

SOWETO, THE “STORYBOOK PLACE”:
TOURISM AND FEELING IN A SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIP

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Dedicated to the memory of my late uncle, Robert (Bobby) Drinan.

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ABSTRACT**SOWETO, THE “STORYBOOK PLACE”:
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Dr. Asif Agha

This dissertation deals with the role of tour guides in creating and telling the story of Soweto – a township southwest of Johannesburg, South Africa. The story speaks of a place afflicted by poverty because of its history of segregation during apartheid but emerging out of these struggles to lead its nation in a post-apartheid culture. I argue that Soweto’s story was created out of a governmental mandate for the township to become one of Gauteng’s tourism locations, and out of a knowledge that the transformation story from apartheid to a ‘rainbow nation’ would not sell in this context. After being created, Soweto’s story was affirmed through urban branding strategies and distributed to tourism markets across the world. It is a storybook – a narrative with a beginning, a climax, and an ending; it is easily packaged, marketed and sold to individuals from across the world, and this is done through the senses and emotions. In tours of Soweto, the story comes to life through sensitizations, which are either: (1) signs of communication that link individuals to artifacts in commodity formulations through the senses, or (2) artifacts in a commodity process whose object formulations involve sensoria. The narrative told about Soweto has sold well in tourism, as the Sowetan tourism industry grows in size each year. It has sold so well that the South African government has co-opted Soweto’s local

repacking of apartheid into their national narrative. What this dissertation reveals is the centrality of Soweto in contemporary political and social post-apartheid South Africa.

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PREFACE

A few weeks ago, my husband and I went to visit his family *ko gae* ‘at home’ in Sekhukhune, Limpopo. My husband is South African, and like many *born frees* ‘people born into the democratic South Africa,’ he spent a lot of his life back and forth between his urban family house in Soweto and his rural family home in Sekhukhune. In Sepedi,¹ my husband’s first language, as in many Bantu (both Sotho-Tswana and Nguni) languages, *ko gae* ‘at home’ is a concept differentiated from *ko ntlong* ‘at the house.’ *Ko gae* indexes a rural homeland, where the family traces its history back to and where a family’s ancestors are buried, while *ko ntlong* indexes a structure, a house where someone can live, but not a home. Life in Sekhukhune is structured by livestock, farming, cleaning, familial and ancestral responsibilities, loyalty to *Kgoshi* ‘King’ Kenneth Kgagudi Sekhukhune, and occasionally work. It is slow in pace compared to Soweto and it is acutely centered around family in a way that Soweto imitates but could never fully replicate. For these reasons, we always look forward to our return home.



Figure 1: Soweto Gold Billboard in Ga-Nkoana, Sekhukhune, Limpopo.

¹ In official South African documents, this language is referred to as *Sesotho sa Leboa* ‘Sesotho of the South,’ however in Sekhukhune and amongst *Bapedi* ‘Pedi people,’ most refer to this language as Sepedi. I employ their terminology and preferences here.

On this journey home, we stopped by the nearest town (a shopping complex with a garage, a restaurant, a grocery store, small vendors selling fruits and vegetables, and a few clothing stores) to fill up our tank. Immediately after doing so we found a newly installed billboard advertising Soweto Gold, a Sowetan-brewed beer. It read, “the golden beer, born ekasi” (Soweto Gold 2019) (see Figure 1). My husband and I were crippled with laughter, as we had just minutes ago been discussing my dissertation and the worth that Soweto has in contemporary South Africa. I asked my husband to turn the car around so that we could take a picture of the billboard. *Ekasi* ‘in the location’ is a Nguni iteration of the Afrikaans² *lokasie* ‘location.’ Using this Nguni urban word form in rural Sekhukhune, 15 km away from Kgoshi Kenneth Kgagudi Sekhukhune’s house, where everyone (even the Pakistani shopowners) speaks Sepedi, a Sotho-Tswana language, was a purposeful marketing strategy. Soweto Gold was not trying to cater to the linguistic needs of this rural area, they rather employed this word form to index an urban style, a coolness associated with a Nguni form of speech spoken in urban townships. For their marketing, it is assumed that drinking a Soweto Gold is equivalent to speaking Sowetan forms of speech – they will both mark you as urban, cool, and fun.

But it is not merely the presence of Nguni township speech forms in Soweto Gold’s billboard that speaks of Soweto’s significance in South Africa, it is the indexical relation

² Afrikaans is a language, “derivative from Dutch, spoken in South Africa and elsewhere in Africa by emigration. Sometimes claimed to be a Dutch-based creole, a claim also strongly resisted” (P. H. Matthews 2014).

between *ekasi* and Soweto. There are many *kasis* ‘locations - townships’ in urban and rural South Africa, how does the audience know that this billboard is speaking about Soweto particularly? By displaying pictures of Soweto Gold and using the word *ekasi*, the two become linked – *ekasi* references Soweto. In this use of the word *ekasi*, Soweto also becomes *the* location, not *a* location – it is the place to be. My husband and I found this billboard so humorous not because it was introducing a new idea to the people of Sekhukhune about Soweto and its significance, but because it was reinforcing the already popular belief that Soweto is a place of style, a place of urban-ness, and a place of extreme value in this country. This dissertation examines one way in which Soweto has come to gain national and global value through tourism, and the stories that are told about Soweto through this medium.

CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

I am writing this dissertation from the house that my husband and I bought in Ennerdale, South Africa, a predominantly coloured community around 20 km from Dlamini, the area of Soweto where we had previously lived. Ennerdale was created during apartheid for higher classed members of the coloured community in Eldorado Park, one of the two coloured communities in the predominantly black Soweto township. Besides having a relationship to Eldorado Park through the taxi and newspaper industries, and through remaining familial ties, there are few similarities between the two areas. My husband and I purchased a house in Ennerdale rather than Soweto because Sowetan housing prices are unproportionately higher than in surrounding areas; the size of the house that we purchased in Ennerdale would have been at least three times more expensive in Soweto. My husband and I are extremely proud of our work ethics and our mutual achievement of buying a house for ourselves and our future family, however, we constantly find ourselves reminiscing about Soweto – the culture, community, and safety we found so comforting there. The word ‘homesick’ has been uttered on multiple occasions. We have even gone so far as to discuss our future plans, and whether we might be able to sell this house and purchase in Soweto someday.

Soweto has been more of a home to me than any other place in the world. The sensorial experiences, the community events, and the memories that I’ve created there left me always missing it when I had to leave. The sounds of drums, songs, and brass bands from *sangomas* ‘traditional healers’ or Christian churches woke many of my nights’ sleep, signaling to me the resolution of familial and community problems. Some weekends,

when walking home from a research trip or a visit with my in-laws, we would happen upon a wedding or *lobola* ‘bride wealth’ celebration of someone who Iweknew from a friend, or a friend of a friend, and would be invited to join in. Ntate Twala, our beloved neighbor, warned us to park our bike in a different location, told me when my friend had stopped by to visit, and gave us advice on life in general. Our old neighbor, Ntate David, washed his taxi in our yard to the sounds of Maskandi music, and when he moved out, our new neighbor washed his car to the sounds of kwaito and hip-hop – both men working with a whiskey in hand. Our other neighbor, Baba Shabalala, greeted me as *makoti wethu* ‘our daughter-in-law’ and always asked how my husband and I were doing. And on nights when the electricity shut off, and we each peeked outside our houses to check whether we had forgotten to pay our bill or if loadshedding³ had occurred – only to find it was of course loadshedding – the community mourned Eskom’s failure together.

Many days writing this dissertation, I had to pause and ask myself questions about positionality, about my relationship to Sowetans, to Soweto, and to scholarly communities. To most Sowetans, I was assumed to be a tourist. I was white, for one, and it was clear to many that I was not South African. To any Sowetan who spoke negatively

³ Grid loadshedding is the method that Eskom, a State Owned Entity (SOE) of the South African government which runs our public electricity, uses to avoid overloading the electrical system which would result in a nation-wide shutdown. Based on province, Eskom shuts down various electrical grids at different times, particularly during the winter. In Soweto, because there is an extremely high population density (based on cultural norms of taking care of the elderly at home, raising children of extended family or friends, and providing housing for family or friends coming from rural areas or who otherwise would not have housing) as well, perhaps, because of illegal metering of electricity and high debts to Eskom, some areas of Soweto get loadshedding as frequently as every evening or day during the winter. White City, Central, and Zola are areas of Soweto known for getting a lot of load shedding. Recently, new areas of Protea have also been receiving poor service from Eskom year-round. Frequent service-delivery protests are evidence of this.

about me in isiZulu, isiXhosa, Sesotho, or Setswana, however, they would soon find out that I was not a tourist, through a simple response in their language of choice. Random conversations that emerged out of these encounters – based on experiential assumptions about race and nationality – led often to the other’s embracing of me as an ‘honorary Sowetan’ (as one friend calls me), simply because of my cultural knowledge of life in the township demonstrated through linguistic skills. My ethnographic research in Soweto gave me a unique and beautiful experience of life in this township. I was separated from tourists, so though I knew they came to Soweto, I didn’t know where they visited and what they did there besides coming to Regina Mundi, where I first began my research in 2014. I had enrolled in an isiZulu language course during my first year at Indiana University (2012), and my professor there, Dr. Betty Dlamini (a Swati national), helped me to secure funding for my first fieldwork trip to South Africa to begin my ethnomusicological studies of South African music and my linguistic studies of South African languages. I chose to study in Soweto because of Regina Mundi – its role in the anti-apartheid movement, and the way that apartheid was remembered by its parishioners through song, as I saw on YouTube recordings of their youth choir.

It wasn’t until December 2015, a year and a half into this research project, that I asked my then boyfriend (now husband) to accompany me to Vilakazi Street, to see where most of the Sowetan tourism takes place. Shock does not quite explain the feeling that I felt as we hopped off of our minibus taxi in Orlando’s Vilakazi Street. My experience as a minority in Soweto vanished before my eyes, as I was suddenly surrounded by white people. At the time, I didn’t have a phone that could connect to Wi-Fi, but a local tour

guide (TG) told me that Wif-Fi was available. Traditional Tswana dancers, pantsula men, gumboot performers, and vendors filled the streets. It was the definition of a ‘tourist bubble,’ and suddenly Sowetan assumptions about my possession of a great amount of wealth made sense as I looked at prices of food and items sold on the street. My husband and I were nearly brought to tears in the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum, as we read about the student uprisings which began at Morris Issacson Secondary School, the school opposite my in-law’s house in White City, Soweto. I was swept up in a rush of emotion as I clapped along with the Tswana dancers’ evocative performance, and as I laughed at the pantsula dancers’ magic tricks; making their hats disappear behind their heads and re-appear through their mouths.

We returned home to our flat in Dlamini that day, and I melted into my computer, typing fieldnotes like never before. Suddenly I had to question, like Bruner (2005, 2), whether I was, “a closet ethnographer on tour, or a closet tourist doing ethnography. Is Sydney Mintz correct, that ‘we are all tourists’?” This place that I feel so comfortable in, I will never be recognized by its citizens as belonging to. I will always look like a tourist, and I had to come to terms with the fact that because of my skin color, my experience of Soweto will always remain a quasi-touristic. I began reading blogs of tourists who had visited Soweto, I conversed with some of them, and I started questioning why they came to Soweto, why I came to Soweto, and what people online say about it. What I realized, as I began searching for research on Sowetan tourism, was a prevalence of critiques of this activity as ‘poverty porn,’ compared often to slum tourism in India, favela tours in Brazil, or barrio tours in Colombia. Where did these critiques come from? Was there a

part of Sowetan tours that I was missing? A part that displayed extreme poverty instead of culture and history?

In 2012, Fabian Frenzel and Ko Koens published an article entitled, “Slum Tourism: Developments in a Young Field of Interdisciplinary Tourism Research,” which introduced a special edition of *Tourism Geographies*, “Global Perspectives on Slum Tourism.” In this article they survey existing research on township tourism in South Africa and favela tourism in Brazil. Making a theoretical link between the type of tourism that exists in these two places, namely, the exploitation of poverty, Frenzel and Koens (2012) discuss the possibilities for research endeavors in a new field of study which they call ‘slum tourism.’ Soweto, the township just south west of Johannesburg that is the focus of my dissertation, became one of the case study locales for Frenzel’s future writings. But Sowetan tourism is not just about slums and poverty; while some TGs take tourists to Kliptown’s *imikhukhu* ‘shacks’ (only 1 km from my previous flat in Dlamini) and encourage tourists to donate to the youth project, spend time with orphans, or distribute food to the needy, there are so many other ways, and more popular ways, in which Soweto is experienced in tourism. This tour of Kliptown was created for a particular type of tourist who likes to visit impoverished areas and assist people financially or otherwise. Not all tourists like to engage in such activities on their tours, and so not all tours of Soweto focus on Kliptown or other *imikhukhu* around the township.

Living in Soweto, I had met individuals involved in the host side of tourism through snowball sampling (Lewis-Beck, Bryman, and Futing Liao 2004) and those were mostly individuals born and raised in Soweto versus tour guides and hosts who came from elsewhere. Many of the Soweto based tourism organizations and individuals do not offer visits to the Kliptown slums, or if they do, they embed it within a diversity of economic experiences of the township, contextualizing the poverty as they do so. For example, they remind tourists that you can find the same type of poverty opposite Sandton – the richest square mile in Africa – in Alexandra. Reading the ‘slum tourism’ research mentioned above, I felt a personal and ethical conflict between the way that people talk about Soweto in scholarship, especially scholarship on tourism, and my experiences of the township in ethnographic research and personal life.

Soweto, to me, has pockets of poverty – yes, like any place in the world – and yet the vast majority of people have enough money to live comfortably; to buy Mercedes-Benzes or Volkswagens or BMWs, to pay for private school fees for their children or to pay for transport for their children to go to the nicest public schools in Soweto, to buy designer clothes or shoes or perfumes. I had to study the shopping patterns at Maponya Mall to find the least busy time of the day or week so that I didn’t have to wait an hour in the check-out lines. The mall is so busy not simply because of the overpopulation of Soweto nor because of the infrequency of formal malls in the township, as some might like to claim, but also because people have money to spend in Soweto. Tour guides who are from Soweto have experienced this lifestyle and they recognize that this is an important aspect of the township which they must represent. This experience, however, can be

difficult to portray when narratives of poverty porn have circulated scholarship, moved to popular discourse, and predispose tourists to view Soweto as impoverished and thus look for signs to confirm that characteristic.

I decided that this project would be a reflection of how Sowetan TGs characterize their township – how they manage representations of their own linguistic, musical, and cultural identities in tourism versus everyday life. In contrast to the narrative of Soweto as impoverished, as I explained above, some tour guides present a Soweto rich with temporally structured sensorial information; on Saturday morning the smell of *magwinya* ‘fat cakes’ serve as a nice break from the normal cleaning that women undertake on this day, on Sundays the sounds of your neighbor’s Nazareth brass band wakes you from slumber, and on weekday evenings the flashing lights of TV’s turned to South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)’s *soapies* ‘soap operas’ shine through living room curtains.

Many Sowetan tour guides represent Soweto’s past and present through these sensorial experiences in an effort to have outsiders gain a feeling of what it means to be a Sowetan. Offering encounters with Soweto through the senses and emotions is the strategy that many local tour guides employ, I argue, to have tourists experience and encounter Soweto’s story in real life. Because of pre-circulating media representations of Soweto’s poverty, tourists struggle to change this opinion about the township. Rather than trying to change their tourists’ opinions on the matter, local tour guides simply try to display Soweto’s wealth in contrast – its ‘vibrant’ culture emerging from an oppressed past.

Selling Soweto as a Sowetan comes with many complications and contradictions, I will show, as one fights to make money within an established economy and remain true to local experiences. Indeed, even the demonstration of one's identity as a Sowetan is a complicated social and political process. Who is a Sowetan? Who has the authority to call oneself a Sowetan? And how does this identification gain for an individual an important social position in the politics of Soweto's tour guiding culture?

CHAPTER OUTLINE

Tourists visit Soweto with a variety of motivations emerging from national, racial, and generational differences. Outsiders have been visiting Soweto since its inception but mass tourism is a rather recent occurrence in this township, taking off after Soweto's infrastructural development was completed in the early 2000s. Mass tourism brings with it many changes to a community, including the development of a tour guiding culture in which individuals familiarize themselves with not only national standards and guidelines for presenting their country to visitors but also with international tricks of the trade which help them to understand types of tourists and their needs while in their country. Sowetan tour guides come from diverse backgrounds and each type of background informs their approach to representing the township. Those who were born and raised in Soweto, for example, have a different story to tell than those who come to work in Soweto as a promotion from a different province or city's tourism locations (Chapter 2).

Though individuals approach the telling of Soweto's story differently based on their positionality to it, there is a standard story that is told about Soweto. This story begins

with a recognition of Soweto as an urban impoverished area, similar to ‘slums,’ ‘ghettos,’ or ‘barrios’ for example. The poverty that one encounters in Soweto, however, is explained as a contemporary remnant of its painful past of apartheid, its exclusion from capitalistic economies because of its black inhabitants trapped in a racist regime. Despite this painful past, Soweto today is known for its beauty, culture, and style. Tourists are encouraged to encounter artifacts classified as ‘Sowetan’ through their senses and I introduce the term ‘sensitization’ as a way to theorize the methods of selling Soweto’s story through highly emotional and sensorial engagements with artifacts (Chapter 3).

Nathan Baynes (SABC Digital News 2018), in planning an international jazz festival location, chose Soweto because it is a ‘storybook place’ for such an event. Indeed, much like a storybook, Soweto’s story has a beginning and an ending, and its tale is fixed in time and place. Its story has clear authors and it has been distributed to various audiences across the world. Soweto’s story was created by tour guides when the government began developing it as one of Gauteng’s two major touristic locations. It was created strategically out of a knowledge of what sells and what doesn’t. The *rainbow nation* ‘non-racialized South Africa’ story that the government had been selling in South African tourism wasn’t believable in a predominantly black township with little to no racial integration, and so a new transformation story, based on popular international tale types, was created. Soweto’s story has been distributed in tourism, in a context where stories and narratives are expected, and its success in this setting has brought about the government’s appropriation of Soweto’s story for international relation and foreign investment purposes (Chapter 4).

Sowetan tour guides must bring Soweto's story to life on their tours. They first do so by demonstrating their expertise over African tour guide identities through the use of a unique tour guide register of speech and through the demonstration of a knowledge of Soweto's linguistic and musical cultures. Visual representations of poverty and Soweto's past are frequently accessible and recognizable to tourists, and so the second part of their job is to help tourists experience contemporary Sowetan culture and its popularity.

Sensitizations of musical and linguistic artifacts structure their walk, bicycle rides, or car rides through the township. These sensitizations help tourists experience Soweto's story in an experiential, intimate, and very emotional way. Many leave this township with a strong intention to return again (Chapter 5).

The creation and distribution of Soweto's storybook in tourism has had major impacts on South Africa. Soweto's significance reaches from its economic opportunities to its leadership in the music industry and its notoriety in creating new linguistic forms. Distributing the storybook of Soweto to various audiences has changed the lives of individuals within its story, and has impacted the entire nation (Chapter 6).

METHODOLOGY

As an ethnomusicologist and linguistic anthropologist, I have relied primarily on ethnographic research to complete this dissertation. As explained in the beginning of this chapter, I began conducting research in Soweto during the American summer (the South African winter) of 2014. Over the three years that I was enrolled in coursework at The University of Pennsylvania (2014-2017), I conducted virtual ethnography and returned to

Soweto during each summer and winter break to continue my research. Many people in my research community accepted me as an ‘honorary Sowetan’ despite my racial and national difference. My linguistic competency in multiple languages spoken in Soweto and my personality led me to welcome their acceptance and start feeling more at home in Soweto than anywhere else in the world. My ability to quickly pick up on and perform linguistic and social norms led some to even classify me as a *yellow bone* ‘a person who has lighter skin and more white bodily features, but who is culturally ‘black.’’ For myself, ethnographic research never really stopped when I left Soweto. Even while in Philadelphia during required term dates, I was constantly calling my friends, interlocutors, and colleagues, and watching my Facebook feed transform from mainly American-centric topics to predominantly South African memes, news, and conversations. My sleep was even scheduled around being able to chat with my best friends before they left for school/work in the morning (before I went to sleep), and before they fell asleep at night (before I started my work for the day). Instead of engaging with American music and TV, I watched South African soapies on YouTube every night and made sure to be updated on the latest songs and accompanying dances.

Initially, Penn’s now defunct African Studies Center provided me with a group of students and professors who engaged with the same pan-African media as I did for one wonderful year. After the closure of this Center at the end of my first year, however, I constantly longed for a sense of community like I found in Soweto. I think it fair to say that, while I spent up to nine months a year at the University of Pennsylvania from 2014 to 2017, I was more socially involved in Soweto than I was in Philadelphia. I completed a

period of intensive tourism research from July 2017 until February 2018, where I interviewed tour guides, tourists, touristic performers, and tour operators more intensively, but my ethnographic research was comprised of a much longer stretch of time and space.

There are seven major touristic locations within Soweto. Below are brief histories and descriptions of each of them.

- *Vilakazi Street*: Located in Orlando West, this semi-residential street is perhaps the best known tourist area of Soweto, where most of the local vendors find success and where touristic performers station themselves. Archbishop Desmond Tutu's – a major anti-apartheid activist and Anglican priest – lives in a home on Vilakazi Street, as did Nelson and Winnie Mandela. With Mandela's donation of his family home to the Soweto Heritage Trust – a trust governed by Standard Bank, the City of Johannesburg, and the Gauteng Department of Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation – in 1997, a tourism industry began forming (2017a). A man by the name of Sakhumzi used to sit outside his house, opposite the Mandela Soweto home, drinking and socializing with his peers. His wife used to cook inside the house and the aroma drifted out to the men who enjoyed eating her cooking and encouraged Sakhumzi to make a business of their home. In 2001 the restaurant was opened, and others soon followed after, turning a local neighborhood street into a major tourist attraction ("Interview with Manager at Sakhumzi Restaurant" 2017c).

- *Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum:* Down the street from Vilakazi Street in Orlando West is the Hector Pieterse Memorial Museum. This memorial and museum, commemorating the Soweto Uprising and the death of Hector Pieterse amongst many other school children, began as a shipping container exhibit in 2000, and was turned into a formal museum in 2002 (Kumeke 2017).
- *Power Park Cooling Towers:* During apartheid there was a power plant in Soweto which supplied white homes and business in Johannesburg with electricity. Two cooling towers were created in 1951 (after a pause in construction from 1939-1951, due to World War II) to help cool the neighboring power plant. The power plant was decommissioned in 1998, and a decade later opened as an entertainment site, complete today with wall climbing (rock climbing), bungee jumping, free falling, paintballing, canoeing, kayaking, and food/music facilities. Chaf Pozi, one of the most famous Sowetan restaurants, serves locally spiced *shisa nyama* ‘fried meat’ and hosts musical performances. The two cooling towers can be seen from nearly every area of Soweto (and beyond), and their mural paintings are noted by people who pass it daily. One tower has been painted with images from around Soweto and Black South African culture; the painting of the Black Madonna from Regina Mundi, the shosholozu train, two trumpeters, an orchestra, minibus taxis, matchbox houses, people with ‘cool’ hairstyles, a football field, and some women gathered around a fire. The other tower was at one point a stand-alone First National Bank (FNB) advertisement with its green logo, and later FNB updated this tower with images from the 2010 world cup; vuvuzelas, football (soccer) players, and the South African flag. In 2017 Vodacom, a cellular network

company, re-painted the tower, and last year, 2018, brought about a ‘localization’ of the cooling towers, as some newspaper reviews claimed. Local artist Karabo Poppy Moletsane was hired to paint an advertisement for Soweto Gold – the local beer brewed near Vilakazi Street in neighboring Dube’s Ubuntu Kraal, which I wrote about in the Preface.

- Regina Mundi: Regina Mundi is another famous tourist site. A functioning church and community hub on the weekends, on weekday working hours Palesa and Bab’Dan have been giving tours of the church and its anti-apartheid history for (a) decade(s). Regina Mundi was the largest physical building in Soweto during apartheid. According to Raunch and Storey (1998), “the *Riotous Assembly Act of 1956* and the *Suppression of Communism Act 44 of 1950* were the two central pieces of legislation enabling state authorities to prohibit and criminalize marches, gatherings and demonstrations. If read together, these Acts gave the Minister of Justice unrestricted power to control gatherings of all kinds.” Many public gatherings were deemed, through these legislations, to be illegal, but more respect was given by police to Christian church gatherings, and so people – including Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu – gathered at Regina Mundi under the guise of religion to discuss anti-apartheid activities. Students involved in the Soweto Uprising ran to Regina Mundi for refuge during apartheid, and the church bears bullet holes, broken altar rails, and broken statues as evidence of police brutality shown towards black people (Marobela 2017a; Ndlovu et al. 2012, 88).
- Kliptown: Kliptown is an area of Soweto where one of the largest informal settlements in the township exists. Some tour guide companies travel to Kliptown

to work with the Kliptown Youth Programme (KYP), an NGO project dedicated to helping the youth of Kliptown out of poverty, or to work with other NGOs, though KYP is visited and discussed the most frequently.

- *Freedom Square*: Freedom Square is where the Freedom Charter was signed. The Freedom Charter was signed in 1955 and stated many ‘freedom demands’ collected from township residents across racial divides, and it became the foundation for the Democratic constitution that we have today.
- *Credo Mutwa*: Credo Mutwa, a *sangoma* ‘traditional healer’ and prophet from

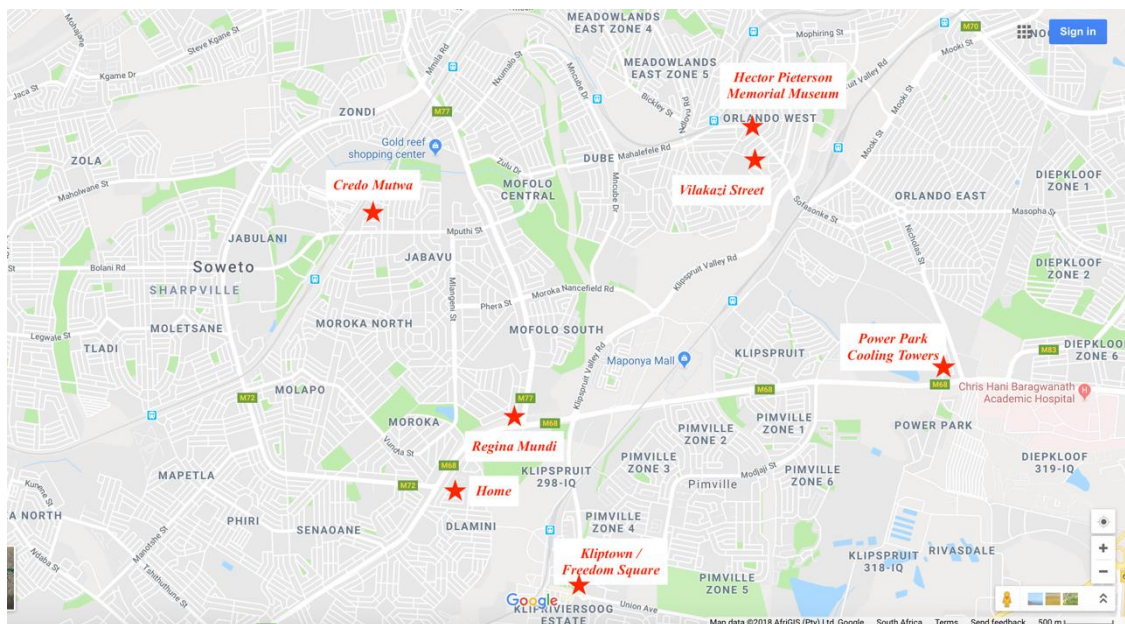


Figure 2: Map of Selected Areas of Soweto where Tourism Takes Place.

KwaZulu-Natal, began this cultural village in the 1970s in Soweto because he believed that the children of Soweto were forgetting their culture and history. He wanted to create a place for them to learn about their past, to learn about traditional medicine, and to re-learn the forms of their languages spoken in rural areas. He proposed a type of living museum for Black South Africans, and received funding from the apartheid government to make this vision come to life.

In time, word got out that he had received funding from the government and Sowetan children who were organizing anti-apartheid activities burnt down the work that he had created – a scene he had prophesized weeks earlier. Chidester (2008, 138) claims that, “Credo Mutwa has tried for many years to establish a ‘Credo Mutwa village’ in South Africa—in the township of Soweto during the 1970s, in the apartheid Bantustan of Bophuthatswana in the 1980s, in the game reserve of Shamwari during the 1990s—but none of these homes turned out to be sustainable. On the Internet, however, Credo Mutwa found a home.” Credo Mutwa’s autobiography and videos are available online and observed across the world. Today Credo Mutwa Cultural Village is a government-owned park maintained by Lebo, a man from Central, which houses statues and artwork that Credo Mutwa created based on his prophesies and dreams, such as a prophesy of the twin tower attack in the USA or the bringing of HIV Aids to South Africa. As Chidester (2008) claims, the re-interpretation of what we might assume to be immaterial dreams into material artifacts such as paintings or statues, is characteristic of Zulu neo-shamanism in the 21st century.

During the period of intensive ethnographic research, I strategically rotated my time between Regina Mundi and Vilakazi Street, two of the seven main tourist locations within Soweto listed above. I chose to work at Regina Mundi and Vilakazi Street for specific reasons; (1) because both of these areas were safe for me as a woman. The tourism industry in South Africa, broadly, and Soweto, specifically, is predominantly male-led. The South African Department of Tourism is taking steps to address this

inequality, however I imagine that even if women are prioritized in job searches, their time spent in Sowetan tourism would be filled with harassment and romantic advances. There are two women who work at Regina Mundi (one as a tour guide and one as a bookkeeper for tourists) that I knew I could trust. They were both born and raised in Soweto and know how to handle the types of harassment that they receive on occasion from tour guides. Because this is a church and because both women are over 30, they do not however have to experience this as frequently as in other contexts. Vilakazi Street is too busy and filled with police presence for me to ever feel targeted or singled out as a woman. Credo Mutwa and Kliptown did not provide me with the same security because of their seclusion and overpopulation, respectively. (2) Both Regina Mundi and Vilakazi Street had a constant and directional flow of tourists and tour guides who I could observe, interview, and speak with. Credo Mutwa and Freedom Square do not receive many tourists, unfortunately, and so I would have wasted many days waiting for tourists to pass by should I have selected these locales. The cooling towers do not have a directional flow of tourists, and most have strict itineraries and appointments there and did not have time to talk with me.

