Americans and Europeans found the urban African an incongruous and discomforting sight as can be seen in this statement from a visitor in 1933 commenting on "domestic servants":

"You may see them, on a Sunday afternoon, gathered together in the back yards, where their quarters are; they are dressed in grotesque imitation of the latest European fashion, and chant a monotonous succession of four or five notes of the scale, as they form an admiring circle round the proud possessor of a mouth organ" (Myers, 1933: 46, cited in Wolf, 1991: 109).

This discomfort came about apparently because these Western tourists wanted to see "something dramatic, something exotic, something, if possible, barbaric to western eyes" (Wolf, 1991: 110). There was concern further from the state that the modernisation of Africans would lead to the loss of the distinctiveness that characterised South Africa and attracted tourists at the time (ibid).

Sophiatown epitomised these contradictions. The urban African was reflected negatively in various movies from the 1940s. For instance the 1949 movie 'Jim Comes to Joburg' dramatized "the familiar figure of the rural migrant at a loss in the big city", at the mercy of the sophisticated urban African (Kruger, 2013: 157). The novel (1948) and film (1951) 'Cry, the Beloved Country' by Alan Paton exposed the poor living conditions experienced in Sophiatown and in turn seemed to portray rural life in an idealistic manner (Knevel, 2015: 65). Other depictions portrayed Sophiatown as the 'ghetto' in line with American influences seeing it as necessary "characteristic traits of a new metropolitan lifestyle" (Knevel, 2015: 66). African Americans (or so-called Negroes at the time) influenced the development of jazz music and other cultural forms in Sophiatown such that it was referred to as "little Harlem" (Kruger, 2013). American cultural influences were also reflected in the black writers

and intellectuals who were “inspired by the ‘New Negroes’ in 1920s Harlem” (ibid: 37). The ‘New Negroes’ in America represented a vocal challenge to segregationist laws and practices in the United States and inspired the Harlem Renaissance with writers like W.E.B du Bois and Alain Locke being representative of a new awakening of the recognition of African American arts (ibid). In the same way the ‘Sophiatown Renaissance’ spawned writers like Can Themba, Bloke Modisane and Esk’ia Mphahlele who tried to recreate the American ghetto (Knevel, 2015). In depicting Sophiatown they introduced an imaginary that “seemed to refute the opinions of all those whites who thought that Africans were not fit for an urban lifestyle” (ibid: 67). Sophiatown has since then been used to show how the discourses of cosmopolitanism and racial harmony contested the ideology of separate development (Knevel, 2015). The imaginary of Sophiatown challenged the official hegemonic discourse of the state which determined that black people should only be in urban areas as long as ‘their presence is demanded by the wants of the white population’ as envisaged in the Stallard Commission. After 1948 the state’s policy of forcibly removing black people from many freehold townships to settle in townships specifically created for them, ironically cemented their permanence.

3.4 Surveillance and Resistance

Appalling slum conditions and overcrowding created a unifying force and planted the seed for collective political action that later became the norm in resistance against the apartheid regime (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008). This had various repercussions in terms of the construction of Johannesburg’s imaginary.

3.4.1 Land Invasions by the Sofasonke Party (1940s)

The first type of collective political action which I believe has left an indelible mark on the urban imaginaries of Johannesburg are the land invasions in Orlando (Soweto) in the 1940s led by James Mpanza who formed the Sofasonke party (Bonner and Segal, 1998). These events constructed a discourse around the right to the city as a central part of the urban imaginary of Johannesburg. This statement by James Mpanza was a challenge to the official discourse of Stallard Commission:

"I am a messenger sent by God. The Municipality has taken on itself the duty of providing us with houses. But it has not carried out that duty. There are no houses for us. We can no longer wait for them to put a roof over our heads. I am taking possession of the authority's vacant land and I am building shacks for the people who have no houses (James Mpanza, 1943; cited in Bonner and Segal, 1998: 22).

In this way the land invasions were a form of representation and became a visual and dramatic display of collective action that was effective in getting the attention of the state.



Figure 3.1: Sofasonke land invasion in Orlando, Soweto in the 1940s (source www.sahistory.org.za, retrieved 20 March, 2016)

3.4.2 The Alexandra Bus Boycotts (1943-44 and 1957)

Further examples of contestation to the official discourse are the bus boycotts against fare increases in Alexandra in 1943-44 and 1957. The imagery of crowds of people walking to the City centre rather than using buses and the slogan *Azikhwelwa* (a directive in Zulu meaning literally; ‘the buses should not be ridden’) represented a contestation of the discourse of the powerlessness of black people against the might of the state. The boycotts showed that protest and the discourse around it could effect change:

“This stirred up guilty feelings among whites like no other event of the war and created a climate of public opinion that inhibited the authorities from taking forceful action against the boycott, and thereby contributed to the conditions that allowed the boycott to succeed” (Bonner and Nieftagodien, 2008: 67).



Figure 3.2: Alexandra Bus Boycott (Source www.apartheidmuseum.org retrieved 20 March, 2016)

These protests were a show of force that arguably fuelled the fear of Afrikaner nationalists such as DF Malan who later became president and characterised the City as the new battleground for economic resources between the African and the Afrikaner (Knevel, 2015). After the National Party came into power in 1948, this resulted in many forced removals from the 1950s (including Sophiatown in 1955); influx control laws and other laws designed to quell resistance. At first the new regime did not place priority on attracting overseas tourists rather focusing on “more pressing priorities” such as the “consolidation of Afrikaner power and the early shaping of apartheid policies” (Grundlingh, 2006: 105).

3.4.3 The Rivonia Treason Trial (1963-64)

The Rivonia Treason Trial in 1963-64 was the first major event in Johannesburg that caught international attention because it was seen as “the most visible clash in the struggle between the apartheid state and the anti-apartheid movement” (Kruger, 2013: 58). The speech by ANC leader Nelson Mandela from the dock presented for the world to see for the first time an alternative imaginary to the one that had been presented by the state:

“Africans want to be paid a living wage. Africans want to perform work which they are capable of doing, and not work which the Government declares them to be capable of. Africans want to be allowed to live where they obtain work, and not be endorsed out of an area because they were not born there. Africans want to be allowed to own land in places where they work, and not to be obliged to live in rented houses which they can never call their own. Africans want to be part of the general population, and not confined to living in their own ghettos. African men want to have their wives and children to live with them where they work, and not be forced into an unnatural existence in men’s hostels. African women want to be with their menfolk and not be left permanently widowed in the Reserves. Africans want to be allowed out after eleven o’clock at night and not to be confined to their rooms like little children. Africans want to be allowed to travel in their own country and to seek work where they want to and not where the Labour Bureau tells them to. Africans want a just share in the whole of South Africa; they want security and a stake in society. Above all, we want equal political rights, because without them our disabilities will be permanent” (Mandela, 1964 (1990))

The visual displays around the trial played out in the city centre at the Drill Hall in “public displays of defiance” in train stations, bus lines, park benches and concert halls representing broader resistance to apartheid (Kruger, 2013: 60, 62). The protests were visual representations reflected in the international media as discourses challenging the prevailing ideology. Following the guilty verdict and the banning of black political organisations there was a “temporary lull” in political resistance to apartheid. This period was also one of economic consolidation for the apartheid regime with high growth rates that allowed for the building of some of the icons of Johannesburg’s skyline

(Grundlingh, 2006, Kruger, 2013). This includes the Hillbrow Tower, Ponte City and the Carlton Centre which were built in the 1970s as part of the “great apartheid building boom” (Chipkin, 1998, 248-67, cited in Kruger, 2013: 98). This together with the introduction of the commercial jet laid the basis for the state to begin focusing on attracting international tourists as a means to earn foreign revenue (Grundlingh, 2006). High-income tourists were initially targeted for the following reasons:

“the government was of the opinion that wealthy tourists were more likely to be politically conservative and influential in the ‘right’ circles and would comment favourably on their visit to South Africa upon their return to their home countries” (Theo Behrens, Secretary of Tourism from 1973 to 1981, cited in Grundlingh, 2006: 107).



Figure 3.3: Two of the icons of apartheid era modernity Hillbrow Tower and Ponte City (photo by author)

At this stage though the government was not using tourism discourse as a form of propaganda, in part they were able to mask discriminatory policies or alternatively tourists were not aware or did not want to know about these (Grundlingh, 2006). Therefore “it was possible ... to concentrate blithely on wildlife, sunshine, beaches and mountains in South Africa without even mentioning apartheid” (ibid: 107, 108). In line with this official tourism brochures of the 1960s depicted “the ubiquitous imagery of sun, sea and wildlife ...supplemented by material focusing on sport” (ibid: 110). As such black people did not feature and South Africa was depicted as “an invitingly outdoor, exclusively white country with a consuming interest in sporting matters” (ibid: 110). In part this was a strategic decision made by tourism authorities during the Apartheid period to focus on the more politically neutral tourism attractions. This meant that South Africa’s tourism marketing had “an image that was highly exclusionary”; either ignoring or obscuring Black cultures or alternatively “stereotyping and trivialising them as commodities” (Cornelissen, 2005: 683). Tourism marketers (in this case the Apartheid authorities) defined a certain ‘tourist gaze’ thus limiting tourists’

understanding of the socio-political conditions at the time such that it “shut out possible controversial imagery” (Grundlingh, 2006: 108).

In many cases this controversial imagery would have been most visible in the urban centres. Echoing tourism imaginaries in the 1920s and 1930s, a 1959 Satour tourism production entitled ‘South Africa: A Preview for the Visitor’ depicted Black people in tourism marketing only in so far as it confirmed or promoted “certain racial stereotypes and mythology” (Grundlingh, 2006: 110). The film thus showed black people “in their rural ‘habitat’ as ‘unspoilt’ by city life” and perpetuating “the myth of the ‘empty land’, with blacks being described as trekking from the centre of Africa and being as much immigrants to the interior of the country as the white colonists” (ibid: 110). Again as in the 1920s and 30s cities were used to represent the contrast between the hierarchical binaries of the ‘primitive’ and the ‘modern’ (ibid). For example Grundlingh (2006: 111) quotes the 1963 Secretary for Tourism as follows:

“Here is an exhilarating land lying under a warm beneficial sun. Cities, alive with prosperity and confidence, form a contrast to picturesque Bantu Villages where ancient tribal rites and traditions are still to be seen”

3.4.4 Soweto Uprising (1976)



Figure 3.4: Hector Pietersen Museum showing the famous photo by Sam Nzima often used to represent the 1976 students uprising (photo by author)

When the uprising of students occurred in Soweto in 1976 it disrupted the myth of South Africa as the peaceful haven of sea, sun and nature (Grundlingh, 2006). Soweto was established in 1905 as a site for those removed from Newtown beginning with Klipspruit (which later became Pimville) and

Orlando in the 1930s (Bonner and Segal, 1998). Soweto from the beginning symbolized what would increasingly be the apartheid state's chosen apparatus to govern black people; that is the use of surveillance (Robinson, 1997) to maintain the imaginary of Johannesburg as the 'European City in Africa'. The modernist grid layouts of the new townships like Soweto further provided a form of surveillance and control for apartheid security forces not previously possible in the freehold townships due to the haphazard urban form as a result of overcrowding and backyard shacks (Bank, 2011). Soweto itself became a symbol of 'the location' or 'township': on the one hand it symbolized the techniques of disciplinary power used by the modern state by confining black people to specific spaces from which they could easily be watched (Robinson, 1997). It also paradoxically provided a site from which black people could collectively contest the ideology of apartheid. The Soweto 1976 protests could be seen as a direct challenge to this particular statement by HF Verwoerd after he became Minister of Native Affairs in 1951 which normalised the discourse of inferior education for black people as follows:

"There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour ... What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live" (cited in Republic of South African, 1953).

Challenging this more than twenty years later Khotso Seathoo the president of the Soweto Students Representative Council President said this in 1976:

"We shall rise up and destroy a political ideology that is designed to keep us in a perpetual state of oppression and subserviency. We shall oppose the economic system that is keeping us in a non-ending state of poverty. We shall not stand a social system of Bantu Education whose aim is to reduce us, mentally and physically, into 'hewers of wood and drawers of water' for the racist masters. Our whole 'being' rebels against the whole South African system of existence, the system of apartheid that is killing us psychologically and physically" (cited in Harsch, 1980: 297).

Suddenly that which had been hidden was portrayed in international media and impacted negatively on tourism because it created a "spectre of general mayhem and danger" (Grundlingh, 2006: 113). June 1976 highlighted the City's divided landscape and challenged the bright and positive representations of Johannesburg with 'darker' images of fear, poverty and brutality (ibid). South African had until the mid-1970s experienced steady increases in tourism from both neighbouring countries and overseas (ibid). South Africa's local tourism economy was thriving albeit it was almost exclusively white (ibid). This was because "black tourism, other than visiting families and friends, was severely curtailed through discriminatory legislation" such as the Group Areas Act and the Separate Amenities Act (ibid: 118). The resulting 27 per cent drop in international tourist arrivals after the

1976 Soweto uprisings were of concern therefore (ibid). The tourism authorities reacted with a 'reassurance campaign' as reflected in this statement:

"At the time of the troubles in Soweto we acted immediately to undertake what I would call a 'reassurance campaign' in the countries from where our tourists emanated. We organised special seminars, we brought special visits to our business acquaintances in the 13 areas where we have overseas offices and we invited travel agents on an unprecedented scale to South Africa. We brought travel writers and correspondents and editors of travel journals from all over the world to South Africa. The result was that a message of reassurance spread all over the world. It made an end to the decline which was fairly serious, but which would have been more serious if we had not taken these actions" (Minister of Tourism Marais Steyn, 1976 cited in Grundlingh, 2006: 114).

3.4.5 National State of Emergency (1986)

These strategies may have worked had Soweto 1976 been "a temporary aberration" (Grundlingh, 2006: 114). Instead resistance to apartheid particularly in the urban areas escalated in the 1980s and the government clamped down announcing a national state of emergency in 1986 as the turmoil reached a countrywide level (ibid: 114). Tourism figures dropped again, then "picked up again subsequently, as oppositional groups spent time regrouping and a spurious calm returned" (ibid: 114) to the extent that then president P.W. Botha declared in 1987:

"Those people who have been ranting against us for the last eighteen months to two years, who throughout the world have been heaping abuse on South Africa, have in a way done us a favour. Now the world is growing curious to come and see this country. Tourism is increasing and each tourist who has come and has seen South Africa, goes back and says, 'I never knew that there was a country with so many superb features'" (ibid: 114).

Though appearing brazen, it was clear from the response of tourism authorities that the government was shaken by these events as it resulted in a shift in tourism discourse. There was a stronger focus on using tourism as propaganda to the extent that "foreign touristsbecame valuable ideological commodities" (Grundlingh, 2006: 114).

This involved countering what was perceived as a left-wing bias and sensationalism in the overseas media by conveying what they viewed as the "'correct' information to prospective tourists" (Grundlingh, 2006: 114). The following statement from Satour reflects this:

"The value of well-disposed tourism from overseas as the creator of understanding and goodwill to counter negative publicity against South Africa, cannot be calculated in monetary terms" (Satour, 1985; cited in Grundlingh, 2006: 115).

1986 was also the year of Johannesburg's centenary celebrations; the celebrations themselves were considered a failure as "official efforts to project an image of success and modernity encountered

wide resistance from the city's black populace" (Rogerson, 1996: 142). This was the beginning of the end of Apartheid and ushered in a 'grey' period where uncertainty about the future image of the city seemed to prevail and tourism was not even considered.

3.5 Dystopian Imaginaries of Crime and Grime: The 'Gangsters Paradise' (the 1990s)

The abolition of Pass Laws in 1986 saw black people moving into the centre of Johannesburg from peripheral townships and rural areas (Beavon, 2004). Until the mid-1990s the City Council was paralysed by uncertainty about post-apartheid Johannesburg (ibid). Slum conditions developed as a result of overcrowding, greedy landlords, non-provision of services, and non-compliance with by-laws (ibid). Many white residents and larger corporates moved to the northern suburbs of Johannesburg (ibid). Commercial activity in the inner-city changed as vacated corporate office spaces were replaced by small businesses (ibid). In the later 1990s the demographics of the city shifted further as Africans from the rest of the continent, seeking opportunity or asylum, migrated to Johannesburg (Wafer, 2009: 11). By the 2000s what could be termed dystopian imaginaries (Bridge and Watson, 2001) of the inner-city prevailed. It was characterised as "a place beyond the limits of civilization ... black, threatening, untamed and barbaric" (Bremner, 2000: 191). These imaginaries were advanced by the media as:

"... alarmist newspaper headlines, such as 'City in Ruins: Entering a City in Filth', 'Jo'burg on the Road to Calcutta', Spectre of Overcrowding Hangs over Africa's Cities', ... 'Great Trek Out of CBD Continues', ... and 'Johannesburg is in a State of decline' effectively convey—through alarmist metaphor and anxious hyperbole—the uncertainty surrounding the country's largest and most well-known city" (Murray, 2008: 68-69).

Crime played an important aspect of dystopian imaginaries with films characterising the city as a 'Gangster's Paradise'; for instance in *Hijack Stories* (2000), *Tsotsi* (2005), and *Jerusalem* (2008). In the later 2000s "even as the city began to recover" these "narratives of gloom, doom, and crime" persisted (Kruger, 2013: 156) despite efforts at regeneration. The following statement reflects this:

"... Johannesburg today is a city in chaos. It is filthy, it is teeming with lawless drivers ... its inner-city buildings are rapidly decaying and many of them should be condemned. ... In Harrison Street, a 15 storey, face-brick building is occupied but how people are living there is beyond me. Windows are broken, parts of the building are crumbling and the balconies are not even properly secured. Inside the building there is evidence of filth and moral decay as well. Services don't work and the lifts are broken. I pass derelict building after derelict building, ... Some of them boarded up, others simply deserted. ... And I ask myself: "Where is this inner city regeneration? Where are the revitalisation projects? Where are the cleaners, the building inspectors, the metropolitan police?" (Hartdegen, 2010).



Figure 3.5: Theatrical posters for the film 'Jeruselema' representing dystopian imaginaries of Johannesburg (sources <http://www.moviepostershop.com> and <http://www.africultures.com> retrieved 11 January 2016)

Dystopian imaginaries also in part reflected the sheer scale of the challenge of post-apartheid governance of Johannesburg which became the 'crisis of management' (Kruger, 2013). The perceived unmanageability of the city was a key driver of the re-imagining and regeneration of the City.

3.6 The Journey to the 'World-Class African City'

From the 1990s the Councilⁱⁱ attempted to shift from fractured towards more inclusive urban imaginaries of Johannesburg. This focused on reinventing, re-imagining and remarketing the Johannesburg inner city (Bremner, 2000) but also meant the City was increasingly sucked into the discourse of global competitiveness (Fu and Murray, 2014). Each phase of this shift is deconstructed below.

3.6.1 'Gateway to Southern Africa (and beyond)'

In the early 1990s the City launched a campaign to attract local and international investors, consumers and tourists, adopting the slogan 'Johannesburg - Gateway to Southern Africa (and beyond)' (Rogerson, 1996: 143). The campaign aimed at "positioning the city advantageously in the global economy" (Bremner, 2000: 185, 186). The adopted global city imaginary seemed to hark back

ⁱⁱ Johannesburg City Council between 1991 and 1993, then the Greater Johannesburg Metropolitan Council from 1995.

to earlier representations; referring to Johannesburg as the “Tokyo or New York of Africa” (ibid: 186). Johannesburg still displayed a “characteristic colonial ambivalence to Africa” however emphasising instead its location “on the edge of Africa” (ibid: 188). Johannesburg was placed advantageously between the binary opposites of the ‘civilised / uncivilised’ world, offering a gateway to both. In line with the positivity created by the CODESA negotiations attempts were made to portray the city as more inclusive (Rogerson, 1996; Bremner, 2000). Johannesburg’s failed bid for the 2004 Olympics captured this imaginary and also for the first time portrayed itself as being as one with the African continent in its logo and slogan “For Africa” (see figure 3.6 below). The Olympics were seen to be a vehicle “to empower those who were disadvantaged in the past” (Johannesburg 1993a; cited in Rogerson, 1996: 143). Johannesburg aspirationally portrayed an imaginary of inclusivity and was represented as: “South Africa's most integrated city, carrying the torch for a new Africa” (ibid). The city was not marketed to tourists at this time the focus being on attracting investors (Rogerson, 1996).



Figure 3.6: Logo for Johannesburg’s bid for the 2004 Olympic Games (source: Rogerson, 1996: 146)

3.6.2 ‘Golden Heartbeat of Africa’

In 1995 the new multi-racial Metropolitan Council with ANC mayor Isaac Mogase at the helm ushered in another re-imagining of the city this time as ‘The Golden Heartbeat of Africa’ (Bremner, 2000: 189). The official discourse portrayed a future where the City was “well-managed”; inclusive and integrated; worked; and focused on local upliftment as much as it did on external investment attraction (ibid: 189). It also emphasised the desire to be “a truly global city” (ibid: 189). In contrast

to the previous conceptions of a 'European city in Africa', the City was imagined as the "hub of Africa". There was a shift therefore towards recognizing the city's location in Africa:

"... capitalizing on its position in South Africa, Africa and the world, a truly global city. The trading hub of Africa thriving through participation, partnerships and the spirit of Ubuntu" (Royston, 1997: 5, cited in Bremner, 2000: 189).

This vision located Johannesburg not at the margins or as Africa's gateway but rather as its centre; thus "seek[ing] to incorporate its African-ness into its image of itself" (Bremner, 2000: 189). One of the projects implemented in line with this vision in Joubert Park won approval from some quarters because it shifted the urban imaginaries:

"from a high-profile, leisure-industry driven public/private regeneration strategy to one focusing on people's living and working environments, employment creation and social equity" (Bremner, 2000: 190).

Tourism was touched on in the vision but was not a key feature as in the mid-1990s tourism marketing piggy-backed on investor marketing (Rogerson, 2002). Business tourism was promoted using the imaginary of Johannesburg as the 'gateway to southern Africa' building on the fact that the City had a concentration of South African corporate head offices and regional branch offices of multinationals (ibid: 172). Additionally the City's comparative advantage in existing convention infrastructure meant that it was projected by some as possibly being "the Geneva of South Africa" (Allen, 1996: 46, cited in Rogerson, 2002: 172). The implementation of these tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg was however hampered by severe the financial crisis facing Johannesburg in 1997 (Harrison, 2006). As a result the national government intervened and the Council prioritised efficiency and competitiveness in line with a neo-liberal ideology (ibid).

3.6.3 From the 'World Class, Globally Competitive City' to the 'World-Class African City'

The response to the financial crisis was initially to move away from vision to pragmatism. In 1999 the City produced a three-year transformation plan *Igoli 2002* focusing on corporatisation and privatisation of city functions (Greater Johannesburg, 1999; Harrison, 2006: 330). Following the appointment of Amos Masondo as the new executive mayor in 2000 the Joburg 2030 strategy was developed shifting the City towards the imaginary of a "world class, globally competitive city" (Bremner, 2000: 191) as outlined in the vision:

"Johannesburg will be a world-class city with service deliverables and efficiencies that meet world best practice" (COJ, 2002).

The vision emphasised global competitiveness, efficiencies, higher revenues, and sustainable increases in income levels to further consolidate the corporatisation and privatisation that took

place under *Igoli 2002* (ibid). The idea that Johannesburg was not an attractive destination for tourists was the common discourse at the time. For instance a report on tourism in the country found that there was an “inherent belief among many tourism stakeholders that Gauteng is lacking in appropriate attractions and is not a globally competitive tourism destination” (The Cluster Consortium, 1999a; cited in Rogerson and Visser, 2005: 171).

Thus COJ’s first Tourism Strategy confirmed this discourse placing emphasis on Johannesburg as a destination for business tourism (COJ, 2001). This was justified based on statistics which indicated that the province had a comparative advantage in attracting business rather than leisure tourists (ibid). The statement below shows how this profiling of Johannesburg as a business tourism destination was premised on supporting the status quo:

“Johannesburg has an advantage over other South African cities in that it has five venues that can cater for between 2000 and 5000 delegates, and two that can cater for upwards of 5000 delegates. This allows the City, without further investment, to host the largest of events in line with overseas competitors” (ibid: 91).

As a result the MICE (meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions) strategy was adopted for tourism in Johannesburg. This strategy also consolidated the Council’s overall cost-efficiency drive at the time since no major infrastructure investment was required in order to implement it. Presumably it was the easiest route to becoming a ‘world class, globally competitive city’ in line with the city’s vision at the time. Due to the apartheid legacy existing MICE infrastructure, corporate offices, convention centres and large hotels were located in the northern suburbs. This meant that tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg were limited to the northern suburbs (Rosebank and Sandton) to the exclusion of the inner-city and township areas. This tourism discourse confirmed how the historical ideology of apartheid continued to shape the tourism imaginaries of the City.

Johannesburg had begun to have two centres since the establishment of Sandton City in 1973. Since then malls had been driving as well as exploiting various imaginaries of Johannesburg. Malls can be thought of as driving and exploiting the so-called ‘culture of consumption’ as well as the escapism characterising middle-class imaginaries in Johannesburg. See for example this advertisement for Sandton City gives a sense of this narrative of escaping the realities of living in Johannesburg:

“Imagine a place where the likes of Jenni Button and Louis Vuitton, Carrol Boyes and Apple showcase their very best ranges, a place where you can sip on the world’s finest coffee or enjoy a French croissant or a slice of local milk tart – all under one roof. If you can imagine it, then you’ve pictured Sandton City, one of Africa’s leading and most prestigious shopping centres. Sandton City offers an unparalleled shopping experience that combines the world’s most desirable brands with everyday leisure and entertainment” (www.sandtoncity.com, retrieved 10 March, 2016).

Escapism is also evident in the very notion of a mall being called a 'city'; symbolising how Sandton the mall became the alternative 'city' for the offices and hotels that escaped the inner-city in the 1990s (de Vries, 2008: 298).

Escapism advanced towards hyperreality and simulation in the 2000s when the 'Vegas-style complexes' such as Montecasino were developed. Fu and Murray (2014: 847, 858) argue that these complexes represent the imaginaries of "escapist entertainment and consumerism packaged as a kind of dream fulfilment" as well as "consumption, excess and technological showmanship". Such complexes represent therefore the extent to which the "images and surfaces" of Johannesburg "override historical memory and replace it with the common sense of consumption and fantasy" (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008: 27). Fu and Murray (2014: 858) also find them problematic because this lack of a historical reference to the local is "absorbed into architectural discourse." In the northern suburbs this can be seen in how the Tuscan style became the hegemonic discourse in architecture for many years after Montecasino was first developed. Furthermore Montecasino can also be seen to be the exploitation by private developers and designers of the "desires, nostalgia or paranoia of people who can afford to be there" (ibid: 858). On the other hand, Hall and Bombardella (2005: 20) argue that Montecasino is not just the overriding of historical memory for the sake of it, but a response to the limited inventory of authentic historical sites that could be used as the basis of a tourist city. Therefore Montecasino should be regarded as symbolic of Johannesburg's burgeoning middle class identity, much like a regenerated heritage site (albeit fake) in European tourist cities (ibid).



Figure 3.7: Inside Montecasino (photo by author, 2016)

To extend tourism imaginaries and to increase revenues the COJ began to place emphasis on the types of projects that would bring back private capital and tourists to the city centre in the early 2000s. The Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA) which was formed in 2001 spearheaded regeneration to create some of the city's most iconic tourism sites including Constitution Hill, the Newtown Precinct, Kliptown and Vilakazi Street (www.joburg.org.za). The Nelson Mandela Bridge built with the support of the national and provincial government was created as an iconic structure in line with other tourist cities:

"Paris has the Eiffel Tower, New York its Statue of Liberty and Sydney its Harbour Bridge – all internationally recognised structures which have helped put these cities on the map. It is envisaged that the new Nelson Mandela Bridge will do the same for Johannesburg" (www.mandelabridge.co.za)ⁱⁱⁱ cited in Stevens, 2006: 11).

Furthermore Mayor Masondo saw the bridge as:

"a boost for Joburg inner city [as] the council is striving to transform Johannesburg into a 'world class African city' that would compete with other cities of the world" (Sowetan July 18 2001:4, cited in Stevens, 2006: 66).

During Amos Masondo's time Johannesburg adopted the more brand-friendly diminutive 'Joburg' and began to position itself as 'Joburg: The World-Class African City'. This slogan was influenced by the private-sector think-tank the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE), who sought to position Johannesburg as "Africa's World City" (Beavon, 2004: 270; Stevens, 2006). This slogan has persisted while the interpretation of what it means to be an 'African' world city has been somewhat unclear. As discussed earlier it can be seen as the City's attempt to re-emphasise its 'African' heritage and location in the urban imaginaries, while still straddling "western, capitalist modernity" (Sihlongonyane, 2015b: 2142). This is represented for instance in the term 'Afropolitan' which is "presented (albeit seen as a capitalist stunt for middle and upper classes) as a new and unprecedented form of African cosmopolitanism" (ibid: 12). The *Joburg 2040* Growth and Development Strategy (GDS) (released by Mayor Parks Tau) confirmed the previous Mayor's branding. The vision was encapsulated as follows:

"Johannesburg – a World Class African City of the Future – a vibrant, equitable African city, strengthened through its diversity; a city that provides real quality of life; a city that provides sustainability for all its citizens; a resilient and adaptive society" (City of Johannesburg, 2011: 3).

This vision appeared to be more inclusive as it incorporated the terms 'equitable' and 'diversity' and 'all its citizens' which would appear to promote inclusivity (COJ, 2011). However the 'world-class city'

ⁱⁱⁱ This website no longer exists, however, a similar statement exists on www.joburg.org.za under the heading "Madiba's Joburg

imaginary seems not to allow for the “messy intersections and overlapping realities” of Johannesburg (Bremner, 2004a, p. 115, cited in Harrison, 2006: 327).

The over-emphasis on ‘world-class city’ is criticised further for producing in practice “insensitivity towards poor citizens” (Harrison, 2006: 330). In the discourses of the city informality is seen as something to be eliminated; the City set itself a target of eliminating informal settlements by 2014 (www.joburg.org.za). In reality informality exists in the inner-city, suburbs and on the urban fringes. In *Joburg 2040* the estimated 189 informal settlements were acknowledged to be:

“the means by which the most socially and economically disconnected queue for access” (COJ, 2011: ibid: 47).

In line with this though the narrative of ‘eradicating informal settlements’ has dominated the public discourse at the national level, the city’s official discourse has shifted over the last decade towards recognising:

“the impossibility of eradicating its informal settlements outright, responding instead to the immediate humanitarian/ living standards challenges they represent” (ibid: 47).



Figure 3.8: Thembelihle (left) and Diepsloot (right) (photos by author, 2014)

I discussed in section 1.1.3 above how the right to informal trading is an imaginary that is dealt with in an ambivalent manner by the City (Crush, 2015). This shows that the official discourse can represent urban imaginaries that appear inclusive on paper yet in practice make some residents invisible. On the one hand the City’s official discourse embraces informal trading:

“For the City of Johannesburg, informal trading is a positive development in the microbusiness sector as it contributes to the creation of jobs and alleviation of poverty and has the potential to expand further the City’s economic base” (COJ, 2009: 3).

Yet in 2013 the City “violently removed and confiscated the inventory of an estimated 6,000 inner-city street traders, many of them migrants” (Crush et al, 2015: 7). The discourse of ‘cleaning up’ the

city has been used as a basis to justify the removal of informal traders from various parts of the city. Recently following a court ruling the mayor indicated that the City:

“Had reached a resolution on how to accommodate informal trading in the inner-city as a properly regulated activity, peaceful coexisting with all the other demands on that bustling space” (JDA, 2015e)

Though it is still not clear what this will mean in reality, these examples illustrate how official discourse while appearing inclusive, can in reality veil or silence the imaginaries of less powerful groupings in the City.