On Mondays, due to the kind presence of Prof. Innocentia Jabulile Mhlambi, I went to work at The University of the Witwatersrand's Department of African Languages and Literature. I sorted through my fieldnotes, completed translations/transcriptions, began thinking about my dissertation, and worked with postgraduate students in the department on their writings during this time. On Tuesdays and Thursdays I shadowed Ditau tsa Koma, the Tswana traditional dancers who performed on Vilakazi Street. I often went to

the gym at Virgin Active in Pimville in the morning, took a taxi to the Rea Vaya (the local bus system) stop in Dlamini, took a Rea Vaya to Boomtown Station, then from Boomtown Station took a Rea Vaya to Vilakazi Street to arrive there around 10AM on these days. I watched Dita tsa Koma perform for tourists, and introduced myself to tour guides during this time, eventually collecting a large database of tour guide contacts who I could ask for introductions to their tourists and thus for a quick interview.

Often the tourists would hear me speaking in an African language with their tour guide, and many tour guides introduced me by the name that I am most known by in Soweto – Khanyi, short for *Khanyisile* ‘to bring light’ – a Zulu name.⁴ Many tourists would answer a question or two of mine before evading this conversation to ask me questions about how and why I speak these languages and what I am doing in Soweto. It often turned out to be more productive to speak with tour guides than tourists because tourists would avoid speaking about themselves and try to rather speak about me. I tried to communicate with as many tourists as possible, and connected with some tourists via email, Facebook, or whatsapp after they left Soweto (I handed out business cards with these details, and asked tourists to send me their thoughts and souvenirs on these media if they were willing to do so). There was also an ethical concern that I had as a researcher to have recorded consent for each person whose words, ideas, and/or likeness I reference in this

⁴ This name was originally suggested to me by my Zulu instructor, Dr. Betty Dlamini. I didn’t particularly like the name, but people in Soweto preferred this name to my given name – Sarah. However, the name came to have significance for me one day whilst sitting at a piano with Nokuzola, Khanyisile and Gugu in Regina Mundi. I had never played piano for anyone in Soweto before, and decided to play a song I had wrote. Half way through the song, one of the girls told me that she understood my name – to bring light – Khanyisile; that I was capable of bringing light through music. It touched me and from that point forward, I would introduce myself as Khanyisile.

dissertation. Though I have recorded many images and/or videos of touristic interactions, I often did not have enough time to ask every tourist in the image/video for their consent to share it, thus resulting in fewer visual representations of these encounters than I had originally hoped for.

On Wednesdays and some Fridays I walked to Regina Mundi with Palesa, the tour guide there and my neighbor and friend (her daughter Lebo still proudly calls me her *sisi sa lekgowa* ‘white sister’ or as she used to say when she was too young to understand grammatical structures in multiple languages, *makgowa waka* ‘my white people’). At Regina Mundi I employed the same method as I did at Vilakazi Street. Sometimes Palesa or Bab’Dan, the tour guides at Regina Mundi, would introduce me if the tourist group’s guide did not yet know me or if they were busy paying the entrance fees for their group. At the beginning of my tourism research, in 2016, I would try to introduce myself to tourists without any introduction from a tour guide, and this always ended in the tourist’s hasty refusal of an interview and a sense of discomfort from tourists towards me whenever they saw me from that point forward. In some ways, I needed the local’s authentication in front of the tourists in order to even begin a conversation with them. And yet this authentication caused for the reversal of my role as a researcher – I became another touristic object for tourists to consume, perhaps a more familiar ‘other’ that they could ask about Sowetan life, language, and culture. I never quite fit in the ‘tourist’ category nor the ‘local’ category in Sowetan tourism, and surely this was a tiring place to remain for months on end. This position afforded me, however, a very unique perspective; I could, at times when it benefitted me, blend into the tourist group through

my race, and at other times, blend in with locals through language and culture. The liminality of my position as a tourism ethnographer was exciting and frustrating, and my emotions and sensorial experiences in this liminal position linger throughout this dissertation.

A major methodological question that I encountered was how to study the sensorial and emotional experiences of individuals in Soweto, especially with my ambiguous role, explained above. Within the anthropology of emotions there is, “a set of organizing dichotomies,” Leavitt (1996, 515) says, which dictates, “that human phenomena are either of nature or of nurture—that is, that they appertain either to a universally identical biology or to a locally specific sociocultural tradition; that emotions and feelings are fundamentally inward and private, while words and meanings are public; that, while ideas can be translated and interpreted, emotions cannot” (Leavitt 1996, 515). When I first began thinking about emotions and the senses in Sowetan tourism, while trying to avoid these dichotomies, my thinking also accidentally fell into this trap. I began developing methodologies to show how when scholars claim to study the senses or emotions, they are only studying discursive and gestural signs of socially-constituted indexicals. Shortly after returning to Soweto in 2017, I realized that these tests did not really say anything interesting about tourism or how the senses and emotions are evoked through different discursive and gestural means. Instead of trying to understand what tourists felt during particular moments of touristic performances (a task I still believe to be impossible), I turned towards a much more useful perspective on how tour operators and officials

encouraged tourists to use their senses, and in so doing evoked strong emotions from their tourists.

CHAPTER 2 – TOURISM IN SOWETO

Kirk Palangis visited South Africa in December 2018. He had high ambitions for this trip, with hopes of travelling to Cape Town in the Western Cape province, Durban in KwaZulu-Natal, and Kruger National Park in Limpopo, but he ended up spending all of his two week journey in Johannesburg. Kirk is a musician from the United States of America and a seasoned traveler who, “looks for unique experiences and stuff that I can’t find at home,” in his travels (Palangis 2019). Ordinarily, Kirk would, “rough(s) it. I’ll stay in hostels or I’ll crash on couches if I make contact with someone that I know, just because it keeps me closer to what I am looking for” (Palangis 2019).

For his trip to Johannesburg, however, he was advised by a friend to stay in a bed and breakfast in the northern suburbs of the city, known for its gated communities, high walls, and other forms of security and displays of wealth. The bed and breakfast seemed to Kirk like a luxury accommodation at a hostel price in his USD currency, and while this might be nice, this is not what he had hoped to experience. On a game drive in the outskirts of Johannesburg, he expressed an ounce of excitement when he saw tin roofs of shacks and yelled out to his travel mate, “now this is Africa!” But Kirk had to return to his luxury accommodation in the northern suburbs which, again, did not feel ‘African’ enough to him. To express his frustration with his Johannesburg journey thus far, Kirk turned to Facebook for a bit of humor. “How do you get to Africa from Johannesburg?,” he wrote, “people keep telling me I’m close, but so far it’s all museli and bowling alleys and cover



Figure 3: Kirk Palangis' social media posting about his Johannesburg experience.

bands playing the Weeknd...Poodles and beef jerky and Audis and Roman style

fountains...Krispy Kreme and Starbucks and craft brewing supply stores" (Palangis 2018). These experiences were too familiar to Kirk, who could encounter any given object described above in his day to day life in the United States of America.

It wasn't until Kirk travelled to Soweto that his touristic desire for, "unique experiences," was appeased (Palangis 2019). His guided tour of Soweto was, "very cool and that got me pretty excited to be there again," he said (Palangis 2019); "Soweto is where I should have been" (Palangis 2018). Kirk was not able to find 'Africa' in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg, but he found it in Soweto. What is 'Africa' or 'African' to Kirk, and which signs did he observe in Soweto that indexed his understanding of the continent? In an interview with him a month after his trip to South Africa, I asked him these questions. His responses circled around, (1) his desire for touristic experiences which are different than that which he

could find at home, (2) his understanding of Africa, from his perspective as a percussionist working with African diasporic communities, as filled with music and dancing, (3) visual signs of poverty such as brightly colored/painted shacks, and (4) aspects of culture such as language, art, gestures, and clothing which are strictly non-European or non-Western. What we can clearly see from Kirk's visit to South Africa is how a story of Africa and South Africa – circulating online, in media, and in oral traditions/communications – has informed his expectations of the country and the types of experiences he will validate as 'authentic' or not.

TOURISTIC MOTIVATIONS FOR VISITING SOWETO

Soweto is a township, or a densely populated urban area, outside of Johannesburg, South Africa.⁵ It was created under Apartheid ruling as a place for black labor migrants to stay.⁶ Soweto is known for being a hub of anti-apartheid activity. It is perhaps best well known, historically, for The Soweto Uprising which took place on June 16, 1976. For months leading up to this date school children across the township had been leading anti-apartheid rallies, gathering together their peers to unite against apartheid, and pushing back against their parents' drinking and partying in the township by burning *shebeens*

⁵ Mandy (1984, 173) explains how the township was named in 1963; "The Star newspaper reported in January of that year that 'an effort to give the African township of Johannesburg an identity of their own and rid them of the impersonal name of South Western Bantu Township is being made by the City Council. A special committee has waded through hundreds of suggestions and recommended five – Soweto, Sawesko, Sweston, Phaphama Villages, and Partheid Townships. The Council's Non-European Affairs Department considers one of the first two names suitable. Other suggestions that did not find favour included Verwoerstad and Hendrik Verwoerdville.'" Lebo, the site guide at Credo Mutwa Cultural Village, has explained that local oral histories of Soweto state that the Indian woman who proposed 'Soweto' as the name for this township was trying to use her limited power in apartheid racial systems to promote the nomination that black people from the township had come up with. So the township's name, in this oral history, emerges from the people of Soweto themselves.

⁶ For more on the history of Soweto, please see Chapter 3.

‘the Gaelic term for pubs, adapted in the South African context during apartheid to refer to illegal drinking spots in the townships.’ The burning of *shebeens* was often preceded by a list of demands for shop owners and *shebeen* owners to encourage an older generation to become active fighters against the apartheid regime. When, in 1974, the government began introducing Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in schools across the government, Sowetan students felt further impassioned to fight for democracy.

On June 16, 1976 school children from across the township gathered together at Morris Issacson Secondary School in White City, Soweto to begin a peaceful protest. It is estimated from witness reports that around 5000-6000 students were active in this Sowetan protest. (Pohlandt-McCormick 2005, 30). Police opened fire on the protestors, and reports from the day state that anywhere between 23 and 200 children died (South African History Online 2018). The uprising is historicized as the beginning of the end of apartheid, as it set off other protests across the country (“Hector Pieterse Museum” 2002; Lodge 1983). Lodge (1983, 328) writes that, “during the next few days, while the revolt spread to pupil and student groups in Kagiso (Krugersdorp), Thembisa (Kempston Park), the East Rand and Pretoria townships and the Universities of Witwatersrand (briefly), Turfloop, Ngoye and Natal,” the strategy behind these protests and, “the pattern of attacks on police patrols and symbolically significant buildings was established in Soweto.” Hearing about or witnessing the Soweto Uprising was a breaking point for many people across the country, and soon, across the world. It was outrageous to see young innocent children killed for voicing their desires for themselves and a country they wished to belong to. Sam Nzima captured many photographs on this day, and for the first

time some of these pictures spread across the world depicting in graphic images the horrors of the apartheid regime. One picture in particular captured a global audience's attention. It portrays Mbuyisa Makhubu carrying the dead body of his friend Hector Pieterse, a 13 year old Sowetan boy, and running next to Antoinette Sithole, a classmate of Hector and Mbuyisa who is running with her hands in an upright 'surrender' position.

For many tourists who come to Soweto, their knowledge of the township as a place which led the anti-apartheid movement and which witnessed the brutal murder of its children in their fight for freedom and democracy comes from this picture and the news stories which accompanied it. This is largely a generation aged 50 and above, who either remember reading about this in the newspapers or who heard their parents speaking about it when they were young.

For tourists under the age of 50, especially under 40, they were not alive to experience the global distribution of this image and the formal and global recognition of apartheid's horrors. Coming to Soweto, they might understand that the township is important historically – my friend who is coming to visit, for example, told me that her father informed her of Sam Nzima's photograph and the moment he saw it in the newspaper. My mother told me the same story before I came to Soweto for the first time. But beyond the whisperings of relatives or web searches which hint of Soweto's historical significance, for most people in this age group, they hear about a different story of Soweto. A story which details that, yes, there was a terrible past which structures its current economic status, but that people in Soweto have created a unique and cutting-

edge culture out of this oppression, and that they lead post-apartheid South Africa in this front.

Why would age demographics be significant to understanding touristic motivations for visiting Soweto? Nationally, statistics indicate that the largest age group to visit South Africa is between 25-54 (Statistics South Africa 2018a). Swart's (2017, 78) statistical research on tourism in Soweto suggests that on any given day tourists between the ages of 26-45 outnumber tourists between the ages of 46-65 by almost 10%. This statistical data supports my understanding, gained from interviews with tourists, TGs, and Tour Guide Companies (TGCs), that tourists who visit Soweto are in general more likely to be interested in Soweto for its contemporary cultural value than for its historical significance in overcoming apartheid.

Another important demographic which easily classifies touristic motivations for visiting Soweto is national and/or racial (see Figure 4 for statistics on South African touristic national origin). In the United Kingdom (UK) and the United States of America (USA) there are a significant number of black tourists who travel to South Africa because it is the, "most accessible and comfortable," African country where they can begin connecting to their 'African roots' (A. Anonymous and Anonymous 2017). African American roots tourism has been examined in detail across the African continent and in the African diaspora (Benton and Shabazz 2009; de Santana Pinho 2008; Holsey 2008), though never in South Africa particularly. As was discovered through interviews with tourists and TGs, however, roots tourism is a major motivation for visiting South Africa. Like Kirk

Palangis, this type of tourist is not looking for an experience that they can find at home, although they may look for aspects of cultural practices which resemble their own cultures to claim a social lineage with the continent. Many African American tourists that I spoke with, for example, preferred Soweto to the rest of Johannesburg because they got to, “experience African culture,” in a way that other Johannesburg tourist destinations do not allow (A. Anonymous and Anonymous 2017).

Though the aspect of visiting South Africa to connect with African ‘roots’ or heritage is unique to the experiences and motivations of those in the African diaspora, many tourists share the feeling that South Africa is the safest African country to visit. Fakhmzadeh (2004), a Dutch tourist, commented after his trip to South Africa, for example, that, “compared to most if not all other African countries, South Africa is a REAL country. That is, a country where ‘us westerners’ could actually easily feel at home.” Safety has been a key concern for the South African Department of Tourism and its subsidiaries such as Gauteng Tourism Authority (GTA). It is frequently mentioned in their annual tourism reports that the main reason tourists choose not to visit South Africa is out of a perception of the place as unsafe (Gauteng Tourism Authority 2015; South Africa Tourism 2018).

Many visitors from Europe and North America are interested in coming to Soweto to have a unique experience of local culture, and to experience the ‘exotic,’ the “something that they can’t find at home,” as Kirk (2019) put it so succinctly. As mentioned above, some prefer to stay in the northern suburbs of Johannesburg for safety concerns, and then

they will stop by Soweto for a day or two-day tour (of course returning to the safety of their hotels outside of Soweto at night). Out of all of the nationalities, however, European and American tourists are the most likely to stay at an Airbnb, hostel, or to engage in a homestay experience. During the times that I visited Lebo's Soweto Backpackers hostel, the Vhavenda guest house, or other accommodation forms in Soweto, I almost always met and conversed with individuals from some part of Europe or North America. Only twice have I met someone from outside of these continents, when I encountered a couple backpacking their way across the world from India. Though visitors from Europe and North America have their own cultural practices, they tend to be open to learning about and practicing South African cultural norms. For example, I often see Americans walking down Vilakazi Street greeting local vendors, performers, workers, or residents – a cultural practice which is not commonly found in public places in the USA. Many tourists wear darshikis or other fabrics which they consider to look 'African' as well.

Outside of visitors from Europe and the USA, Chinese tourists in South Africa are constantly increasing in number. Chen and Duggan (2016, 49–50) describe a number of factors which have led to this increase in African tourism from China: (1) it is more affordable to travel to Africa than to Europe or America because of the appreciation of the Chinese Yuan in combination with the depreciation of African currencies, (2) travelling between the two continents is now easier and faster because of South African Airways' addition of a direct flight from Beijing to Johannesburg, (3) the Beijing government has been appointing more and more African countries as Approved

Destination Status countries, and (4) governmental negotiations have led to easier customs processing for Chinese citizens in many African countries.

Chen and Duggan (2016, 49) explain that touristic motivations for visiting Africa emerge as,

some [Chinese citizens] start to search for destinations that are more ‘exotic’ for their growing appetite. For the Chinese, being able to travel to exotic foreign places and having adventures is something that one can show off to family members, colleagues and friends...Africa is a continent with natural landscape and cultures that are starkly different from Asia, Europe and America.

Chinese tourists typically stay in luxury hotels around Johannesburg but will ordinarily come to Soweto for a half day trip in which they are very drawn to displays of culture and document them (with cameras and phones) ardently. They will not eat at Sowetan restaurants, they do not tip cultural performers, and they tend not to linger – they simply enter the township to document some cultural practices and leave. Chen and Duggan (2016) claim, through case studies of tourism in South Africa, that Chinese tourism in Africa is a form of soft power. This argument seems to gain more and more traction in South Africa as the government took a R3 billion loan from China for Eskom and released a new statement, effective from the time of its writing, about the relaxation of Chinese visa requirements. As Chinese citizens dip in and out of Soweto – not speaking English, not talking to locals, and not tipping performers (which is seen as a sign of gratitude and acknowledgement in Black South African culture) – locals continuously grow in their intolerance of them. These characteristics of Chinese tourists in Soweto are viewed not only as culturally insensitive, but by some as an assertion of power – to take without understanding – an action commonly associated with colonial behavior.

Another major national origin of tourists who visit South Africa, and Soweto in particular, is Nigerian tourists. According to Ezeuduji (2013), in 2010 the South African Department of Tourism identified Nigeria as a key target market for tourism because of its high concentration of wealth and large numbers in outbound tourism. In his analysis of Nigerian tourists to South Africa, touristic motivations such as, “experiencing new culture” and “experiencing urban areas,” have led this population to visit Soweto on their tour of Gauteng (Ezeuduji 2013, 7). Nigerian tourists are usually not respected by Sowetan tour guides and locals largely because (1) there are a good number of Nigerians who work in the Sowetan internet café or the tuck shop⁷ businesses who have a bad reputation for ripping off customers, not offering their items for sale on dept, or not assimilating with their community and (2) there are areas of town (meaning Johannesburg), such as Hillbrow and other parts of CBD near Bree or MTN Taxi Ranks, where Nigerians are known by Sowetans to be involved in crime and general disruption to daily activities. As Ezeuduji (2013) has pointed out, many Nigerian tourists expect to be treated better as middle- to upper-class visitors valued for spending money within the South African economy, but unfortunately this is often not the case.

Country	Number of Tourist Arrivals from January to October 2018
United Kingdom	341,020
United States of America	314,957
Germany	267,050

⁷ A tuck shop, also known as a spaza shop or corner shop, is a small shop, often in a house-owners’ yard in a shipping container or shack, which sells anything from cold drinks to laundry detergent to groceries and fresh produce. They are successful in Soweto’s cash economy.

France	152,498
The Netherlands	117,124
Australia	95,884
China	82,103
India	77,090
Brazil	57,837
Nigeria	43,686

Figure 4: Statistics of Touristic National Origins from January to October 2018 (Statistics South Africa 2018b)

Regardless of how old a tourist is, where they come from, or what race they are, their understanding of Soweto, is largely informed by social media, TGC websites, and other travel or tourism information found online. Social media engagements with tourism are complex processes of communication. Hancic et al. (2013, 20) have presented five different types of interpersonal communications that occur in social media about tourism: tourist-to-tourist communication, tourist-to-host communication, host-to-host communication, tourism industry-to-tourist communication, and tourist-to-tourism industry communication. How is Soweto represented in these spaces, and what impact does that have on tourists' expectations and experiences of it?

On one webpage for the South African Department of Tourism, a few paragraphs orient tourists towards Soweto. "Known the world over for its role in the struggle for democracy, Soweto hums day and night, and its vibe is electrifying. It's Gucci and ghetto, Hummers and hip-hop, Loxion Kulcha (a sought-after local fashion brand that originated in the townships) and livestock, glamour and gogos (grannies)" ("Soweto" 2016). In line with Cornelissen's (2005) critique of post-apartheid tourism, the touristic gaze is here turned away from humans, this time towards an urban place and its commoditized icons and emblems. Rather than placing human beings as the subject of

these sentences, ‘Soweto’ is personified. ‘Soweto’ is discursively constructed into a place full of contradictions; recognized, on one hand, for its role in liberating South Africa from Apartheid rule, it is now known as a place with “electrifying” culture.⁸ It is comparable to a high-class, designer clothing brand, and also to segregated, impoverished, urban areas. It is simultaneously, “a sought-after local fashion brand that originated in the townships,” and dirty, smelly livestock. Each item detailed in this description of Soweto can be indexically linked to multiple ideas. For example, ‘Gucci’ could index wealth, fashion, designer brands, or plenty of other concepts. It is only in the context of its clause where ‘Gucci’ is established as a contrast to ‘ghetto’ that we understand its referential value (see Figure 5 for a further visual analysis of this quotation).

“[Soweto] is _____ Term 1	and _____” Term 2	Referential Value Term 1	Referential Value Term 2
Gucci	Ghetto	Wealthy	Poor
Loxion Kulcha	Livestock	Urban	Rural
Glamour	Gogos	Youthful/Modern	Old/Traditional

Figure 5: Analysis of Quotation about Soweto.⁹

⁸ ‘Electrifying’ is an interesting adjective to use here, since electrification was a major concern for the ANC in their transitioning to a democratic South Africa. Statistics South Africa’s 1996 census reported that 99% of white and Indian households were already electrified whereas only 44% of black households were electrified and 84% of coloured households had electricity (Lehohla 2005).

⁹ Please note that “hummers and hip-hop” has been left out of this table because it seems to be an interesting discrepancy. When I showed a few Sowetan family members this quote and my analysis of it they laughed at hummers and hip-hop because it seems that only middle- to upper-class Sowetan youth are seriously interested in this musical genre and thus they could be seen driving a hummer. In fact, the two times I have seen a hummer in Soweto, a young man was driving it and blasting American hip-hop from his speakers. My best guess is that the author had originally written, “hummers and kwaito,” but that in an effort to remain stylistically consistent and maintain the illiterations, they changed it to “hummers and hip-hop.”

Brand South Africa, a government marketing agency, similarly describes Soweto as a, “place of contrasts: rows of tin shanties about luxurious mansions; piles of garbage and pitted roads offset green fields and rustic streams...Despite the high unemployment rate



Figure 6: A Short Drive Between Kliptown 'Shanties' and Double-Storey, Fully-Walled, Secured Dlamini Houses

there is a cheerful energy, a bustle of activity, with informal traders plying their wares on every corner” (“Soweto, Heartbeat of the Nation” 2017). Surely these observations on the contradictions of Soweto are a reflection of some sort of reality. If you look at Figure 6 you can see the economic segregation of Soweto housing that Brand South Africa referenced in the quotation above. Economic segregation of housing is not unique to Soweto, however, nor is it unique to townships. Many scholars (Burger et al. 2017; Schensul and Heller 2011; Todes and Turok 2018) have studied how apartheid policies of racial division have caused residual spatial inequalities in South Africa; people who live in former ‘white only’ areas tend to have access to better electrical, educational, housing, and other resources than those who live in townships and places formerly designated as ‘non-white’ areas. It is curious that Soweto is often singled out as visually demonstrating this contrast most clearly to tourists. Surely there are more unique characteristics of this township that can define a tourist’s engagement with it in a day, two days, or a week-long visit.

Brand South Africa also mentions the contradiction between modern and traditional lifestyles. This contradiction is entextualized by Sowetans, however, it is not widely considered to be emblematic of the township. For many within South Africa, certain styles of clothing, styles of speech, genres of music, ways of interacting with music, spiritual beliefs, and cultural practices have become indexical icons of either rural/traditional/poor or urban/modern/rich, and these two ways of living have developed into oppositions of each other in some way.¹⁰ I cannot count on my hands the number of times that I have seen donkey carts (indexing rural lifestyles) sitting at fuelling garages (indexing urban lifestyles), or a *sangoma* ‘traditional healer’ (indexing traditional

¹⁰ The urban/rural binary has long been a focus of southern African anthropological and cultural enquiry; how do people live within the diversity of these two different lifestyles and settings? In the 1960s and 70s, anthropologists influenced by structuralism treated these categories of ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ as fixed (Gluckman 1960; Horst 1964; Pauw 1963; Wilson and Mafeje 1963). After decades of post-structuralist critique, scholars began viewing these categories as more fluid. Deumert (2013), for example, has revisited the anthropological trilogy referred to as ‘Xhosa in Town’ by looking at the processes of place-making and people-making in this text and Comaroff and Comaroff (2009) have examined the processes of trapping and commoditizing ‘tradition’ and ‘rural’ lifestyles in the city. Erlmann (1991, 6) has also argued that the musical and cultural practices of ‘rural’ and ‘urban’ areas are co-dependent on their categorizations as such. H.I.E. Dhlomo’s writings were amongst the first to document, from a Black South African perspective, the conglomerate of practices that constituted urban black social life in the early 20th century, complicating, in turn, the idea that urban cultural practices amongst Black South Africans was a ‘bastardisation’ of their ‘pure’ rural traditions (Couzens 1985). Rather, Black South African, “urban performing art...represent not the disintegration but the creation of culture” (D. B. Coplan 2008, 3). Other ethnomusicological scholarship emerging around the 1980s and 90s reflect similar opinions that genres cannot be clearly defined as ‘rural’ or ‘urban’ but have rather been created through the migratory patterns of laborers to and from the city and their rural homes. Coplan’s (2008) analysis of jazz, his (D. B. Coplan 1994) study of Basotho sefela and James’ (1999) analysis of Bapedi kiba all argue this point. In my examination of the history of gumboot performances (“THE CONTEXTUALIZATION OF POVERTY: HISTORIES OF ECONOMIC EXCLUSION DURING COLONIALISM”) complicates the classification that tour guides like to place on this practice as a genre of music and dance uniquely ‘urban’ in its history. The superfluidity of Johannesburg’s development through these economic exchanges has led Mbembe (2004) to claim that this city had the ideal groundwork upon which to create African modernity. Titlestad (2004) has explored an argument that music, particularly jazz, was the mediating force in the development of African modernity in cities such as Johannesburg.

lifestyles) ascending a hill to conduct rituals across the street from a Volkswagen branch (indexing modern lifestyles). I have heard individuals work as translators for people who have travelled from rural Lesotho or Limpopo to visit family Johannesburg, and thus cannot communicate with their driver in isiZulu, English, or an urban variety of Sepedi or xiVenda. These things seemed at first contradictory to me, and filled many pages of my fieldnotes over the years. Over time, however, the indexical values of these objects began to change for me; seeing things that used to seem contradictory became so normal that I was surprised at constant descriptions of them in touristic advertisements, blogs, or other accounts years later.

Historically, these indexical icons result from the movement of people back and forth, to and from their homes in urban and rural areas. A mixture of fashion, lifestyles, spiritual beliefs, musical preferences, linguistic, and other cultural practices emerge from these movements. Hurst (2009) has argued that the synthesis of these (and other – global) forms of culture is what defines urban identity. Other scholars (Bembe and Beukes 2007; Nuttall 2004; Steingo 2005) have shown that post-apartheid youth culture is defined by such form of fluidity between standardized understandings of modern/traditional, urban/rural, and local/global. In other words, many South African urban and youth cultures are defined by this interplay between what is commonly considered a ‘traditional’ and an ‘urban’ cultural practice. Pointing out these contradictions as characteristic of ‘Soweto-ness’ is clearly an observation created by and for outsiders, and yet it permeates Sowetan tourism.

Other companies carry on with the contradictions, but rather focus on how the ‘past’ – namely, the development of Soweto in the early 20th century through its anti-apartheid activism in the 1960s through to democracy in 1994 – is juxtaposed with the ‘present’ – the 21st century, post-apartheid Soweto. “A tour of Soweto is a must, which will help in experiencing the vibrant street life and witness some historical sites. South Africa’s most famous township, Soweto was once a home to both Nobel Prize Winners-Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu,¹¹ which is today loved for the rich culture, great local music and social scene of Soweto that will leave you mesmerized” (Kalala 2016).

A lot of effort is expended helping individuals obtain an embodied, experiential understanding of Soweto. In order to convey the brutality of the state towards black lives during apartheid, for example, tour guides discursively elicit emotional responses. Explaining a painting in the church and historical site of Regina Mundi, Palesa Marobela (2017a) explains, “this is an eye...and these two forks here symbolize the pain people felt. So imagine if someone took the fork and stabbed you [pause]. Especially in the eye [pause]. That’s the type of pain you’re going to feel, and that’s how people felt during apartheid.” The pain of the past remains present in Soweto through signs of globally circulating images of poverty: informal settlements, porta potties, and dirt. These sights of poverty are historicized for tourists as originating from the historical oppression of

¹¹ Many born frees ‘people born into the democratic South Africa’ are disenchanted by the iconicization of Mandela as a symbol of freedom and the new democracy. Desmond Tutu still stays in his home in Soweto on occasion, and thus he earns some sort of respect from Sowetans, however he is not as revered as other celebrities and anti-apartheid activists. The iconicization of Mandela and Tutu in narratives of anti-apartheid activism is only appreciated by tourists or individuals distanced from contemporary South African political discourse.

black people under apartheid ruling. In order to convey the severity of contemporary poverty found in Soweto, tour guides employ the senses in unique combinatorial ways; tourists are prompted to touch the roofs of shacks, smell the waste from the river, look at donkey carts, and taste the blandness of *pap* ‘a staple in South Africa made from maize meal.’

Despite the enduring pain from apartheid, Soweto is rich with ‘culture’; thirteen languages, musical styles unique to Soweto, dance practices, art, and fashion. As one TGC states, “the Soweto Township is a melting pot of South African cultures and considered to be a vibrant and energetic hub, which will ignite your senses. If you want to immerse yourself in true South African culture, then visiting the township of Soweto will prove to be the best choice” (Kalala 2016). Like the other forms of coming to know the township, tourists are encouraged to encounter Sowetan culture through their senses; learning how to speak bits of languages, listening to musical performances, watching or participating in traditional and modern dance practices, and looking at and understanding pieces of art.