3.7 Conclusion

The discussion above gave a sense (though not exhaustive) of the various imaginaries of Johannesburg, some of which are hidden or silenced in the official discourse. Johannesburg can be thought of as ‘elusive’ (Nuttall and Mbembe, 2008) therefore both because of the variety of imaginaries and also because many of these are not represented in the official discourses of the City. The discussion also points to the continuities in the representations of Johannesburg from its origins right through to the present; notwithstanding attempts by the city in the post-apartheid era to promote inclusive and alternative imaginaries of the city. The contextual analysis shows that the anticipated assumption that a new ‘regime of truth’ came into being with the advent of democracy this did not materialise as there has been some continuity with discourses into the present era. Considering power in relation to the symbolic and cultural spheres in line with Bourdieu further shows that the City is still operating based on forms of knowledge, objects, subjects and practices of knowledge produced during the colonial / apartheid era. This could be attributed to the persistence and durability of the colonial or apartheid era habitus, suggesting that the newer post-colonial narratives have limited impact because they are created and filtered through the colonial/ apartheid gaze.

For instance the idea of a ‘European City in Africa’ is a persistent theme in discourses of the City since its origins. In line with Bhabha’s post-colonial analysis Johannesburg’s current branding tries to embrace hybridity but often succumbs to the mimicry of global city icons; or alternatively ambivalence. This mimicry can be seen in various ways. On the one hand it relates to mimicking colonial/ apartheid era discourses, which become neo-colonial narratives. On the other hand mimicry can be seen at play in that the urge to be globally competitive based on the hierarchy of cities in relation to ‘global’ standards. If deconstructed these ‘global’ standards are found to be based on the binaries that have been created to establish a hierarchy between the West and the ‘other’, in line with what Edward Said referred to as *Orientalism*. This use of the ‘global’ as a standard uses mystifying discourse to legitimise this binary. However in introducing the word

'African' in the 'world-class city', the COJ has attempted to recognize the cultural influences of 'othered' people and places in making up the post-apartheid culture. Bhabha's (1994) concept of cultural hybridity suggests that the totalising discourse of apartheid / colonialism has been resisted with post-apartheid cultural symbols and heritage. In Johannesburg this has meant for instance representing icons of the resistance to apartheid such as Nelson Mandela; asserting the representation of the township space as an integral part of the city; representations of the African modern; as well as recognition of informal enterprises' right to the city (at least in policy). I now turn to how Johannesburg has been represented as a tourism destination in the City's current official discourses.

Chapter 4: Discourses in the Current Tourism Marketing of Johannesburg

4.1 Introduction: 'More Than a Stop Over'

In this chapter I uncover the discourses in the current tourism marketing of Johannesburg to understand the extent to which shifts have occurred in post-apartheid tourism imaginaries of the City. In adopting a new tourism strategy in 2012 the COJ attempted to reshape the hegemonic discourses of Johannesburg as a 'gateway' or 'commercial hub'. The City introduced new tourism imaginaries where Johannesburg was represented as a leisure destination with heritage, sports, lifestyle and cultural attractions (COJ, 2012). Additionally it was no longer simply represented as a gateway to other destinations. Slogans such as: "More than a stopover" (COJ, 2012) and "Give Joburg 72 hours and you will lose your heart to the City of Gold" (JDA, 2014b) were used to shift the tourism imaginaries from business to leisure tourism. Lumka Dlomo (interview, 2016) of Joburg Tourism reflects on how this process occurred and was implemented:

"We came up with the slogan because tour operators use Joburg as a stopover for Cape Town, Kenya, Kruger or Durban. We are saying: 'You don't have to jump on the next plane. There is so much to see while you are waiting for your connection; or why don't we change your one night stay into a two or three day stay to discover what Joburg has for tourists?' People come mainly for business so we have to convert them into leisure tourists. For instance if one is here for a conference we encourage them to stay longer to experience our leisure offerings over the weekend or we show them what they can do after business hours".

To shift the discourse towards an imaginary where Johannesburg is conceived of as an attractive tourist destination within its own right (i.e. not a stopover), the City has focused on three key actors. That is: tour operators based in their key overseas markets (mainly Europe), local tour guides and local residents. These actors have been used to make the tourism discourse acquire authority and thus become the 'truth'. How each was approached is discussed below.

4.1.1 Shifting International Tour Operators' Imaginary of Johannesburg

International tour operators are prioritised by Joburg Tourism because they mediate between the consumer and the tourism destination and therefore are key in shifting the discourse around the lack of safety in the City:

"Hosting a tour operator is important because they are our voice out there, they are our ambassador. They are the ones who would say: 'no don't stay! (in Joburg), go to Cape Town rather'. We invite them over or when we meet with them on the other side (in their countries), we tell them about Joburg and they say: 'okay I'm interested I'm selling Joburg - this is not the kind of information or understanding that I have about Joburg'. Or they say: 'I'll be coming over, do you mind hosting me?'" (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016).

Besides hosting them, Joburg Tourism is in constant communication with tour operators; sending the COJ's press releases, acquainting them with what's happening or is new in Johannesburg, and how the City is ranked in terms of international standards (ibid). Joburg Tourism believes this has resulted in a shift in the perception around the safety of tourists in Johannesburg as well as the attractiveness of the City for tourists (ibid). Evidence of this is that tour operators are including Johannesburg as part of the tour packages rather than just as a stopover (ibid). An example was given of a tour operator in the Netherlands who has included Johannesburg as part of their 'The Best of South Africa' package:

"This is someone who has come and has had the experience [of Johannesburg] and now is selling what they have seen. It's better to have conversations with the tour operators because it's them who have one-on-one with the consumer. Consumers will go on the net, but it's not all the time they will have answers to their questions, whereas ... a tour operator has either been here or has had conversations with us" (ibid).

Marketing the City to tour operators as 'more than a stopover' has created interest that has overcome negative stereotypes about Johannesburg:

"There's been a shift. When I first went to the Netherlands to talk to tour operators in 2014, they said: 'Joburg? No, we can't, it's dangerous that's all we know and see!' I've just come back from there and they are now saying 'Wow! Okay we have seen that there has been a change!' and now they want to know more. ... It's always a Wow moment: 'I never knew you had all these things' [in Johannesburg]" (ibid).

This shift away from dystopian imaginaries towards tourism imaginaries is partly recognized in international and local media, but Joburg Tourism is frustrated that this recognition is not widespread:

"With all the accolades in the past two years it shows that there's been a shift, it shows that people now are interested. It's just that some of these things are not out there in the media, people don't know about this. All they know is 'Ohh I can't go to Joburg, I'll just take a flight to the next destination, there nothing for you to see there'" (ibid).

This reflects how difficult it is to change a discourse once it has taken root as a hegemonic discourse or 'common sense' about the City.

4.1.2 'Educating' Local Tour Guides by Showcasing the City

Other agencies of the City support the work of Joburg Tourism by using local tour guides as a key audience where discourse can be put to work to re-imagine Johannesburg as a tourism city. The JDA and the City's Directorate of Arts, Culture and Heritage host yearly "educational tours" for local tour guides through the inner city and other parts of the city (JDA, 2014d; 2015f). These tours "aim to

educate and inform tour guides and heritage practitioners to enable them to give visitors to Johannesburg a quality tourism experience” (JDA, 2015f). The JDA also uses these tours to showcase “recently completed projects, in order to provide them with information showcasing the City’s urban renewal and development projects to local and international tourists” (ibid).

4.1.3 Local Residents Urged to ‘Explore and Discover their Own City’

In the first chapter I discussed the conflating of tourism and urban imaginaries in tourist cities as residents are urged to behave like tourists in their own city. This features as a very strong discursive theme in Johannesburg’s strategy which saw “local Joburgers [as] a critical audience for tourism to add value to the city” (COJ, 2012: 14). The COJ prioritised residents as key agents in promoting the City’s official discourse aiming to “inspire the people of Joburg, build local pride and gain significant advocacy for the city” as well as mobilise them “to explore and discover their own city” (COJ, 2012: 13). The City moreover aimed in the strategy to convince locals that tourism is beneficial to them as seen by these statements:

“Use tourism, related services and resulting enterprise development to add and illustrate value to citizens” (ibid: 14).

Consequently tourism attractions are marketed as being beneficial to both tourists and residents, thus justifying the need for investment in tourism infrastructure to locals. For instance:

“The BRT system, which was introduced by the City of Johannesburg, ... has become a popular mode of transport for Soweto residents and visitors alike” (Joburg Tourism, 2015b: 12).

Residents have become an asset for the city: “The friendly smiles of all Joburg’s people are our biggest asset” (COJ, 2012: 35). The “warm smiles” and hospitality of the residents are presented as a mitigating factor in overcoming the negativity about the city (Joburg Tourism, 2015a: 1). The imaginary of poverty and crime is countered with the imaginary of a warm and hospitable nation (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016). In particular Soweto is marketed as a place where tourists can “... meet people and experience Soweto’s culture” (Joburg Tourism, 2015b: 5). This strategy has been put into effect by getting locals to:

“... discover or learn about what’s available in their backyard, because for us to be able to attract and maintain incoming visitors we need to make sure that our locals are also in touch or understand and know what offerings are available. For us it’s ongoing education and encouraging them to be more welcoming to the visitors. It’s like you can’t talk about your home to someone who is a visitor if you don’t know what’s happening in the space you are in. Know first what is on offer in Joburg and be welcoming to the visiting people, go out there experience so that you are then able to welcome the people that are visiting” (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016).

Locals are also convinced to go tourism attractions in the City by presenting the advantage to themselves when they have to entertain friends and relatives from out of town:

“When my family visits for me to be able to take them around I need to know what’s happening. Instead of cooking I take them to Sakhumzi (restaurant). I take them to the theatre or I take them to the Apartheid Museum. Remember they are from the Eastern Cape they don’t know much about Joburg, those are still tourists. Hence our drive is in educating the locals, so that when they receive their friends, families they don’t just keep them in the house” (ibid).

Campaigns to local residents include the “Discover Your Own Backyard” campaign in partnership with Kaya FM radio station; local exhibitions, and social media campaigns (ibid). This has included competitions where residents could post images of themselves visiting tourist attractions in Johannesburg, where the prize would be an experience at a Johannesburg tourist attraction (ibid).

Local residents in line with Bourdieu’s conception of symbolic power have become a form of capital that is used to positively influence tourists’ perception of the city. However as argued by Navarro (2005) this does not mean residents have symbolic power in the City. Instead the City uses ‘mystifying discourse’ to convince residents that tourism is beneficial to them. Alternatively in line with Foucault it can be argued that the ‘know your backyard’ campaign places residents under the ‘surveillance’ of the global tourism industry and by implication the tourist, and by so doing residents learn to normalise the behaviours required to maintain the tourist city. This has not been completely successful indicating some resistance among residents to embrace the official tourism discourse of the City:

“people travel just to see paintings, graffiti and things like that ... it’s what our locals are not necessarily used to, but it’s funny when they travel abroad they appreciate that. Then when they are here it’s not something that you would find them talk about. But you find that when international people visit here they want to go to the graffiti they want to take pictures around there, but we locals we see it as ‘Whuuu!’” [in a negative way] (ibid).

I now turn to the sources of tourism discourse.

4.2 Sources of Discourse: ‘We are the New York of the Continent’

Referencing to global cities is a significant source of discourse in Johannesburg’s tourism imaginaries. For instance Lumka Dlomo (interview, 2016) said:

“We say ‘we are the New York of the continent’ and also compare ourselves to London”.

Thus being globally ranked and comparable is used repeatedly in marketing of the City. For instance:

“The city’s world class infrastructure is always ready to host Our world-class facilities offer you the opportunity to host world-class business conferences” (Joburg Tourism, 2015d).

Alternatively the discourse straddles two binaries in line with the idea of a World-Class African City, for instance: “It offers a unique blend of first-world sophistication and emerging market vitality” (Joburg Tourism, 2015a). International media has embraced this discourse and recognised Johannesburg as a globally ranked tourism destination (www.jda.org.za). In turn this media recognition has been used to market Johannesburg to international tourism operators (see figure 4.1 below).



Figure 4.1: Extract from marketing presentation made by Joburg Tourism (2015e)

This illustrates how discourses shape imaginaries and in turn how these imaginaries are used to construct new meaning in line with the constructionist approach to representation advanced by Hall (1997) using Foucault’s theories as a basis. This also highlights a key source of the representations and discourses found in the City’s marketing.

Given the stated aspiration to be a ‘World-Class African City’ Africa and Africans would be expected to be a feature in tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg. There has been a shift somewhat in discourses since *Joburg 2030* which began to recognise Africans as a key component of tourism in the City in the form of cross-border shoppers (COJ, 2002). *Joburg 2040* went further seeing the African tourist market as:

“the category of visitors most important to Johannesburg’s tourist trade ... a market that has, by and large, been neglected by officials at all levels in favour of its ‘sexier’ European and American counterparts” (COJ, 2011: 88).

The Tourism Strategy (COJ, 2012) identified African tourists as a market in line with the imaginary of Johannesburg as a business and shopping destination (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016). However Johannesburg has tended to be ambivalent about representing itself as an African city in line with the imaginary of being the ‘European City in Africa’. By characterising itself as a ‘World-Class African

City' it panders to the narrative of global competition and represents itself as exceptional in comparison to the rest of the continent. On the one hand it is an African city like any other, while on the other it is better because it is 'world-class', and thus a torch bearer or gateway for the continent. This is reflected in the following statement:

"The tourism vision for our city is to globally be Africa's leading business tourism destination. Joburg is seen as the economic hub and gateway to the sub-continent. Joburg is seen as the flagship for Africa – a truly world-class African city A model truly African city – with an offering that adheres to global standards" (COJ, 2012: 3, 13, 18).

In order to pander to global hierarchies Johannesburg is forced to represent itself as the best in the continent in terms of hosting sporting events, facilities and infrastructure (Joburg Tourism, 2015d: 2).

This seems to reflect the persistence of the hegemonic discourses in tourism imaginaries during the apartheid era where South Africa's advanced economy, modern cities and superior infrastructure was pitched against stereotypes of the continent as backward (Grundlingh, 2006). In recent times, and perhaps as a response to tourist demand, the COJ has begun including the 'Africanness' of Johannesburg in its narratives under the banner of being a multi-cultural city:

"We say to them: 'This is how you meet the locals. Looking for an Ethiopian dish? There are Ethiopian restaurants in the inner city that you can experience. Looking for an authentic Xhosa meal? You can go to Sakhumzi and find Umnqusho.' When people travel they look for what is authentically from that place to say: I've been to Johannesburg. We say Joburg is a melting pot, you would find different or diverse offerings" (Lumka Dlomo, interview).

In line with an 'African Food and Culture Hub' has recently been spearheaded by the JDA to create "a new public space surrounded by restaurants, shops and businesses reflecting a wide range of African culture and cuisine" (JDA, 2014f). It is clear that this initiative came about in order to support tourism discourses since it focuses on creating a "public place that reflects the continent's rich diversity, celebrating African food and culture while providing a safe zone for night-time leisure and entertainment" (ibid). It is pitched towards tourists and residents as a "cosmopolitan African city experience" and as an events based space (ibid). The district aims to "fuse pan-African culture with modern urban ways of living" (ibid). There is a contradiction however between the City's representation as African and the actual practices in the City both by the state and private residents. When one looks at the official discourse this is a 'silence' that is quite obvious in the tourism imaginaries as it can be seen that the focus of Joburg Tourism is on supporting the imaginaries of the Western overseas tourist. The visiting friends and relatives (VFR) market, which has long been a significant reality for Johannesburg (Rogerson, 2015) features only in so far as it is a factor in trying to get locals to buy into the benefits of the tourist city.

The tourism imaginary of Johannesburg as an African city is further challenged by the xenophobia and police harassment that faces immigrants and visitors from the rest of Africa (Mathers and Landau, 2007). Johannesburg's representation as "an amorphous 'African' brand that simultaneously positions itself as quintessentially African and yet at the same time 'not African'" creates problems in reality in the way in which Africans visiting the city are treated whether they be tourists or immigrants (ibid: 523). In part this is attributed to the limited recognition of the VFR segment of the market (Rogerson, 2015). It is also attributed to "the attitude towards migrants that suffuses government and public discourse and is part of the daily lives of many black African visitors in South Africa" (Mathers and Landau, 2007: 530). Rogerson and Visser (2014: 410, 411) also suggest that government agencies promoting tourism often miss the particularities of tourism in the cities of the global South "where many travellers are pilgrims or temporary migrants and do not have the same motivations for travel" as overseas tourists. Furthermore they also miss the fact "that much (perhaps even the majority) of travel and tourism in the global South is of an informal sector character" where travel overlaps between leisure, business, VFR and religious pilgrimage in one trip (ibid: 411).

On the other hand, the City's tourism discourses also come from the National Department of Tourism and SA Tourism who determine targeted international markets (ibid). Johannesburg is marketed to countries where there are South African embassies, using the strategy of drawing business visitors to leisure activities (ibid). In some cases the City has responded to demand based on what is on offer in Johannesburg (ibid). For instance although the country focuses on the Netherlands, Johannesburg also tries to draw in the Scandinavian countries because of their preference for the type of cultural and heritage attractions available in the City (ibid). Discourses are also differentiated for different tourism audiences. For instance the COJ promotes the imaginary of Johannesburg as a business and shopping destination to continental African tourists (ibid). Furthermore Johannesburg has increasingly imagined itself as an art, cultural and heritage destination because of the requirements of European tourists, especially Netherlands. This can be seen in the following statements:

"It's about understanding the market. In the Netherlands they mainly want that once-in-a-lifetime experience, they say: 'I have to go to Africa, I have to experience how the people are living there'! For Europeans (in general) it's arts, culture and heritage experiences. Not shopping because they have better shopping experiences than we do. So we use those different messages: when we talk to the Europeans we talk heritage. To the African continent we talk shopping, infrastructure, and business" (ibid).

Locally stakeholders that have influenced the discourses and representations of Johannesburg include the City’s political heads, tourism business associations (Southern Africa Tourism Services Association (SATSA) and the Tourism Business Council of South Africa (TBCSA)). Residents’ views in terms of ‘dipstick’ surveys to get a sense of the local perceptions about the City are also done (ibid). These were key stakeholders in shifting the tourism discourses:

“When we run our campaigns we have conversations with our stakeholders, because they are also our mouth pieces when we are not there. We [have to] get the buy in from them” (ibid).

Below I go into the discursive themes represented in tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg.

4.3 Discursive Themes in the Tourism Marketing of Johannesburg

4.3.1 Shifting Dystopian Imaginaries: ‘Johannesburg is a (Relatively) Safe Place to Visit’

It was discussed in the previous chapter how hegemonic dystopian imaginaries came to dominate Johannesburg from the 1990s. In its 2012 strategy the COJ recognised the need to shift these negative perceptions as they were thought to contest the tourism imaginaries of the City. Consequently one of its marketing goals was to change negative perceptions about the city indicating that this was viewed as problem of representation rather than reality as seen below:

“... address the perceptions of safety, crime and grime issues. Prevailing domestic perceptions (often unfairly so) of Joburg as being a hostile, dangerous and crime-ridden city” (COJ: 11, 12, 14).

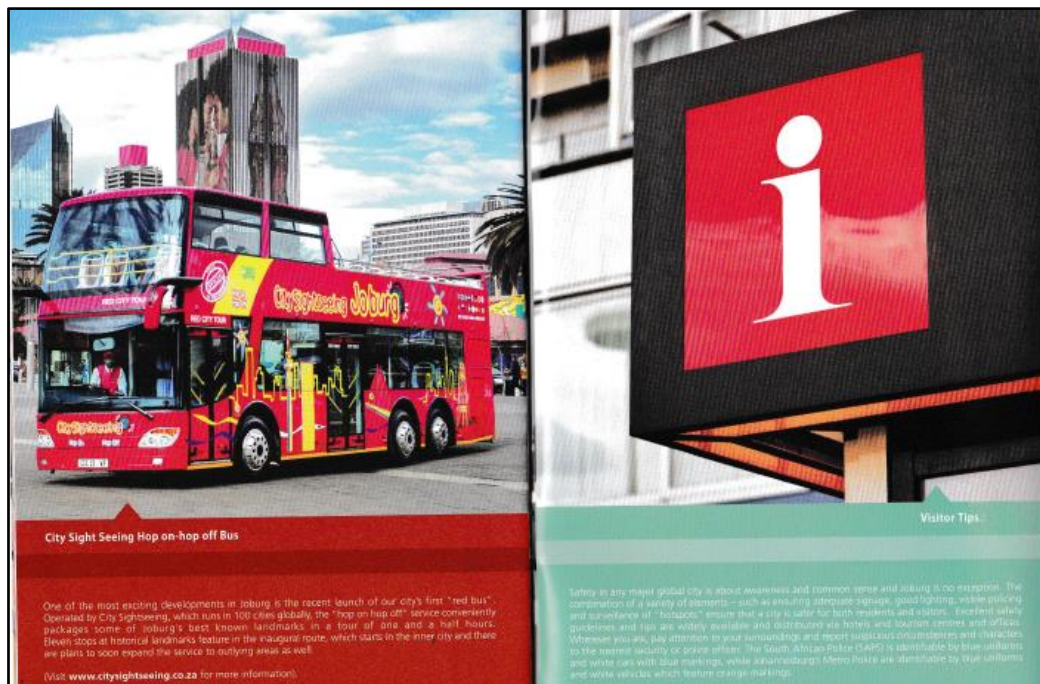


Figure 4.2: Safety Tips and the City Sight Seeing Bus (source: current Joburg Tourism brochure, undated)

Another shift that was required was in providing safe public transport as it was considered a factor preventing tourists from exploring the city (ibid). To reflect this concern 'Visitor Tips' focused on safety (see figure 4.2 above) are included in marketing materials. The visual image of the City Sightseeing Bus seems to also represent safety as it is placed side-by-side with the safety tips in the brochure. To counter the narratives about the lack of safety in the City, Joburg Tourism focused on communications (with tour operators and other key actors) and the 'education' of residents and tour guides (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016) as discussed in section 4.1 above. Additionally specific measures are said to have been put in place by the City to support the imaginary of Johannesburg as a safe place for tourists. These include visibility in policing in the inner city and at our tourist attractions, cameras in the inner city, and quick turnaround times when crime happens in tourist sites (ibid). Concerns about safety still put a limit to certain tourism imaginaries; for instance Joburg Tourism does not encourage home stays though there is demand especially from Dutch tourists (ibid). The City is also at pains to promote the idea that Johannesburg is no less or more unsafe than other large cities:

"In any other city that one travels to one has to be vigilant; know the safety tips, the emergency numbers, or where the nearest police station is. Or the nearest information station, and who to ask. You know you don't just ask anybody, you ask people in uniform" (ibid).

In line with this the City is planning on re-introducing tourism ambassadors "to be visible at our tourist attractions" (ibid). Tourism ambassadors were used successfully during the 2010 World Cup to achieve 'visible policing' in tourism attractions, but also to give information and directions (ibid).

4.3.2 The Lifestyle, Entertainment and Event Hub

The imaginary of Johannesburg as a lifestyle, entertainment, and events destination (including sporting events) has shifted the hegemonic discourse of Johannesburg as a business destination. Several narratives are used to promote this tourism imaginary.

i. 'A City Jam-packed with Events'

In part events are an extension of business tourism with events such as the Meetings Magazine's annual Top 40 Women in MICE event; the International Public Relations Associations World Congress; the Eco-mobility World Festival, the Africities Summit; and Meetings Africa (www.joburg.org.za) being held here recently. However this has extended to entertainment events such as the BET Experience Africa, the various fashion weeks and jazz festivals. International tour operators are encouraged to include these as part of their offering to tourists as follows:

"One could say I'm in South Africa for 10 days; I'm spending three days in Durban, three days Cape Town, and doing the Garden Route. So then you say what can I do in Joburg? If you are coming around

September there's some event taking place then. So over and above visiting our heritage sites you can catch one of the annual events or entertainment. So we tell them you can catch live entertainment at Orbit (a jazz club in Braamfontein), or mix with the locals at the Neighbourgoods market on a Saturday. Or if I'm in a rush I can take the hop on hop off Red Bus" (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016).

Some of the events are reflected in the graphics below.



Figure 4.3: Examples of Johannesburg Events and Entertainment – Fashion Week and Polo (Joburg Tourism, 2015e)

Events and entertainment have also been used extensively to shift narratives about Soweto. Though still marketed extensively as a heritage and cultural experience (see 4.3.4 below), Soweto has been re-imagined as space where middle-class imaginaries can be experienced. Examples are annual events such as the Soweto Fashion Week and the Soweto Wine and Lifestyle Festival which are geared particularly at the black middle-class. This statement about the Soweto Wine Festival illustrates this:

"Think beautiful boutique wines and a wide range of food, décor, art and fashion all homed within the magnificence of a venue steeped in history inviting upmarket SMMEs to exhibit ... to showcase the best creative entrepreneurs in Soweto and South Africa alongside the best boutique wines ..." (COJ, 2015c).

In line with this narrative it would be expected that casino and 'shoppertainment' malls would be prominently used to represent Johannesburg having been identified as key features in the making of tourist cities (Fainstein and Judd, 1999; Fu and Murray, 2014). However although Gold Reef City is featured as one of the top ten places to visit in Johannesburg as well as the adjacent Apartheid Museum, Montecasino hardly features except a mention of the Bird Gardens as "the only facility of its kind throughout the entire African continent" (Joburg Tourism, undated). The near 'silence' about Montecasino is explored in the next chapter. This tourism imaginary also coincides with the idea of Johannesburg as a shopping destination in relation to annual fashion events such as Mercedes Benz Joburg Fashion Week, South Africa Fashion and the Soweto fashion Week (Joburg Tourism, 2015d).

ii. *'A Shopping Mecca for African Shoppers'*

Regional and Continental (African) tourists were previously a 'silence' in the City's tourism imaginaries though in fact Johannesburg has been represented as a 'bargain city' in recognition of this market within the tourism economy of the City (Rogerson, 2011). Shopper tourists span the economic spectrum from formal and informal traders, the middle class, and 'hyper-wealthy' African travellers (ibid). Cross border shopping was first recognised as significant tourism imaginary in *Joburg 2030 GDS* as a "particularly important niche market in the City" and "an area of potential growth" (COJ, 2002: 84). Most shoppers in Johannesburg were identified as cross-border because they were Africans mainly from the SADC countries and mostly travelling by road (ibid: 89). This incorporated the idea of Johannesburg being "a shopping mecca for African shoppers" (ibid: 90). Current tourism marketing has extended the imaginary of Johannesburg to incorporate the cross-border shopper:

"shop to your heart's content at our range of malls and shopping centres carrying the latest fashions – from African flair to internationally renowned designers" (Joburg Tourism, 2015d: 1).



Figure 4.4: Image illustrating marketing of Johannesburg as a Fashion Capital (source: personal email logo used by Lumka Dlomo)

The shopping imaginary extends to the City's intent to be Africa's 'fashion capital'. This incorporates events such as the annual Joburg Shopping Festival (JSF) and the various Fashion Weeks. The JSF is pitched at "high-spend tourists" and is included as part of the City's tourism marketing because it is expected to encourage shoppers "to explore the city and drive footfall to local attractions, restaurants and other retail outlets". It is also billed as "an iconic annual event" that will be "feature in the global shopping calendar in years to come" (COJ, 2015b).

The shopping mecca is represented further as the desire to be 'Africa's Fashion Capital' (see figure 4.4 above). In line with this the inner-city has been promoted for many years as a haven for "black-owned fashion enterprises which have become established leaders in 'African brands' locally and internationally (Rogerson, 2006: 216). Since its establishment in 2008 the district has recently been

revived and used as a part of the tourism imaginary of Johannesburg (JDA 2015c). Johannesburg is pitched as the “Africa’s fashion hub” in line with the narrative of being the ‘New York in Africa’. The district “is expected to take its place alongside international capitals such as New York’s Fashion Avenue” (ibid). The site of the Fashion Capital also reinforces Johannesburg’s representation as an event and entertainment city having featured major events in the Johannesburg fashion calendar (ibid).

4.3.3 The Resurgent Inner City: ‘Newtown is the Dream Tourist Attraction’

The inclusion of the inner-city in tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg has been one of the most significant shifts over the last twenty years contesting the dystopian imaginaries that took hold in the late 1980s and 1990s. The priority placed on the inner-city is shown by the fact that in the Official guide (Joburg Tourism, 2015a) four of the top ten places to visit are in the inner-city (Constitution Hill, The Sheds @ No 1 Fox Street, Maboneng Precinct, and Neighbourgoods Market). In line with Baudrillard’s concept of ‘hyperreality’, I argue that the adoption of the Hillbrow Tower in the City’s logo as well as the extensive use of the inner-city as imagery in its tourism marketing (see figure 4.5 and 4.6 below) has simulated a ‘reality by proxy’ or an ‘authentic fake’ in the inner-city. Because of this regeneration becomes an attempt to make it possible for these iconic building to be seen in reality, so that they are not mere representation. After all how can the iconic imagery of the Hillbrow Tower, Carlton Centre, Ponte City, and the Nelson Mandela Bridge represent Johannesburg if tourists cannot actually go there? However I call this a proxy for reality because regeneration creates pockets of excellence while masking the broader social and economic inequalities in the City.



Figure 4.5: City of Johannesburg logo (www.joburg.org.za retrieved 25 March, 2016)



Figure 4.6: Brochure Cover using the Johannesburg Skyline (Joburg Tourism, undated)

It is also evident that the COJ sees tourism imaginaries as directly linked to regeneration as reflected in these statements:

“A key factor that swayed Rough Guide in Joburg’s favour is the city’s drive to regenerate its central business district and other inner city areas, a development that is being spearheaded by the Johannesburg Development Agency (JDA)” (JDA, 2014g).

Furthermore the “resurgence in visitor numbers” in Newtown is attributed to the “several upgrades and refurbishments to historical buildings and other facilities” (JDA, 2014h). Increased ranking as a tourist destination is also attributed to an increased “street life” measure due to regeneration efforts in Newtown and Braamfontein (JDA, 2015b). And in “Upgrades Enhance Joburg’s Tourist Appeal” there is an attempt to justify regeneration in relation to the benefit for locals as well as tourists:

“infrastructure development projects taking place in Johannesburg are not only enhancing the quality of life of its residents, they also providing tourists with an exciting and refreshing experience of Jozi” (JDA, 2014e).

There is evidence that the City’s regeneration is attracting corporate businesses back into the inner-city in line with the regeneration narratives seen in other tourist cities around the world. For instance the Newtown Junction Mall and the City Lodge Hotel in Newtown; as well as the spaces for fashion and lifestyle businesses at the Newtown Workshop (Potato Sheds) and The Sheds@1 Fox. Newtown is represented as “the dream tourist attraction” (JDA, 2014e) and “the heart of a resurgent inner city” (JDA, 2015d). I focus now in some detail on Newtown because the discourses around Newtown expose some of the key narratives that have been used in making the inner-city a key part of the tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg. Heritage, cultural activities and the arts are used as key

narratives in promoting the inner city to tourists. Newtown reflects hybridity in heritage discourses of the city blending colonial history such as the imagery of the Market Theatre and Museum Africa, with African imagery in the form of public art. Global references are ever present on the website to enhance the status of Newtown as a dream tourist attraction for instance in comparing the SAB World of Beer to Guinness Hopstore in Dublin, and the Sci-Bono Discovery Centre with the Exploratorium in San Francisco, the Powerhouse Museum in Sydney, and the Cite des Sciences et de l'industrie in Paris (www.newtown.co.za, retrieved 2 February, 2016).