Though first time visitors to Soweto come for a variety of reasons, every return visitor that I have spoken with is here in an effort to feel something that they felt on their first visit. One White South African (W. Anonymous 2016), for example, welled up with tears as she told me that she returns to Soweto every year to remind herself that though many people in her country have very little, monetarily, as an effect of apartheid, these same people also have a lot, culturally, that she will never have. An American told me about

her annual visit to Soweto with school children. “I will never get tired of experiencing these people and this place. It just fills me with, well, it fills me with a feeling that I can’t really describe” (T. Anonymous 2017).

A BRIEF HISTORY OF SOWETAN TOURISM

Tourism in the democratic South Africa is a relatively recent developmental and economic tool that emerged towards the end of the apartheid ruling and at the brink of a new democracy. The 1990s in South African tourism history were defined by what is now known as the ‘Mandela syndrome,’ a global tourist motivation particular to this context in which visitors inquired into the lifestyles of people living in a country recently liberated from a racist colonial rule, iconically, by Nelson Mandela (Cornelissen 2005, 680). After the international curiosity about human lifestyles in post-apartheid South Africa died down, Cornelissen (2005, 681–82) explains that the government reshaped the touristic image of the country to again focus on animals and natural landscapes as an alternative to human culture or creations. Its natural diversity was referenced in the national tourism slogan, “the world in one country.”

Today, when South Africans or their cultures are marketed as commodities by international tour guide companies, they are segregated by race into various social roles. While white people are portrayed as the audiences of touristic performances, “Black, ‘Coloured’ or Indian South Africans [are] generally portrayed as cultural products: Ndebele women displaying and selling arts and crafts; [Zulu] dancers; a Bushman woman in the Kalahari; or ‘Coloured’ Coon Carnival troops in Cape Town at New Year”

(Cornelissen 2005, 690). By shifting the touristic gaze from human beings to place, nature, and commoditized culture, Cornelissen (2005) argues that the new democratic government is continuing the colonial project of shifting attention away from Black, Coloured, and Indian South Africans.

In its apartheid setting as temporary housing for labour migrants, some White South Africans had the authority to visit Soweto as tourists. Most white people were not allowed in the township because of the strict racial divide, but certain people received police dispensations to visit. Even then, they were likely to be harassed and questioned for being in a black space. For those who came as tourists, their colonial tourist gaze (Urry 2002) was directed towards natural wonders, diverting attention from the uncomfortable living conditions which Black, Coloured, or Indian individuals who resided in Soweto at the time endured. According to Lebo (2017b), Sowetan tourism began as a colonial endeavor, a picnic outing for wealthy White South Africans to sit on a hill, view picturesque mountains, and see where the natural resources that they used daily, such as water or coal, were being produced. Lebo actually distinguishes the current practice of tourism today from what happened in the past. To him, tourism is an unwanted gaze or a zoo-like adventure, while the practice that takes place in his township today he would rather classify as visiting.

Soweto did not have much national or international attention as a tourist destination until its infrastructural development took place between 1993 and 2010. Primarily due to the Local Government Transition Amendment Act (1993) and the Watershed Municipal

Structures Act (1998), Soweto became a part of the City of Johannesburg as Region D, a major step which meant that Soweto would have to have the same resources (i.e. access to water, electricity, in-home toilets, paved roads, etc.) as the rest of Johannesburg (Segooa 2014, 44–45). A number of further investments in Soweto led to a change in its status from an unsafe, impoverished area to a happening place to be (Bremner 2004a). These investments are detailed in Figure 7 and Figure 8 below.

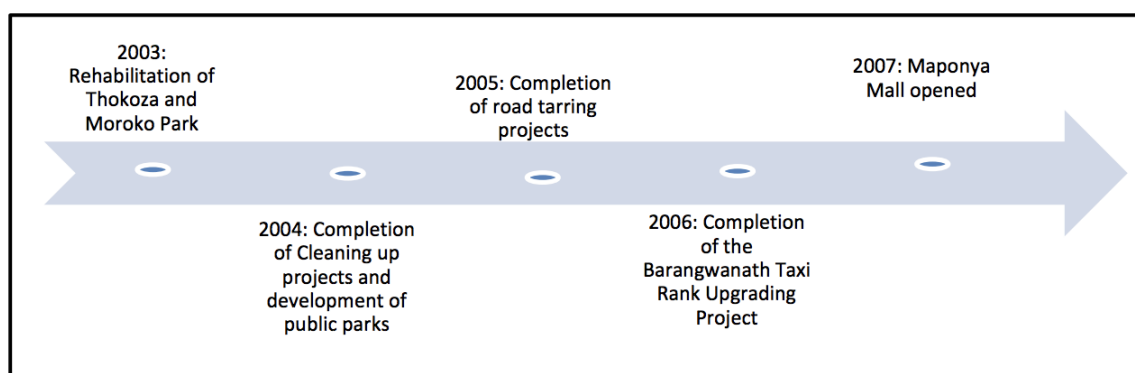


Figure 7: Investments in Soweto that led to a change in public perceptions about it. This figure is created by Segooa (2014, 46) and all credit goes to him.

Between the 1990s and 2000, Orlando West, and Vilakazi Street more particularly, began gaining interest from tour guides and tourists primarily because of Nelson Mandela's home, the Tutu residence, and the history of Hector Pieterse's death on Khumalo Road. Vilakazi Street was primarily residential, like the rest of Soweto, during these years. A man by the name of Herbert Ndomo, and other entrepreneurs like him, started making and selling crafts and souvenirs for tourists. In 2000, a temporary shipping container exhibit opened on Khumalo Road in Orlando West. This exhibit memorialized the lives of Hector Pieterse and other schoolchildren who died in the Soweto Uprising. The temporary exhibit displaced entrepreneurs, like Ndomo, selling at this location, and they

were forced to move closer to Vilakazi Street. Many people and organizations began recognizing the potential for tourism in this area of Soweto and capitalizing upon it. A man by the name of Sakhumzi Maqubela, for example, formally opened the doors to his family house as a restaurant offering local cuisine. Various governmental departments worked together to build the Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum which opened in 2002 (Kumeke 2017). Harrison and Harrison (2014, 304) explain that the success of the Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum – though I would argue the general success of all of these entrepreneurs such as Ndomo and Maqubela as well – brought more governmental focus on Soweto as a tourism site and they began the Vilakazi Street Precinct Upgrading the same year.

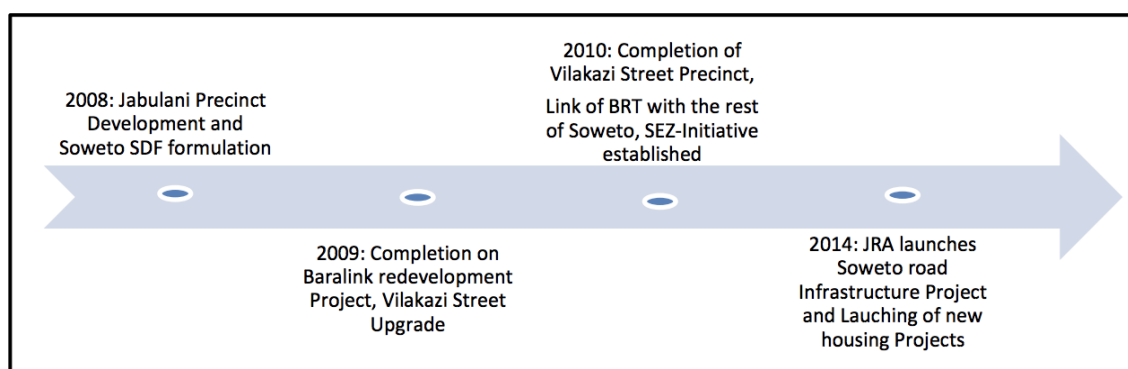


Figure 8: Investments in Soweto that led to a change in public perceptions about it. This figure is created by Segooa (2014, 46) and all credit goes to him.

Harrison and Harrison (2014, 302–3) claim that a number of international events of importance to the Gauteng government led to the developments displayed in Figure 7 and Figure 8. For example, in 2002 the World Summit on Sustainable Development was held in Johannesburg. “It was the first major international summit hosted in South Africa since the advent of democracy,” and “Soweto was a showcase” (Harrison and Harrison 2014, 302). For this ‘showcase,’ Rockville’s Thokoza Park and Moroka’s Moroka Dam

(neighboring areas of the township separated by a street) were upgraded. This upgrade has had enormous social impact on Soweto as a township, as these spots are still known as the ‘place to be’ on a warm weekend, during local football (soccer) matches, or for a friend’s birthday party. Its success prompted the 2003-2005 road upgrading project.

Kliptown is another area of Soweto in which its development was fast-tracked by an event.

Since 1999, Kliptown has been targeted for redevelopment by the Gauteng provincial government, under whose jurisdiction it now falls. While this initiative includes the rehabilitation of the adjacent Klipspruit River, improved bulk infrastructure, the building of seven thousand new houses, and the provision of services to its shack yards, the fulcrum of this project—which absorbs more than 33 percent of its budget—is the commemoration of the signing of the Freedom Charter through the redevelopment of Freedom Square. (Bremner 2004b, 523–34)

In 2005, the 50th anniversary celebration/commemoration of the Congress of the People was set to take place in Kliptown. The Greater Kliptown Development Project, mentioned above, was expedited in 2001. Though the Soweto Hotel and Freedom Charter Memorial Square were completed in time for the 50th anniversary event, much of the housing project was not complete and remains to be completed to this day (Harrison and Harrison 2014, 303). Kliptown remains a site where tour guides, if they choose to pass it for the Freedom Charter Memorial Square, must historicize the shack areas seen here.

In 2004 South Africa ‘won’ the bid to host the 2010 FIFA World Cup. This was the final and largest international event in Soweto which spurred its development and touristic attraction. Soccer City, where South Africa’s largest soccer stadium is located, is near Soweto so the township underwent further infrastructural development to support the

masses, particularly the integration of a bus system which linked Soweto with Johannesburg (Harrison and Harrison 2014, 303). Entrepreneurs and the government again saw the FIFA World Cup as a great opportunity for tourism boosts. Maqubela's family home converted to a three-story, African-styled restaurant around this time, Ndumo increased and diversified his stock of crafts, and developing local TGCs such as Lebo's Soweto Backpackers, Phaphama Initiatives, and Dzedze Tours hired more staff for an expectation that many tourists would be coming to Soweto during this event. Soweto received a lot of international attention during the 2010 World Cup, and the tourists who visited this township spread their experiences to their families and friends, increasing the rate of tourism growth to Soweto since that year.

TOUR GUIDING AS CULTURAL PRACTICE

What are the cultural practices of tour guiding which structure tour guides' engagements with tourists, with place, and with each other? Who are tour guides, and what are their roles within a society?

A variety of definitions have been provided for what a tour guide is. Cohen (1985, 6–7) offers the Oxford English Diction definition, for example; “One who leads or shows the way especially to a traveler in a strange country; *spec.* one who is hired to conduct a traveler or tourist (e.g., over a mountain, through a forest or over a city or building) and to point out objects of interest.” Salazar (2008, 212) offers The World Federation of Tourist Guide Associations' definition of a tourist guide as, ““a person who guides visitors in the language of their choice and interprets the cultural and natural heritage of

an area, which person normally possesses an area-specific qualification usually issued and/or recognized by the appropriate authority.’”

Cohen (1985, 7) claims that modern tour guides have historical origins in two character-types; (1) the pathfinder (“the geographical guide who leads the way through an environment in which his followers lack orientation or through a socially defined territory to which they have no access”) and (2) the mentor (the person who guides their guests, both geographically and spiritually, through the defined territory). Two forms of modern tour guides emerge from each of these historical character-types, Cohen claims. From the pathfinder developed the ‘original guide’ (guides for tourists who want to go ‘off-the-beaten-path’ to explore parts of the locale which are not tourist attractions) and the ‘tour leader’ (guides who organize a route and specified touristic destination for their tourists), while from the mentor emerged the ‘professional guide’ (guides for institutionalized mass-tourists) and the ‘animator’ (guides who helps vacationers with group activities).

These classifications are helpful to begin thinking about the role of guides in tour guiding. Salazaar (2008, 220) has pointed out, however, that, “typologies of tour guides, like any kind of classification, can identify regularities, but should be conceived as describing different styles rather than essentialized types.” Even Cohen (1985) recognized that his typologies are more productively used when considered as varying styles of approach in tour guiding. For example, the ‘original guide’ and animator’ are united by their approaches towards conducting a tour; both aim to ensure the success of the tour as a commodity and to create cohesion within the tour group. The ‘tour-leader’

and ‘professional guide’ are united by their aims to mediate between their tourists and local populations as well as to select and provide useful and accurate interpretations of consumable touristic objects – in my interpretation of this role, to sensitize touristic objects and narrativize their journey.

A question can be raised from these classifications, namely, how can such cohesion be found in one social practice across the world? To understand this question, some scholars have examined the training that tour guides receive (Ong, Ryan, and McIntosh 2014) while others have examined the circulation of tour guide literature across the world (Salazar 2008, 221). Though many scholars have claimed that tour guides serve as mediators of local culture to outsiders, Dahles (2002, 785) argues that this term (i.e. ‘mediator’) fails to capture the political nature of tour guides. He demonstrates that a proper understanding of tour guiding culture in any location must include information about the power dynamics and political structures under which tour guides learn to operate. Most tour guides across the world are required to undergo governmental training which teaches them the ‘correct’ story to tell about their country, town, or city. Tour guides, to varying degrees, accept or deny this responsibility as they balance their many other obligations of touring; their knowledge of tourist types, cultural norms from various regions of the world, tipping practices, etc.

Despite these complexities, “the profession, in many countries, lacks a well-defined career path and their incomes are reliant on a variety of income sources” (Ap and Wong 2001, 551). Aloudat (2017) has shown that though people might respect tour guides in

some contexts, despite a fear of choosing this career path due to a heavy reliance on tipping, locals often have assumptions about the role tour guides play in disseminating lies or misinformation about their history (Modlin, Alderman, and Gentry 2011). Public perceptions about tour guides add another level of complexity to their jobs.

SOWETAN TOUR GUIDING CULTURE

Sowetan TGs are particularly adept at understanding cultural norms from various regions of the world and they use this knowledge to improve the experiences of their tourists. Many scholars have analyzed tourism as a ‘sacred journey’ (Graburn 1983; MacCannell 1976; Turner and Turner 1978) in which, “the search for authenticity in the Other is the central motivating force” (Graburn 1983, 15). Graburn’s claim that tourism is a ‘sacred journey’ is founded upon an understanding that, “what is held ‘sacred’ by the society – i.e. the unquestioned, fundamental structure of beliefs about the world,” according to Moore and Myerhoff’s (1977) interpretation of the term, “may not be religious, but nevertheless may be felt as crucially important and capable of arousing strong emotions” (Graburn 1983, 13). The sacred, in this sense, involves core themes and beliefs at the center of any community or group of people.

The ‘sacred’ is not necessarily related to the religious, but it is something revered and respected enough in a culture to evoke awe from those who encounter it. Maschio (2015) has shown how a sense of the ‘sacred’ can be found in ‘everyday objects.’ “In categories as varied as pet food, bicycles, credit card use, food, and electronics,” he says, “the successful product or brand often gives people a sense of what can only be described as

the sacred in the everyday. This sense is a strong emotional benefit for consumers, the creation and evocation of which is an important objective of the rituals and routines that surround product usage” (Maschio 2015, 342). Indeed, the emotions have long been regarded as central to encounters with ‘the sacred’ (Scheff et al. 1977).

When incorporated into a ritual format, objects accrue new indices as they are reformulated within the complex interpersonal relationships that characterize rituals. As Lewis (1988, 31) says of ritual practice, “instead of seeing an object or action in a conventional way we un-gate our vision and search out its special qualities, which have no relevance in the ordinary economy of our perceptual and practical dealings with it, but which by close attention...may provide an intimation of a mystery.” Individuals involved in producing sensitizations have an astute sense of the ‘sacred’ in tourism and play upon this understanding in their enactments and elicitations of emotions. TG knowledge of what is ‘sacred’ in any society is central to their success – they must know what is important to a group of people in order to adapt the tour to their understanding of what is central to life.



Figure 9: Palesa Marobela, the tour guide at Regina Mundi, demonstrates the "Madiba Shuffle" for tourists on August 24, 2017

The emotional experience is most strongly evoked when an individual encounters the 'sacred' her or himself. This experience is always mediated through communicative acts such as speech and other perceivable signs. In Chapter 4 I will discuss tourist tales and the narrative structuring of tourism. Narratives and their accompanying gestural acts are often used to bolster the encounter with the sacred. Rather than simply encountering the Nelson Mandela House during a stroll on Vilakazi Street, for example, Palesa speaks about Nelson Mandela's famous dance inside Regina Mundi (see Figure 9), TGs legitimate Soweto's historical significance by explaining that he had a house here, and

the Hector Pieterse Museum explains his role in local anti-apartheid activism.

Mandela's name is mentioned time and time again throughout the day, leading the tourists to eagerly anticipate the arrival at his home in Soweto. There is a discursive build-up to the encounter of the 'sacred' object.

So much of the success of TGs in Soweto is reading the tourist type and deciding what they think their tourists will find valuable or 'sacred' in Soweto. For tour guides who are aged 50 and above, like tourists of the same age addressed in the section above, they generally believe that Soweto is best marketed, sold, and remembered through its struggle history. For many tour guides younger than this – the so-called *born-frees* 'individuals born into freedom, into the new democratic South Africa' – they are tired of the apartheid story. To them, Soweto is a home and it is a place that they pride themselves on because of its cultural prowess across the country. The history must be acknowledged, they recognize, but the contemporary significance of Soweto is its real value.

The past is in the past, for many born frees, as other issues such as the accountability of government elected officials trouble them (Maphunye, Ledwaba, and Kobjana 2014). Though the ANC created a platform in which citizens, legally, have some of the most liberal rights in the African continent, their lack of enforcement (or inability to do so) on the ground level leaves born-frees feeling that their story of freedom is just that – a story or myth (Kotze and Prevost 2016). Martin (2014) claims that other parties, such as the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) emerged from a lack of satisfaction with the ANC.

Tour guides from the born-free generation want to move past the history of apartheid to deal with problems that the country faces today.

In South Africa, there is specific terminology around tour guiding culture which structures touristic engagements with locals and tourists. There are two official categories of touristic actors in South Africa, namely, the tour guide and the tour operator.

According to the Department of Tourism (“Frequently Asked Questions,” n.d.), tour guides are individuals who, “travel with the tourists from their place of arrival to all places they would like to visit in South Africa (specifically in Provinces where tour guide is registered),” whereas tour operators are people who, “make all the arrangements for the tourists who will be visiting SA e.g. accommodation, transport and places of attractions.”

The division and recognition of tour guides is much more complicated than for that of tour operators. Tour guides are divided into types; cultural guide (provincial), cultural guide (site), natural guide (provincial), natural guide (site), and adventure guide (site). Individuals who wish to become South African tour guides must be South African citizens or have permanent residency with an appropriate work permit, they must not be registered criminals in South Africa or internationally, they are required to pass both a tourist guide course (specialized to one of the types listed above) accredited by The Culture, Art, Tourism, Hospitality, and Sport Sector Education and Training Authority (CATHSSETA) and a first aid course accredited by Department of Labour, they must sign a code of conduct and ethics form, and they must register this information at a provincial branch of the Department of Tourism (“Frequently Asked Questions,” n.d.;

“Registering/Renewal of Tourist Guide Registration” 2016). Tour guides must renew their certification every three years with the Department of Tourism.

Tour guide courses are offered by private companies which are then accredited by the government. This is different to the approach that other countries take in their tour guide training. Dahles (2002), for example, shows how Indonesian government officials developed strategies to control the information disseminated to tourists about their country through the creation of tour guide courses which created a unified national narrative used for international relations purposes. The private company accreditation approach to tour guide training offers two things to tour guides and tourists; (1) minimal standards that tour guide training companies must meet and (2) autonomy of companies to teach content in the way that they wish. It is important to recognize that these courses are not cheap; the cheapest course I saw available was R750 and the most expensive R60000. Registration and renewal of registration also have affiliated fees. To become a tour guide is not a simple or cheap task in South Africa. Most companies only offer their courses in English at this time, presumably because this is both a national language of South Africa and the most accessible language of its national languages for tourists. Many companies also offer professional development courses for tour guides where they can study new languages such as German, French or Portuguese. This allows tour guides access to more tourists and thus more revenue.

On Vilakazi Street, there used to be a culture of informal tour guiding – in which locals who were not necessarily registered as tour guides would offer tourists their insights on

life in this township, with the hope of some monetary return. During my first trip to Vilakazi Street, I met Poloko Nthako, a volunteer tour guide who worked outside of the Hector Pieterse Museum. Poloko has been working as a volunteer site tour guide since 2011, but has been hosting visitors to Soweto since 2008 (Nthako 2016). A year after he began working as a guide in Soweto, Poloko experienced the politics of tour guiding culture when he got into an argument with a woman who had agreed to exchange some Rupees and US Dollars into Rands for him but later denied ever having received such money. A private security guard stationed at Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum saw the argument taking place and apparently assaulted Poloko for disturbing peace in this touristic area. The guard then pointed his gun at Poloko, who fled into an individual's house for safety. He immediately went to the police station and reported this crime.

On the date of his trial, Poloko claims that he was approached by the security company with a bribe to drop the charges. Poloko accepted the bribe and dropped the charges, he says, though the security company denied knowledge of such events (Motumi 2012; Nthako 2016). After this incident, the security guard was removed from Hector Pieterse, and Poloko continued to volunteer as a site guide outside of the museum. From 2017-2018, while I was conducting my ethnographic research, I never saw Poloko at the museum. I enquired with the local vendors outside of the museum and with other tour guides and tour operators, but no one seemed to know where Poloko was. Some tour guides and tourism officials told me that the government had been cracking down on 'fake' or 'fraudulent' tour guides who were working without registration, and one

individual proposed that perhaps Poloko was not registered officially, especially since he called himself a ‘volunteer tour guide.’

Poloko’s story tells that of the politics of working in the Sowetan tourism industry.

Government officials, security companies, and shop-owners want tourists to feel safe on Vilakazi Street and so a sort of hyper-security of the area is deployed; cameras have been installed in the past year (after the manager of Sakhumzi Restaurant was shot and killed, though the current manager of this restaurant says that the two are unrelated) and between 2-5 private security cars patrol the area whilst walking security are stationed at strategic locations along Vilakazi Street (2017c; *ENCA* 2017). Individuals tend to be policed based on their appearances. If, for example, someone looks like or is recognized as *bonyaope* ‘users of Nyaope – a drug which is claimed to combine rat poison, retroviral HIV-aids medications and other drugs,’ security would likely approach them to leave if they lingered on the street for too long.

The politics of appearance in Sowetan tourism extends beyond security matters. Some tour guides flaunt the fact (or fiction) that they are from Soweto, a claim that they can believably make based solely on their race. In Figure 10 (below), you can see the racial division between types of tour guide companies – a fact which some use in their marketing strategies. Almost all of the TGCs which offer tours only locally, in Soweto, are comprised of only Black South Africans. Lebo’s is one of the only exceptions, because Lebo’s wife is from Sweden. Many of these companies advertise the fact that they will receive a tour from a Sowetan (even if all of the tour guides have not

necessarily been raised in Soweto). Out of the TGCs which offer tours provincially, in the Gauteng Province, only four out of the nine companies have non-white tour guides who come to Soweto. Out of the TGCs which offer tours nationally, in South Africa, only one of the nine companies have non-white tour guides who come to Soweto. And most of the TGCs which offer tours regionally (in southern Africa), continentally (in the African continent), or globally (across the world) have high Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) ratings – meaning that (1) they have a majority representation of people who were under-represented in apartheid in their company and (2) that they get certain tax breaks because of the fulfilment of these requirements. In Sowetan tourism, most tour guides tend to be White South Africans for these companies, suggesting that their BEE ratings come from board members, tour operators, administration, and facilities staff.

As one sits on Vilakazi Street, at Regina Mundi or at any other touristic site, it is easy to notice that smaller groups of tourists who often book through local companies are most frequently guided by Black South Africans, whereas larger groups of tourists who tend to book through globally-, nationally-, regionally-, or provincially-recognized companies are frequently guided by White South Africans. If the new South African democracy were truly accepting of every racial group and their experiences as a citizen of this country, then the racial makeup of tourist guides would not matter. As mentioned above, this a frequently-mentioned topic on TGC websites and in everyday conversation in Sowetan tourism locations. For example, though it is not impossible (or even unlikely in some areas of the country) for White South Africans to speak what Black South Africans call *vernac* ‘vernacular languages – localized forms of Nguni and Sotho-Tswana

languages,’ Black South African tour guides will communicate with each other in *vernac* about white tour guides and the information that they tell tourists.

Sowetan tour guiding culture is largely structured by these racial divisions. In fact, because I used a snowball-method of interviews with tourist guides in Soweto, I ended up working primarily with local Sowetan TGCs (as will be discussed in more detail below), and thus black tour guides. Though I was able to talk with a few provincial, national, and regional TGCs, I was unable to reach the majority of them through informal contacts.

Of the tour guides that I worked with in Soweto, there were three major types of experiences within this industry: (1) someone from Soweto who became familiar with tourism in their township through a friend or family and who then decided to create a career in this field, (2) someone who studied Hospitality and Tourism at university or a Further Education and Training College (FET) in Gauteng and came to Soweto because of a job or hopes of getting a job here, or (3) an accredited tour guide who worked in another part of the province or in a different province and who was relocated to Soweto because of their success in lower-ranking tourism areas – Soweto is considered a fairly lucrative and very popular tourist destination within the country. These experiences are significant, as they often dictate how an individual chooses to relate to or engage with the township.

Tour Guide Companies	Tours Offered in Which Locations	History, Contextual Information	Website
Cycle in Soweto	Local: Soweto	Busi Khambule is one of the first black women to start her own tourism company in Soweto.	http://www.cycleinsoweto.com/

Dzdeze Travel and Tours	Local: Soweto	Dzedze Travel and Tours began in 2009 with a coach tour service based out of White City, Soweto. In 2014 they introduced their bicycle tour service now based out of Orlando West (Dhlamini and Twala 2017).	http://www.dztoours.co.za/
Imbizo Tours	Local: Soweto	Mandy was involved in the Soweto Uprising as a child, and she even has photographs documenting her involvement. She is very active in Sowetan tourism and aims to contribute to local tourism stakeholders; bed and breakfasts, restaurants, and performers.	http://imbizotours.co.za/
Lebo's Soweto Backpackers	Local: Soweto	Maria and Lebo tell a history of Lebo's Soweto Backpacker's beginning in 2000 when buses were coming to Soweto. Lebo would invite some tourists to his parent's house to see Soweto as portrayed through Sowetans' experiences with their township, rather than through white tour guides' understanding of it (Malepa 2017). At the time he was selling crafts near the shipping containers where the Hector Pieterse Museum would soon be erected. He was selling with another boy his age named Fefe, and Fefe's father named Herbert Ndomo. Mr. Ndomo still works on Vilakazi Street selling crafts to this day (Ndomo 2017).	http://www.sowetobackpackers.com/collections/bicycle-tours/
Nkuli Tours Soweto Guide	Local: Soweto	Nkululeko Shelembe was born in KwaZulu-Natal and, upon being orphaned, was raised by a local orphanage in Soweto ("The Story of an Amazing Young Leader: Nkululeko Shelembe, Known as NK," n.d.).	http://nkulitours.wixsite.com/nkulitours
Phaphama Initiatives	Local: Soweto	Phaphama Initiative began as a company called Transfer of African Language Learning during the end of apartheid (1990-1994) which taught White South Africans one of the nine Black South African languages. At the end of their training, they would travel to Soweto, Alexandra, or another township to match them with a native speaker of the language they were studying. They would learn how to cook local foods, cultural norms, and a more in-depth understanding of languages. Around 1994, some of the Transfer of African Language Learning clients explained that their company was like community-based tourism, and so they launched Phaphama Initiatives, which not only continues the corporate work that they do, but now offers individual tours of Soweto and runs a number of non-profit programs.	http://www.phaphama.org/index.php?sid=166
Soweto Guided Tours	Local: Soweto	Soweto Guided Tours states that they hire Sowetans to lead their tours.	http://sowetoguidedtours.co.za/
Tours by Locals	Local: Soweto and Johannesburg	Nathan is a credentialed (i.e. licensed) independent tour guide from Soweto who offers tours primarily of Soweto, but also of Johannesburg.	http://www.tourbylocals.com/SowetoPrivateTourGuide