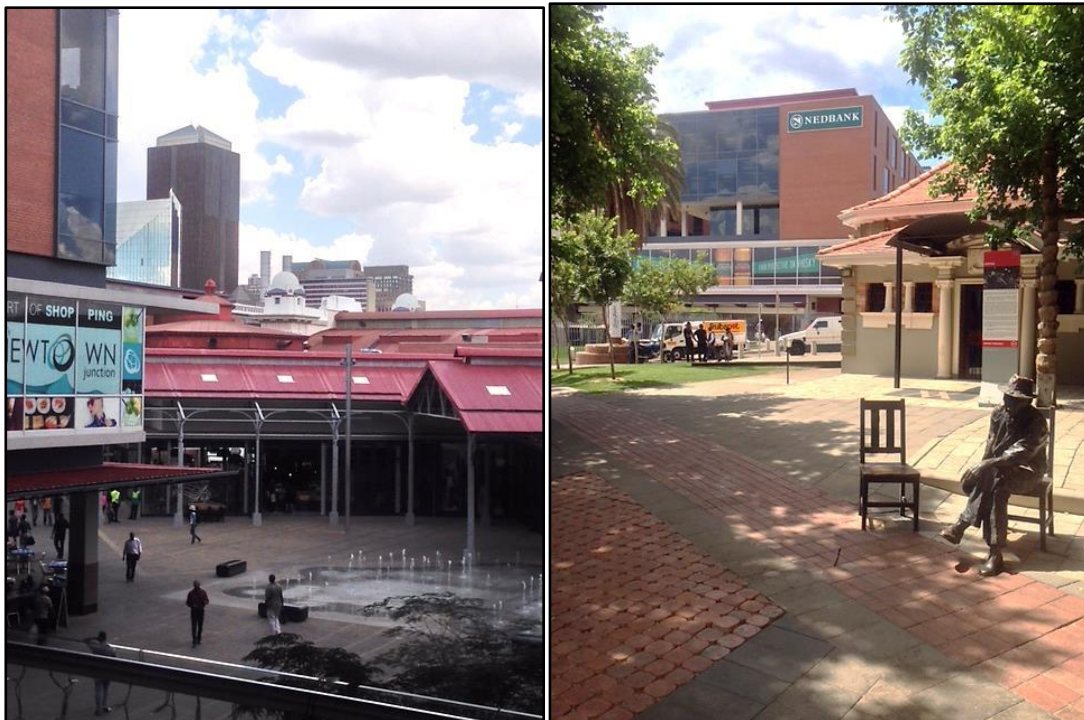


Figure 4.7: View from Newtown Junction Mall overlooking the Newtown Workshop Fashion Emporium (left) and Newtown Junction Mall viewed from Kippiess Jazz Club (right) (photos by author)

Nelson Mandela status as a global icon is also used to lend legitimacy to various venues including Drum Café, The Artists Proof Studio, and the SAB World of Beer (ibid). Mandela is also mentioned with reference to Nelson Mandela Bridge, Johannesburg's "newest landmark" which was so named "because of his immense international status as well as his 'bridging' role in crossing the apartheid divide; and uniting the South African nation" (ibid). The bridge though just outside the precinct is seen as a gateway into the inner-city. It represents two narratives one global and one local and is another aspect of the hybridity that is promoted in the City. On the one hand he is the local anti-apartheid icon who spent much of his time in Johannesburg on the other he has become the global icon or like the bridge "a product imported from elsewhere" styled on the Eiffel Tower, Statue of Liberty or Sydney Harbour Bridge (Stevens, 2006: vii). Newtown is represented also as a site where many of the struggles against colonial domination and apartheid occurred and this 'truth' performs

the 'work' of justifying the discourse of regeneration in the post-apartheid period. Newtown is presented firstly as having been a "racially mixed working class district" which was the site of "one of the first forced removals to take place in Gauteng" resulting in the establishment of Soweto (ibid). The racially mixed and progressive nature of Newtown is further represented in the recounting of the Market Theatre's role as "the first non-racial theatre in Johannesburg" where "an energetic form of protests theatre emerged" (ibid).



Figure 4.8: Market Theatre (left) and Museum Africa (right) in Newtown



Figure 4.9: Mary Fitzgerald Square, Newtown

Secondly the history of Newtown as one of the first sites of workers' struggles is further used to justify its choice for regeneration. This includes the 1911 Tramway strike, 1918 Wage Campaign represented in the honouring of Mary Fitzgerald, "a fierce labour activist", in the naming of the main square (ibid). The Workers Museum in line with this narrative also reflects migrant workers living conditions (ibid). Thirdly Newtown's slum history makes it representative of the broader imaginaries

of the City. For instance on the website there are references to Newtown's slum history as "'Poverty Point', 'The Dark Side of Johannesburg', and the 'Fly in Johannesburg's Honey Pot'" (ibid). The regeneration of Newtown is further justified in relation to its cultural and artistic history. It borrows from narratives of Sophiatown (Sophiatown restaurant) as well the recognition of jazz artists, actors and writers from that era in the renaming of the streets (ibid). Central to this is the Market theatre which is famous as a site of "alternative theatre" (ibid). Newtown is considered by the city as part of a 'Cultural Arc' which is used to "integrate culturally important institutions and sites located in Newtown and Braamfontein" (ibid). Public Art features and is promoted as a prominent feature of Newtown representing many of the historical narratives related to the city. This includes migrants (the wooden heads near Museum Africa); the peaceful transition to democracy (*Banner of Hope* sculpture); and informality (the *Fire Walker*) (ibid). This shows that Newtown has come to represent for the city the 'icon' in terms of the City's approach to regenerating the inner-city and how it has become central the in tourism imaginaries promoted by the City. Though Newtown has been the focus of making Johannesburg a heritage and cultural City, in line with tourism imaginaries, townships are also part of this narrative as discussed below.

4.3.4 The Authentic Heritage and Cultural City: "Walking in Mandela's Footsteps"

As mentioned above, ideologically the COJ has made a concerted effort to extend the tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg by incorporating Soweto as a major part of the tourism imaginaries of the City. Vilakazi Street in particular is represented quite prominently in the City's tourism marketing materials as "one of the main tourist attractions in Joburg, and the country" (JDA, 2011) or even as "South Africa's most popular international tourist destination" (Joburg Tourism, 2015b). As such Soweto features as one of the City's top 10 destinations promoted by Joburg Tourism (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016). There is a 16-page marketing document dedicated to marketing Soweto, and Soweto is covered in the "Walking in Mandela's Footsteps" brochure (Joburg Tourism, 2015c). The JDA has provided infrastructure such as street lighting, paving, landscaping, street furniture, artworks and dustbins in various heritage locations to support this tourism discourse including in Vilakazi Street, at Hector Pietersen Memorial, and at Kliptown (where the Freedom Charter was signed) (ibid). Given the fact that townships were considered "'no go' zones for people other than the black race" during the apartheid era (Rogerson, 2004: 250), the introduction of township tourism represents a shift towards township spaces being represented as an integral part of Johannesburg. Township tourism has also redefined cultural heritage tourism in South Africa, where previously there had been a focus on white history and heritage (ibid). Soweto's bigger international profile (compared to other townships) is attributed to the significant international media attention awarded

to the June 16 1976 uprisings (Booyens, 2010). Much of the marketing focuses on Vilakazi Street as “The most famous street in South Africa’ because it is ‘probably’ the only street in the world which has been home to two Nobel Peace Prize Laureates Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu” (Joburg Tourism, 2015c; JDA, 2014a; 2011).



Figure 4.10: Cover of ‘Soweto’ brochure showing the Orlando Towers and the Soweto version of the City Sightseeing Bus (Joburg Tourism, 2015b)

Nelson Mandela features quite significantly in the marketing material for Soweto and appears as part of a narrative that has both commercial and ideological value for the state and private sector. The Mandela Family Museum on Vilakazi Street is considered to be “one of the biggest tourist attractions in the city, drawing travellers, such as heads of state, from abroad and local residents wanting a glimpse into the former elder statesman's early life” (JDA, 2014a). The City’s latest tourism brochure extends the narrative of Mandela to beyond the township. It extends the discourse around him to show that he also historically had a suburban presence (Lilliesleaf Farm); as well as an inner-city presence (Chancellor House, Magistrates Court, and Constitution Hill) (Joburg Tourism, 2015c: 2). Additionally the brochure represents the contemporary recognition of Mandela the global and commercial icon in the Mandela Bridge; at the Apartheid Museum; at Nelson

Mandela Square at Sandton City Mall (as a statue); as well as at the Nelson Mandela Centre of Memory in Houghton (ibid: 2). In this sense Mandela the icon can be seen as filling a gap for the City in a context where there is dearth of positive symbolic representations of Africa and Africans (Maluleke, 2015).

The representation of the Orlando Cooling Towers on the Soweto brochure can be seen to be an attempt to expand Soweto as being more than just heritage to incorporate adventure (see figure 4.10 above). Soweto is increasingly being seen to attract local tourists; the rebirth of the township through tourism has resulted in former Sowetans and other suburbanites visiting Vilakazi Street on weekends (Butler, 2010, Frenzel, 2014). They visit popular restaurants on Vilakazi Street because they represent “a Soweto renaissance through which the township is understood to be a cosmopolitan and hospitable alternative to the hermetic culture of the suburbs” (Butler, 2010: 19). In turn tourists become part of this nostalgia and thus “vicariously participate in, an emerging cultural understanding of Soweto as a place that ‘remains home’” (ibid). This highlights how the tourism promotion of Soweto has conflated tourism and urban imaginaries, where for locals Soweto represents the nostalgia for township life referred to in *Native Nostalgia* (Dlamini, 2009). In this sense township tourism can be seen to have been effective in shifting the urban imaginary of Johannesburg; and by so doing contesting previous narrowly defined urban imaginaries that viewed the township as separate to the city and as a space of poverty. The COJ’s focus on Soweto in its tourism marketing can also be regarded as successfully adding and asserting “a new (decolonised) identity” and thus “adding an African perspective to the previous Eurocentric record” (Marschall, 2004: 98, 104).

These discourses of township tourism run counter to the criticisms of township tours. Township tours are criticised for reinforcing stereotypes of the township as a space of poverty where townships are marketed to tourists as authentic tourist experiences using images of shacks and informal settlements, hostels and of children wearing charity cast-off clothes (Butler, 2010). Research on township tourism found that tourists most often associate townships with poverty, crime, squalor, drugs, poor housing conditions, apartheid, and unemployment (Steinbrink, 2012). This suggests that tourism imaginaries can create neo-colonial power relations between the tourist and the township resident. This issue was particularly delved into in the interviews with businesses providing tours of sites in Soweto.

Having gone through the discourses I will now discuss the ‘silences’ in the tourism discourses used in the official discourse.

4.4 Silences and Omissions: The Hidden Poor and Informal City

It is not surprising that informality does not feature in Johannesburg's official tourism discourse. Political considerations have however pressured the COJ to consider the possibility of expanding tourism imaginaries to include poorer communities (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016). As a result tour guides have been taken on tours of Orange Farm, Ennerdale and Diepsloot hosted by the City (JDA, 2015f; 2014d) in an attempt to extend the tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg. The COJ struggles in reality to extend tourism imaginaries to poorer communities however:

"... obviously there's pressure to look at areas like Orange Farm and Diepsloot. But compare to the more famous and well visited places like Soweto which are visited because of their history; you look at what happened in Orange Farm, and find there's nothing there. But we are always looking into these areas and saying what could be the tourist offering there?" (Lumka Dlomo, interview, 2016).

There are many instances where the City has used discourse to convince residents of the benefits of tourism and in turn to justify investing in tourist attractions (COJ, 2012; JDA, 2015b; 2015e; 2014e; 2014g). This would of course result in calls to account why the economic benefits of tourism have not been extended to all (especially poorer) communities. The tourist city becomes problematic from the equity perspective when nothing exists in poorer communities around which tourism can be promoted as reflected in this statement:

"What would attract someone to drive as far as Orange Farm? Right at this point there's nothing much but it is research we are busy working on. How do we create that interest in tourists to go there? There is a push to say 'you need to share, you need expand'! If one has a restaurant in Orange Farm that offers something different then we can take people there. But it takes budgets and planning; a whole development thing before you even market it" (ibid).

4.5 Conclusion

The chapter provided insight into the discourses that have been used by the City to make Johannesburg into a tourist city. Following the hegemonic discourses that developed over time about Johannesburg being an unattractive and unsafe city for leisure tourists, the City has attempted to offer alternative or counter-hegemonic discourse about the inner-city and townships. Many parts of the City that were previously 'no go' areas such as the inner-city and the townships are attracting tourists. The COJ's tourism marketing and its strategic investments in precincts that promote its status as a tourist city have been very effective in shifting the discourses about the City. This confirms as discussed in chapter 2 that tourism representations don't only reflect a certain type of reality, they are also active forces in producing it, and creating places and spaces based on these representations. The City's increased rankings by international tourism-related media attests to the

fact that Johannesburg has come significantly under the tourist gaze. Johannesburg in becoming a tourist city becomes part of a global system of tourism marketing, meaning that it panders to the externally derived imaginaries of mainly Western tourists. This can be seen quite clearly when considering the sources of tourism representations in the City. It could be seen that the City is increasingly justifying investments in infrastructure using tourism discourses. 'Global familiars' such as the 'Red Bus' are also used as part of the discourse to convince tourists (and the middle-classes who have been elevated in the hierarchy to have the equivalence of tourists) to travel within the inner-city. This creates a situation in which the residents of the city through the use of mystifying discourse legitimise the global tourism industry.

This shows how powerful tourism imaginaries can be in shaping cities. I argued that the City's official tourism discourses (using the inner-city skyline and the idea of a "resurgence of the inner-city") can be regarded a form of simulation or proxy for reality. This has driven the regeneration of the inner-city so that it can be experienced by tourists as a reality. The simulation has been effective in convincing tourists and wealthy residents of the existence of a safe and clean inner-city and thus to venture there as tourists. In turn this has created scope for further regeneration by private developers. This confirms as argued in the first two chapters that tourism imaginaries have material effect and emphasises the importance of tourism representation as a form of discourse that is shaping Johannesburg. The effect of the official tourism discourse can also be seen in the idea of Johannesburg being more than a stopover which has had material effect in creating tourism imaginaries; for instance portraying Johannesburg as an entertainment, cultural and lifestyle city.

The discourse analysis of the COJ's tourism marketing has brought to light how the tourist gaze is socially organised and systematised through the tourism industry and its key agents as argued by Urry and Larsen (2011). It was found that international tour operators in line with Cornelissen's (2005) earlier research were identified by Joburg Tourism as key actors to bring into effect the shift in the tourism imaginaries of the City. Tourism related international media like *Rough Guide* and *Travel + Leisure* also have symbolic power in that they determine the acceptance (or not) of the official tourism discourses of the City. This also gives them symbolic power because a city would likely make investments that are seen to gain the approval of these tourism actors. For instance as could be seen *Rough Guide* praised Maboneng and Braamfontein in line with its 'street life' measure; in essence confirming that Johannesburg is on the right track with regards to its regeneration efforts.

The discourse analysis highlights also how the City's focus on promoting tourism imaginaries in Johannesburg possibly silences other imaginaries that do not fit within the official tourism discourse.

The representative from Joburg Tourism discussed the difficulty in extending the tourism imaginary so that it benefits areas that do not have the cultural capital that enables them to be tourist sites. Informal and far flung settlements were identified as the current 'no go' areas for tourists. Therefore certain areas become less prioritised as tourists sites unless they can develop something that panders to the 'tourist gaze'. This confirms as highlighted in Chapter two the uneasiness created by the growing importance of tourism in imaginaries of Johannesburg. This is because as discussed in chapter 2 even alternative tourism imaginaries such as township or slum tours could be potentially veiling (or not allowing the space for) non-tourism alternatives which could have had more benefit for the community.

While some of the criticisms of slum tourism discussed in chapter 2 can be said to be relevant to tours of Soweto incorporating Vilakazi Street, this was not a significant finding of the research. Though these tours have asserted a new (decolonised) identity (Marschall, 2004), they have not shifted us into a new discursive formation. This can be seen from various perspectives. Firstly Johannesburg appears to still have an imaginary that it has had since its beginnings as 'the European City in Africa'. This can be seen as a different variation of the 'World-class African City', as well as in the continued ambivalence within the City's marketing regarding its location in Africa. In this sense there has been continuity in the tourism imaginaries from the apartheid period where references to Africa were only in terms of showing how much better the country was compared to the rest of the continent. However what is different is that the official discourse is now considering Africans from other African countries as key tourist market, as well as a cultural resource (for instance the African Food Hub). This suggests in line with Sihlongonyane (2015b) (albeit from a different perspective) that the continent is included in the tourism discourse because of its commercial rather than cultural value. The deconstruction of the discourse in Johannesburg's tourism marketing has also revealed that Johannesburg's marketing efforts, while shifting towards the African market are still predominantly marketed largely at the Western 'tourist gaze' where the 'habitus' of colonial/apartheid narratives has filtered through current narratives of the post-apartheid state.. The importance placed on the international tour operator in the shifting of the tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg can thus be viewed as a form of 'neo-colonialism' because it seems to mirror colonial relations of symbolic power and inequality. In so doing it illustrates the persistence of "the economic structures, cultural representations and exploitative relationships that were previously based in colonialism" (Tucker and Hall, 2004: 184).

The next chapter looks at how tourism businesses have taken up, adopted, reflected (or rejected) tourism discourses of the City.

Chapter 5: Responses to the Official Discourse

5.1 Introduction

This Chapter records the findings from the interviews with tourism businesses and the tours of tourism sites within the three case study sites. As discussed in Chapter one the focus was on understanding the ways in which the official discourse has been adopted, adapted, or rejected by the tourism businesses operating within the City. The businesses interviewed and sites visited are outlined in the Reference list. The findings are categorised in themes relating to the official discourse as much as possible.

5.2 Montecasino Represents the Lifestyle, Entertainment and Event Hub as a ‘A Plethora of Entertainment’



Figure 5.1 Fantasy at the Bird Gardens, Montecasino (photo by author)

Montecasino is the most significant representation of the imaginary of Johannesburg as the lifestyle, entertainment and event hub and is marketed as having “a plethora of entertainment” (ibid). The private sector has established and promoted this imaginary in Montecasino without the state’s active participation, indicating the symbolic power of private capital in establishing certain imaginaries of Johannesburg that gain a life of their own. The Montecasino complex started in 2000 as a casino with retail, hotel, the Bird Gardens, cinemas, theatres, and other entertainment components (Debbie Combrink, interview, 2015). Though it has expanded considerably over the years it has maintained this mix of activities with the casino considered the “engine room” of Montecasino eliciting 95% of revenue (ibid). Montecasino positions itself as “Gauteng’s number 1 destination” (ibid). The complex’s popularity among the province’s residents is borne by the fact that it has won many local awards in the last decade or so (ibid).

Even though urban casinos were initially intended to stimulate tourism (Rogerson and Visser, 2005), tourists in the traditional sense are not prioritized and there is disengagement from state tourism marketing:

“We are actually quite divorced from Gauteng. I honestly wouldn’t be able to tell you what the City’s mission is. We’ve tried to engage with them on events, once or twice at a distance, but it hasn’t been consistent and we haven’t been able to sustain that relationship. And because probably 85% of our market comes from within a 25km radius or the Fourways node we never look at the international marketing. Tourism is not really relevant to us. I need to tell the people who are visiting me frequently what is on offer, not the person sitting in Germany looking for a holiday. So it developed over time, and became something that was borne out of reviewing what our return is. It’s important that they know that there’s a wine tasting event on Tuesday night or a special at the Bird Gardens, no one sitting in Nairobi is going to get on a plane for that” (ibid) (Debbie Combrink, interview, 2015).



Figure 5.2: Montecasino: The Italian Village in Fourways (photos by author)

Montecasino was identified in chapter 2 and 3 as hyperreality in the sense of being an 'authentic fake'. It thus can be seen to fit into the mode of the 'globalization of fantasy' ensuring that in Johannesburg the world-class city is not just an urban imaginary, but is also a reality (Fu and Murray, 2014). The Tuscan theme has evolved more broadly as an imaginary of an Italian Village and is seen to be an important aspect of its identity:

"Historically we've played in a space of being an old traditional Tuscan village, in the last two years we moved to more modern Italian. Not the Italian mama cooking pasta, but the sexy Italian girl. We have new photography and branding. It draws on Italian flavor in a modern sense ... [it] is our essence. When we compare to the Venetian in Las Vegas, we are so authentic that it's actually scary, the older the building gets the more authentic it looks, being Italian is a big part of who we are" (ibid).

Thus Montecasino has created a South African heritage invention (Hall and Bombardella, 2005) or alternatively a pseudo world (Fu and Murray, 2014). To achieve and maintain the simulation the management consciously and regularly invokes an array of representations that focus on all the senses:

"We have something called a Mind and Mood Strategy. That's really an internal word for experiential marketing. We have an entire department managing everything from the content on the screen, which talks to sight; the background music, which talks to sound; [and] we have different smell machines pumping smells in various parts of the complex. We hand pick the buskers and the bands and the times that they're performing and where they are located to add to the mind and mood and the entertainment. It's actually very strategic in the sense that we play different content on the screens, from the kiddies' area to the adult area; we play different music in each space. There are certain things that you see that add to the theming; like a little red fiat, or a little scooter. Every six months we move them around so when you come to the complex you think: 'something's different but I'm not sure what'. We are constantly reviewing our tenant offering, we're looking for new innovative concepts that will add to that entertainment experience" (Debbie Combrink, interview).

"It's about creating an experience not just a destination; so when you are here every little thing we are doing is enhancing your visit, you may not know why but you just know it feels different" (Tracey Turner, interview).

In this way Montecasino management has created a habitus that has made consumption and fantasy the common sense that is central to the imaginaries of middle-class residents (Mbembe and Nuttall, 2008). Symbolic and physical boundaries are used to confine this imaginary to the middle-class:

“We target LSM 8-10^{iv}. Because of our location we want to be upmarket, sophisticated but without being alienating or arrogant. At the end of the day we want people with disposable income, because it’s not just the revenue that the restaurants get or the casino. It’s about the R10 parking that they’re paying, the coffee that they have after their meal. We don’t necessarily want people who are arriving in a bus or taxi with no means who are just going to hang out and loiter and create a security issue for us” (Debbi Combrink, interview, 2015).

“It’s all in the advertising and how we position it, a lot of the people in the lower LSM are probably not exposed to it. We are very strategic in how we market and who we market to” (Tracey Turner, interview, 2015).

Security and surveillance are vital to managing the space in terms of who is included or excluded in the space and this is not only about safety:

“Our security strategy is very solid in the sense that we don’t allow loitering particularly in the casino floor. If you’re not playing a machine - we have surveillance cameras everywhere and people will be watching - we will ask you to move along. We don’t allow you to bring food from the Food Court to the casino floor so the wrong element can’t necessarily buy their KFC bucket and come sit with greasy fingers on the slot machine and next thing we’ve got cockroaches. So we are very selective. There is such a high security presence [but] you wouldn’t even know there are cameras everywhere here. People know after 15 years that anything untoward is not going to be tolerated here, and we are fortunate enough that we attract that market. We definitely don’t advertise to people below the breadline and who don’t fit into that upper LSM” (Debbie Combrink, interview, 2015). “And it would be irresponsible it’s not what we do” (Tracey Turner, interview, 2015).

It is clear that Montecasino is part of “the bourgeois public spaces of the new millennium” and should be regarded as symbolic of Johannesburg’s burgeoning middle class identity but also of the exclusions that the city continues to be identified with (Hall and Bombardella, 2005: 20).

5.3 Tourism Businesses Embrace the Resurgent Inner-City: ‘It’s Been Fantastic to see the Reconstruction and Rejuvenation of the City!’

PAST Experiences -- a tour guiding business focusing particularly on the inner-city and Soweto illustrates the increased opportunities for tourism created by the regeneration of the inner-city. Their logo (figure 5.3 below) shows how they have taken on the City’s skyline in their branding (Jo Buitendach, interview, 2016). Regeneration of the inner-city has created space for walking tours of the whole city including Braamfontein, Newtown, Maboneng, Jeppestown, New Doornfontein,

^{iv} Living Standard Measure, used in South Africa to categorise people according to their consumption patterns. LSM 8-10 are the wealthiest South Africans

Troyeville, Fairview, Fordsburg and Hillbrow (ibid). Touring is tailored to clients' desires focusing on a specific part of the City or a theme. This follows the same narratives found on the City's Newtown website as can be seen from the statement below:

"In our Newtown tours we do a little bit of history, we go to the Workers Museum talk about the migrant workers. Then we do the public art, Brenda Fassie statue, the Banner of Hope Flag, the murals on the wall, and the migrant worker heads. Then we do the slum history we talk about the Brickfields slum. We start chronologically, we normally do the beginning of Newtown and I show that the city centre wasn't where Newtown is. And explain that gold was discovered past Fordsburg but they started mining in the city, and why Fordsburg became a slum. Then we say it was the original inner-city regeneration but in like a negative way because it was slum clearance along racial lines. Often when we go to Soweto I start in Newtown because the beginnings of Soweto started in Newtown when they did the slum clearance. We talk about how it was an industrial area and they needed people to work so they would have brought in black workers from all over Africa and I explain the migrant system" (ibid).

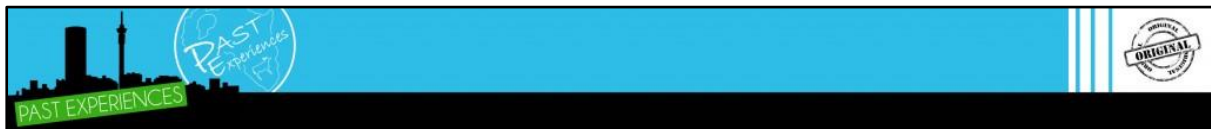


Figure 5.3: PAST Experiences' logo showing inner city skyline (www.pastexperiences.co.za retrieved 20 February, 2016)

In line with the discourse of a 'resurgent inner-city' promoted in the official discourse Walk and Talk Tours is another walking-tour guiding business that has recently included a tour of the inner-city. This was not initially possible when the business started in 1999 during the height of the 'crime and grime' era in the inner-city as revealed by experience with a walk done with Walk-For-Life in 1992/93:

"We had to go past our sponsors in Fordsburg and people were absolutely petrified to go through that area. It was quite a revelation when we went past certain areas it was so bad downtown. I grew up all my life in Johannesburg. In Newtown was where my late father had his business, and all the years I was growing up it wasn't bad, we used to go to the market. But in 1992-93 the degradation was so bad" (Beryl Porter, interview, 2016).

Due to her "passion for walking" when she started the company she initially focused on the northern suburbs because it was not possible then to tour the inner-city safely. These have become the main tours done by Walk and Talk Tours:

"Sandton is my warm up lap which is called 'Explore the richest square mile in Africa' [it is] my welcome to South Africa. Then I have the different main routes; one is the 'Two Oceans' (Zoo Lake and Emmarentia Dam), or Kensington and Troyeville (the old suburbs). Then I have my cool down lap called

‘Hang up your shoes and let me look after you’ and that’s a dinner hop going from place to place” (ibid).

Beryl Porter believes walking tours have become possible within the inner city because of regeneration in Braamfontein and Newtown and the Business Improvement Districts:

“JDA’s Neil Fraser had implemented this whole system he started putting in improvement districts they literally focused on crime and grime to clean up the city. I was privileged enough to watch this happen. They have done the most incredible work. Our first route started at the Johannesburg market, at the Museum Africa, then through Main street mall. This has developed into my ‘Stepping out to Freedom’ tour from Constitution Hill, through Braamfontein over Nelson Mandela Bridge, through Newtown, the Main street mall and to the top of the Carlton. It’s been really interesting to watch, it’s been fantastic to see the reconstruction and rejuvenation of the city” (ibid).



Figure 5.4: Walk and Talk Tours inner-city Johannesburg tour (source: www.walktours.co.za retrieved 5 March, 2016)

Graffiti tours in Newtown are done by PAST Experiences and have also been possible in part because of the support of the City. These tours have become their most popular tours and why the company is sought after by international clients:

“The main thing for us more than anything else is the graffiti. It starts in the park area, and then goes under the highway and that block from under the highway to Fordsburg. It’s right next to the new mall. We didn’t start with graffiti; we started just doing a general Newtown tour. But the thing that brings our groups in there mainly is graffiti. I always liked graffiti but didn’t know that much about it,

one of the graffiti artists contacted me ... about 4 years ago and said 'do you want to do [graffiti] tours'? I said I'd love to but I don't really know enough, so he said 'I'll teach you'. So he taught me the beginnings of graffiti, through that I fell in love with it and it got to know the artists. A lot of them became friends; I got into the culture of it. Joburg is becoming this big graffiti city; people are coming from all over the world to see it and to paint, so we have all these international artists. Newtown is pretty local in terms of the artists. But there are world famous artists that work in Newtown [for instance] there's a guy called Shepard Fairey, he's the second most famous street artist in the world and he's got stuff in Newtown. People come to see that" (ibid).



Figure 5.5: Photo of Graffiti in Newtown (source: www.pastexperiences.co.za retrieved 20 March, 2016)

State support is a vital part of why tourism businesses have embraced the imaginary of the resurgent inner-city and Newtown as 'a dream tourism destination'. For instance, the City's policy of supporting and promoting public art is seen as having influenced Johannesburg's increasing profile as a graffiti destination (Jo Buitendach, interview, 2015). In line with this, the City has taken a "relaxed stance" to graffiti in comparison to other cities (for example Cape Town where its gang related) (ibid). Graffiti is encouraged by the city and private building owners as reflected in this statement:

"The City is very open to art in many ways, their public art policy is really good and I think that this in general makes it a very artistic city. They seem to have taken a very relaxed stance about graffiti so it's done during the day it's not hidden. In Newtown you can often see the people painting, this is quite a nice aspect to the tour, that you meet the artist. They've (the City) actually commissioned graffiti, it's in Pieter Roost Park in Hillbrow. A lot of the time the discussion is not really with the city, [it is] between the owners of the property and the artist. A lot of people in poorer areas are happy to have their buildings painted, and they don't have that weird negativity that a lot of other people have towards graffiti. [They] don't even know what it is sometimes" (ibid).

PAST Experiences identifies safe public transport as key in their ability to do walking tours as they mainly use public transport between specific sites (ibid). Therefore the City's investment in the Gautrain and Rea Vaya were seen to be crucial to their ability to tour the inner-city. The City Sightseeing Tour Bus^v (commonly known as the Red Bus) is also considered a vital element in supporting the discourse of the resurgence of the inner-city (Christine Tworeck, personal communication, 2015). Tourism businesses which are in line with the city's official discourse clearly receive support from the state, at all levels. For instance Gauteng Tourism has supported PAST experiences including them as one of their 'Signature Products' and in the 'Know Your Hood' campaign (Jo Buitendach, interview, 2016). SA Tourism has provided publicity after experiencing their tours (ibid). PAST Experiences has also participated the free city tour guiding courses run by JDA and the Heritage department. This has been found to be the most useful form of support (ibid).

Johannesburg's increased ranking as a tourism destination is believed to be one of the key reasons for the increased interest in PAST Experiences' tours despite the commonly held negative perceptions of the City (Jo Buitendach, interview, 2016). This was inextricably linked to regeneration in the inner-city and the profile of tourists who are looking for an authentic city experience of Johannesburg that they would not get in the northern suburbs as shown in the statement below:

"They are looking for a walking tour. They are those people [who] probably do walking tours around the world. They've probably done a little research on Johannesburg and already knowing the safety issues, they ... want to get into the real city whatever the consequences are. So they know people can get their stuff stolen, but they still want to check it out. [The City] is getting a lot of good publicity internationally Although I'm always saying Maboneng is such a strange area because it's so gentrified the good thing about a place like that is that it gets so much publicity it makes people want to come into Joburg. The graffiti also brings people to places they wouldn't want go to. But they don't come in not knowing there's crime" (ibid).

Vhupo Tours a touring business based in Soweto, had previously not conducted tours in the inner-city. They have recently bought into the imaginary of the 'resurgent inner-city' and launched a tour of the inner-city. They have partnered with the new City Lodge Hotel in Newtown and developed an 'inner-city experience tour' similar to their 'Soweto experience' tour (Bruce Luthaga, interview, 2015). This reflects recognition by this tourism business that there has been a shift in perspectives about the inner city:

"We can now take a lot of our visitors there. Johannesburg had a bad image a few years ago. It was seen as one of the most dangerous cities. It's unfortunate that it's carrying that as a legacy and it's very difficult to convince visitors to be as attracted to the city centre as they are to Soweto" (ibid).