Usizo Lwenkosi Tours	Local: Soweto	Ntombi recently started offering tours of Soweto from her own perspective, as a Sowetan.	https://www.soweto.mahoonas.co.za/index.php
Four Seasons	Provincial: Gauteng	This is Joburg is a beautiful map of Johannesburg and interactive links which inform their audiences of activities and experiences across the city. Soweto is one of those experience. This map is linked to the Four Seasons Hotel chain somehow, though no information is provided clearly on this website.	http://www.thisisjoburg.com/soweto.html
RNS Travel & Tours – subsidiary of Rhino Africa	Provincial: RNS TRAVEL & TOURS Gauteng Province Continental: RHINO AFRICA East Africa and Southern Africa	Rhino Africa prides itself on being a level 1 BEE, which means that a majority of their employees were, historically, economically disadvantaged.	http://www.rhinoafrica.com/south-africa/johannesburg/johannesburg-day-tours/soweto-tour?gclid=Ci0KEQIA6_TBBDInaPjhcelt5oBEiQApPeTF3p6yDXsYsD4Eu8_IHYqa9irqDloeOYbTRN-Pnb05VkaAv-F8P8HAQ
Soweto & Other Townships	Provincial: Gauteng Townships	Ilan Ossendryver is a photojournalist who documented life under apartheid. He offers a variety of tours to Soweto and surrounding Gauteng townships.	http://toursoweto.com/
Soweto Fun Tours	Provincial: Gauteng Province (Soweto and Johannesburg, only)	Tony David Maimane runs private tours around Soweto and Johannesburg. He acts as the tour operator and guide for his company.	https://www.tripadvisor.co.za/Attraction_Review-g312587-d8595123-Reviews-Soweto_Fun_Tours-Soweto_Greater_Johannesburg_Gauteng.html
Soweto Tours.com	Provincial: Gauteng Province	In 2001, KDR Sports and Adventure Travel was started by Ken Creighton and Richard Mullin. They used local Sowetan contacts that they knew from housing projects in the township to build, what they claim to be, one of the first ‘experiential’ tourism programs to Soweto (“KDR Travel: How It All Started,” n.d.). In 2011, KDA Travel and Tours began as an ‘offshoot’ to KDR (“About Us,” n.d.). KDR had acquired the SowetoTours.com url earlier in the decade, and monopolized upon this to develop the Sowetan side of their tourism ventures.	http://sowetotours.com/index.html
Taste of Africa	Provincial: Gauteng	Taste of Africa is, “radical economic transformation in the tourism sector” (“Visit Soweto with Cedric de La Harpe,” n.d.). Cedric,	http://tasteofafrica.co.za/soweto-tour/

		a self-proclaimed racist, wishes to use tourism to radically bridge the economic gaps in South African society.	
Township Travel	Provincial: Gauteng Soweto (Primarily), as well as Johannesburg and Pretoria	Siphiwe Khumalo has been running Township Travel since 2002. He offers a variety of Sowetan tours such as media tours and 'township immersion insight.'	http://www.sowetotownshiptours.com/
Ubuntu Soweto Tour	Provincial: Gauteng (Their website says they offer tours across the Southern Africa region, however there are currently only tours offered to Soweto, Johannesburg, and the Pretoria online.)	Dumisani Mazibuko is a Sowetan chemical engineer who began Ubuntu Soweto Tours in 2015.	http://ubuntusowetotours.com/
Vhupo Tours	Provincial: Gauteng	Vhupo Tours began in 1994 and they offer "township tours (Soweto Tours), cultural tours, natural heritage tours (safaris), historical tours, trips to Sun City, township accommodation, local transfers and much more" ("About Us," n.d.).	http://www.vhupo-tours.com/Soweto-Tours.asp
Ekala Eco Tour	National: Gauteng, North West, and Limpopo.	Ekala Eco Tours is a South African family business composed of three guides; Malcolm Davis, Linda Davis, and Janet Davis.	http://ekalatours.com/soweto-tour/
Hylton Ross Exclusive Touring	National: Gauteng, Western Cape, Limpopo, and KwaZulu-Natal	Hylton Ross Exclusive Touring began in South Africa in 1980. In 2008 Cullinan Holdings bought Hylton Ross. They offer tours across South Africa, and nearly every day have large fleets dropping tourists off on Vilakazi Street in Soweto ("About Us," n.d.).	https://hyltonross.co.za/product/soweto-tour-half-day/
Ilios Travel	National: Western Cape, Gauteng, Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, and Limpopo	Ilios Travel was founded by Capetownian Mohammed Baba in 1995.	https://www.ilios.co.za/?product=soweto-tour
LBK Tours and Safaris	National: Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces	LBK Tours and Safaris began in Tshwane in 2004.	http://www.lbktoours.co.za/soweto-tours.asp
Mashaba Tours	National: Gauteng and Limpopo Provinces	Peter Mashaba started this tour company.	www.mashabatours.co.za/Soweto-Tours
Ulysses Tours & Transfers	National: Gauteng, Western Cape, and Limpopo Provinces	In 1996 Ulysses Tours & Transfers began offering their transfer services which also connect their customers to tours of major South African destinations like Soweto, Kruger National Park, and others ("About Ulysses Tours & Safaris - Gauteng Tour Operators," n.d.).	http://www.ulysses.co.za/soweto-township/

Zulu Nyala	National: KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng Provinces	Zulu Nyala began in 1981 when Trevor Shaw purchased a large amount of land in KwaZulu-Natal. In 1991 they created a lodge on this land, and shortly thereafter bought other surrounding land to expand their operations. They frequently offer tours to Soweto ("Lodge & Hotel Accommodation," n.d.).	http://zulunyala-group.com/Johannesburg/Country-Manor-Lodge/Activities/Default.html
African Eagle Day Tours	Regional: Southern Africa Currently they only offer tours in Western Cape, Gauteng, and Limpopo Provinces, but their emphasis on being a Southern African tour guide company suggests that they hope to tour elsewhere in the future.	African Eagle Day Tours began in 1997 as a, "flexible touring solution," for individuals who do not plan their tours in advanced of their trip (Ndebele 2017). "In 2005 African Eagle Day Tours merged with Grassroute Tours, a black owned company specializing in township tours and cultural experiences, in a ground-breaking empowerment deal" ("About Us," n.d.). This merger happened primarily to make African Eagle Day Tours compliant with Black Economic Empowerment (BEE) policies, suggesting that prior to 2005 they were primarily run by White South Africans. I have seen met two of their White South African tour guides and one Black South African tour guide in my research.	www.daytours.co.za/tours/soweto-joburg-half-day
MoAfrika Tours	Regional: Southern Africa Currently tours are offered in South Africa (Gauteng, Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal, and Limpopo Provinces) and Zimbabwe (to Victoria Falls).	MoAfrika was founded 15 years ago and has a large footprint in South African tourism; they aim to hire locally in the areas where they offer tours, though there are options to move-up to more frequented tourist locations like Johannesburg, Soweto, or Cape Town.	http://www.sowetotour.co.za/category/township-tours/?gclid=Cj0KEQIA6TBBRDInaPjhcelt5oBEiQApPeTFwRa2m4PYFK00OHv3w-ix_T4xmvbyTszUHHNG-HVFOYaaQ3l8P8HAQ
Mount Zion Tours and Travels	Regional: Southern Africa Currently offers tours in Botswana, Namibia, Mozambique, South Africa, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, and Zambia.	Mount Zion Tours and Travels began in 2006 and now offers tours across Southern Africa.	http://www.mountziontours.co.za/soweto-tour/
Springbok Atlas: Tours and Safaris	Regional: Southern Africa Tours currently offered in South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe, and Mozambique	Springbok Atlas claims to have begun in 1946 with tours of Kruger National Park in South Africa. Currently they offer a variety of tour types across Southern Africa. Large groups of tourists come on their fleet multiple times a day to Vilakazi Street.	http://springbokatlases.com/destination/south-africa/johannesburg/day-tours/half-day-soweto-tour/
Cedarberg Africa	Continental: South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe,	Cedarberg Africa was formally founded in 1995 when Kate Berg, who was raised in the UK, moved to South Africa to live with her South African husband and begin their tourism	https://www.cedarberg-travel.com/expert


	Kenya, Madagascar, Uganda, Mozambique, Mauritius, Seychelles, Malawi, Rwanda, 'Swaziland' eSwatini, and Ethiopia	company with her sister. They have since expanded their tourism company across the continent ("The Cedarberg Africa Story," n.d.).	iences/soweto-tour#
andBeyond	<p>Global: Africa, Asia, and South America</p> <p>Within South Africa, andBeyond offers tours to the Western Cape, Gauteng, KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, and Eastern Cape.</p>	<p>andBeyond began in 1991 at Phinda Game Reserve in KwaZulu-Natal. It works on a philosophy (depicted below) that it must balance a care for the land, care for the people, and care for the wildlife in its providing of touristic experiences across the world.</p> 	https://www.andbeyond.com/experiences/africa/south-africa/johannesburg/tour-of-soweto/
City Sightseeing South Africa & SoWeToo Tours	Global: Africa, Oceania, Europe, North America, South America, Asia	<p>City Sightseeing began operating out of Spain in 1999, and in 2000 began a global franchise model for tourism ("About City Sightseeing," n.d.).</p> <p>In South Africa, Kgomotso Poee develop SoWeToo Hop-On, Hop-Off red bus system in Soweto, connected to City Sightseeing in Johannesburg. He also expanded this model to Cape Town. Kgomotso Poee is also the CEO of Soweto Outdoor Adventures ("Kgomotso Poee," n.d.).</p>	https://www.citysightseeing.co.za/tours/entry/Red-City-Tour-and-Soweto-Combo
Thompsons	Global	Thompsons has multiple different branches of their corporation, such as Thompsons Africa and Thompsons Holiday. All Thompsons branches fall under Cullinan Holdings.	https://www.thompsonsafrika.com/day-tours/johannesburg
Viator	Global	Viator was founded in 1995, and was bought by TripAdvisor in 2014 (Chowdhry 2014).	https://www.viator.com/tours/Johannesburg/Soweto-Half-Day-Sightseeing-Tour/d314-2382SJ3

Figure 10: Tour Guide Companies who offer Tours in Soweto

CHAPTER 3 – SOWETO’S STORY

A singer, performer, and political speaker, Nomsa Mazwai (Nomsa Supasta) said in an advert for the Soweto International Jazz Festival that, “if you talk about where is the wallet of Joburg? Where is the wallet of Sandton City? It’s sitting closed in Soweto at night...How do we activate that? Because we are the economy of the city. But it’s about understanding our value” (Afro World View TV 2018). Indeed, Soweto finds value in more places than providing Sandton City with cleaners, construction workers, secretaries, financial analysts, and other personnel; Soweto is also valued in tourism for its story, both lived and imagined.

In Soweto, Frenzel and Koens (2012, 199) explain that tour guides and other tourism intermediaries, “fulfil a significant role in creating a transformative narrative, a re-interpretation of poverty into something that is more easily told and sold” (Frenzel and Koens 2012, 199). In the touristic story of Soweto, poverty is re-interpreted, in fact it is transformed, into cultural prowess. Soweto’s story is one of transformation from a place of pain and poverty – a place where individuals could not own the homes in which they lived, a place where streets were created haphazardly to make travelling by car difficult – to a place, perhaps still impoverished, yet rich with ‘culture’ and ‘history.’ The story of apartheid is repackaged in Soweto to be more bearable, more consumable for tourists. In a survey conducted on tourist motivations for visiting Soweto, “the results reveal that the most common factor was ‘I wanted to get more insight as to how things have changed

since the apartheid era,” (Mengich 2011, 41).¹² As will be discussed in this chapter, Soweto’s repackaging of the South African transformation story has been scaled to the country as a whole; after seeing the successful selling of Soweto’s story, the South African government has co-opted this narrative for its nation.

In tourism to urban impoverished areas, ‘culture’ and ‘poverty’ are often wrought together. As mentioned earlier, in one informal interview (2016), a White South African told me about her interpretation of the history of apartheid and how this impacted her life. She welled-up with tears and explained to me that she visits Regina Mundi Church and Vilakazi Street once a year to remind herself that many people in her country have very little, monetarily, as an effect of apartheid, but that these same people also have a lot, culturally, that she will never have. When I inquired into what she meant by ‘culturally,’ she began speaking about music and languages; the particularity of clicks and tones, and the timbral quality of voices in harmony. This pairing of culture with poverty is not unique to Soweto. Ruthie Meadows (in Rommen and Neely 2014, 258), for example, in writing about music touristics (Rommen in Rommen and Neely 2014, 7) in New Orleans, mentions that,

In the wake of Hurricane Katrina...a powerful and dual narrative of New Orleans emerged that led to shifts in the entextualizations of these processional practices within New Orleans’s mainstream media and within the city’s touristic and festivalized performance spaces. National media coverage following the disaster simultaneously framed New Orleans as, on the one hand, a ‘Third World backwater’ plagued by economic stagnation, endemic political corruption, and

¹² Mudzanani (2014, 570) argues that tourist motivations for visiting Soweto include, “novelty, escapism, enhancement of kinship relations, nostalgia, education and the media.”

national indifference and, on the other, as a cultural mecca of Afro-Creole authenticity and musical flourishing on the verge of loss.

In Rio de Janeiro, Jaguaribe and Hetherington (in Sheller and Urry 2004, 157) explain how favelas have come to be entextualized as places of cultural authenticity (i.e. samba, hip-hop, carnival), and simultaneously as impoverished places. “NGO projects,” they claim, “help some of the young favela dwellers by promoting cultural innovation – such as music, websites, tee-shirt design, and painting – which with tourists are a major component of their audience and market. Yet, as the plummeting prices of real estate located next to the favelas attest, the shantytowns are seen also as spaces of neglect.”

Writing about Kingston, Jamaica, Dürr and Jaffe (2012, 120) write that, “the tours engage with globally and nationally circulating spatial imaginaries of the neighborhood, drawing on positive images of local cultural achievements in music, art and religious practice to combat the stigma of poverty.”

In each of these examples listed above, ‘poverty’ is juxtaposed with expressions of ‘culture’; the tourist described to me the sounds of language and choral music that she imagined flowing in Soweto, Meadows speaks about the ‘Afro-Creole authenticity and musical flourishing’ that was assumed to occur in New Orleans, and Jaguaribe and Hetherington discuss how many historicize Rio de Janeiro favelas as sites of authenticity for samba, hip-hop, or carnival. It seems as though ‘poverty’ and ‘culture’ are two sides of the same coin; in post-colonial contexts it appears to be difficult to get ‘authentic’ culture, spurred through creativity, without the pain and struggle of poverty. Why and how do these sounds of culture become associated with poverty?

THE ENTEXTUALIZATION OF URBAN AREAS AS IMPOVERISHED

If we look at the history of these urban impoverished spaces we find many similarities. For one, these are spaces within postcolonial contexts. Colonial interest in a particular area of land (often due to natural resources) led to its rapid industrialization and development, and later to an entextualization of the emblematic relationship between these spaces and a global or modern urbanity. These spaces emerged when a group of marginalized people were spatially segregated from citizens who were governmentally endorsed as ‘normal’ or ‘just.’ They were once spaces of protest; spaces that housed radical individuals who fought against repressive regimes. The people who resided in these areas were left out of (or banned from creating) opportunities to accrue capital when capitalistic systems were emerging in that area. Because of this systemic capital displacement, as well as other emblematic signs of poverty, these places are entextualized as impoverished. Entextualization, or, “the process of rendering a given instance of discourse a text, detachable from its local context,” (Urban in Silverstein and Urban 1996, 21) is only understood through analyzing an array of co-occurring signs which together form an idea that becomes widely recognized through textual congruence of these signs (Agha 2007, 159–61).

To understand how urban spaces outside of major city centers are entextualized as impoverished places, let us briefly look at Soweto’s history. While Soweto is often classified as ‘impoverished,’ it arguably has a solid middle-class constituency and even burgeoning upper-middle class areas as well (Alexander et al. 2013). This South Western Township is an urban residential area outside of Johannesburg in South Africa. Its

foundations lie in an apartheid design of racial segregation. In the 1890's mine owners began developing corrugated iron to build residential quarters for migrant laborers (Van Onselen 1982, 2). The colonial government's imposition of a hut tax in 1899 brought individuals who were otherwise existing outside of a capitalist system into it. In 1904 a bubonic plague broke out, and the white colonial-settlers assumed that people other than themselves were responsible for such a disease. Migrant laborers who had found temporary jobs in Johannesburg were forced out of their brick houses in the city and relocated to a place called Klipspruit, an area included in contemporary Soweto.

A series of legislations were made after this relocation of black migrant laborers to Soweto. 1911 saw the release of the Native Labour Regulation Act which made it illegal for Africans (at this time the term referring to black people in South Africa) to break labor contracts and the Natives' Land Bill which made it illegal for Africans to own land outside of their 'reserves.' 1912 brought the Mines and Works Act which segregated pay and responsibilities in mining based on race, and in 1913 the Natives Land Act distributed land to races and ethnicities in South Africa – of course allocating the arable land to Africans and fertile land to white people (Lodge 1983, 2). Many scholars have directly linked the increase in migrant laborers to urban mines with these various forms of taxation, laws placed upon black people, and the displacements that these regimental impositions wrought. In 1923, the government began enforcing the Urban Areas Act, an act that designated major industrializing urban areas, such as Johannesburg, as 'white-only,' a continuation of earlier efforts to segregate (Mandy 1984, 174). Some families were removed to newly built 'matchbox' houses in Soweto, but others did not receive this

luxury (Van Onselen 1982, 2). Later legislation, the Group Areas Act, divided up Sowetan housing into ‘ethnic’ groups, which, following scholars such as Comaroff and Comaroff (1991), Irvine (2008), and Vail (1989), we now understand to have emerged out of arbitrary classifications of ‘languages’ that are based on disparate orthographic practices, and ethnolinguistic and geographic groupings. The Group Areas Act further displaced people from the houses that they had begun to either build, expand, or feel at home in.

As Marks (Marks and Rathbone 1982, 166) has summarized of 19th century South Africa;

the ‘peculiarity’ of South Africa consisted in the dominance of a highly advanced form of monopoly capital on the gold and diamond fields, with the most sophisticated capital structure and technology, based on a mass of unskilled migrant labour, still dependent on pre-capitalist social formations for its reproduction and controlled by a series of coercive devices such as the compound and pass laws.

The 20th century saw Soweto’s growth and activation of its networks to fight against the oppressive apartheid regime. The youth of Soweto peacefully protested against being taught in the medium of Afrikaans, and their uprising was, “the highest point reached...in a rising wave of struggles,” which is historicized as sparking a larger movement against apartheid (Callinicos and Rogers 1977, 164). The 20th century also was witness to the end of apartheid ruling and the peaceful transition to a democratic South Africa led by the African National Congress (ANC).

Mpho Kumeke (2017) of the Hector Pieterse Museum and Memorial has speculated that because of this history of displacement, people who reside in Soweto have never felt as

though they owed anything to the government, nor did they feel as though they ever really belonged in the new democratic republic. This has led to the illegal metering¹³ of basic facilities such as electricity and water, which in turn has led to outsiders reinforcing their opinions that Soweto is an impoverished area. The cyclical nature of this situation leads Mpho to believe that this conceptualization of Soweto as impoverished will not fade soon. Likewise, Palesa Marobale (2017a) of Regina Mundi Catholic Church has speculated that though some people in Soweto struggle for a basic economic standing, they look out for one another within the township. There is a general, often unspoken, consensus that criminal activities should be committed outside of the township, in areas where people have historically had economic advantages. So while there are criminals in Soweto, as in any densely populated area, a number of criminal activities outside of Soweto are committed by people coming from this township, thus reinforcing this same indexical relationship of Soweto to poverty, and also to violence. Through the history of this township and mediatized¹⁴ links between Soweto and poverty, the township has become entextualized as a place of poverty.

THE CONTEXTUALIZATION OF POVERTY: HISTORIES OF ECONOMIC EXCLUSION DURING COLONIALISM

¹³ Illegal metering, or bridging, is the practice of tampering with the meter – installed in every house in South Africa – which counts your electricity or water. Tampering with it can either reduce the amount of electricity that you are reported to use, or it can report that you do not use any electricity while you have access to it daily.

¹⁴ Mediatizations are particular forms of mediations, or “speech and other perceivable signs” that link individuals to each other in communicative acts. According to Agha (2011b, 163), “to speak of mediatization is to speak of institutional practices that reflexively link processes of communication to processes of commoditization.” Mediatized links are then links created between communication and commoditization in reflecting and selling Soweto as impoverished.

Rationalizing these urban impoverished areas as ‘impoverished’ precisely because of their exclusion from the colonial introduction of western capitalistic systems of exchange has led to a sort of pairing of ‘poverty’ with the often brutal history of colonialist conquest and indigenous revolt. Often this relationship is not explicitly stated, and so the pairing of ‘poverty’ with ‘history’ in these urban impoverished areas is rendered in slippages, in moments when shifts in denotational indexicals¹⁵ reveal the linkages between these concepts. Jo Eames, a tourist and travel blogger who wrote about her visit to Soweto in early 2016, makes an import slip in her writing, one which reveals the conflation of history with poverty (and vice versa).¹⁶ Jo and her fellow travelers had just finished visiting the Hector Pieterse Museum and Memorial, a museum which often renders an emotional response from tourists. Jo describes how hearing the story of The Soweto Uprising from an individual who was there on that day, “brought it more to life” for her. After wrapping up their time at this emotional, historical site, their tour guide, Lebo – the owner of Lebo’s Soweto Backpackers – “asked five children to sing a song for us.” Her passage about this event is as follows:

*They stood up in front of us and rapped¹⁷ a song about Soweto. From one of the saddest moments, we then encountered the most uplifting. / Here were these five children, the oldest no more than eight, singing with pride about *their* home; happy we were *there* experiencing it for *ourselves*. Throughout *my* time in South*

¹⁵ Denotational indexicals are, “expressions that make variables of utterance denotation dependent on variables of interaction” (Agha 2007, 40). An example of a denotational indexical could be a pronoun, such as ‘I,’ in which to understand the sentence, “I am tired,” the hearer must observe co-textual cues which tell them who the “I” stands for.

¹⁶ This passage will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5, in which I will analyze the sensitization of music about which Jo writes.

¹⁷ While Jo here writes ‘rapped,’ I have never seen any rap performances at Vilakazi Street over the years that I have done research here. It is unclear whether this was a performance of a genre of music called ‘rap’ or if this was Jo’s description of the music that she heard, possibly informed by globally circulating images of black performance arts.

Africa I got the sense that it was the people who had the least that were the happiest. (Eames 2016)

In this excerpt, Jo is writing to a large online audience who engage with her blogs by commenting upon, liking, and sharing her writing and photography. Because of this intended audience, there is a certain narrative structure which Jo follows in most of her blogs, in which the audience is rarely mentioned, but always understood, and in which she interpersonally aligns herself as the speaker through the use of first person (singular or plural) deictics.¹⁸ We learn, through cotextual cues in her writing that *we*, in this passage, includes herself as well as others who are on this bicycle tour of Soweto with her. What relationship these others have to Jo is not clear from her writing. *They* always refers, in this blog posting and in many others, to local residents of the place where she is visiting; in this excerpt *they* refers to Sowetans. This is further clarified in Jo's use of the proposition, "*here were these* five children." The use of *these children*, "formulates referent as not addressed, but...presupposed anaphorically¹⁹ in discourse" (Agha 2007, 43). In other words, the children that she is referring to are not *all children* or *some children*, but *these children*, the ones who performed a rap song for herself and other tourists (*us*) in Soweto. Referring back to *these children*, Jo states that they were "singing with pride about *their* home," *their* of course establishing a connection between the vague use of *they* and the particular instance of *these children*; *they* is used to refer to Sowetans, a category of personhood to which these children belong.

¹⁸ Deictics are denotational indexicals which, "point to variables of utterance context such as where, when, and by whom an utterance is produced" (Agha 2007, 39). In my example of a denotational indexical in Footnote 14, 'I' is considered to be a noun phrase deictic in which the speaker interpersonally aligns herself with the hearer of her utterance.

¹⁹ An anaphor is, "a pronoun or demonstrative referring to something which was explicitly stated earlier in the discourse, such as he in John came in and he sat down" (Dixon 2009, 332).

While her use of deictics is rather clear up until this point, the final sentence of this excerpt takes a magical turn into a different degree of deictic selectivity²⁰. Suddenly there is a shift from Jo's use of *we* to the use of *I*. Jo separates herself from the other tourists, temporarily, to make a claim that perhaps she is not sure everyone in her tour group will agree upon. Beginning with an idiom she writes, "*I got the sense that it was the people who had the least that were the happiest."* This sentence is a nomic truth, or a "timeless truth, formulated through pervasive non-selectivity of deictic categories in both noun phrase and verb;" a propositional act which makes universal claims about a subject in the world (Agha 2007, 44). This nomic truth is disseminated throughout middle- to upper-class forms of cosmopolitan discourse; that poor people are happier and more rooted in a form of reality inaccessible to themselves. This myth is sad, as it upholds impoverished people but does not necessarily improve their quality of life; the cosmopolitan gets to feel good by reflecting on or visiting, perhaps even donating to impoverished people, while these people remain without toilets and without proper access to running water or electricity. The verbal deictics are selective for this sentence (i.e. the verbs are in the past tense), which may lead one to believe that this could not be a nomic truth, however, Jo employs the past tense simply for congruence with the idiom ("*I got the sense that*") which begins this propositional act.²¹ In other words, Jo is saying that should you take

²⁰ Deictic selectivity is a term used to analyze the scalar quality of a deictic to index universal or particular referents, predicates, or propositions. For example, "my cat was evil" is a more deictically selective proposition while, "all cats are evil" is a non-selective deictic.

²¹ Had Jo used a simple verb instead of an idiom, perhaps her sentence would have read as follows: "*I came to understand that it is the people who have the least that are the happiest."* Alternatively, should Jo have re-phrased her sentence by placing the idiom at the end of the sentence it could have sounded like this: "*People who have the least are the happiest, I came to realize."*

any person with little (a vague statement, often referring to economic status, which I will discuss further in this dissertation), they will necessarily be very happy. Implied in this statement through the use of superlatives is a comparison of ‘people who have the least’ with ‘people who do not have the least’ (i.e. people who have the most) as well as ‘people who are the happiest’ with ‘people who are not the happiest’ (i.e. unhappy people). Jo’s nomic truth might be better stated then as, find any person with little, and they will necessarily be happier than any person who does not have little.

How does this nomic truth relate back to Jo’s tour of Soweto, her visit to the Hector Pieterse Museum, and the performance of a rap by Sowetan children? If we return to an earlier statement in this excerpt, we find that the superlative structure is mirrored. “From one of the saddest moments,” namely, the experience of hearing about the effects of apartheid on the lives of individuals in Soweto at the Hector Pieterse Museum, “we then encountered the most uplifting,” the moment of hearing Sowetan children rapping for these tourists. In comparing these two statements, it becomes clear that to Jo, Sowetans are chronotopically²² linked to apartheid; that Sowetans represent an imprisonment in poverty due to the historical oppression of apartheid, and that Sowetans and their poverty cannot be separated from the apartheid struggle.

²² Bakhtin (1983) originally theorized the chronotope as the way that time and space are represented in words and discourse.

CULTURAL FLOURISHING: THE TRANSFORMATION OF POVERTY (THE COLONIAL LEGACY) INTO CULTURE

While in the above excerpt from Jo's travel blog, she contrasts the chronotopic pairing of history and poverty with happiness, often the pair is compared with contemporary cultural practices in Soweto. Jo's statement that, "it was the people who had the most who were the happiest," should remind you of the South African tourist at Regina Mundi who said that many people in her country have very little, monetarily, as an effect of apartheid, but that these same people also have a lot, culturally, that she will never have. Indeed, Jo goes on to make the same type of claim later; "the area's Apartheid history is sad and eye-opening, but I was to learn that this juxtaposition with modern-day, vibrant Soweto is what makes this place so interesting" (Eames 2016).²³

These comparisons can be contextualized within the history of these urban impoverished areas, more generally. Since the post-colonial turn, or since the moment of revolution, many urban impoverished spaces across the world have often been conceptualized as transforming from sites of political and economic oppression to sites of cultural liberation. They became known as hubs of liberal thought, cultural expression, and cultural wealth. The processes through which such post-colonial urban spaces are entextualized, through series of individual semiotic encounters, as sites of creativity and culture is important to observe.

²³ Much of this is particular to South Africa; the country is often dichotomized into apartheid and post-apartheid time periods.

‘Ghetto,’ a term that today is often associated with urban impoverished areas in The United States of America, has gone through a series of indexical shifts since the 16th century when Venetian Jews were segregated from Christian Venetians and forced to reside in a particular area called the Ghetto Nuovo, for example (Duneier 2016). The fear of Jewish influence upon the Catholic religion led to an implementation of a Roman ghetto shortly after. In The United States of America, Jewish populations gathered together in places such as New York’s Upper East Side to create a supportive community for those immigrating and trying to secure jobs. The term ‘ghetto’ continued to be applied to these urban areas. It wasn’t until anthropologist and sociologist St. Clair Drake and sociologist Horace Cayton’s (1945) ethnographic examination of black life in northern parts of The United States of America that the term ‘America’s Jews’ and subsequently the ‘black ghetto’ came into national discourse. African Americans, they claimed, were as segregated in urban America as Jews were in 16th century Western Europe.

The American ghetto became a term with racial and socio-economic denotations. Cora Daniels (2007) and Jeff Chang (2005), amongst others, demonstrate how record companies’ interest in hip-hop brought about the commoditization of lifestyles, or cultural practices, within the ghetto. While using the term ‘ghetto’ as a tool to stylize commodities in the United States of America, the term also came to be, “an ahistoric cultural signifier of all things bad, broke and black: ghetto schools, ghetto jobs, ghetto names, ghetto music” (Muhammad 2018). We see here the same dilemma as that facing New Orleans, Rio de Janeiro, Kingston, and Soweto; we see the transition of an urban impoverished area from a space conceptualized as ‘poor’ (and perhaps ‘violent’) to a

place entextualized as ‘cultural,’ as a cultural mecca in the midst of monotonous, urbanized, capitalistic spaces.

Select townships across Johannesburg have experienced the simultaneity of ‘poverty’ and ‘culture’; Alexandra, “is almost the sole surviving example of what was once a hugely influential segment of black urban society, which cultivated a distinct social ethos and imparted its own distinct flavor to the entire black urban world,” while Sophiatown – a township created, eradicated, and renamed by the apartheid government as *Triomf* ‘triumph’ – is remembered for being a point of reference for Johannesburg artistic creations in, “fiction, drama and music” (Fink 2015, 12) during the 1940s and 1950s (Bailey and Rosenberg 2016; Erlank 2015; Erlank and Morgan 2015; Hannerz 1997; Masemola 2011; Naidoo 2015; Samuelson 2008).

Soweto, like these other urban impoverished post-colonial spaces, is complicated by patterns of migration from rural ‘homeland’ to urban ‘home’ (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991; Steingo 2016; Wilson and Mafeje 1963). Angela Impey (2013) has shown how for individuals in Maputoland, music became a tool for remembering a land or place that was left behind in the relocation to a new area. While it may be tempting to view the flourishing of cultural practices in Soweto as a result of this constant movement between places, as a means by which individuals coping with this sometimes violent form of transition grab onto traditional practices in their urban homes, I argue that these movements from urban to rural are actually the spaces in which many of these practices

were created or reinforced as such, not something pre-existing that was cherished as a symbolic marker of ‘home’ in a changing environment.

Nombulelo (Makwetlane et al. 2017), a young woman from Dlamini, Soweto, explained to me that unlike many of her friends who have homes and family in rural villages, Soweto is her family’s only home. This is due to her father’s enormous sacrifice – resulting in his death after his four children were born – as a member of *Umkhonto we Sizwe* ‘spear of the nation.’ Out of a desire to protect his extended and immediate family, Nombulelo’s father would not return to the rural area. If ever their family was threatened, they were to return to the village. But because her father was killed before anyone ever threatened his family, Nombulelo’s family became disconnected with their rural family and home. Because many people travel ‘home’ to these rural areas during holidays, Nombulelo explained to me that some of her friends and local family choose to fill the streets of Soweto to make up for this feeling that they don’t have anywhere to belong. This has become a cultural practice in Soweto, and in many townships across the country; they have their own social rules and regulations for holidays that differ from other urban residential areas. This practice of creating a celebratory atmosphere in Soweto during holidays has led to some of Nombulelo’s friends who do have families and houses in rural areas deciding to stay, rather than leave, during some holidays. Coplan (2008, 3) surmises that, “urban performing arts...represent not the disintegration but the creation of a culture: part of a search for autonomy in an environment in which black people have

little control over anything except a culturally guided sense of collective humanity and individual self.”



Figure 11: Gumboot Performers (from Front to Back, Left to Right: Vincent, Duduzane, Thabang, Nkosinathi, 'Zuluboy,' Umfan'ufikile, 'Luckyboy,' Sifiso) on Vilakazi Street, Soweto. Photo taken by Sarah, 30 November 2017.

The history of musical practices performed by migrant laborers in Johannesburg mines aptly display how cultural art forms were created in the transition between rural and urban. Gumboot performance, for example, has been theorized by Muller (2008, 138) as ‘global ecumene’ (Hannerz 1997), as a performance in which, “ancestral beliefs and dance styles, Hollywood cowboy and tap dance films, nineteenth-century Anglo-American minstrel performance, industrial labor relations, European folk music, mission Christianity, and ethnic tensions” are all present and evoked in its contemporary iterations. As can be seen in Figure 11, gumboot performers typically wear mining outfits, gumboots, a percussive instrument attached to the gumboots, and bandanas. The mining outfits serve as a way of reminding or teaching audiences about the supposed

origins of gumboot dancing in the Johannesburg mines. These mining outfits symbolically link the history of apartheid and the exclusion of Black South Africans from western capital to their music and dance stylings; in Sowetan tourism, one cannot watch gumboot performers without being told or inquiring into the symbolism of these outfits.

The gumboots themselves likely emerged from the Durban harbor, an urban center in KwaZulu-Natal, “where migrant workers were issued gumboots when they began to handle chemical fertilizers” (Muller 2008, 137). Amplification has always been a key component of this performance style, and the percussive attachment to the gumboot plays a large role in this. “The dancers claim that the bottle top rattles remind them of the history of gumboot dancers’ experiences in the mines,” as the chains of prisoners who were used as labor in these mines necessarily produced noise while performing laborious tasks underground (Muller 2008, 131). Muller performed as a member of a gumboot team, an act which could have cost her life because she is white and was not supposed to be in the areas that she was. Her gumboot team members explained to her the origins of these percussive instruments; “since the ankle rattles in traditional Zulu dance were made from dried pea pods,” she says, “it may be that the natural materials from rural environments were simply replaced with new materials available in the urban context” (Muller 2008, 131).

Considering the aesthetic of amplification in gumboot performance, this argument becomes even stronger; perhaps the natural materials that are used in traditional performance practices were not loud enough to be heard in the mining compounds. Life

within the compounds also brought about a new element to the gumboot attire, namely, the bandanas. ‘Cowboy movies’ were shown in the mining compounds in the 1930s and likely influenced the fashion-style of gumboot dance practices. As can be seen through the attire alone, Gumboots were made possible through the exchange of information between rural and urban.

Another example of the creation or reification of cultural practices through the movements between urban and rural is Credo Mutwa. Credo Mutwa is the name of a *sangoma* ‘traditional healer’ and prophet who was born in Zululand in 1921. His father was raised and educated in the Catholic Church while his mother practiced traditional religion. They fell deeply in love, despite familial insistence upon their abidance to their respective religions, and brought about this boy, who was taken from his mother by his paternal uncle so that his father could raise him in the Catholic Church. It was not until after being assaulted by a group of mineworkers and falling ill that he began exploring the traditional religious practices that his mother was devoted to.

Credo Mutwa’s uncle took him to a sangoma when the western doctors could not help him, and he was then banned from his Catholic home and began travelling across southern Africa, learning about cultures, languages, and religions. Credo Mutwa writes that, “as the years past, I became filled with a fanatical obsession; I realized how rapidly Africa was changing. I realized to my shock and sorrow that the culture of my people, a culture that I had thought immortal, was actually dying. Very, very soon the Africa that I

knew would become a forgotten thing. A thing of the past and I decided to try and preserve somehow, what I could of my people's culture" (Mutwa 2004a).

Credo Mutwa began writing books about his beliefs and in 1975 received funding to open what he called a 'living museum' in Soweto. This was a place where he envisioned teaching Black South Africans about their cultures, languages, and religions. This was received well by a few Sowetans, mostly orphans and young children with absent parents, but for the most part was criticized as being complicit with the apartheid governmental mandate for separate development, for promoting tribalism, and for "glamorising the Soweto ghetto" (Mutwa 2004b). While school children tried to take refuge at Credo Mutwa during the 1976 uprising, later in the year other school children burnt down his center. A number of years later Credo Mutwa's son was murdered by radical black activists who wanted to punish him for what they viewed as compliance with the apartheid government. Credo Mutwa persisted in his efforts to teach Black South Africans about their cultures, languages, and religions, as he felt that the lashing out of black people against his project was a symptom of colonial conquest, and he eventually founded a large community that engaged in arts, dances, musics, and speech-practices that he deemed to be 'traditional.' As with any preservationist effort, the act of preserving often is synonymously the act of creating (Bendix 1989; Briggs 1996; Nagel 1994), insofar as in deciding which objects index 'tradition,' a process of delimitating cultural practices begins.

These practices are often entangled in the new capitalistic economy of the urban area – an economy which traded these emerging performance practices for money. In South Africa, for example, gumboot practices emerged in a competition format where the prize for winning was often cash. In addition to these competition formats, evidence of this cultural practice being intimately tied up with economic trades is found in the inclusion of gumboots in touristic practices. In 1986 Jeremy Marre wrote that the, “most publicized of all the tourist traps are the so-called miners’ gumboot dances...nattily dressed miners in polished gumboots performed in a sort of circus for the avid, chattering tourists who photographed the show to take back as a ‘real slice of black South African life’” (Marre and Charlton 1986). In the seventh chapter of Credo Mutwa’s autobiography, we also see his vision for the cultural practices which he had begun to preserve in Soweto, namely that they be commoditized for touristic consumption (Mutwa 2004b).

SENSITIZATIONS

How does any given object come into a commodity formulation, especially in the midst of what has been termed an ‘experience economy’ such as tourism (Pine and Gilmore 1998). The term ‘commodity’ has spread through social and cultural analyses of human populations. This term first appears in Karl Marx’s writings on *Capital* (1867).

Schumpeter (1996, 48) has explained that the science of economics was a classical situation, or a situation in which much disagreement took place until, “the achievement of substantial agreement after a long period of struggle and controversy.” The ‘substantial agreement’ in economics was upon Adam Smith’s understanding of economics in *The Wealth of Nations* (1776). This text was then reinterpreted by Georg Hegel, who takes the

word ‘work’ from Smith and uses it as a tool to dismantle Christianity and Kantian thought (Agha 2016); he argues that work is the most important activity in the attempt to gain self-conscious freedom (Hegel 1816).

Marx (1867), influenced by Hegel’s interpretation of Smith (Hegel 1816), develops his theory of the commodity. A commodity, for Marx, is a durable object which has inherent value because of the labor which was used to produce it and the value of the object makes it exchangeable with money, usually a set price. This theory of a commodity is a rather limited one (Graeber 2011). Howes, for example, argues that, “by analyzing commodities exclusively in terms of their use- and exchange-value, Marx elided what could be called their sign-value—namely, the sensuous contrasts that set one commodity off from another and give expression to cultural categories as well as express differences in social location” (Howes 2003, 205). When Marx shows how one type of commodity can relate to another type of commodity (i.e. the value chains of commodities), he only ever compares entities of differing kinds. “Marx never compares the cut or texture of two coats, for example. Only ‘1 coat = 10 lbs. tea = ½ ton iron’ (Howes 2003, 225).

Capitalistic societies thrive on slight differences between commodities that are of the same type; you can purchase one brand of tire that specializes in making durable tires, or another brand of tire that specializes in making the most expensive and beautiful types of tire. This allows for stores to specialize in one type of material commodity but have multiple variations of that one type.

The concept of the commodity also has theoretical links to anthropological research on exchange. Malinowski (1984) first raised this topic in *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, where he analyzed Kula exchange where individuals would travel long (and sometimes dangerous) journeys to give someone a piece of jewelry without a promise of anything in return. This form of exchange has since been labelled as a ‘gift economy,’ or an economy structured by gift-giving. Malinowski’s text began debates with another anthropologist, Mauss. Mauss in response wrote *The Gift* which complicates the concept of gift-giving through examples from his ethnographic research in Polynesia. In this text, Mauss (2011) introduces two terms used in marital gift exchanges; *tonga* refers to gifts which are given to an incoming daughter-in-law and they are immovable, whereas *oloa* refers to gifts which are given to the husband and they are movable. This conceptualization of immovable versus movable goods led Weiner (1992) to theorize inalienable possessions, or objects which are symbolically linked to groups of people and thus cannot be separated from them. Inalienable possessions encourage the creation of a hierarchy within a community. Giving an inalienable possession to someone outside of the group affiliated with it can allow a temporary status change, a temporary inclusion of that individual into a society. This scholarship shows how value can exist in exchanges beyond money/currency; individuals involved in Kula exchange value the jewelry and its symbolism in creating relations with people, and those in Polynesian societies value the history of objects as belonging to a group of people.

Though capitalistic societies, such as that which structures tourism in Soweto, rely on money, Parry and Bloch (1989, 1) have pointed out that even the value of money, “its

production, consumption, circulation and exchange” varies between cultures. And so too in commoditized forms of exchange. The value of commoditized exchanges are culturally constituted. Agha (2011a, 22) explains that, “the idea that ‘use values’ are intrinsic to commodities makes invisible the semiotic activities—including discourses about commodities—that articulate and disarticulate images of ‘use’ and ‘users’” (Agha 2011a, 22). Commodities have value not purely because of the amount or skill of labor that went into producing it, nor due to the value of currency exchanged in the process, but rather because of a complex web of social signs that link users of commodities, their lifestyles, and the commodities together. Material objects, exchanges, services, events, or performances go through a series of changes as they come in and out of various formulations which construe them as commodities or not.

From the standpoint of mediatization, nothing is always or only a commodity. Things and activities are treated as commodities only under specific formulations (e.g., as products, services, lifestyles, brands), and such commodity formulations are themselves disseminated through institutional genres of communication (e.g. advertising), whence they become widely known to (enregistered for) sociohistorical populations in whose activities they serve as inputs to forms of recontextualization far more varied than source commodity formulations anticipate (Agha 2011a). For those acquainted with them, the commodity formulations of an object are not relevant to every participation framework in which the object plays a role. Indeed, to know an object as a commodity is to know when not to treat it as one. (Agha 2011b, 164)²⁴

²⁴ For example, let us look at a timeshare (thank you to Dr. Carol Muller for suggesting this idea). A timeshare is a property that is divided up into various times of the year – an individual can purchase the right to stay at this property for a limited time each year. The property then, as an object, sits in one location but, through the distribution of real estate information about timeshares (i.e. institutionalized forms of communication), the communal understanding of timeshares by all individuals involved in this transaction (i.e. enregistration of this knowledge institutionally communicated) and the distribution of this property into time increments, comes into and out of commodity formulations over time. All you are able to purchase is time at a property, but not the property itself.

“Book now!,” one Sowetan tour company advertises, “for an unforgettable, one-of-a-kind experience” (“Dzedze Travel and Tours” 2016). Tourism to urban impoverished areas such as Soweto tends to market and sell an ‘experience’ of some sort. B. Joseph Pine II and James H. Gilmore (1998) have argued that experiences are a new style of commodity that ought to be studied more closely. “An experience,” they say, “occurs when a company intentionally uses services as the stage, and goods as props, to engage individual customers in a way that creates a memorable event. Commodities are fungible, goods tangible, services intangible, and experiences memorable” (Pine and Gilmore 1998). While tour companies sell an experience, say a two-hour, four-hour, one-day, or two-day journey with, “guides who were born and raised in the region” (“Soweto Day Tours” 2016), these experiences are composed of many smaller interactions, which, when put together, tell some cohesive story about Soweto and lead the tourists to leave Soweto feeling a certain way about it. Edward Bruner (2005, 20) even claims that, “experience may be the ultimate tourist commodity, but in itself experience is inchoate without an ordering narrative, for it is the story, the telling, that makes sense of it all.”

The small interactions (i.e. sensitizations) which together compose a narrative about Soweto are the focus of this dissertation, although I hope to show how these moments culminate in this ‘unforgettable experience.’ For example, one bicycling tour guide company stops their tourists prior to arriving at the main tourist hub on Vilakazi Street. The tour guide gets off her or his bike and begins to talk about the dance performance that they are about to see. The tour guide discusses the rattles on the ankles of the dancers’ feet, the language that the dancers will sing in, the feeling of the ground beneath

the dancers' feet as they jump and stomp the ground, and the style of clothing that the dancers are wearing. They ask tourists to repeat phonemes that are unique to Bantu languages, and then, after perfecting this pronunciation, move syllable by syllable through a few words so that tourists can properly pronounce the title of the dance group. They encourage tourists to get off of their bikes and, depending on the tour guide, teach the tourists either how to clap along in time with the music, or how to stomp their feet. By so doing, the tour guide says, they are showing the performers that they recognize and appreciate their art. After hearing this information, tourists can then interpret and interact with the performance in a different way than they would have should they have encountered this dance in isolation, without any discursive framing. The tourists are now attuned to the various sensorial artifacts which were pointed out to them; they can listen for the sounds of the rattles and clap in time along with them, they can hear the phonological features of the language which they tried to pronounce earlier, and they can imagine the feel of the clothing on their bodies as they try to move in rhythm to the music.

Engaging in cultural performances in this way is what I call a sensitization, and it allows for a deeper emotional engagement on the part of the tourists. Indeed, eliciting emotional and affective responses from sensitizations is an intentional strategy to produce memories, memories that encourage tourists to return again. While this dissertation examines aspects of the entire touristic experience that is sold to tourists, I am particularly interested in these small moments of cultural performance that involve the senses; learning how to speak like a Sowetan speaks, learning how to listen to music like

a Sowetan listens to music, and learning to look at art like a Sowetan looks at art. I call these moments ‘sensitizations.’

The term, ‘sensitizations,’ has theoretical origins in Agha’s (2011b) ‘mediatizations.’ Mediatizations are particular forms of mediations, or “speech and other perceivable signs” that link individuals to each other in communicative acts. According to Agha (2011b, 163), “to speak of mediatization is to speak of institutional practices that reflexively link processes of communication to processes of commoditization.” I propose a particular form of mediatization: sensitizations. A sensitization can be one of two things; (noun) the incorporation of sensoria into various commoditized object formulations, or (verb) the act of sensitizing someone – a performative act which attempts to make an individual focus their senses on certain object formulations as opposed to others. Arguably any commodity, any form of communication, or any mediatized object is experienced through the senses in some way (Ewen 1988); someone touches the pages of a book to check for any tears before purchasing it, for example, while another individual listens to a ten-second sample of a song on iTunes before purchasing the album, or a child samples many ice cream flavors before deciding which one to purchase, etc. *Sensitizations*¹ are different from regular commodities in that the object coming into a commodity formulation is a sensorial experience, such as watching a dance performance, listening to a choir, tasting ‘traditional food,’ or being discursively placed in a scenario where you are encouraged to feel what others have felt – it is an experience that is being sold, not an object. The commodity is unique in that it is non-durable; it cannot easily be consumed or used in the way that durable commodities are

used. And it is also not simply a commodity, as nothing is, but rather a unique pairing of discourse, gesture, and performance. I call these processes sensitizations (sense + mediatizations) rather than a sensification (sense + commodification) because I hope to be clear that *sensualized experiences themselves do not (and arguably cannot) come into a commodity formulation on their own, rather, the mediation of a sensualized experience through discursive and gestural metasigns transforms a performance into a commoditized experience*. Sensitizations are not unique to Sowetan tourism, nor to tourism itself, but are rather found throughout many sectors of experience economies. There can be sensitizations of beer in craft beer tasting, of paintings in art lessons, of roller coasters in an amusement park, or of cars in test drives. Tunagur (2016), for example, explains how individuals have unique ways of speaking about sensorial experiences of driving sports cars; the way that sports car fanatics feel the shift in gears is different than the way that the ‘average Joe’ might experience such shifts. Sensitizations are common in many types of interactions as experiences increasingly become commoditized across the world.

The theory of sensitization is related to Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett’s theory that techniques of display in tourism can help to bring about an experience, a term which she claims “indexes an engagement of the senses, emotions and imagination” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, 38). It focuses in on the relations between senses and emotions in creating a commoditized experience, whether on tour or in other contexts. The theory of sensitizations extends to places like restaurants which offer ‘dining in the dark’ experiences, or companies like Soul Cycle – a stationary bike cycling class that take you

through a stationary idyllic cycling tour. According to one ‘digital nomad’ or blogging tourist, “the main idea for [dining in the dark] is to enhance the other senses as well as increase the gastronomic pleasure by removing the element of vision” (Adalid 2017). Some of these restaurants are also established, “to convey the experience of blindness to the customers” (Adalid 2017). The senses are commoditized to create an emotionally-evocative experience as you begin to develop a much deeper appreciation for your senses. Similarly, Soul Cycle is a stationary-bike cycling class found across the USA and Canada which offers, “so much more than just a workout – it’s a powerful mind-body experience. We ride together as a pack in candlelit studios to the rhythm of one-of-a-kind playlists.” The senses are used here – olfaction to take in the candle’s scents or auditory perception to listen to music – to offer a spiritual experience for clients. Both dining in the dark and Soul Cycle rely on the discursive structuring of the experience by a trained individual in order to successfully sell it. The theory of sensitizations is a useful addition not only to tourism studies but to the study of how an experience is created, marketed, and sold to customers inside and beyond the world of tourism.

Sensorial experiences which are formulated as commodities are not able to be brought home and re-experience through the same sensorial, emotional, and affective dispositions that were felt during the sensitization. Tokens of the sensorial encounter may be captured in photographs, videos, or recordings, but because the photographs, videos, and recordings are taken by tourists who are only focused on documenting the performative event, they often do not capture the surrounding discourse and gestures which assist in eliciting these ‘feelings.’ When attempting to describe their experiences in Soweto

online, many tourists struggle to recreate these sensitizations through words, and so resort to visual, audio, or audio-visual representations. For example, one blogger named Nadeen (2016) starts her blog post about Soweto by saying that, “the feeling you get walking through the streets of Soweto South Africa is really indescribable. Therefore, I have decided to take you on a visual tour of what I experienced.” Her ‘visual tour’ of Soweto includes images and short descriptions of these images. The only way to feel what you felt during your first tour to Soweto, it seems, is to return and see it all again. This is one of many strategic marketing tools that Sowetan tour guides employ in their work.

Sensitizations are an important part of the experience that tour guides offer their tourists; they are small-scale encounters with objects and people which are strung together to create a story. The story of Soweto is then re-affirmed through urban branding strategies and distributed to tourism markets across the world. It is a storybook – a narrative with a beginning, a climax, and an ending; it is easily packaged, marketed and sold across the world, and this is done through the senses and emotions.

CHAPTER 4 – CREATING AND DISSEMINATING SOWETO’S STORYBOOK

Bremner (2004b) pointed out, over a decade ago, that Soweto has been prioritized as a prototype for one of two tourism site types in Gauteng; the township (in contrast to the shopping site). The belief behind the government’s decision to focus on townships and shopping malls as tourism sites, was that (1) tourists would find value in both townships and shopping malls and (2) that they both need and can bring about economic growth by leveraging their assets. In line with my arguments in this dissertation, Bremner (2004b, 524) says that Soweto has been reconceptualized, “as an image of apartheid’s legacies of racial segregation and poverty, a site of ethnic and cultural identity, and the locus of idealized or aestheticized political struggle.” In other words, Soweto was selected as the major township tourism site in Gauteng because of its dense political history. In the following sections I will show how, as time moved on, many tourists became critical of the utopic ‘rainbow nation’ – a vision of democratic South Africa without racial divides which the government was trying to sell to tourists. The township is a black space, and so while the transformation story was appealing to neoliberal tourists, it was not believable. Some other form of transformation had to occur, and thus emerged Soweto’s story.

THE STORYBOOK OF SOWETO

In the survey inquiring into tourist motivations for visiting Soweto, mentioned in Chapter 3, the second most frequently cited reason for visiting Soweto was that, “I wanted to get more insight as to why Soweto is famous” (Mengich 2011, 41). In the previous chapter, I provided an analysis of Sowetan emblems and the uptake of these emblems in popular South African discourse and media. I explained Soweto’s historicization as

‘impoverished’ because of the economic displacement of its black citizens during apartheid, and the focus on contemporary cultural flourishes as a contrast to its turbulent past. Later, in Chapter 5, I will speak about the stereotypes of Sowetan personhood. What is clear from the mediatized displays of ‘Sowetan-ness’ in South African popular culture is that Soweto is famous for two things; its historical position as a home for anti-apartheid activists, and its contemporary style. The relationship between these two positions was strategically created during the period discussed above, when Soweto needed to be rebranded for tourism due to governmental mandates to transform Soweto into a tourism location. What emerged from this re-branding of Soweto was a new type of experience that could be commoditized, namely an experience based on sensorial and emotional engagements with objects classified as Sowetan (Chapter 5).

The two forms of Sowetan fame were capitalized upon in June 2018 when the Soweto International Jazz Festival took over the Soweto Theatre and spaces surrounding it. This festival was organized by Nolan Baynes, an American music marketer who has had industry success for generations. When asked during an interview why he chose to hold an international jazz festival in Soweto, of all places available in the world or on this continent, Baynes responded, “why not Soweto? I mean Soweto’s beautiful. We felt like we wanted a place that had history, that had a creative legacy, had the types of artists and music that I think is capable of changing the world...it’s a storybook place to hold a festival” (SABC Digital News 2018).

A “storybook place,” indeed. The story, the narrative of Soweto is one that has been strategically sold to South Africans, to Sowetans and to international visitors. The story of Soweto is one not unlike other urban impoverished areas. The Soweto International Jazz Festival, after all, was modelled after the New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival (SABC Digital News 2018). Kevin Fox Gotham (2007) has written about the branding and re-branding of New Orleans in the 1990s and post-Hurricane Katrina (respectively), and the difficulties of branding an urban place. Hurricane Katrina, “exposed to a global audience New Orleans’s chronic poverty, strained race relations, and intense inequalities,” which led local elites to, “counter negative images of destruction and advertise New Orleans as a come-back city that is regaining its vibrancy, style, and confidence” (Gotham 2007, 825).

A strikingly similar process occurred in New Orleans post-Hurricane Katrina as it did in Soweto post-apartheid, namely the ‘re-branding’ (in Gotham’s terms) of an urban space widely entextualized as impoverished into a place of culture and style. The New Orleans Jazz and Heritage Festival is one of the annual gatherings which brings economic growth to a place known for its poverty and devastation because of Hurricane Katrina, so festival-goers not only enjoy the music, fashion, and food of New Orleans but can also feel good about contributing to the local economy (Regis 1999). For Baynes, Soweto is a ‘storybook place’ for a similar process to happen. Soweto has a similar narrative of transformation; from a place devastated, economically and morally, by apartheid into a place beaming with sensorial artifacts. Baynes, like many TGCs, sees the potential in

Sowetan history and Sowetan sensorial artifacts for commoditization within an experience economy.

Why does Baynes claim that Soweto is a ‘storybook place’? A storybook has a beginning and an end. A story, because it is bound, is trapped in time. The story of Soweto has remained the same over the past decade, and will continue to remain the same, I suspect, because it sells. So while Soweto and Sowetans move on with their lives, develop their township, and make it the visible “wallet of Joburg,” the story that is told about it remains the same. Its characters (both its protagonists and antagonists), its plot (of transformation), and its scenery remain constant in this storybook, but in real life they evolve. The antagonist can no longer be the apartheid government for real change to occur, it must now be the forces which hold it back from progress. Its plot can no longer be of transformation if they need more transformation to occur in order to live ordinary and comfortable lives. Its scenery can no longer display the past (apartheid) and the remains of the past (poverty) if it is to become an economic hub.

Who authored this story and why were they selected to author it? How did it become so widespread and recognizable? This chapter examines these questions to explain how Soweto’s storybook was created and disseminated over time.

THE CREATION OF A TRANSFORMATION STORY

Many scholars and tour operators alike proudly point out that there are 11 national languages in South Africa (Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sesotho sa Lebowa, Sesotho,

siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Xivenda, isiXhosa, and isiZulu), and that each of them is spoken in Soweto. Celebrating the multilingualism of Soweto in this way is celebrating the utopic ‘rainbow nation’ that the South African government has preached since its democratic inception in 1994. The ‘rainbow nation’ notion which became popular after Anglican priest and anti-apartheid activist, Desmond Tutu said that, “they tried to make us one color: purple. We say we are the rainbow people! We are the new people of the new South Africa!” (Buqa 2015, 1). In reading this quotation, we might ask ourselves; What do the words ‘purple’ and ‘rainbow’ signify? Tshawane (2009) has found that this quote emerged out of a long history of Tutu’s engagement with triadic theological doctrines which sought to unite separate entities together through religion.

While this quotation is necessarily vague, Nelson Mandela, the infamous anti-apartheid activist and symbol of the new South Africa through his being the first democratic South African president, was responsible for interpreting this in a racial light and distributing the concept across the country and world. At his inaugural speech as the first president of the democratic South Africa in Tshwane,²⁵ Nelson Mandela said:

We have triumphed in the effort to implant hope in the breasts of the millions of our people. We enter into a covenant that we shall build the society in which all South Africans, both black and white, will be able to walk tall, without any fear in their hearts, assured of their inalienable right to human dignity - a rainbow nation at peace with itself and the world. (“Inaugural Speech, Pretoria [Mandela]-5/10/94” 1994)

²⁵ Tshwane is the official title of the executive capital of South Africa, though many still refer to it as Pretoria. Even the N1 highway, the major highway connection Johannesburg to Tshwane, gives directions to ‘Pretoria’ rather than ‘Tshwane.’

Here we find the stoic words of a man imprisoned for his belief in a possible ‘non-racial’ society, but we also find some contradictions. While Mandela hopes to “build a society in which *all South Africans*” exist, he only mentions two possible types of racialized South Africans; “both black and white.”

How are we to make sense of a racialized ‘rainbow nation’ with only two races? Many scholars have argued that we cannot. “Rainbows are temporary illusions,” Palmer says, just as the political phrase ‘rainbow nation’ presented a temporary illusion that racial integration and belonging would take place in the new South Africa (Palmer 2016, 1). The myth of the rainbow nation is also based on a metaphor of an image which doesn’t exist in reality, it is a ‘visual illusion’ which appears and disappears ‘mysteriously’ (Gqola 2001, 99). According to Gqola,

Rainbows appear ‘mysteriously’, they are not dependent on human labour. They are transitory, fleeting and perpetually out of reach. Echoing Erasmus’s (1996) declaration that ‘we are never only South Africans’, Archbishop Tutu’s analogy suggests that we are not always part of the rainbow...instead [this metaphor] is evoked at specific points where a certain kind of non-racialism...needs to be stressed. We are not always rainbow people, only some of the time when the need arises. (Gqola 2001, 99)

The rainbow which appears ‘mysteriously’ without any ‘human labor,’ when a display of national unity predicated on non-racialism is needed, leads some scholars to claim that, “the dominant belief was that, through a commitment to the ideals of national reconciliation and the Rainbow Nation, all of society’s historical problems would be overcome” (Buqa 2015, 1). Unfortunately, this has not been the case thus far. Merely subscribing to an idea does not institute demographic changes and for a great majority of

the country lives continue to be lived in isolation from other racial groups, other language groups, and other socio-economic groups.

Within Soweto this is certainly the case. The majority of the population is black, however there are two main areas which are predominantly housed by coloured²⁶ people; Eldorado Park and Noordegesig. During a question and answer session in the middle of their bicycle tour of Soweto, one tourist asked how a ‘rainbow nation’ could exist when they have only seen black people in the whole of Soweto that they’d toured. The tour guide responded with two answers. (1) Verifying the tourist’s concern, he said that the ‘rainbow nation’ is indeed a myth in terms of racial integration within South Africa. Gqola (2001, 99) similarly claims that the ‘rainbow nation’ metaphor, “foregrounds racial variety even as it does not constructively deal with the meanings thereof. Race is highlighted for its own sake and the overlay remains unexplored. This has the problematic effect of fixing identities.” Indeed, due to the apartheid white minority trying to rule a black majority, many scholars claim that the creation of Bantustans, or rural ‘homelands’ where black people were grouped based off of a colonial linguistic classification of the Bantu languages, was a divide-and-rule tactic (Comaroff and Comaroff 1991). While the Black Consciousness Movement recognized this division that was taking place and tried to unify Bantu-speaking peoples through the label ‘black,’ even this has been co-opted in

²⁶ I use the term ‘coloured’ sparingly, and in this case merely as this is the way that many in Soweto understand place, race, and language divisions. This is a term that the apartheid regime employed to label individuals born from interracial relations, which were made illegal through the Prohibition of Mixed Marriage Act of 1949 (socially) and the Immorality Amendment Act of 1950 (sexually). This term is contested amongst people who would have been labelled as ‘coloured’ during apartheid, and some scholars (Baderoon 2018) suggest a dismissal of this term.

the democratic ‘rainbow nation’ as a form of division based on race. But the spatial, social, and experiential differences which occur in this country, according to the tour guide, exist not due to separation by race, but rather due to the ‘economic apartheid’ which structures who has access to which resources. (2) On the other hand, the tour guide said, Soweto can be seen as part of the ‘rainbow nation’ because of the linguistic diversity. He explained how people may speak one language at home, one language at school, another with their friends, and different forms of these languages for church, the greeting of elders, or other more formal events. There are many kinds of blackness inside Soweto – many ethnicities, histories, languages, and cultures of being ‘black.’

This reformulation of the ‘rainbow nation’ directly relates to the concept of ‘ubuntu.’ ‘Ubuntu’ is a Nguni word meaning ‘humanity,’ which is often summarized through the quotation of the isiZulu phrase; *umuntu ungumuntu ngabantu* ‘a person is a person through other people.’ In other words, humans need other humans to exist (i.e. ‘no man is an island unto himself’) and the people that surround you are reflections of yourself. It reflects a sense of community and the need to be kind to one another to co-exist. In tourism, Graburn (1989, 28) states that, “for traditional societies the rewards of pilgrimages were accumulated grace and moral leadership in the home community. The rewards of modern tourism are phrased in terms of values we now hold up for worship: mental and physical health, social status, and diverse, exotic experiences.” For many individuals in this neoliberal age, mental health is defined by a re-understanding of oneself in relation to others, of the similarity of humans despite cultural differences, and of the ‘ubuntu’ philosophy itself.