^v This respondent did not grant an interview and instead chose to answer (a few) questions via email

5.4 Co-Option of Residents Under the Tourist Gaze: ‘They Come Weekend after Weekend’

Tourism business show that the City’s objective of using locals to advocate for their city is beginning to take shape effectively co-opting residents under the tourist gaze. This has mainly happened with middle-class residents. Beryl Porter of Walk & Talk Tours began her tourism business long before the City urged residents to explore and discover their own city but her objective was similarly aligned. Her passion for walking and to discover the city can be seen to reflect narratives that have been engaged by the City to get residents to explore their City:

“When we were walking the streets of Johannesburg only then did Johannesburg come alive for me, and I’d lived here all my life. It’s actually quite amazing what we’ve got in Johannesburg. Walking is very different from driving or going on a bus. We got to places I didn’t even know existed; I had to learn the names of the roads, suburbs and places. What we discovered when we were walking is that there was no one to tell us when there was something of interest. This is what brought me to what I developed and patented in 1999” (Beryl Porter, interview, 2016).

Although international travellers are still a significant market for PAST Experiences, locals and corporates feature significantly too showing that they are seeing the inner-city as an attractive destination in line with the official discourse. Tours done are evenly spread between local and international clientele though the numbers are bigger for the tours done with locals because they tend to come in groups (schools and corporates) (Jo Buitendach, interview, 2016). The significance of the local clientele is evident in that PAST Experiences has packaged and scheduled regular tours for local residents on weekends (ibid). In line with the City’s strategy to use locals as advocates of the city, PAST Experiences has also found this has been the most effective form of marketing for their company:

“On weekends we have big numbers of locals and that also works as a marketing tool for us. They come on tours and they love them, they come weekend after weekend, and we get to know them so well because they come to every tour. And then when their families come to visit or their schools or corporates [need a tour] they always come to us because they’ve met us through these tours” (ibid).

Some of PAST Experiences’ tours packaged to corporates and schools have a decidedly educational flavor, aiming at shifting perceptions of the inner-city thus aligning with the discourses of the City. This can be seen in the statement below:

“A lot of them [corporates] are trying to get their people to think differently or they just want a day out of the office. We do a lot of work for Standard Bank and they will say for instance: ‘we’ve got a new intake of people coming in we want them to rethink the term ‘bias’. People can be quite biased towards the inner-city. They don’t understand what the city is, how it works, and that there is a city beyond Maboneng and Braamfontein that is fantastic. And yet a lot of their business is in the inner-city; Standard Bank actually has their offices there. So we [would] create a tour on [the theme] of bias.

The idea is to show them communities, get out on the street, and eat at places they wouldn't normally eat at. So we take them to this little Indian street food place that they love, [and] a lot of them even go back there now. A couple of different investment and banking institutions have paid us to show them the African market, because they are all trying to reach this market in the city centre. But [they are] foreigners, they don't trust the government and they don't have bank accounts, so it's all cash based. So the idea is that we take them into an area and show them: 'that's your market, this who you are trying to reach'" (ibid).

In this way corporate businesses are being symbolically brought back or reoriented back into the inner-city. Vhupo Tours has about 30% of its clientele as local and also does tours for corporate businesses mainly for team building and year-end functions (Bruce Luthaga, interview, 2015). However there is clearly some resistance to the narrative of 'discovering your own city' from some quarters as seen in this statement by Walk and Talk Tours:

"... they're not really interested in the history of Johannesburg, they are really complacent. They don't want to go where they think it's unsafe, and they don't want to listen to history" (Beryl Porter, interview, 2016).

In line with the official discourse which characterizes Johannesburg residents as warm and hospitable Vhupo Tours gets tourists to experience the culture of the people in Soweto in a tour they term the 'Soweto Experience':

"Remember some of them come from these cold and strict Scandinavian countries. They take away [with them] the humanity that they get here, the spirit of Ubuntu and the interaction they have with the locals. They feel that people [here] are much friendlier towards them. For us [South Africans] that comes naturally for them it would seem that we've gone out of our way" (Bruce Luthaga, interview, 2015).

Though well intentioned, this seems to pander to the stereotypes often prevalent about Africans where there is a binary created between (in this case) Soweto residents who are characterised as warm and hospitable while Westerners are characterized as 'cold'.

On the other hand Vilakazi Restaurant, located in Vilakazi street Soweto, has much like Montecasino used an attraction intended for tourists and incorporated it into local middle-class imaginaries. Vilakazi Restaurant has almost an exclusively local clientele. Similar to Montecasino, Vilakazi Restaurant sees the tourist market as being more lucrative than the local market. Tourists are not a focus for the restaurant being only 10-15% of their monthly turnover:

"They don't contribute much, they are on a tour so they are forever looking for the lightest of meals, will have one soft drink or one local beer, because they are moving on" (Davis Matangana, interview, 2016).



Figure 5.6: Interior of Vilakazi Restaurant (www.vilakazirestaurant.co.za retrieved 20 March, 2016)

Where previously their targeted clientele would have their Sunday lunch in the upmarket restaurants in the suburbs and then come late to the townships for entertainment and socializing they now come to Vilakazi Restaurant for lunch and spend the whole afternoon at the restaurant (ibid). Additionally local Soweto residents patronise the restaurant for lunch with their families after church on Sunday. The décor and menu straddles the local and international in styling (see figure 5.6 above) and menu to accommodate the tastes of the clientele. The restaurant opened in 2010 when the owner recognized a gap in the market for a fine dining restaurant in the township:

“We are targeting the elite ones, prominent black South Africans mostly from Soweto, those who have made their money. They’ve moved to the upmarket suburbs but they come to the township on weekends. That’s where they meet and socialize. You know how life is like in the upmarket suburbs you don’t even know your neighbor, so this is where they come back to socialize to meet with their old friends, they come back to the township” (Davis Matangana, interview, 2016).

Again there are references to the warmth of the township versus the ‘coldness’ of the upmarket suburb, characterizing a symbolic boundary within the city). In a similar vein Bruce Luthaga (interview, 2015) reflects how tourism can perpetuate or magnify symbolic boundaries within the City. Their tours conceptually distinguish Soweto from Johannesburg as follows:

“In the tourism language we speak about Johannesburg and Soweto, we separate even the population statistics. When you talk about the City you are talking about a different culture altogether from the culture that you find in Soweto. In the City you are talking about Victorian buildings, about corporates. In the township we talk about match box houses and squatter camps” (Bruce Luthaga, interview, 2015).

5.5 The Township as an Authentic Heritage and Cultural Experience: 'This Street is Gold!'



Figure 5.7: Vhupo Tours Logo (source: www.vhupo-tours.com retrieved 16 March, 2016)

Tourism business and attractions operating around Vilakazi have clearly absorbed the City's official discourse around Soweto while also placing a significant emphasis on dispelling the myth of Soweto being just a space of poverty. Vhupo (meaning 'location' in tshiVenda) does the following tour of Soweto in line with the discourse of the City:

"We begin with the upper middle class part of Soweto, to check on their perception of Soweto because people have the idea that it's all just squatter camps. They get surprised that it's not more than 50% of Soweto that's a squatter camp, that's a big surprise for them. We go to Baragwanath hospital because there is a history attached to it. Then past the taxi rank so people who haven't seen this type of environment get a sense of where these taxis come from. We do a walking tour of the squatter camp. This is a way of involving the disadvantaged, where the local people are used as guides to the local community. Then we go to Kliptown, the birth place of the Constitution. Then Orlando West which has become the main tourism village of Soweto. We stop at Sakhumzi for drinks, and then go to the Hector Pietersen Museum and Mandela House (Museum). We always mention the two Nobel Prize winners" (Bruce Luthaga, interview, 2015).

Vhupo Tours takes pride in being authentic and offering authentic cultural tours:

"It is run from the very heart of South Africa's cultural melting pot: Orlando West in Soweto, making Soweto Tours our specialty!" (www.vhupo-tours.com, retrieved 15 March, 2016).

Soweto tours are Vhupo Tours' core but have been the base on which to expand to broader tours of South Africa including the game parks as reflected in their logo (see figure 5.7 above) (ibid). As with the Newtown precinct the recognition of specific spaces as tourism attractions is a significant marketing boost for tour guiding businesses within the City. For Vhupo Tours defining Vilakazi Street as a precinct has effectively defined Soweto as a tourism destination and is in turn used as a marketing tool:

"because it's well marketed, when people punch in key words like 'Vilakazi Street' on the internet then our company and others who do tours to the street come up" (Bruce Luthaga, interview, 2015).



Figure 5.8: The presence of Nelson Mandela and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela in Vilakazi Street (Mandela Museum) (photos by author)



Figure 5.9: View of Orlando Towers from Hector Pietersen Museum (photo by author)

Lawrence Ramanuku (interview, 2016) an informal trader on Vilakazi Street co-exists quite happily with the formal businesses on the street, counter to some of the narratives that have seen the City

being hostile to street traders. Although 80% of his clientele are international tourists, Mr. Ramanuku balances the products sold between the tourist and local market (ibid). He sells traditional clothing, hats, wood ornaments, and sculptures made out of recycled newspaper (paper mache). The symbolic presence of Mandela is an ever present part of the discourses around Vilakazi Street:

“Vilakazi Street is growing day by day, tourists prefer this place, you can see its early hours (12pm) but the street is busy. They like this street even during the festive season because of Mandela’s house” (ibid).



Figure 5.10: Informal trading next to Mandela Museum (Lawrence Ramanuku’s stall) (photo by author)

The manager of Vilakazi Restaurant indicated that the restaurant doesn’t have to market itself because the street is “iconic” due to the popularity of the heritage attractions which draw both locals and tourists to the street as reflected in the statements below:

“The place is gold itself, people just want to see Vilakazi Street and there we are! We don’t really need to market, the location is perfect. The name ‘Vilakazi’ is our marketing tool. Say somebody intends visiting South Africa from European countries, they know about Vilakazi Street because that was where Nelson Mandela and Bishop Tutu lived. You Google ‘Vilakazi’ and we come up” (Davis Matangana, interview, 2016).

As with the Newtown precinct, the upgrading of Vilakazi Street and its development as a precinct has provided the basis for the street’s distinctiveness and popularity:

“... you can see it’s very different from the other streets [in Soweto]. ... It’s well paved, well lit up, it’s the greenest, it’s very clean, very well looked after. The lights are forever light and bright at night, they are always maintained. There are rubbish bins, if you are walking down the street sipping your drink you’ll find a dustbin to throw your can into, you don’t really find street bins in other streets. They made it a priority because it was a tourist destination” (Davis Matangana, interview, 2016).

This also gives a sense that tourism is a key factor determining the prioritization of development in the City, with tourism areas getting more focus. The support of the state in the form of infrastructure upgrades such as paving and parking areas is attributed as a key reason for the growth in popularity of the area:

“Before it got upgraded it was a dark street, it was dusty, and the museum was operating but the business was down. Since the upgrade the business is booming. Since then the museum managed to hire more people inside like tour guides and other staff” (Lawrence Ramanuku, interview, 2016).

5.6 The Symbolic Power of International Tourists: ‘They’ve started to market it as a city and be proud of the city culture’

PAST Experiences refers to their international clientele as ‘travellers’ since these clients are high-end and are considered to be the more discerning tourist looking for a different experience, hence their interest in inner-city tours and graffiti (Jo Buitendach, interview, 2016). These clients “are not idiots, they want to know” (ibid) and their interest in seeing the good and bad side of the City influences their choice of touring the inner-city:

“We have international agents from San Francisco, Aspen, Beverley Hills, London -- they come from all over -- who [market] us to very, very upmarket clients. It’s quite a different sort of client; [so] we’re not looking at getting a whole lot of people in a tour bus stopping in the site for 5 minutes. We are in-depth and tailor-made. [These clients] are open-minded, they question things, and they don’t take things at face value. We don’t just say everything is wonderful, because they can see it’s not. We always remain positive but realistic, that’s our motto” (ibid).

Evidence of the COJ’s increasing emphasis on creating a tourist city is illustrated in this statement:

“[When] I started 6 years ago I felt like Joburg ... was marketed by everybody including the authorities ... like a place that’s an hour away from a game park. In the last few years the thing that’s changed that is so good is that they’ve started to market it as a city and be proud of the city culture. Like the street style, graffiti, the African city, all that is in the right direction. [Not only] because it fits in with our brand but also because it is what the city is” (ibid).

Maintaining the safe tourist city faces some challenges however as discussed below.

5.7 The Challenge of Maintaining the Proxy for Reality: ‘Security is So Important, That Improvement District Security Made Such a Difference’

Safety and security seems to be a priority for tourism businesses operating in the inner-city. Jo Buitendach of PAST Experiences returned again and again to this issue even when we were discussing other issues. Various strategies are employed by PAST Experiences to mitigate the fact

that the City Centre can be an unsafe place. The additional security provided around the Newtown Improvement District is crucial for their survival and there is great concern when this is not present:

“The park has no security at the moment, it used to have the city security guards. I don’t know where they’ve gone. All the guys that used to wear the dark blue and yellow uniform those guys are gone. That’s the sort of thing the city could do more of and it’s got nothing to do with tourism. If you make your locals safe the tourists just benefit from it, the aim should be to have 12-hour government security every day. Security is so important, that improvement district security made such a difference. The mall has security under the highway and the coffee shop we use has got security but private security is not good enough” (Jo Buitendach, interview, 2016).

This has been linked to a general degradation of the precinct since the mall opened which is worrying for her in relation to her business:

“You can see those areas have gone a little run down, the grass hasn’t been cut, there’s a bit of rubbish in the park. Since the mall was finished some of the heads [public art] have been taken, and [are] sitting in a pile. I always think security and management go hand in hand” (ibid).

It is clear that PAST Experiences relies on the security support provided by the Newtown Improvement District to operate a successful tourism business in the inner city. However additionally the deep knowledge and familiarity of the Inner-City is regarded as a survival strategy in an unsafe city:

“It’s a problem if you don’t have a guide who knows, who understands when the security is there and when it isn’t. People always want a tour on a Sunday afternoon and that is such a bad time for the city centre because there’s no security around. For us during the week 9am-5pm is good. Saturday morning is also generally quite good in Newtown. We can only do tours on Sunday mornings because it’s packed under the highway where the graffiti is because there’s that huge Nigerian church. This is fantastic for us we love that church! It brings in all these cool church going people, they look lovely and the tourists like to see them. So if they’re not around we don’t do a tour [on a Sunday]. Anyone could go into the inner-city and do a tour but there’s a serious safety aspect and you also really need to know the people and communities. Occasionally I see people trying to do what we do, taking random people around. That would be good anywhere else in the world, but I don’t know if it’s good here if you’re not there every day. Some areas I don’t do without a community activist. We do a lot of work in Jeppestown and it’s very difficult. There are 50 slum buildings, some people are poverty stricken, it’s where all the xenophobia is It’s not a normal tour company because you always have to worry about safety more than a lot of other companies” (ibid).

“Safety tips” have become a discourse that is used to support the tourism imaginaries in the inner-city. These include a standard warning on crime in all email communications; advice on the type of bag to carry; and a safety talk at the beginning of the tour (ibid). Newtown is considered a safer area

to tour because there is higher police visibility (horse patrols are apparently started from Mary Fitzgerald Square every morning) and because of the extra security in the precinct (ibid). However the realities of an unequal society always sneak in:

“I generally don’t feel too unsafe [in Newtown] it’s [only] when people come up to you on a tour and want money and get a little pushy about it. I have a policy that we don’t give money out of wallets on tours because you are opening yourself up to so much stuff. That makes me a bit nervous. And I always say we’ve never had a problem in Newtown in 6 years, which is such a nice thing to say but that doesn’t mean we never will” (ibid).

PAST Experiences does not however try to mask or silence dystopian imaginaries of the City:

“There’s a slum right next to the mall. You’ve got this money and nothing [next to each other], which is South Africa in general. And I always say [to tourists] they’re in a country with such extremes of poverty and wealth. The people that they’re walking around in the Newtown the slum area, these people are so poor. So of course if those people see an iPhone and they’ve had such a bad life ... so I basically give a social commentary [to crime], not excusing it but explaining” (ibid).