The 'rainbow nation' and 'ubuntu' concepts have been so successfully distributed across the world because they appeal to very human-centric experiences that span cultural and linguistic differences; they are concepts which unite in spite of differences. Recognizing both the attractiveness of these concepts to tourists and their failure to be demonstrated in a place like Soweto, tour guides have created a story for Soweto which draws from their human-centric themes and from a number of other stories which are recognized across the world. There are many different types of stories which are similar in form to Soweto's story (detailed in the chapter above). The 'Cinderella story' and 'rags to riches' are two tale types which at their crux discuss a transformation from poverty to wealth. These tale types are found across the world and they present themselves in a variety of forms.

In the Cinderella story tale type (AT), there are six basic plot points: (1) "the persecuted heroine" is presented to the audience, (2) she is barely able to survive until she has some magical help, (3) she meets a prince who she charms and to whom she hints of her struggles at home, (4) her identity is revealed to the prince after their initial meeting, (5) she marries the prince, and finally (6) an experience of hardship from the beginning of the story is returned to those who made her life difficult (Aarne 1961, 175). The heroine here clearly transforms her life from one of hardship and struggle to that of luxury and wealth, through the meeting of a prince. Another tale type which similarly details this transformation from poverty to wealth is the 'rags to riches' story. This story contains four basic plot points: (1) a city or urban area is entextualized as a place of wealth, (2) a family in a rural area sacrifices something significant to get the hero to the city for a

chance of wealth, (3) all of his money disappears because he trusts someone he is not supposed to, (4) “desperation but breeds determination” as he finds his way, through hard work and sacrifice, to success and is able to make enough money to support his community in the rural area and still live a nice life with his newly created family in the city (Walker 1986).

A major difference between the Cinderella and the rags to riches stories is the agency of the main character. In the Cinderella story, the heroine is helped by magic and by the prince. She does nothing in her own right to transform her life from poverty to wealth. In the rags to riches story, however, the hero is the sole bearer of his success; his hard work and determination are what lead to wealth. In Soweto’s story, poverty emerges from apartheid and this provides an unfair situation into which Soweto is placed at the turn of democracy. The rags to riches tale type could be acknowledged as a success story, another discursive narrative genre. According to Kilger (2017, 49), “the story of success is not only about extraordinary talent; it is also about handling adversity.” Andrews and Jackson (2001, 8) argue that this aspect of overcoming a challenge through hard work is symbolic of neoliberal ideologies, and so it makes sense that, like ‘ubuntu’ and ‘rainbow nation,’ these types of tales move tourists deeply.

TOURISTIC NARRATIVES: THE DISTRIBUTION OF SOWETO’S STORY

Company		Soweto as impoverished	Soweto is impoverished because of its history	Soweto has transformed into a place of cultural surplus
Lebo’s Soweto Backpackers		“Soweto – acronym for South Western Township, (located	Besides accommodating the	Today Soweto is the beacon for the

(Lebo's Soweto Backpackers n.d.)		South West of Johannesburg) emerged just after 1900 as a racially segregated area re-locating an emerging black labor forces for white companies, especially the gold-mining industries. Johannesburg or 'Egoli' – 'The City of Gold,' attracted South African's from all corners of the country, the vast majority of Black African people settled in Soweto...	working class, Soweto was also home to anti-Apartheid political activists such as Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela and PAC-leader Zeph Motopeng. Thus, Soweto became a home to political philosophers and has produced some of South Africa's greatest leaders...	new South Africa and a symbol of resistance to overcome repression and exploitation. Many visitors of Soweto are taken away by the vibe and the friendliness that you experience in the township."
MoAfrika Tours (MoAfrika Tours n.d.)		"Soweto is an urban settlement and in 2008 it was home to around 1.3 million people. Today's statistics say that the figure now stands at roughly 3.5 million...	Today Soweto still bears the marks left by the Apartheid regime but it certainly does not hide away from the fact that this is part of its history...	Guests to Soweto are greeted by the vibrancy and the enthusiasm of a community wanting to show people what life in the township is actually like. It is not just the Soweto tourist attractions that have people wanting to visit the township, but the atmosphere of the township also plays a big role."
Rhino Africa Tours (Rhino Africa Tours n.d.)		"This tour takes you into the most famous sprawling township in Africa, home of about four million people...	It developed as a township for black people under Apartheid and was the site from where most of the struggle against Apartheid was fought...	Soweto has changed astronomically since its creation and the Struggle years. It is now a sprawling metropolis with several upmarket houses situated among the stretches of shacks. It's a place of contrast and intrigue so rich in culture and history that you could spend all week exploring and learning more about it."
South Africa.net (South Africa.net n.d.)			"The township of Soweto to the south-west of Johannesburg has transformed from a	to a vibrant, energetic hub which will ignite your senses and immerse

		legacy of the apartheid era...	you in true South African culture.”
Soweto Outdoor Adventures (“Soweto Outdoor Adventures” 2018)	“Once a dirty mining township...	it emerged as the heart of political resistance in South Africa and gave birth to the freedom Charter...	But this rich history is just a part of what is today a vibrant city that never sleeps. Having undergone massive development over the past decades, Soweto now boasts eateries, nightclubs and a four star hotel alongside its traditional venues. It is the heart and soul of Johannesburg – a multicultural metropolis where all 11 official languages are spoken.”
Township Travel (Khumalo n.d.)		“Soweto has a rich history...	Our Soweto tours are not just ordinary tours – our visitors get to interact with the people of the township, hear their untold stories, experience their music, share their traditional food and enjoy our customs.”
Ubuntu Soweto Tours (Ubuntu Soweto Tours n.d.)	“The South Western Township or in short Soweto began as a shanty town in 1930 allocated for people of color. Today Soweto is home to more than 1.3 million people making it the largest township in South Africa...	Home to prominent political figures such as Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Walter and Albertina Sisulu, to just name a few, Soweto has the only street in the world to house two Nobel prize winners namely Nelson Mandela and Desmond Tutu...	Come join us as we take you on a tour around Soweto where you will experience first-hand the emotional history and wonderful culture the largest township in South Africa has to offer.”

Figure 12: Pre-Tour narratives of Soweto on various tour guide company websites.

As introduced in Chapter 3, the story that tour companies sell is experienced through many smaller interactions called sensitizations. A narrative is necessary to weave these

otherwise disjunctured sensitizations together. Bruner (2005, 21–22) differentiates types of narratives used in tourism; there are ‘metanarratives’ and ‘tourist tales,’ he claims.

‘Metanarratives’ are, “the largest conceptual frame within which tourism operates,” and they are the structures within which the tourist, labelling oneself as such, places her- or him-self into a story about their relationship to the TGCs, touristic performers, and other touristic producers (Bruner 2005, 21). ‘Tourist tales,’ on the other hand, are the narratives that TGCs produce and which their customers interpret through their own experiences; “tourists begin each trip with some preconceptions about the destination – a pretour narrative. The tourists then reshape and personalize the pretour narrative in terms of their lived experience on tour. Upon returning home, tourists further alter their stories about the journey into what is usually a more coherent narrative” (Bruner 2005, 22).

Bruner thus divides ‘tourist tales’ into three categories; those narratives disseminated by TGCs before the tour, those narratives explained by guides and operators on the tour, and those narratives dictated by tourists after the tour. The pretour narrative is created by various kinds of websites, including TGC websites, Wikipedia, governmental history and information pages, blogs, and social media platforms. The tourist tales recounted on the tour are, in Bruner’s opinion, reinforcements of the pretour narrative. For example, in Kenya there is a pretour story of the ‘dancing native.’ TGCs use this narrative circulating the internet and elaborate upon it in their tours; they “feature the body in movement, with its aesthetic, erotic, and exotic overtones, which is part of the tourist [metanarrative]. The work of the tour,” he claims, “is to transform a preexisting tourist tale from an abstract text into an embodied narrative, a somatic experience” (Bruner 2005, 24). This also

happens in Soweto. Looking at Figure 12 we see the narrative of transformation from poverty, caused by the oppression of apartheid governance, into contemporary cultural flourishing that is created by tour guide companies and governmental sites.

This narrative is reinforced in tourism through sensorial engagements with Sowetan artifacts (i.e. sensitizations). In Bruner's case studies presented in his book, he points out many sensitizations, but does not elaborate upon their significance in creating or reinforcing the tourist tale. Not only is the pretour narration brought to life through the strategic work of TGs, but visitors also have their own ambitions for tours and interpret both the narrative presented before arriving and on the tour through their own experiences. Bruner (2005, 23) claims that when individuals are on tour, their goal is to, "hunt for experiences that will make prime stories in which the tourist is a main character, so as to dramatize and personalize the tour and to claim the journey as their own." The 'hunt' is not only for experiences, but experiences that can be captured for an audience at 'home.' "The vision of the posttour telling," or the narrative told by the tourists upon return 'home,' "is present in the tourist's mind during the tour, and it structures the actual tour as lived" (Bruner 2005, 24).

While Bruner analyzes the narrative changes that individuals make in their posttour telling, as a way to focus on the agency of tourists, I am quite interested in the thematic recurrences which circulate through online posttour tellings. While of course each individual writes, remembers, and tells their journey to and in Soweto through their unique voice, the thematic similarities are striking in blogs, social media posts, and

reviews. The most frequent and striking narrative of Soweto is the same story presented by TGs, namely, the transformation from a history of colonial/apartheid oppression to both poverty and a wealth of cultural expression. This begs the question; why is this narrative so prevalent in Sowetan tourism?

According to POPA (2017, 154) there is a marketing strategy in which producers create a, “link between the product and the story in order to make the consumer get attached to the product.” These narratives must assist in, “local branding and the construction of firmly contoured identities for *communities* and *places* [which] are parts of....[strategies] to promote an area and to transform it in a popular tourist sight” (POPA 2017, 154). In this sense, while a tour package is being marketed and sold to tourists, the object of that package – the object which is being commoditized – is not necessarily a tour experience, but a place; Soweto is being sold. It is impossible to experience a place, as such, however – a city is experienced by meeting people and visiting sites. Thus the selling of Soweto is masked in narratives and in sensitizations – the city is experienced through narrativizations and sensitizations of people and places. As mentioned above, Bruner (2005, 24) theorizes that the role of tours is to transform an ‘abstract text’ into an ‘embodied narrative, a somatic experience.’ First, the ‘abstract text’ (or the narrative of transformation) must be connected to Soweto, to the place which is being sold. Second, this narrative must come to life, so to speak, on the tour. Tourists must see, touch, hear, and otherwise sense the ways that Soweto is transforming or transformed.

In Soweto, TGs frequently sensitize artifacts that can be used to support their narrative of this township. For example, when passing White City, tour guides point out how the round red roofs, which distinguish places like White City or Ezimhlophe, are the original apartheid housing structures in each of the yards, but that since that time, people have expanded their yards and houses to create more space for themselves and their families. This helps tour guides to tell the story of Sowetan transformation – as previously impoverished but today predominantly middle class with a growing cultural prowess. The strategic use of sensitizations helps tourists to ‘feel’ rather than ‘know’ Soweto. But the verb ‘feel,’ as Leavitt (1996, 516–17) has pointed out, indexes both, ‘bodily sensations’ which result from sensory systems in the body and brain (i.e. ‘that feels warm,’ ‘that feels painful’) and ‘emotions’ (i.e. ‘I feel happy,’ ‘I feel excited’). The result of frequent encounters with sensitizations, and thus with a continual engagement with one’s bodily sensations and emotions, is a feeling. A feeling of a place; the feeling of Soweto.

Many tour guides logically situate Soweto as an emblem of other urban impoverished areas. Within tourism to urban impoverished areas, however, a key component of selling it is unique urban branding strategies. Sowetan TGs discursively create the ‘feeling of a place’ in their tours so that Soweto is not simply impoverished, and not simply a site of historical importance, Soweto is also a site which has transformed from these hardships to a place of cultural wealth; it feels successful.

Fainstein and Judd (1999, 4) claim that, “cities are sold just like any other consumer product.” Unlike other objects which come into commodity formulations, however, a

“place is spatially fixed, non-transportable, and consumed by people at the point of production” (Gotham 2007, 827). Branding and marketing of the city are thus central to its successful commoditization. Urban branding is, “the means both for achieving competitive advantage in order to increase inward investment and tourism, and also for achieving community development, reinforcing local identity and identification of the citizens with their city and activating all social forces to avoid social exclusion and unrest” (Kavaratzis 2004, 70). It has become a key objective of city planning committees across the world. Cities, unlike other tourist locations but like other commodities, have a problem with standardization (Judd and Fainstein 1999, 12–16); cities seem alike to each other because of their structural organization (based on functional needs of their citizens) and their participation in globalized consumer markets (i.e. their ‘McDonaldization’). Due to this situation, a key component of urban branding is, “differentiation and diversification whereby local tourism organizations, arts and cultural facilities, museums, and historic preservation groups harness and construct place images and help produce tourist sites to attract consumers and investment to a particular locale” (Gotham 2007, 827). The diversity of cities emerges from its citizens; the most successful branding campaigns highlight and exaggerate these aspects of a city rather than creating new characteristics that it will be known for.

People who live in cities come from a wide array of ethnic (Rath 2007), socio-economic (Pickett, Cadenasso, and Grove 2004; Tammaru et al. 2015), religious (Çaglar 2007; Christiano 1987), and other social groupings (Zukin, Kasinitz, and Chen 2015). While ethnic, religious, and other social groupings are used as sources of differentiation for

cities, the socio-economic diversity is often not proudly displayed. Examining cities in south and Southeast Asia, Dovey and King (2012) explain that urban impoverished areas, often characterized by terms such as, ‘ghetto,’ ‘slum,’ ‘favela,’ ‘hood,’ ‘township,’ ‘barrio,’ or ‘informal settlement,’ are simultaneously glorified as tourist locations for foreigners and hidden from public view. This ambiguous relationship of urban impoverished areas to the rest of the city often results in either an exclusion of these areas from the city or separate branding strategies (Hernandez-Garcia and Lopez-Mozo 2011). The city, as a whole, is branded and marketed in one way, while the urban impoverished area is conceived of as a separate entity.

In the late 20th century New York City, for example, while the city as a whole underwent the, “I love NY,” campaign, one of the most successful urban branding processes in the world, Harlem saw its own success under separate marketing. “Although they came to see New York City, which was enjoying a tourism boom, many had Harlem on their itinerary” (Hoffman 2003, 94).

People wanted to come to Harlem, not because of the ‘I love NY’ campaign but rather because it, “represented Black America and its music and entertainment traditions. Their interest was fueled by trends in the music and pop culture industries...[and] US movies and TV also disseminated an image of the inner city as a source of cultural innovation - from clothes to music to graffiti” (Hoffman 2003, 94). Proving the norm through an exception, the city of Medellin, Colombia has unexpectedly found a brand for itself in their ‘social urbanism’ project which aimed to improve the quality of life for those living

in the barrios. “The barrios of Medellin are commonly visited not only by Colombians but also by international visitors (especially from Latin America) who want to see firsthand the projects and how the settlements and the city have changed” (Hernandez-Garcia 2013, 44). Most cities, however, attempt to hide their slums from public display and the type of tourist who they market these hidden impoverished areas to are very different than the type of tourist who engages in urban tourism (Bowater 2016; Daily Mail Reporter 2012; Dovey and King 2012).

While some cities and urban spaces were designed, through strategic city planning, to be seen by certain socio-economic groups who reside, or would soon begin to reside, in this city, other urban areas were created with a much different intention. Paris was redesigned by Haussmann, who structured his city plans along long Boulevards, allowing individuals to walk in a line and see directly in front and directly behind them without obstacles blocking their views (Berman 1983). Recall here the history of the ‘ghetto’ in Italy and America. Not unlike the ‘ghetto,’ Soweto was designed to be hidden from the view of white colonial-settlers residing in Johannesburg. It was strategically designed to be difficult to navigate by car, as Steingo (2016, 98) explains, “for the security of the [apartheid] regime, roads were constructed to make internal circulation difficult: all major roads lead directly to centers of employment or retail, while within the townships roads circle around, stop in dead ends, and make travel generally quite frustrating.”

Because of the indirectness of roads in Soweto, it is impossible to get from Johannesburg to Vilakazi street without passing an informal settlement and addressing the politics of a

tour in what appears to be, and is entextualized as, an impoverished area. Soweto, like many other urban impoverished areas across the world, is simultaneously hidden from tourists and highlighted as one of the best tourist destinations in Gauteng and South Africa as a whole. Experiencing Soweto's story of transformation through the senses, as will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5, can have a personal effect on its visitors. Tourists develop an emotional relation to Soweto. They can leave feeling transformed, feeling that they have intimately come to know a place that they had never heard of before this trip, and that this experience in itself can have some effect on their personal lives. Mrs. Hembree (2015), for example, concludes her blog by writing about her fear of travelling to Soweto because of Wikipedia descriptions of the place as poor and violent. She writes that, "I hopped into the tour van with preconceived notions, and returned hours later with a new sense of life in Soweto" (Hembree 2015). A month later, Mrs. Hembree (2015) responded to a comment on her blog by stating that, "we learn so much about how we are alike when we travel."

Stating that tourists' relation to Soweto is an emotional one is not to diminish the experience of tourists – I too have encountered these stories told on tour about Soweto and have been moved by them – it is rather to say that often their only access to Soweto and its history is mediated through tourism; through tour guides, touristic websites or other touristic narratives.

Bruner (2005, 24) says that posttour tourist tales, "will be delivered in a living room full of family and friends once the traveler returns home." While, for Bruner, the posttour

storytelling was a social event structured around a physical space (i.e. a living room), a durable commodity (i.e. a souvenir), and non-mediated interpersonal interactions (i.e. family and friends sitting in this living room), the context and audience of the posttour telling for Sowetan visitors, and likely for many tourists across the world today, is quite different. The social event which structures the posttour telling for most Sowetan tourists is a digital space (i.e. Facebook, Instagram, snapchat, blogs), digital commodities (i.e. photographic, visual, or audio souvenirs), and digitally/institutionally mediated interpersonal interactions (i.e. ‘reactions’ on Facebook, ‘likes’ on Instagram, ‘views’ on snapchat, ‘comments’ and ‘followers’ on blogs).²⁷




There are, of course, durable commodities and souvenirs which tourists bring home as well. For Littrell (1990), souvenirs are both tools with which one can differentiate themselves from others, and with which one can unite with others over a shared experience through the souvenir’s symbolic relationship to that experience. Souvenirs, in Littrell’s opinion, have value through their relationship to an individual’s identity. For Jules-Rosette (1984), souvenirs have a symbolic relationship to newly learned cultural practices, but are valued for their market value in a global economy, and their utilization as a tool to remember the touristic experience. Tourist arts, she says, “constitute a sign of cultural practices [and yet] are valued not for customary or ritual purposes but, instead, because of their importance as markers and mementos of the tourist's journey” (Jules-

²⁷ What I mean by ‘digitally/institutionally mediated interpersonal interactions’ is that companies such as Facebook structure the social interactions of individuals on each of their sites, so that individuals have a small range of possible ways to interact with and position themselves to a posting on their website through buttons.

Rosette 1984, 3). Graburn (in V. L. Smith 1989, 33) similarly finds value in the souvenir through its power to remind an individual of their experience; “souvenirs are tangible evidences of travel that are often shared with family and friends, but what one really brings back are memories of experiences.”

Whether durable or digital, souvenirs assist tourists in remembering and in retelling the transformative narrative of Soweto. The cycle of this narrative begins before the tour on TGC websites, governmental websites, and information sources like Wikipedia; it is enacted on the tour through sensitizations, through the experiencing of the Soweto narrative with sensorial, emotional, and affective relations to it; and the narrative continues as it is uptaken by tourists in their posttour storytelling to family and friends. Tourism creates the framework in which narratives are expected to be told.

Not only is Soweto’s story distributed through tourism, but it is also told as a story of the nation in governmental discourse, often targeted at non-African countries. Because of the success of Sowetan tourism amongst overseas markets, the South African government has appropriated Soweto’s local story to be the story of the country. We saw this last year when the South African Department of International Relations and Cooperation released a video of President Cyril Ramaphosa welcoming Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) members to South Africa for a summit held in Johannesburg during July 2018. The following is a chart which maps the text that is spoken by the president onto the accompanying images:

Text Spoken by President Ramaphosa	Accompanying Images
They will return to the cradle of humanity,	 <p>Wildebeest running in the bush</p>
Africa...	 <p>Maropeng Cradle of Humankind visitor and fossil site</p>
They will discover a nation that, after centuries of conflict and division,	 <p>Racialized police brutality during apartheid</p>

Has learnt the value of partnership and collaboration.



...has learnt the value of partnership and collaboration.

Nelson Mandela with his fist raised in the air

They will also discover a people who share with them an abiding desire for dignity, respect and peace.



They will also discover a people who share with them an abiding desire for dignity, respect and peace.

A tourist and three black people dancing at Lesedi Cultural village



They will also discover a people who share with them an abiding desire for dignity, respect and peace.

Coloured men in shiny suits and painted faces performing at Kaapse Kloopse in Cape Town, with a South African flag flying in the background

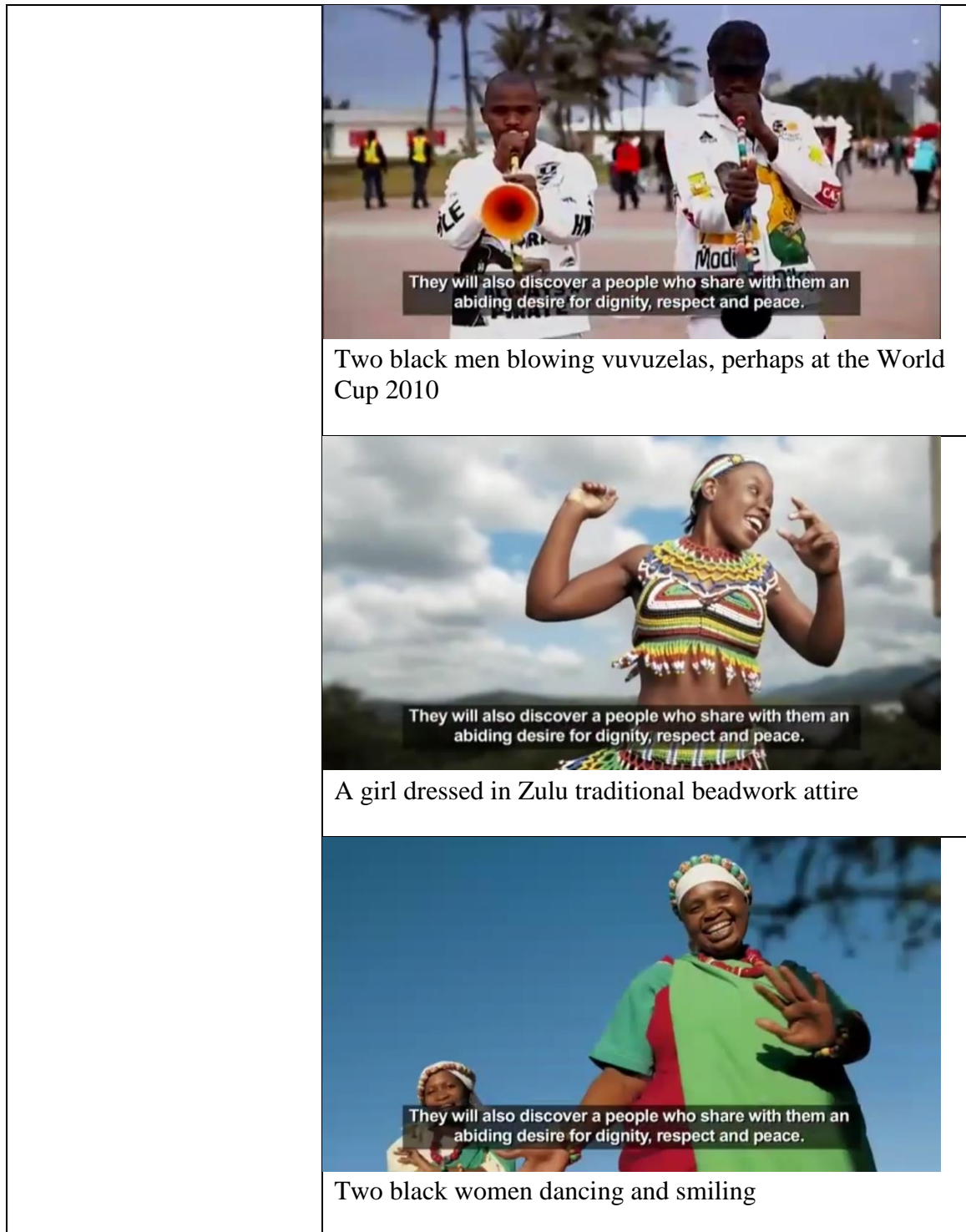


Figure 13: Welcome Video for 2018 BRICS Summit in Johannesburg

Here we see the appropriation of the Sowetan story by the government. To sell South Africa is to sell the Sowetan transformation story. While Soweto might not seem to represent the whole of South Africa, let us examine more closely the story that is told

about this country by President Ramaphosa above. The story that President Ramaphosa tells is a story of mainly black people fighting against a repressive white regime and earning for themselves a country where they can (ideally) practice their cultures freely, speak their languages freely, and earn money freely. While historians have complicated this simplistic story of South African history being defined by a black versus white story (Baderoon 2014; Erasmus 2001; S. Matthews 2011, 2012; Thörn 2009), it is still the easiest story to sell in tourism and externally-facing national propaganda. In the video above, as was discussed in the depictions of tourism analyzed by Cornelissen (2005) in Chapter 2, the only white people displayed in the images are the white police officer during apartheid and the white tourist, while Black South Africans are the clear protagonists of this story; images show them being abused by white police officers during apartheid, being liberated from apartheid by Nelson Mandela (a black man), and then enjoying their freedom and ‘humanity’ through black displays of ‘culture’ (i.e. traditional dancing, Kaapse Kloopse, vuvuzelas, and traditional attire).

Soweto’s story was created because of a governmental decision to develop it into a tourist location (i.e. ‘the township’ of Gauteng) for its economic transformation. Tourism provides a platform in which stories or narratives are expected to be heard, and Soweto needed a narrative. Knowing that their biggest and wealthiest market was overseas tourists, and knowledgeable about the types of transformation tales that overseas tourists enjoy (i.e. Cinderella, rags-to-riches, and other success stories), TGs turned Soweto’s painful history (i.e. apartheid) and its contemporary legacy (i.e. poverty), “into something that is more easily told and sold” (i.e. culture and style) (Frenzel and Koens 2012, 199).

The national government took note of the success of Soweto's story and have appropriated it for their own use with overseas governments, investors, and audiences.

CHAPTER 5 – SOUNDING LIKE A SOWETAN: THE SENSITIZATION OF LANGUAGE AND MUSIC

SOUNDING LIKE A SOWETAN



Figure 14: Miriam Makeba performing "Qongqothwane" in Zaire 1974

In Zaire 1974, a music festival aimed to bring a spotlight on African musicians was organized by South African trumpeter Hugh Masekela and American music producer Stewart Levine. The celebrated South African vocalist, Miriam Makeba performed at this event. There she began her performance with a speech, inspired by her political views at the time. Makeba was married to American activist Stokely Carmichael, and her clothing, hairstylings, and speech had become more forthrightly anti-colonial, anti-western, and pan-Africanist. She no longer spoke in the high-pitched voice of a young girl that she had used to perform in previously and she had ceased to open her performances with, “in my country...”. Makeba confidently stepped onto the stage and said:

French	English
Souvent je me fâche parce que vraiment c'est pas en bruit, ca c'est ma langue. Par exemple le jeune m'appelle Miriam Makeba ca c'est, c'est pas attendement, no. Mon nom c'est Zenzile kaMakeba	I often get offended, because really this is not noise, this is my language. For example, I am known as Miriam Makeba, [but] that is not really my name. My name is Zenzile kaMakeba kaQhwashu

kaQhwashu nguVama Yikhetile Ngxowa Bantwana Balomzi Xa Ufun'Uk'bajabulisa Ubathengele Ibotela Yotshwala.	nguVama Yikhetile Ngxowa Bantwana Balomzi Xa Ufun'Uk'bajabulisa Ubathengele Ibotela Yotshwala.
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Figure 15: Translation of Miriam Makeba's Introduction to "Qongqothwane" in Zaire 1974. Thank you to Thomas Lesaffre (University of Witwatersrand, Political Economy) for this transcription and translation.

Growing up in apartheid South Africa and being classified under the ethnicity of maXhosa would always shape Makeba as an individual, but Bethlehem (2017) claims that it was in the face of these classificatory systems that certain urban South African jazz practitioners decided to become pan-ethnic and unite despite their differences. Miriam Makeba's performance in Zaire is part of a long history of South African musicians performing overseas and speaking about the importance of language on behalf of their people. Joseph Shabalala, the leader of Ladysmith Black Mambazo, for example, is known for teaching his audiences Zulu words, from simple greetings to full lyrics of their songs. Carol Muller documents one of these moments in a Philadelphia, USA performance.

Shabalala proceeded to teach the audience the words of 'Homeless,' the most South African-sounding track from the Graceland album...this song begins in Zulu, but the English text that comes in later is not merely a translation of what [Ladysmith Black Mambazo] sings in Zulu at the beginning. In a call and response form, Shabalala proceeded to teach the Philadelphia audience the Zulu words. (Muller 2008, 110)

This call-and-response form of teaching linguistic partials of isiZulu is replicated in Sowetan tourism. Not only is this method used for teaching linguistic partials, but it is also employed in musical instruction, when tourists are taught how to sing a 'freedom song' or dance to 'traditional music.' In this chapter I examine these moments of cultural

(i.e. music and language) instruction in tourism as sensitizations, asking what it means to sound “like a Sowetan” in contemporary and tourism discourses.

The Language of Sensitizations

Sensitizations rely on language-use in two ways: (1) language is used as a medium of communication through which sensitizations are encountered (i.e. the building up to and the climbing down from the ‘sacred’ object), and (2) language ‘itself’ can be encountered on a tour as an object of consumption. Because tour guides know that their voices (literally and figuratively) must be taken as authoritative for tourists to believe in the narrative that they present, and thus enjoy the tour, tour guides strategically position themselves as insiders or experts through language-use. They can do this by making slight syntactical, lexical, and phonological adjustments from their normal speech patterns. This is to say that a certain ‘tour guide register’ is created, taught, and maintained in this industry.

An example of this tour guide register can be found at Regina Mundi. Regina Mundi is visited because of its role within the anti-apartheid movement. For one, black individuals were not allowed to gather together in public during apartheid, except for Christian religious purposes, and since Regina Mundi was the largest physical structure in Soweto at the time, people would meet there for political purposes under the guise of religious practice. It is also remembered as an important site in anti-apartheid history because it served as a safeguard during the 1976 student uprising. Many parishioners at Regina Mundi have told me the story of a woman who lived in Rockville and attended Regina Mundi. On June 16, 1976, the little girl was playing outside when she saw a large group

of students running towards her. She ran to tell her mom who instructed her to request that the priest open the church for the students as a space of refuge. Today, there remains evidence of police presence and trauma in the church on display for tourists; bullet holes in the ceiling and old windows, a broken altar table upon which police slammed their guns to get the attention of the children, a marble altar railing which was trampled down by school children fleeing police, and a statue of Jesus whose hands were removed. Amongst these sources of evidence which are pointed out on the tours of Regina Mundi is a painting of the Black Madonna.²⁸ Palesa Marobela, one of the two site guides at Regina Mundi, introduces the painting in the following way:

This is the Black Madonna and child of Soweto. **This painting given** to the church **1974** by Mr. Harry Oppenheimer. And the painting was painted by Professor Lawrence Scully, he was the lecturer at the Stellenbosch University. So Mr. Oppenheimer gave this to the church and the people of Soweto. Then looking on the right hand side there is a small circle there with two hands in it. **That's hands shake that's solidarity**. Then looking at the child is holding the cross, on the other side is the peace sign. Then coming down to the bottom it's an eye. It's a big eye, the Lady Madonna's eye **look** over the township of Soweto...And then these two forks here symbolize the pain people felt. So imagine if someone took the fork and stabbed you, especially in the eye. That's the type of pain you're going to feel and that's how people in Soweto felt during apartheid. (Marobela 2017b)

Here, Palesa demonstrates two aspects of the tour guide register; (1) a recognizable 'African' accent and (2) a recognizable tour guide prose.

²⁸ Madonna here referring to the mother of Jesus Christ.

Some syntactical features which signal to an international audience an African accent are emboldened in this passage. Some verbs are omitted (i.e. “the painting [*was*] given”), as well as nouns (i.e. “that’s hands shake[, *which* symbolizes] solidarity”), and prepositions are lost (i.e. “the painting [*was*] given to the church [*in*] 1974”). Most recognizable to an international tourist, however, are the phonological features which characterize ‘African’ speech. Irvine (2008, 325) makes an important observation about the geographical conceptualization of ‘Africa’ and ‘African-ness’ in the field of linguistics, namely that, “‘African’ turns out to mean ‘sub-Saharan.’” Afroasiatic language families used to be left out of the classification of African languages because it was assumed that Semitic languages originated outside of Africa despite the fact that, “many scholars consider it possible, even likely, that Semitic originated in northeastern Africa before spreading to southwest Asia (Ehret, 2000)” (Irvine 2008, 325). Not unlike these linguists, many tourists conceptualize an ‘African’ accent to be one characterized by sub-Saharan language contact. This is likely due to the prevalence of sub-Saharan ‘African’ accents in Hollywood films and TV series (Machirori 2015; Mama Hope, n.d.; Soek 2018). As one commentator has written, “what we’re hearing isn’t Africa, but Hollywood’s imagination of it” (Soek 2018).

This is further complicated by the fact that while southern and eastern African contact languages with English are primarily Bantu languages, in west Africa contact languages come from both the Bantu and the Niger-Congo families (Bobda 2000, 252). In general,

RP /i:/, ɪ/ → i

RP /u:/, ʊ/ → u

RP /ɔ:/, ɒ/ → ɔ

the vowel system in African English across these regions is

smaller than British or American English (see Figure 16**Error!**

Reference source not found.), and only three diphthongs are common (aɪ, ɔɪ, aʊ) while the rest, “are monophthongised following a wide range of patterns” (Bobda 2000, 254). African English across these regions are non-rhotic,²⁹ and their speakers often make phonological adaptations to adjust to the phonotactic contexts of most African languages (i.e. CV). In addition to these phonological changes and the morpho-syntactic changes introduced above, many forms of African English also include the treatment of non-count nouns as count nouns, pronominal substitution of ‘he’ and ‘she’ (also sometimes ‘his’ and ‘her’), and undeletions,³⁰ amongst other features (Mesthrie 2004). These forms of African English obviously differ greatly according to region, and even within each region there is a diverse array of spoken forms and registers. The differences in tone and stress in African Englishes are most likely due to those stress and tone features in contact languages (Bobda 2000).

Speech patterns of Regina Mundi tour guides are interesting examples to examine because, unlike working for a tour company, Palesa and Bab’Dan (the other site guide at Regina Mundi) work for a church. They were not selected for this position based on their competency in English, and they were also not instructed or trained how to speak with tourists. While I don’t have evidence of companies teaching their tour guides to adjust phonological characteristics of speech, there is such a striking prevalence of such features in the corporate tour guide register of speech that it seems unlikely that these individuals

²⁹ Non-rhotic means that phonological varieties of the letter ‘r’ are not pronounced unless preceded by a vowel.

³⁰ Undeletions are, “retentions in BISAfE [Black South African English] for elements which are typically deleted (or unexpressed) in StE [Standard English]” (Mesthrie 2004, 968).

haven't had some sort of formalized instruction on the matter. Tour guides in this industry tend to speak slowly, they emphasize rhotics (even if they pronounce them in a different way than the audience might pronounce them in certain contexts), when pronouncing a word which either has features that they cannot pronounce (i.e. diphthongs, rhotics, etc) or which is borrowed from another language, they often produce the following structure: *word – synonym/definition – word*. For example, in describing *pap*, 'a staple in South Africa made from maize meal,' many tour guides compare it to grits. Due to the placement of the rhotic 'r' after a consonant, some tour guides are aware that tourists do not understand their pronunciation of it and so say something like this: '*grits – the porridge that people in America eat – grits*.' Since Palesa and Bab'Dan have not employed these aspects of the tour guide register, tourists have at times complained about their 'accent.'

One day, I presented to my class of mainly American students a recording of the Regina Mundi tour. About 30 seconds into the recording, a student raised his hand and said he couldn't understand a single word of what he had just heard. Shocked, I asked for any others who couldn't understand to please raise their hands. Only two students' hands remained on their desks. Online, many tourists complain about the accents of these two tour guides. Often the complaints about accent are masked in comments about the quality of voice. For example, some tourists claim that the guide's voice is monotone ["I have friends who have gotten a guy (a couple different times) who speaks in a mono-tone and is very uninteresting" ("Not Quite What I Thought" 2017)], or that the tour is memorized and thus spoken too quickly ["the guide has a story which (s)he repeats verbatim without

alteration” (A 2015)]. These reviews stand in stark contrast to the reviews of TGCs, whose operators and guides tend to have very different accents. TGCs create a way of speaking English that sounds recognizably ‘African’ to an international tourist, but is also audible to them.

Tourists do not often understand what a ‘Sowetan’ sounds like, and so should he/she fulfil the criteria for an ‘African’ accent, this is sufficient for them to be ‘authentically’ Sowetan, even if they are not. In fact, the majority of tour guides who I met around Soweto were not from there; most have become tour guides in other provinces such as KwaZulu-Natal or Western Cape before being assigned a position in Gauteng, specifically Soweto. By coincidence, or not, these companies tended to be the ones who refused me interviews. The few companies which focus on selecting and training Sowetans to lead tours of this township are threefold (alphabetically): Dzedze Travel and Tours, Lebo’s Soweto Backpackers, and Phaphama Initiatives.³¹

In addition to the simultaneous audibility and ‘African-ness’ of the TG register in Soweto, there are also some discursive markers which signal a TG prose (underlined in the quote by Palesa above). These discursive markers include phrases such as, “looking on the right hand side,” or “coming down to the bottom.” This aspect of the TG register might be viewed as an enactment of expertise. Summerson Carr explains that experts are,

³¹ I suspect that Cycle in Soweto and Township Travel also hire locally, though our meetings fell through many times and they both have not responded to my emails/whatsapps since that time. Tourism is a busy industry in Soweto.

People who make it their business to become intimate with classes of culturally valuable things that are relatively inaccessible or illegible to laypeople...establishing this intimacy, as well as a way to relay it publicly, is part of learning to be an expert across diverse terrains of practice. To the extent that practitioners are successful in establishing their expertise...they can create hierarchies and distinctions by determining the qualities, authenticity, or value of the objects within their purview. (Carr 2010, 21–22)

Here, the ‘culturally valuable thing’ which TGs are enacting their expertise over is their profession, rather than their ‘African-ness’ as was discussed above. Validating their training and experience in this field, TGs recycle phrases that are iconic of TG personhood. While employing a TG register of speech establishes the individual as an (1) African and (2) trained TG, how does the tour guide enact expertise over Soweto? We return again to sensitizations, to sensorial encounters with cultural objects.

Sensitizations of Music and Language

Language ‘itself’ can also be sensitized. TGs in Soweto encourage tourists to pronounce, syllable by syllable, words and phrases which they then explain as common greetings, expressions, or names. They encourage tourists to employ these words throughout the tour and interact with Sowetans through these words and phrases. In a critical light, this could be interpreted as a form of touristic ‘blackface’ in which tourists perform blackness through speech, not unlike attempts by white Americans to replicate African American speech forms in minstrel performances (Lott 1995). While there is space for this type of critique, I rather read this as a ‘host gaze,’ a turning of power dynamics in which TGs turn the gaze from local Sowetans towards tourists. Many a situation did I encounter in which TGs made fun of tourists in a language which they would not understand for the way that they tried (and failed) to pronounce phonemes unique to Bantu languages. In

turning the gaze towards the tourists, or by having tourists perform Sowetan-ness, rather than seeing it displayed by someone, the question becomes, ‘who are Sowetans and what do they sound like?’

A central part of sounding Sowetan personhood is displaying expertise over musical genres. Music is used to structure ritual events in Soweto, such as weddings, funerals, unveilings, traditional ceremonies, religious ceremonies, baby showers, birthday parties, or other public celebrations or mournings. Music tends to be encountered on Sowetan tours as sensitizations, although on occasion I have witnessed music being used as a narrative tool to build anticipation for other sensitizations. My focus on music here, however, is solely as sensitizations. TGs instruct tourists on the ways that Sowetans would respond to this music; it is not acceptable, they say, to stand still and watch a performance – this is a western way of listening to music. Rather, TGs teach tourists how to clap or snap in time with the music, how to accompany the music with dance, or how to show appreciation for the music through money or ululations. Note the resemblance of these musical sensitizations to the call and response format of teaching audiences linguistic partials on global music stages, as demonstrated by Miriam Makeba’s performance above. This format of instruction is also used to teach audiences how to listen to South African music. In Miriam Makeba’s live performances of ‘Pata Pata,’ for example, she uses a short musical bridge to instruct audiences on the meaning of ‘Pata Pata’ and how to appropriately move along to it. While swinging her hips around in large circular patterns, Makeba says, “‘Pata Pata’ is the name of a dance / we do down Johannesburg way. / Everybody starts to move / as soon as ‘Pata Pata’ starts to play”

(Miriam Makeba Official Channel 2015). Meanwhile, the backup singers imitate the dance style that Makeba demonstrates on stage. The co-occurring signs of bodily movement by Makeba, a demonstrative statement that “everybody starts to move, as soon as ‘Pata’ starts to play,” and the backup singers’ imitation of the dance style displayed by Makeba lead many audiences to understand this as a moment of instruction and they begin to try the dance themselves.

ENREGISTERING SOWETAN PERSONHOOD

Sensitizations of music and language rely on tour guides’ interpretation and uptake of Sowetan personhood. While a few tour guides are born and bred in Soweto, many are not and thus rely on enregistered icons of Sowetan personhood. Enregisterment is the *process* through which, “diverse behavioral signs (whether linguistic, non-linguistic, or both) are functionally reanalyzed as cultural models of action, as behaviors capable of indexing stereotypic characteristics of incumbents of particular interactional roles, and of relations among them” (Agha 2007, 55).

While the ability to speak the register of a language that is spoken local to Soweto is a sign of stereotypic Sowetan personhood, as will be discussed shortly, there are other signs which must accompany this in order for an individual to be convinced that someone is from Soweto. For example, observing how an individual interacts in a social setting can reveal someone’s relation to the township. Sihle, an 18 year old from Naledi, told me a story about a time she noticed a Sowetan at university registration. While most people were standing quietly in line, one woman was speaking on her phone and trying to find

conversations to join in, speaking loudly all the while. Sihle (Makwetlane et al. 2017) explained that Sowetans, “they’re loud, yoh! *Ayikh’indab’abangayazi* [there isn’t a story that they don’t know].” It’s not unusual for a stranger to join in your conversation in Soweto, however this isn’t always the social norm in other contexts, especially in the formalized university registration that Sihle was discussing in our interview. Through this woman’s social disposition, Sihle was able to spot a fellow Sowetan. Following up on this story, Banele, an 18 year old from Rockville, says that you can also easily spot a Sowetan by their reactions. As Lebo (2017b) resounds, Sowetans are “too much” and “too fast.” People in Soweto tend to react with great passion and expression, and they respond quickly.

Even the way that one holds oneself can be a sign of Sowetan personhood. Lebo (2017b) claims that Sowetans have a certain way of holding their bodies, be it in walking, holding objects, or sitting. For example, he demonstrated for me a variety of ‘styles’ of walking, in which people raised in different areas across the region (i.e. KwaZulu-Natal, Limpopo, Lesotho) attempt to imitate the style of walking in Soweto, which is portrayed in TV. There are different ways that a home environment shapes even their attempts to ‘walk’ like a Sowetan; people from KwaZulu-Natal drag their legs too much, while people from Lesotho try too hard to be smaller. The way that an individual dresses his or her body is another sign of Sowetan personhood. “We can dress the very same clothes,” Lebo told me, “but the way I dress them, they will tell that that guy comes from Soweto” (2017b).

Banele (Makwetlane et al. 2017) believes that the fashion trends that emerge in Soweto are not unlike the linguistic practices that occur there. When speaking in Soweto, there are so many languages that you can choose from to express oneself, however the goal of using one language over another is to communicate clearly with someone else, Banele says. In the same way, Soweto has a variety of clothing styles, from the oldest generation which tries to hold onto traditional styles of clothing, to the youth who tend to prefer more western styles of clothing, often influenced by the USA. “People in Soweto...really like starting their own things,” Banele says, and so the goal is to take the variety of styles that one encounters and combine them to make something comfortable to a Sowetan. People who don’t grow up in such a diverse fashion context do not understand these trends and thus don’t wear them correctly, leading Sowetans to note them as ‘outsiders’ in some way.

These small social queues help an individual to observe, “*ukuthi* [that] these ones...they’re from Soweto” (Makwetlane et al. 2017). As Lebo (2017b) summates, “I’m a typical Sowetan, when you look at me, even if you can put me anywhere in the world...you can tell that that guy’s from Soweto. You can put me into a suit but you will tell; the way I handle myself, the way I talk, the way I walk.” These behavioral signs – speaking, acting, holding oneself, and dressing in certain ways – are understood together to index a stereotypic Sowetan personhood.

In the past, being associated with Soweto was like being labelled a thug or criminal (2017b). Over the years, however, Soweto has accrued a social capital which leads

individuals desiring to be associated with the township. Recall the Soweto Gold billboard in Ga-Nkoana Limpopo, from the preface, for example. Lebo (2017b) describes a hypothetical situation in which he visits KwaZulu-Natal. Even though he adjusts his style while visiting this province by dressing in clothing typically worn in the area, the way he wears the clothing leads others to observe that he is not from there. ““Agh, he’s from Joburg! From Jozi, from Soweto!”” they would say, “then I’ll become a honey. You know the honey, everybody wants to come and get a taste of me” (2017b). He claims that the style of Sowetans, which is formed as a hybrid process, is so difficult to rid oneself of that he is convinced that at Baragwanath hospital, the third largest hospital in the world (“Chris Hani Baragwanath Hospital: The World’s 3rd Biggest Hospital, in South Africa” 2018) and the one to which most Sowetans are born, “they inject us with one syringe that will show us who we are” (2017b).

In Lebo’s opinion, the embodiment of Sowetan style is deep within an individual, leading to an instilment of a sense of place. Lebo cannot be Lebo without Soweto. While obviously this is not how everyone feels within this township, it is clear from Lebo’s opinions about Soweto that the social capital of Sowetan personhood is sought after. Even those who have never set foot in Soweto can attempt to perform it through the display of an array of behavioral signs. Moore (2011, 229) explains that, “once enregistered, or widely recognized...diacritics gain the status of shibboleths, or emblematic signs, of a given speaker’s identity—which of course opens the door to citation, parody, and other ‘parasitic’ usages.” This means, of course, that there are more and less successful instances of these performances of personhood – moments in which

people can imitate personhood as associated with a place. For example, according to Lebo (2017b), “if I take...a smart street guy from KwaZulu-Natal, from Limpopo, and from Lesotho or from Bloemfontein and you pass a Soweto boy, he will see the difference,” even if they are all acting ‘street-smart’ by imitating the styles of Sowetans seen and heard on TV or witnessed when family members from Soweto visit them at home.

In Sowetan tourism, the citation of Sowetan personhood is complex, especially given that the audience is often not aware of the behavioral signs to which tour operators point. A parody or citation is only successful if the audience is aware of local markers of personhood, and since most tourists are not aware of such the question must be asked; can a citation of enregistered personhood still be theorized as such when the audiences of this performance are not accustomed to the semiotic displays of personhood in this area (i.e. if a tree falls in a forest when no one is around, does it make noise)? How do tourists understand African, South African, or Sowetan personhood? And how are tour operators’ citations of Sowetan personhood understood, experienced, and embodied in this context? The next chapter will address these questions, but for now, let us look more closely at the enregisterment of Sowetan personhood through displays of linguistic and musical expertise.

Enregistering Sowetan Personhood through Speech

Within Soweto, there is a register of speech that has developed since Soweto’s origins in labor migrancy. A register is a, “system of socially significant signs (involving language and non-language) that are formed, maintained, and reanalyzed through reflexive activities” (Agha 2007, 8). The normative language use in Soweto involves a number of grammatical alterations, lexical substitutions, and phonological reductions from the formalized form of the language.³² These changes can take place to any formalized

Front Unrounded		Back Unrounded
<u>i</u>	close = high	u
e	close-mid = high-mid	o
<u>a</u>	open = low	

language, though they most often take place in isiZulu or Sesotho. For the sake of space

Figure 17: Vowels in the ‘standard’ register of isiZulu

in this dissertation, I am only able to analyze the major changes that take place in isiZulu. In order to understand how the register of isiZulu spoken in Soweto is unique, I must first introduce some basics of the formalized/standardized/institutionalized register of isiZulu that is most often taught in schools and universities, that is most often published in, and the form of speech to which most people refer when they say ‘isiZulu.’

³² I suspect, from conversations with interlocutors, scholars, and my reading of linguistic scholarship, that the register of speech spoken in Soweto is not unique to Soweto. I guess that this register is particular, rather, to townships and other urban areas within Johannesburg where you judge that an individual might be from a township. Should further research verify these hypotheses, this register could be labelled as a ‘Johannesburg township’ register of speech.

As analyzed above, this form of isiZulu only became a ‘standard’ when missionaries began documenting the sounds of the language in writing, and disseminating this through other regions for the education of pastors, priests, and other missionaries. This standardized register of isiZulu has a phonological inventory of five vowels and forty-four consonants (see Figure 17 and Figure 19 for a visual representation). Though there are forty-four consonants, consonant clusters pervade isiZulu. A consonant cluster could include a nasalized prefix (N) and/or the semi-vowel ‘w’ [w] as a suffix: (N)C(w). To form a full syllable in isiZulu, a vowel must proceed this consonant or consonant cluster, thus: (N)C(w)V (Calteaux 1996). An additional phonotactic constraint is found in gender prefixes. Gender³³ prefixes have a maximal structure of: (N)(C)V(C)(V)(N). The minimal structure then is simply a vowel (V), contrary to the general syllabic structure, (N)C(w)V,

³³ For those not familiar with linguistic terminology, ‘gender’ here does not refer to a social role which is sometimes correlated with biological sex, rather ‘gender’ is a form of morphological agreement with subjects such as people, places, or objects.

found in isiZulu. Stress usually falls on the penultimate syllable, although occasional

ACTIVE ARTICULATOR			apico-			lamino-			dorso-			labio-			glottal	
PASSIVE ARTICULATOR			dental		alveolar	postalveolar	palatal		uvular	velar		labial		dental		
unspirated	voiceless	plosive	[t]	'c'	[tʰ]	'q'										
aspirated	voiceless	plosive	[tʰ]	'ch'	[tʰ]	'qh'										
	voiced	plosive	[d]	'gc'	[d]	'gq'										
unspirated	voiceless	stop	[t]	't'												
aspirated	voiceless	stop	[tʰ]	'th'												
	voiced	stop	[d]	'd'												
	voiced	affricative														
	voiceless	fricative			[s]	's'	[ʃ]	'sh'								
	voiced	fricative				[z]	'z'									
aspirated	voiced	nasal			[ɲ]	'ngq'										
	voiceless	nasal	[n]	'n'			[ɲ]	'ny'								
	voiced	nasal	[ɲ]	'nc'	[ɲ]	'nq'										
unspirated	voiceless	lateral plosive			[l]	'x'										
aspirated	voiceless	lateral plosive			[lʰ]	'xh'										
	voiced	lateral plosive			[l]	'gx'										
unspirated	voiceless	lateral nasal	[ɲ]	'ngc'	[ɲ]	'nx'										
aspirated	voiceless	lateral nasal			[ɲ]	'ngx'										
		lateral			[l]	'l'										
		rhotic														
		semi-vowel					[j]	'y'				[w]	'w'			

Figure 19: Consonants in the 'standard' register of isiZulu.

Stativation Structure

G1 - AS - V

um - fund - i 'a student'

G1 - 'studiousness' - V

aba - fund - i 'students'

G1 - 'studiousness' - V

Figure 18: Sample Stativation Structure

tonal characteristics override this stress marker.³⁴ Elsewhere (Kgagudi Forthcoming), I

(REM) Remote Past Tense Verbation Structures			
Positive Verbation Structure G2 - a - AS - a	ng - a - fund - a 1SG - a - 'studiousness' - a w - a - fund - a 2SG - a - 'studiousness' - a	'I studied' [long ago] 'you/he/she studied' [long ago]	
Negative Verbation Structure G1/G2 - nga - AS - anga	ngi - nga - fund - anga 1SG - nga - 'studiousness' - anga u - nga - fund - anga 2SG - nga - 'studiousness' - anga	'I didn't study' [long ago] 'you/he/she didn't study' [long ago]	
(REC) Immediate Past Tense Verbation Structures			
Positive Verbation Structure (long) G1 - AS - ile	ngi - fund - ile 1SG - 'studiousness' - ile u - fund - ile 2SG - 'studiousness' - ile	'I studied' [recently] 'you/he/she studied' [recently]	
Positive Verbation Structure (short) G1 - AS - ile	ngi - fund - e 1SG - 'studiousness' - e u - fund - e 2SG - 'studiousness' - e	'I studied' [recently] 'you/he/she studied' [recently]	
Negative Verbation Structure a - G1/G2 - AS - anga	a - ngi - fund - anga a - 1SG - 'studiousness' - anga a - wu - fund - anga a - 2SG - 'studiousness' - anga	'I didn't study' [recently] 'you/he/she didn't study' [recently]	
(PRS) Present Tense Verbation Structures			
Positive Verbation Structure G1 - (ya) - AS - a	ngi - fund - a 1SG - 'studiousness' - a u - fund - a 2SG - 'studiousness' - a	'I study/I am studying' 'you study/you are studying'	
Negative Verbation Structure a - G1/G2 - AS - i	a - ngi - fund - i a - 1SG - 'studiousness' - i a - wu - fund - i a - 2SG - 'studiousness' - i	'I don't study/I am not studying' 'you don't study/you are not studying'	
(IMM) Immediate Future Tense Verbation Structures			
Positive Verbation Structure G1 - yo - AS - a	ng - yo - fund - a 1SG - yo - 'studiousness' - a w - yo - fund - a 2SG - yo - 'studiousness' - a	'I am going to study' 'you/he/she is going to study'	
Negative Verbation Structure a - G1/G2 - yu - AS - a	a - ngi - yu - fund - a a - 1SG - yu - 'studiousness' - a a - u - yu - fund - a a - 2SG - yu - 'studiousness' - a	'I am not going to study' 'you/he/she are not going to study'	
(FUT) Remote Future Tense Verbation Structures			
Positive Verbation Structure G1 - zo - AS - a	ng - zo - fund - a 1SG - zo - 'studiousness' - a w - zo - fund - a 2SG - zo - 'studiousness' - a	'I will study' 'you/he/she will study'	
Negative Verbation Structure a - G1/G2 - zu - AS - a	a - ngi - zu - fund - a a - 1SG - zu - 'studiousness' - a a - u - zu - fund - a a - 2SG - zu - 'studiousness' - a	'I will not study' 'you/he/she will not study'	

Figure 20: Sample Verbation Structures

have shown how gender prefixes are part of stativation and verbatation structures which frame isiZulu morphology. A stativation structure is composed of a gender prefix, an ambient stem, and a vowel suffix: *G-AS-V* or *G-[AS-V]*. Positive verbatation structures are composed of a gender prefix, the vowel ‘a,’ an ambient stem, and a suffix of ‘a,’ ‘e,’ or ‘ile’: *G1/G2-(a)-AS-a/e/ile*. Negative verbatation structures have two variations: (1) a gender prefix, ‘nga,’ an ambient stem, and the suffix ‘anga’: *G1-nga-AS-anga*, or (2) a gender prefix, the negative future marker, an ambient stem, and a suffix of either ‘anga,’ ‘i,’ or ‘a’: *a-G1/G2-(NEG FUT)-AS-anga/i/a*. An ambient stem is a term that I borrow from Whorf (1956) to explain a lexeme whose grammatical function changes when it is inserted into differing morphological contexts. For example, when the ambient stem -*fund-* ‘studiousness’³⁵ is inserted into the stativation structure found in Figure 18, it denotes one who enacts ‘studiousness,’ or ‘a student/students.’ Or when the ambient stem -*fund-* ‘studiousness’ is inserted into the verbatation structure marked for tense, shown in Figure 20, it denotes the act associated with ‘studiousness,’ or ‘to study/studying.’

It is more accurate and helpful to think of a lexeme such as -*fund-* as ambient, rather than as a verb stem which changes according to derivational rules and regulations, or phonological assimilation. Indeed, Whorf (1956, 96–97) created concepts such as ‘stativation’ because terms such as ‘nomination’ or ‘nominalization,’ “through past usage have come to suggest derivations rather than moduli, while ‘stativation’ helps us to think

³⁴ Stress is typically not marked in isiZulu orthography.

³⁵ Any translation is imperfect. Because, in English, we do not have an ambient stem, I choose to translate these lexemes into their most abstract [+common, +count, -animate] class in English. In most cases, I add the suffix *-ness* to signify the fact that these lexemes are not to be considered as verbs or nouns.

of the form not as a noun derived from a verb, but simply as a lexeme which has been affected by a certain meaningful grammatical coloring as a part of certain configurations.” These stativations and verbatations compose a large part of isiZulu morphology.

The register of isiZulu spoken in Soweto has a number of qualities that are different from this standardized register of isiZulu. For one, due primarily to lexical borrowings and proximity to other language families in Soweto, the phonological inventory is much wider (see Figure 17 and Figure 19). Of significant note here are the rhotic consonants and diphthongs, which are not used in the standardized register of isiZulu. This increase in phonological inventory is due, most prominently, to lexical adoptions. When lexical adoptions occur in the standardized register, phonemes that are not part of its inventory are dealt with by finding the nearest proximate vowel or consonant, or the phonemes are broken up by vowels (in the case of consonants) and semi-vowels (in the case of vowels) in order to abide by the phonotactic requirements of this register (Calteaux 1996, 84; Koopman 1994, 190). They are often adopted as an ambient stem, and configure themselves with a certain stativation structure. This explains how variants of the same borrowed word can occur. For example, the adopted word form for ‘sweet’ -*swid-* (AS) belongs to the first gender class with a stativation structure *u-AS-i* (SG) / *o-AS-i* (PL) in the standardized register of isiZulu and it belongs to the fifth gender class with a stativation structure *i-AS-i* (SG) / *ama-AS-i* (PL) in the Sowetan register of isiZulu.

While some lexical adoptions in the Sowetan register are dealt with similarly to those in the standardized register³⁶, other trends for adoption also occur. For one, the adoption of English and Afrikaans verbs into ambient stems occurs, something that does not frequently occur in the standard register. An example of this phenomenon is the adoption of the English verb ‘boring’ in the Sowetan register as *-bhor-* (AS). Someone can apply this ambient stem to the present tense positive verbaion structure (found in Figure 20) as:

u - ya - bhor - a ‘you are annoying’
2SG - ya - AS - a

Note that *-bhor-* takes on a new meaning in this register; *u-ya-bhor-a* can be used in both playful (i.e. when someone tells a joke about you) and serious (i.e. when someone is rude or bothersome) contexts. English, Afrikaans, and Sesotho words can be adopted without adhering to the phonotactic requirements found in the standard register, and can be spoken and written without a marked gender. For example, music icon Cassper Nyovest sang in Kwesta’s hit song “Ngud,”³⁷:

ke tshwere stokho sa lekgoa ‘I’ve got white stock (i.e. chicks/babes)’
 1SG ‘catch/hold’ PST ‘stock’ G ‘white person’

³⁶ Some scholars like to think of these linguistic features on a historical continuum, as though urban registers of isiZulu are modern practices that emerged recently while standardized isiZulu is an outdated register only ever spoken in rural areas with little outside contact. This is certainly not the case; scholars write in standardized isiZulu today, uKhozi FM [the isiZulu radio station sponsored by the South African National Broadcasting Corporation (SABC)] presenters speak in this register, and people in urban areas of Kwa-Zulu Natal, Gauteng, and likely other provinces speak this register in home environments, ritualistic spaces, and other contexts. Also, the register of isiZulu spoken in Soweto stretches across generations and has been around for at least two decades, likely more. Both of these registers are constantly in flux and responding to their speakers’ lives and lifestyles. This is why I refer to these entities as registers rather than ‘forms,’ ‘slangs,’ ‘dialects,’ or other classificatory labels which abide by this conceptualization of one form emerging from the other in time. The process of register formation is much more complicated than this.