Walk & Talk Tour’s approach to safety concerns has been to try to get signage onto pavements in the form of dots with the SA flag colours that tourists would follow on all the different routes without necessarily needing a tour guide (Beryl Porter, interview, 2016). Once at that site the tourists would then phone in and listen to a recorded story about a specific place (ibid). This is intended to deal with the safety aspects as well as allow tourists flexibility in touring the City:

“... [I thought] if they had the signs up and dots on the pavement, they can recognize that this is a safe area that is being looked after and you have help on hand, [there is] easy access to information and the business improvement district is here. You can’t just stroll into an area and expect it to be safe, when there’s nothing that indicates that you’re okay. People could take themselves on a walk and know that they’re in a safe area, and if the roads are clearly identified [they] can explore and have fun” (ibid).

Global standards are also used in maintaining the hyperreality that the City is safe for tourists. In line with this the City Sightseeing Tour Bus (commonly known as the ‘Red Bus’) is considered a vital element in supporting the discourse of ‘the resurgent inner-city’ (Christine Tworeck, personal communication, 2015). This is because the bus represents the message that it is possible to tour the City safely (ibid). It is argued that this is because the City Sightseeing Bus is a global brand:

“City Sightseeing concept, on an international level, is that of a safe, reliable, informative and fun way to see the city and visit its many attractions” (ibid).

In accordance with this the City Sightseeing Bus has been used by the state tourism authorities to further reinforce the narrative of Johannesburg being a globally ranked tourism destination and thus safe enough to visit:

“... the international iconic image of the bus and web presence promotes foot-traffic to the Joburg CBD. The city and various attractions like to incorporate the image of the bus and relevant website reference as a symbol of safety to promote the city. Gauteng Tourism and Joburg Tourism use the City Sightseeing Brochure and iconic image of the bus to promote tourism to Joburg on an international level, including Africa, at various trade shows” (Christine Tworeck, personal communication, 2015).

This is confirmed when looking at the various brochures of the city which feature the bus (for instance in the Soweto Guide (Joburg Tourism, 2015b) and Destination Johannesburg (Joburg Tourism, undated) brochures. In this way the impact of the bus has reinforced the discourse of the resurgence of the inner-city because “visitors, both international and local, now perceive it possible to explore the CBD in conjunction with the bus” (Christine Tworeck, personal communication, 2016).

On the other hand the disciplinary gaze of tourists in Vilakazi Street seems to be taking effect in maintaining the Street, as there doesn’t seem to be as much of an issue with crime in comparison to the City Centre. Responses from businesses operating within this space suggest that the disciplinary power of tourists has normalized practices and behaviours which sustain the regime of ‘truth’ of the global tourism industry. Vhupo Tours indicated that:

“It hasn’t been tested very well yet (security) maybe because generally the people are quite accommodating, we do see strangers that come from other cities. But there aren’t as many security cars as you would see in Melville, or Houghton. The locals will keep out people with wrong type of energy. But fortunately the people who come to the street have the right energy even if they might be disadvantaged they usually have better ideas than bad ideas. It’s in our best interests to look after the visitors in the street because we want to keep our businesses going” (Bruce Luthaga, interview, 2015).

Sporadic incidents happen and in this case security meetings are held from time to time including business owners, local police, and one of the members of the ward committee or the ward councilor (ibid). The relatively low level of crime on that Street was confirmed by other businesses. For instance Lawrence Ramanuku (interview, 2016) indicated that:

“Ever since I started I never encountered this crime thing in this portion, I don’t know about down there [pointing to further down the street]. There is no security [guards]. There are some reports down there they hijack cars or something. Maybe because of this Mandela Museum^{vi}. Most of the locals are always sitting around the street” (ibid).

Davis Mantanga of Vilakazi Restaurant made it sound like crime was a complete non-issue for them (interview, 2016). This was attributed to greater police presence because of the identification of the street as a tourist precinct:

^{vi} The trader is located next door to the Mandela Museum

“In this area there is very little crime. Look at our place we do not have any burglar bars on the doors and windows. For the last 6 years they’ve never been broken into. The street is well respected and well monitored by security forces. Traffic police, our own security company, and the fact that it’s Vilakazi Street. Our alcohol sits like that at night, that bar doesn’t switch off; it’s always bright like that you can see all of that. There’s nothing stopping anyone from breaking in but it doesn’t happen” (ibid).

The tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg also apparently neutralise xenophobic tendencies in Vilakazi Street:

“Most of the people who are selling here plenty of people from Malawi, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, even Kenya. South Africans are few, but we are just one united nations, even if there’s xenophobia around, but here we are not affected, we just hear the cases from town” (ibid).

5.8 Conclusion

In this chapter I found that tourism businesses have in the main taken up the tourism discourses of the City and enhanced the City’s representation as a tourist city. This confirmed Salazar’s (2012) view that tourism businesses co-produce tourism imaginaries with the City by taking up the discourses of the City and reinforcing them. It could furthermore be seen that residents have also bought into the tourism discourses of the City. This can be viewed positively as indicating the potential of tourism in Johannesburg to re-configure and re-negotiate history, thus creating a hybrid identity for the City that incorporates a melding of cultures and heritage. Accordingly the shift in tourism imaginaries of Johannesburg have encouraged some middle-class residents and corporate businesses to get out of their suburban enclaves, overcome fear of the unknown and venture back into the inner-city or into townships. This was mentioned by PAST Experiences and Vhupo Tours in particular who have taken local residents on tours to discover or rediscover parts of the City they would not have otherwise gone to. In some cases this has been done to dispel certain biases and myths about the City. It is also I suppose an effective discourse to win the approval of middle-class residents because tourism spaces reflect well on the City and promote the idea of a City that works and is safe.

This chapter also highlighted how some tourism businesses take the lead promoting global city narratives (the case of Montecasino and the Red Bus) while also reinforcing the City’s aspiration to be a world-class city. Montecasino can be considered an escapist space for middle-class residents that has taken tourism imaginaries and used them to market itself to local people. While Montecasino is quite obviously a pseudo-world or cocoon in which middle-class people can escape the realities and problems facing the country, or alternatively escape to a romanticized versions of urban life; they are not the only spaces that are fulfilling this need. What is significant about Montecasino is the length to which they have gone to in maintaining this hyperreality. This is seen in the creation of symbolic boundaries; the use of surveillance techniques; and in creating the

'authentic fake' par excellence using design, styling and sensory simulation. In the fieldwork one gets a sense that the other tourist spaces within the City such as Newtown and Vilakazi Street are now also increasingly fulfilling this need for escapism and romanticization, though not to the same degree. Regeneration in the inner-city ensures more and more that middle-class residents can feel like they are in "the New York of Africa". For example the graffiti tours, the fashion, heritage, culture, art and music as well as the "street life" make Johannesburg more and more like New York City. Vilakazi Street can also be regarded as a form of escapism because at times it represents nostalgia for middle-class black residents. These tourist sites are just as much of a pseudo-world therefore in the sense that they display fragments of the City in extreme contrast to the poorer, less developed, less secure, less well-maintained parts of town that have nothing that would attract a tourist. They become a proxy for reality because they are pockets of exceptionalism in the City. Moreover these tourist sites require it seems extra effort to maintain this 'hyperreality' outside of what the Council would normally provide in terms of policing and maintenance for other parts of the City.

Tourists or alternatively the tourism industry can be thought of as creating a form of disciplinary power that normalises certain behaviours and practices to maintain tourist spaces as clean and safe and thus making real tourists' imaginaries of Johannesburg. In the inner-city it could be seen that tourism businesses have helped the City shift bias and thus reinforce the official discourse. Using Foucault's concept of disciplinary power one can argue that tourism is a 'discipline' that uses discourse to legitimise investment in specific parts of the city and not others. Many of the businesses operating in both Newtown and Vilakazi Street made reference to the fact that these parts of the City are generally safer and cleaner than surrounding parts of the City. In the tourism marketing the COJ has avoided areas of the City that would fall in line with the dystopian imaginaries of the City; or alternatively has promoted and artificially propped up a counter narrative in specific locations within the City such as Newtown and Vilakazi Street. Investments in extra policing and maintenance both by the City and private businesses effectively support tourism imaginaries in areas deemed to be attractive for tourism such as heritage and cultural sites. It was seen especially in the case of Newtown that these are artificial measures propping up the discourse of a clean and safe inner-city. Without them the cracks start to show, tourism businesses get jittery and Newtown starts to become more like other parts of the inner-city. This shows that the 'reality' unravels once the extra cleaning and extra security that is part of creating the hyperreality are removed. In Vilakazi Street there was a hint that residents have also become 'disciplined' into behaving differently, either because of the tourist or in respect of the political history of the street and Nelson Mandela's iconic status. If true it suggests that disciplinary power is normalizing practices and behaviours which

sustain the discursive formation of global tourism. The last chapter focuses on the relevance and implications of the research findings on our understanding of contemporary Johannesburg.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

My research intended to capture the influence of tourism on the urban imaginaries of contemporary Johannesburg. The research was based on the general premise that tourism is having material effect on the City in ways which are not normally measured when we buy into without question, the discourse that tourism is good for the City's economy. The discourse analysis and fieldwork confirmed many of the ideas set out in the first chapter regarding the changes that take place once a city becomes more of a tourist city. It also clarified the impacts of tourism discourses on Johannesburg, some of which can be considered positive for the City as outlined in the previous chapters. This research has confirmed the significant effect of representation in general and lately tourism representation in shaping cities and Johannesburg in particular. Tourism representation has been put to 'work' in Johannesburg using tourism discourse to create a certain reality or at times even a 'proxy for reality'. The research has confirmed the effectiveness of tourism discourse in creating and shifting tourism imaginaries of the City, and explained the processes by which these tourism imaginaries then have had material effect. Thus the deconstruction of the City's tourism imaginaries carried in the official discourse has revealed how much tourism has become a part of the urban imaginaries of particularly the middle-class residents of the City. It also raises questions related to broader issues of democracy, equality and justice that allow us to check assumptions which are shaping and defining the City. This relates to two main issues:

- How tourism in the City confers symbolic and disciplinary power to actors not resident in the City but who are shaping the urban imaginaries in the City.
- Whether the global tourism economy can be regarded as defining neo-colonial power relations in cities.

Each of these will be discussed below.

I discussed in chapter 4 and 5 how the increasing relevance of tourism in cities confers symbolic power on tourism actors in the City. The symbolic power of tourists and other tourism actors in Johannesburg needs to be understood and deconstructed in relation to the broader implication on issues of democracy and social equality. In democratic theory a key concern is to understand who legitimately has rights to be recognised as a citizen of a particular democracy. There are different conceptions of how 'the people' is constituted which have the effect on the stability and legitimacy of any given democracy. The recognition of tourist actors as having significant influence on Johannesburg (if we are to consider the constitution of the City a form of democracy) confers rights

on citizens who would not have these rights according to traditional democratic theory. It therefore appears to confer unequal political rights to a constituent that is neither politically active on a day-to-day basis nor resident in that society. Tourism therefore creates a situation where people who live outside the borders of the City exert influence in the form of diffuse and insidious surveillance over tourist spaces in Cities.

Tourism in cities creates a situation similar to one where parents (the tourist) encourage their children (the resident) to tidy up and be on their 'best behaviour' to impress a visitor. The difference is that in this example once the visitor is gone the children can go back to their normal identities. In the case of a tourist city, the city is continually under the panopticon surveillance of the tourist and other arbiters in the global tourism industry that determine who qualifies to be the latest 'hot' tourism destination. It could also be seen how middle-class residents are also drawn into this system of surveillance thus ensuring that the expectations determined by the tourist gaze become a reality. There are several implications and questions that emanate from the research that need to be investigated further. The research calls into question whether and how the majority of residents of the City benefit from tourism. It also begs the question whether urban change should be determined by an external gaze, a gaze which does not necessarily capture the aspirations of the residents of the City. If one extends the analogy of the parent and child expecting a visitor, one could also question at what point the 'child' will develop his or her own identity if he or she is constantly under the gaze of the visitor. When applied to Johannesburg this questions whether the City's urban imaginaries or its identity will increasingly be determined by the need to impress tourists, as seems to be the case currently. Wouldn't a City that focused more on developing its own identity also more equitably meet the needs of the majority of its residents, and be suited more to the cultural and social conditions and existing resources of the City?

Taking this argument further, Bourdieu also provides a framework that lays the basis for suggesting that the tourist city is creating symbolic power relations that make Johannesburg a neo-colonial city. I discussed at the end of the third chapter how tourists have recognized as 'capital' the culture, heritage and other symbolic objects in Johannesburg. This together with the habitus created by the European conception of Africa or other pre-conceptions of 'the other' that guide tourism imaginaries, can create power relations that mirror the relationship between the 'coloniser' and 'colonised' of old. Bhabha's discussion on mimicry and ambivalence bears relevance here as it points to how a neo-colonial situation can result in a City that mimics the new 'colonizers' (represented by the global tourism system) thus creating a new form of 'colonized' identity. Tourism if seen this way provides another reason (as if we needed one) for the COJ to yearn for the Northern (or Western)

version of the city. Alternatively the neo-colonial situation creates a City that is ambivalent about its identity, straddling competing discourses but ending up creating an empty meaningless imaginary for the majority of its citizens as can be seen in the case of 'World-class African City' or 'European City in Africa', or even 'the New York of Africa'. This I believe closes down the space for defining, debating and ultimately creating a new discursive formation for post-apartheid Johannesburg which does not silence groups who are symbolically underrepresented in the current official discourses.

Another way in which Johannesburg could be characterised as a neo-colonial city is to consider the evidence from the discourse analysis and fieldwork that showed that the 'regime of truth' (in line with Foucault) did not change with the advent of democracy. There has been some continuity in tourism discourses which in various ways continue to represent Johannesburg as the European city in Africa. This shows the persistence of apartheid discourses and the workings of habitus where the colonial and apartheid era cultural symbols were legitimized and given value using mystifying discourse over generations at the expense of African symbolic artefacts. In seeing the cultural and symbolic sphere as 'capital' in line with Bourdieu, it can be seen that symbolic power relations between the 'coloniser' and '(ex)colonised' remain relatively unchanged. These arguments are relevant to understanding the role of tourism in precluding the formation of a new national, regional, post-apartheid identity; or in the case of Johannesburg post-apartheid urban imaginaries that more broadly reflect the majority of the City's residents and not simply those with symbolic power or symbolic capital.

What does this say about future of Johannesburg? The research could be used as a basis to deconstruct the assumption often found in policy about the transformational potential of tourism, and thus the justifications on why any government should focus on tourism. Deconstructing the discourses of tourism and their material effect has for instance revealed how some areas lose out from investments in tourism because they have nothing that would attract tourists. It is important for the City, in line with this deconstruction to question whether tourism really is the best and equitable way to achieve the transformation of the economy. Does it serve the needs of the majority of the population? Are the imaginaries of the City that are derived from tour operators really benefitting as many residents as possible? I contend that the concern with tourism and thus with the gaze of the tourist is a mystifying discourse which removes the City's attention away from the investments that would serve the interests of the majority of the country's population. The assumption behind the economic benefits of tourism and the potential to transform the economy, also need to be deconstructed as tourism is in fact reinforcing fragmentation. Tourism is reinforcing

symbolic boundaries between for instance Soweto and Johannesburg, between regenerated inner-city areas and the rest of the City, and between wealthier residents and the poor.

Additionally the 'common sense' around the value of tourism to developing countries has become well-entrenched and this is maintained through various discourses by institutions such as the state, global and local tourism actors, and the media. It could be seen that this was a key discourse used in the representation of the City to convince residents of the benefit to them of the inner city revitalisation efforts as well as the infrastructure investments such as the Gautrain. Deconstructing this hegemonic discourse regarding the benefits of tourism could then potentially be a first step to shifting discourses around how the City's economy could be transformed to more equitably benefit all its residents and therefore to balance the relations of power within the city. Understanding the symbolic power that tourists and international tour operators have is necessary for the unlocking previously unrecognised fields of power and can be the basis for a change in power relations. The historical representations of protest in the City provide insight into how competing discourses were used over time in the last century to shift power relations (at least in the political sphere). Questioning the norm and the 'common sense' at the time made it possible to even imagine the possibility of change, and is just as crucial today.

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