³⁷ *ngud* is a term commonly used to describe 750ml bottles of alcohol.

This phrase, sung in Sesotho, which incorporated a lexical adoption from the English ‘stock’³⁸ was soon borrowed in isiZulu. Many posted pictures on social media of their girlfriends, boyfriends, or celebrities with the caption #*stokho* (alternatively written *stoko*) or *stokho sami* ‘my stock’. Rather than following phonotactic and gender agreement rules, where *stokho* would sound like *isi-tokh-o*, the gender class is omitted, and the phoneme *st-* is left to stand on its own. It adopts the seventh gender class *isi-AS-o*, as can be seen through the gender agreement in the possessive structure:

sa - mi(na) ‘my’
G7 - 1SG OBJ

however the borrowed word ‘stock’ remains unmarked for gender (i.e. the *isi-* gender prefix and the *-o* suffix are omitted). This can happen with other entities besides nouns, such as verbs, adjectives, and adverbial phrases. For example, the verb ‘serious’ (ENG) is often used in particular conversational turns, the most common being a discussion about the validity of a story or statement:

S1: *u - na - mang - a* ‘you are lying’
2SG - CONJ - ‘deceitfulness’ - a

S2: *serious* ‘I’m serious’
‘serious’

In the standard register of isiZulu, the typical response for S2 would be: *iqiniso* ‘it is the truth,’ but using this too frequently in Sowetan speech can signal that you are from another part of South Africa. This happens with many other lexical adoptions, such as

³⁸ The treatment of women as ‘stock’ could be topic for another paper exploring gender relations in South African popular music, unfortunately not a topic that I have space to explore more in this dissertation.

‘strong,’ ‘deep,’ ‘right,’ *cava* ‘cover,’ and ‘one time.’ The adoption of English and Afrikaans conjunctions also takes place. For example, many people in Soweto use *mara* ‘but’ (Afrikaans) rather than *kodwa* ‘but’ (isiZulu), *kanti* ‘but’ (isiZulu), or *kepha* ‘but’ (isiZulu). Again, the frequent use of one of these lexicons for ‘but’ from isiZulu tends to signal the fact that someone is not from Soweto. Unique interjections are also characteristic of the Sowetan register of speech; ‘tjo,’ ‘eish,’ ‘yoh,’ ‘yerr,’ and ‘ishu.’

Another aspect of phonology unique to the Sowetan register is its click inventory and usage. While, on the phonological inventory (Figure 17 and Figure 19) I list all of the click options, most often people tend to reduce all of these click sounds to -c-, an unaspirated, voiceless plosive, articulated in the apico-dental region. This is arguably the click which takes the least amount of effort to produce. Khumalo (1995, 63) noted this trend beginning to occur in Daveyton in 1995, and Calteaux (1996, 82) noted this in the early 1990’s in Tembisa. Khumalo gives an example of this phonemic shift:

se - ngi - qed - ile uku - wenz - a ama - qand - a > *se - ngi - ced - ile uku - wenz - a ama - cand - a*
 PERF - **ISG** - ‘finalization’ - **REC** G15 - ‘doing’ - a G5 PL - ‘egg’ - a > PERF - **ISG** - ‘finalization’ - **REC** G15 - ‘doing’ - a G5 PL - ‘egg’ - a

‘I have already finished making the eggs’

Calteaux (1996, 87) theorizes that this phonemic shift takes place to, “[minimize] differences between sounds in order to facilitate communications with non-mother tongue speakers.” Whether it is out of necessity for a quicker speed of speech which Gauteng urban lifestyles bring, laziness, or attempts to meet speakers at their level of comfort with isiZulu phonemes, it is clear that this is a linguistic pattern that has been emerging in urban areas of Gauteng for at least three generations.

Contractions are also a signature component of the register of isiZulu spoken in Soweto.

There are four main contractions that take place commonly in the register of isiZulu that is spoken in Soweto. (1) The verbiage structure for the remote future tense is one structure which undergoes contractions. For example:

si - zo - dl - a uku - dl - a 'we will eat the food'
1PL - **FUT** - 'eatingness' - **FUT** G15 - 'eatingness' - G15

is often contracted into the following form:

s - o - dl - a uku - dl - a 'we will eat the food'
1PL - **FUT** - 'eatingness' - **FUT** G15 - 'eatingness' - G15

In this case, the vowel in the gender marking and the consonant of the verbiage structure for the remote future tense are omitted. This occurs for the first personal singular and the second personal plural markers of the remote future tense verbiage structure as well [*ng-o-dl-a* (1SG), *n-o-dl-a* (2PL)], although it is possible that it occurs for other gender markings as well. (2) Another contraction occurs in the eighth gender class *izi-*, in which the *-zi-* is omitted and replaced by a falling high-low tone on the initial vowel *i-*. *izi-cathul-o*, for example, is often pronounced as *î-cathul-o*, with the markedness often revealed in the gender agreement later in the sentence, such as that found in the *stokho* example above. (3) In vowel initial words, sometimes a phonological reduction takes place to shorten the word. The following sentence:

u [u] - ngi - kheth - ile 'you have chosen me'
2SG - 1SG - 'chooseness' - **REC**

can be phonologically reduced to:

u [ʊ] - ngi - kheth - ile 'you have chosen me'
2SG - 1SG - 'chooseness' - **REC**

Or further contracted to:

u [u] - *ng* - *kheth* - *ile* 'you have chosen me'
2SG - 1SG - 'chooseness' - **REC**

This brings us to the fourth contraction that I will point out here, (4), namely the contraction of *-i-* in the object concord. Only the first person singular *-ngi-*, first person plural *-si-*, and the second person plural *-ni-* object concords have this vowel trait. A reality TV show on SABC entitled, '*Uyang'thanda na?* (Do You Love Me?),' emphasizes this contraction and its urban usage. This show focuses on individuals who come forward to confront their crush on live television and tell them about their secret feelings. Sometimes, perhaps even often, the individual revealing their feelings is a woman. For many Black South Africans, this is a relatively 'new' cultural practice. Traditionally, men are supposed 'to court' *ukushela* women, and so for many, the woman's approaching of the man is a practice influenced by western culture. Due to the fact that urban areas in the country are the main areas where a woman can come into contact with this aspect of western culture, this practice is seen as urbanized. In this sense, then, the contraction in the title of this show is doing important linguistic work; it is signaling to the audience that this show is urban, cool, and new.

Enregistering Sowetan Personhood through Musical Expertise

In Soweto, there are so many musical practices that abound, that an individual may be considered as 'mutli-musical' (Tokita 2012). Mantle Hood (1960) first proposed the term 'bi-musicality' as a research method in which western ethnomusicology students should learn about the musical practice they study through performance of it, just as they should learn the language that their interlocutors work on through learning to speak it. It is

possible today to talk about multi-musicality in an increasingly globalized world. In Soweto there are many genres of music which are a sort of repertoire that one must be familiar with to participate in social events. There are traditional genres of music; the steady and structured beat of *indlamu* ‘a traditional Zulu music/dance practice’ is easy to differentiate from *phatise* ‘a traditional Tswana music/dance practice originating from the Bangwaketse and Bakwena tribes,’ for example (see Figure 21 for a transcription of a *phatise* song that Dita tsa Koma perform). There are religious genres of music which

reflect various denominations of Christian and African Christian churches,³⁹ and then gospel music which often does not differentiate denominations. The high-pitched male vocals, the beats produced by men through a strong exhale, through a closed mouth, and a tongue pressing against the roof of the mouth, and the small and upright dance steps of amaZion, for example, stand in stark contrast to the Methodist tight-knit choral style of

Ditau tsa Koma

Ditau tsa Koma

$\text{♩} = 100$

The musical score is written for four parts: Hand Clap, Voice, Women, and Men. The key signature has three sharps (F#, C#, G#) and the time signature is 3/4. The tempo is marked as quarter note = 100. The score is divided into two systems. The first system has four measures. The Hand Clap part is written on a single staff with a C-clef and a key signature of three sharps. The Voice, Women, and Men parts are written on three staves with a G-clef and a key signature of three sharps. The second system starts at measure 5 and also has four measures. The parts are labeled 'Hd. Clp.', 'Vo.', 'W.', and 'M.' respectively.

Figure 21: An example of a phatise song that Ditau tsa Koma perform on Vilakazi Street.

³⁹ While Christianity is the practice of the Christian faith in line with global standards and practices, African Christianity merges African traditions with the Christian faith.

singing with a cushion beaten by hand for percussive accompaniment and the dance steps which are more free than the style yamaZion. There are hip-hop genres such as South African hip-hop (see Figure 22 for a transcription from a South African hip-hop song), South African trap (further distinguished by those songs which employ ‘vernac’ (i.e. local Bantu language registers) and those which only employ English), American hip-hop, American trap, and Nigerian hip-hop. Within the house genre of music there is the recently emerging amapiyano, South African house, and American house. There is also kwaito, which falls somewhere in between all of these genres. And then there are genres such as American R&B (the 90s R&B is particularly popular), afrosoul, and afro-futurist music.

Ngud'

Kwesta ft. Cassper Nyovest

The musical score for 'Ngud' is presented in three staves. The top staff, labeled 'Percussion 1', uses a bass clef and a 4/4 time signature, showing a consistent eighth-note rhythm. The middle staff, labeled 'Percussion 2', also uses a bass clef and 4/4 time, displaying a more intricate rhythmic pattern with eighth and sixteenth notes. The bottom staff, labeled 'Voice', uses a treble clef and 4/4 time, and contains four whole rests, suggesting the vocal melody is not transcribed in this specific segment of the score.

Figure 22: A transcription from a South African hip-hop song, 'Ngud' by Kwesta and featuring Cassper Nyovest.

Nearly all of these genres of music can be heard in township events such as weddings, funerals (i.e. after tears), unveilings, birthday parties, and graduation parties. Due to the population density of Soweto, you can easily find one (or many) of these events taking place within walking distance from your house. Evidence of this is found in a recent troll posting on Facebook who commented on popular memes that he and his friends are

available for hire to “finish your food” at community events. Since these are community events, food must be served for every guest, and according to many traditional beliefs, no guest can be turned away, resulting sometimes in an abundance of food. These events are often structured through the music that is played there. In the mornings, when more serious parts of the event take place, Christian and African Christian religious genres of music sound through loudspeakers. Soon South African gospel music will be played. As the day goes on American R&B often serves as a transitionary music to move to more upbeat genres. The day concludes with kwaito, South African hip-hop, South African house, Nigerian hip-hop, and American hip-hop – often extending late into the night.

One way to display signs of enregistered Sowetan personhood is through enactments of expertise over these musical genres. This is most often achieved through two means; dance and verbal expressions. When traditional music is played, one often accompanies the tradition to which they belong. For example, a girl who identifies as Zulu would only dance along to the genres of *indlamu* that she knows from the time she has spent in rural areas or with family in urban areas who have taught her these traditions. Most traditional genres of music have choreographed dances that can only be learned through socio-cultural transmissions. For an example, let us return to the *phatise* song mentioned above (Figure 21). If you are not Tswana or if you have not been raised in a context in which you would learn Tswana traditional music and dances, then the alternation between two time signatures – 3/4 and 2/4 – can be difficult to understand. Whereas most traditional music of Nguni and Sotho-Tswana people reside in fixed time signatures and thus are easy to sway or step back and forth to, *phatise* is characterized by its alternating rhythmic

structure. Though you may be able to sway or step back and forth for a moment, you will quickly feel your body de-synchronize with the music. In order to appease both time signatures, most *phatise* dances involve double-stepping with the right foot on the down-beat of the rhythmic pattern, leaning onto the left foot for beat 2, double-stepping with the right foot on beat 3 then shifting weight to remain on this leg while swinging the left foot behind the right leg and back into position to step on the ground for the second emphasized beat in the 2/4 measure (see Figure 23 for a visualization of this).

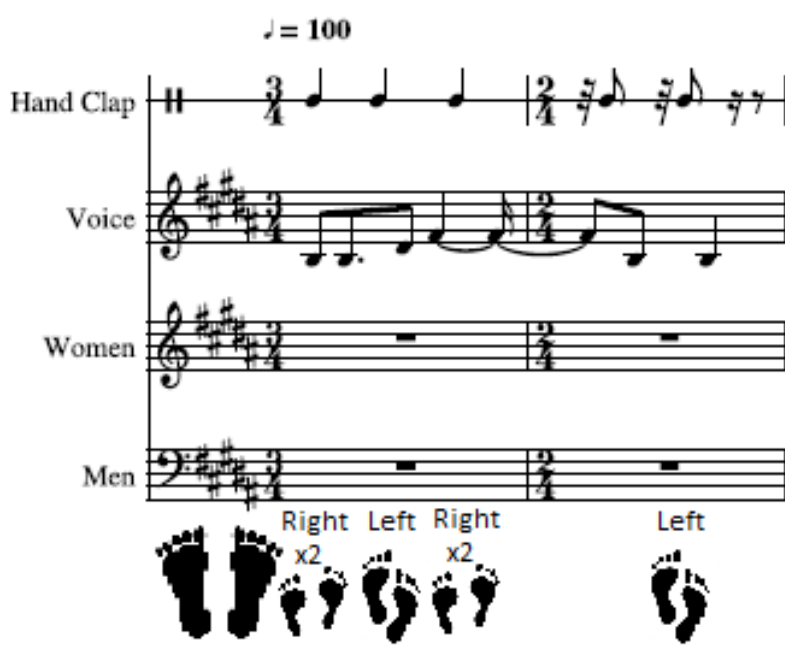


Figure 23: Visualization of Steps of Phatise Song by DiTau tsa Koma

It is possible for one to enregister their ethnic identity through these dance steps and accompanying clapping or placement and articulation of ululations. Some ethnic identities are more present in Soweto than others. *Inhlambu* and the practice *ngokugida* ‘of a music/dance style in which an individual kicks their legs into the air in time with music, culminating in a kick so large that they fall to the ground,’ musical and dance practices of the Zulu people, can be seen daily at Noord Taxi Rank in town

‘Johannesburg,’ occasionally at *Bara* ‘Baragwanath Taxi Rank’ in Soweto, when passing Zulu hostels in Soweto, or on various streets throughout the township. The widespread presence of Zulu traditional dances and music make it easy for many to participate in this genre of dance without necessarily being Zulu. On the other hand, Pedi *dinaka* ‘whistle and drum performances’ and Tswana *phatise* are not as common in Soweto, and thus are particular moments where one can enregister their ethnic identity. Playing traditional music provides individuals the opportunity to demonstrate their ethnic belonging through dance, clapping or ululations – part of being a Sowetan is being urban but having rural roots in traditions and cultural practices such as this.

Individuals are also presented with opportunities to demonstrate their understanding of Christian and African Christian religious genres of music. Though not everyone is affiliated with Christianity in Soweto, the majority of Sowetans are. Christian and African Christian music is omni-present; it is played in taxis, at funerals, at weddings, and it is sung and troped upon with friends. When Christian and African Christian religious genres of music are played it is appropriate to dance to this music by ‘stepping’ back and forth – i.e. by lifting one’s legs as though they are stepping or marching, and by kicking one’s feet out slightly in front of them, swaying one’s hips back and forth in tandem to the leg being lifted, and by bending one’s elbows, holding one’s hands in fists, and swaying these bent arms in an opposite motion to the legs and hips. Some have called this the ‘Madiba Dance.’ Ululations are appropriate signs of musical comprehension for these genres when there is a climax in the music or dance.

When gospel music is played, there is a slightly adjusted set of signs that can be displayed to enact musical expertise. The gospel ‘step’ is not as large as Christian or African Christian religious genres of stepping, for example, where typically one only lifts one’s leg as though they are marching, and does not kick one’s feet at the end of the step. Kicking one’s feet at the end of the step helps to create a bigger sway in the hips, a style of movement which is not necessarily desired in this genre. While the hands return to the elbow-folded style mentioned above throughout the song, one can frequently raise their hands/arms into the space above their heads, sometimes with a pointed index finger and other times with fingers outspread. Verbal expressions of accompaniment for gospel music include Christian phrases praising or thanking God.

Later in the day at these social events, when hits from South African hip-hop, American hip-hop, South African house, and kwaito genres play, the music might be played randomly (i.e. a South African hip-hop played before a kwaito song and after an American hip-hop song, not necessarily separated by genre), but the signs of musical expertise which enregister Sowetan personhood are still distinct. American hip-hop today is arguably dominated by trap music⁴⁰. The dance moves associated with trap are sharp, precise, and explosive. Smaller movements of either the feet and legs or of the forearms and fists in front of the face act as forms of anticipation to explosions when the short rap phrases end and either a verbal expression such as ‘yeah,’ ‘ew,’ or ‘tshyeah’ or a repetition of the last word of the rap phrase. This is the moment of explosion when the

⁴⁰ Kaluza (2018, 24) claims that, “the majority of contemporary rap is trap.”

dancer jumps in one direction or another with a wide expression of arm or leg, such as the ‘whip’ section of Silentó’s “Watch Me (whip/nae nae).” South African hip-hop has plenty of trap, whose dance styles borrow largely from American hip-hop.

There are also other genres of South African hip-hop that borrow more heavily from dance styles which accompany house music genres. If we return to the transcription of ‘Ngud’’ (Figure 22), we see the rather straightforward 4/4 time signature and the division of these beats between two percussion tracks. One track, a synthesized sound, emphasizes the downbeats while the other track, a cymbal, plays around the off-beats. Dancing to this song involves selecting either the downbeat or the off-beat, depending on which style of dance – South African or American – you are drawing from. South African house dance is characterized by bent legs moving rapidly back and forth, the top half of the body swaying back and forth in half the speed of the leg movements, and arms performing a series of movements such as bent arms with the elbows pushed back and one arm (often the left) moving forward and backwards perpendicular to the waist. A repertoire of specific house dance moves emerging from hit songs such as ‘sika lekhekhe,’ ‘gwaragwara,’ or ‘vosho’ are also inserted into this basic framework of house dance. In tandem with these dance moves, appropriate placements of whistling or verbal expression of ‘woza,’ ‘hayibo,’ or a repetition of a syllable such as ‘ye,’ ‘ayi,’ or ‘hey’ over and over in descending tone until the last syllable which jumps up in a sort of shout are also signs of musical expertise.

An individual's ability to display expertise over these many musical genres through dance, clapping and verbal expressions signifies one as a Sowetan. Multi-musicality is part and parcel of being from Soweto – and it has metaphoric potential for other areas of life as well. In fact, according to Hurst (2009), Black South African township life is characterized by cosmopolitanism and the negotiations between multiple forms of cultural practices from various locales across the world.

SENSITIZATIONS OF LANGUAGE AND MUSIC

How to Sound like a Sowetan

Tour guides almost unanimously choose to sensitize standardized speech practices rather than the register of speech spoken in Soweto, which was examined above. For example, this practice of having tourists learn partials of standardized registers of speech was explained by Siboniso and Mxolisi of Dzedze Travel and Tours, one of the local TGCs in Soweto. “In South Africa we have eleven languages,” Siboniso said, “so we try by all means for [tourists] to learn the small parts of the languages. How to say ‘bye-bye,’ ‘hello,’ yeah. And...when they are taking pictures, instead of them saying ‘cheese’ Mxolisi says, ‘let’s say ‘*amasi*’” (Dhlamini and Twala 2017). A great irony stands in the midst of this attempt to bridge cultural differences through languages, as they so justified this use of language; most people in Soweto know the difference in isiZulu between *ushizi* ‘cheese’ and *amasi* ‘soured milk’ and would never say either word when taking a picture. Instead of helping tourists fit in with Sowetans and diminishing cultural differences between them, this linguistic act in fact does the exact opposite. Saying *amasi*

‘sour milk’ while smiling for a picture signifies to Sowetans that this person does not understand isiZulu, its proper usage, or social standards within the township.

The sensitization of language in tourism, such as this framing of touristic photographs with *amasi*, are not only common in Sowetan tourism, they are embedded in tourist tales which structure the tourist’s experience in Soweto. Tourists begin their tour with a greeting, often in isiZulu, though on occasion it might be in Sesotho or the tour guide’s home language, if this differs. For example, I have seen on multiple occasions at O.R. Tambo Airport in Johannesburg, a tour guide bouncing up enthusiastically to his tour group, once he has found them, saying “*Sanibonani!* Can you all say *yebo*? This is how we greet in South Africa, so when you want to greet someone just say *sanibonani*.” Beyond conflating linguistic, and thus ethnic, identity with national belonging, this greeting in isiZulu introduces the tourist to an expository style of speech that the tour guide will use throughout the tour to expose tourists to South African languages. The linguistic performances of *sanibonani* or *amasi* are examples of linguistic sensitizations, or commoditized sensorial experiences mediated through language use. In both of these cases, the tourist learns information about a specific lexeme and then is instructed in how best to pronounce it and its contextual usage. The information about contextual usage is often either overly generalized or outrightly wrong. In the case of a linguistic performance of *amasi*, tourists signal their misunderstanding of this term’s denotational content and its contextual usage. In the case of *sanibonani*, tourists who utter this lexeme as a greeting to any South African misunderstands the contextual usage of this term. A greeting in the standardized register of isiZulu, *sanibonani* is only used in contexts where

you have been assured that your interlocutor speaks isiZulu and is an elder to you, a person to whom you must show respect and honor, or is part of a larger group that you are greeting collectively. The suffix *-ni* is marked for plurality and is also part of an honorific register or, “a reflexive model of pragmatic behavior that selectively associates specific behaviors with stereotypes of honor or respect” (Agha 2007, 301). By greeting, for example, an Indian South African in Johannesburg, a Coloured South African in Cape Town, a White South African in Pretoria, or a Black Pedi South African in Limpopo with *sanibonani*, you are signalling yourself as an outsider.

After being greeted, and taught the greeting, in a Bantu language, an introduction to Soweto and to the tour guide who will be guiding them through the township takes place. “My name is Siphiwe. Si – phi – we,” or “my name is Lebogang. Le – bo – ga – ng, I will be taking you through Soweto today.” Here, tour guides are introduced to what we refer to in music as a ‘call-and-response’ motif which will be reused throughout the tour. It is a strategy to have tourists repeat, syllable by syllable, the word that they are being introduced to prior to pronouncing it as a whole word. For example, when Lebogang says ‘Le’ the tourists are gesturally elicited to respond with ‘Le.’ Not long after the introduction, almost every Soweto tour group arrives at Vilakazi Street.

I spent on average two to three days per week on Vilakazi Street during my ethnographic research period, and was often stationed between the Nelson Mandela House and Sakhumzi Restaurant, following Dita tsa Koma, the Tswana traditional dance group that works there on a daily basis. Because of my stationary position, staying in one location

while hundreds of tourists travelled up and down Vilakazi Street, I heard almost every possible variation in introducing the Nelson Mandela House. The most consistent feature of this introduction involved a sensitization of language. Tourists are told that they are about to enter the house of Nelson Rolihlala Mandela. Rolihlala is pronounced in a call and response pattern, and then the tour guide says that here in South Africa, we refer to Nelson Rolihlala Mandela as Madiba. Madiba is also pronounced in a call and response pattern. Madiba, tourists are told, is a clan name that is used by his people, the Xhosa people in the Eastern Cape. Xhosa is pronounced in a call and response pattern. This one, undoubtedly, is the most difficult for tourists to pronounce because of the click feature. One tour guide joked with me about how excited his tourists are to encounter the Xhosa language in particular, because of its notoriety in click phonemes. “And they’re always interested to say ‘oh Kosa!’ ‘All the clicks - Kosa! The language of the clicks, Kosa!’” (Tshabalala 2017).

Moving on with the tour, there are sure to be many improvised instances where this call-and-response method is used to teach tourists how to pronounce lexemes borrowed either from Bantu languages or Afrikaans. For example, some tours of Soweto are specifically catered to interests in ‘shebeens’ or ‘night life’ in Soweto. While some tours of Sowetan night life aim to show a diversity of pubs, bars, clubs, lounges, or shebeens, most prefer to display the informal shebeens pervasive in the township. Tourists are taught about *umqombothi* ‘traditional sour beer,’ are encouraged to try to pronounce this word, try a sip of *umqombothi* as a drink (but no more than a sip, since it is such strong alcohol), and

then learn a song and dance, often either labelled as a ‘struggle song’ or a ‘traditional song,’ even when the song has no relevance to either generic category.

“Shosholoza,” a song about a train transporting migrant laborers to and from their homes, is the most frequently taught song in these contexts.⁴¹ From experience teaching this and other songs to an introductory isiZulu class, one might speculate that this song is perhaps the easiest in South African musical repertoires to teach to foreigners. I will examine shortly why this song might be classified as a ‘struggle song’ or a ‘traditional song,’ but for now let me speak to the question of why a shebeen, rather than a pub, bar, lounge, or club for touristic engagements. A shebeen, an inconspicuous drinking venue in the middle of a residential area, is different than globalized clubs, pubs, bars, and lounges. The drinks found at shebeens are also localized; while Hansa, Black Label, Castle, and Windhoek are indeed local beers found at globalized club venues, their iconic beer packaging in a brown bottle is too familiar to tourists.

Umqombothi found in an old paint bucket or basin at the shebeen is, however, very unfamiliar. Tourists can’t pronounce the name of the drink, they can’t recognize its container, and they cannot relate its taste to any other drink. The shebeen is thus constituted as a site of local authenticity, a place that erases more common ‘night life’ experiences in Soweto such as dressing up with friends, going to a lounge, ordering *ibhiya* ‘beer’ or better yet, *i440* ‘a 444 ml bottle of beer,’ dancing, and returning home

⁴¹ Shosholoza often indexes Soweto, since it was sung frequently for the 2010 FIFA World Cups, held partially in Soweto.

before the dark sets in. Sensitizations of language are used to build up an icon of Sowetan personhood, a Sowetan personhood founded on global imaginaries of African-ness.

Africans in this global imaginary, after all, are predicated on their differences from westerners. Sowetans don't look different (i.e. they wear what tourists might recognize as 'western clothes'), they don't taste too different (i.e. they eat meat, starch, vegetables, and beer – perhaps seasoned or brewed differently, but at their core recognizable), and they don't live differently than westerners (i.e. they use cars and public transport, they have access to water and food). Sowetans therefore must *sound* differently to belong to a global imaginary of African personhood.

How to Listen like a Sowetan

Sowetans also must *listen* to sounds in a uniquely African way in order to appease global portrayals of African personhood. Like linguistic sensitizations, musical sensitizations rarely focus on actual musical practices in Soweto, but rather on global imaginings of what Africans sound like, musically. During my ethnographic research with DiTau tsa Koma, the Tswana traditional dance troupe which performs on Vilakazi Street daily, I experienced many sensitizations of music by various tour guides. DiTau tsa Koma is the longest standing group that has performed on Vilakazi Street, even though its team members constantly rotate depending on their individual lives. Because of this long-standing existence in the community, they have some connections with tour guide companies or restaurants that other dance or music groups do not have. One of the bicycle tours of Soweto brings all of their tourists to a calm spot on Vilakazi Street where DiTau tsa Koma perform for their tourists. These tourists are encouraged to get off of their bicycles and form a semi-circle around the dancers. The tour guide introduces the

group with a linguistic sensitization of the group name, broken down by syllable and performed in a call-and-response manor which the tourists already feel comfortable with – di ‘di’ tau ‘tau’ tsa ‘tsa’ ko ‘ko’ ma ‘ma.’ The guide then explains that these individuals will be performing Tswana traditional dance and song (Tswana is also broken down in a linguistic sensitization), and that the tourists must learn how to show thanks for their performance in local ways of thanksgiving. These include giving money, dancing along with the music, and ululating, in this case. In other musical sensitizations, such as ‘Shosholoza’ discussed above, singing is also included in this list.

A lot of attention is given to teaching the tourists how to dance along with the music. One must clap their hands together with the beat, which the dancers demonstrate with their rattles, and they must sway on the offbeat. The tour guide sometimes verbalizes their familiarity with western listening practices of standing still or, if dancing along, dancing to the downbeat. They must learn to listen, the tour guide says, like a Sowetan in order to show gratitude to their performers. Just like the decision to bring the tourist to the shebeen rather than a bar, club, lounge, or pub, the decision to pair with DiTau tsa Koma rather than the Pantsula dancers on Vilakazi Street, is a strategic decision to satisfy tourist imaginings of African forms of listening.

I opened this chapter with an excerpt from Miriam Makeba’s performance of the ‘Click Song,’ or ‘Qongqothwane.’ This performance is cited in many Sowetan tours. TGs sing this song with great pride for their tourists, a linguistic and musical feat that their audiences listen to in amazement. The abundance of click phonemes appease tourist

desires to *hear* their imagining of African forms of sounding in this world. The performance of 'Pata Pata' similarly appeases tourist desires to *see* and *hear* their imagining of African forms of listening. I mentioned Makeba's embrace of her full name, and a performance of 'Qongqothwane' as an act of liberation from western languages and musical stylings. It might be tempting then to read this touristsic performance of 'Qongqothwane' as one which betrays Makeba's intentions in popularizing it. I do not believe that this is an appropriate reading of the act. While many TGCs claim that their sensitizations of language and music are strategies to diminish differences between individuals, it is simultaneously be a tool for subverting the tourist gaze and transforming it into the host gaze. When tour guides have tourists perform specific linguistic partials which contain phonemes either in locations uncommon in non-Bantu languages, or completely unique to Bantu languages, they are aware that most tourists will not be able to pronounce these lexemes properly. Similarly, when tour guides have tourists perform specific signs of musical expertise such as dance or verbal expression, they are aware that most tourists are used to emphasizing the down-beat and thus cannot follow along to the music. The attention is turned to the tourists, who are often laughed at (jokingly of course) for their inability to perform these linguistic and musical acts. No longer is attention being diverted from Sowetans by turning to nature, and no longer is an unequal tourist gaze focused upon them; Sowetans are the ones who now have power in this touristic relationship, and they continue to maintain it through the embedding of sensitizations of language and music in tourist tales.

CHAPTER 6 – CONCLUSION

Tourism in Soweto has had rippling effects on the country. Though mass tourism only formalized in Soweto after its infrastructural development in the early 2000s, it has since shown increases year after year, offering economic opportunities for many small businesses and entrepreneurs (Chapter 2). Tourists are told a story of Soweto's transformation, from a place where black migrant laborers were outcast during apartheid's racial segregation to a place with economic struggles but a cultural capital which outweighs its poverty (Chapter 3). Soweto's transformation story was created out of a governmental initiative to convert the township into one of Gauteng's top tourist destinations and out of a knowledge that the story of transformation from apartheid to the rainbow nation would not sell in such a context (Chapter 4). TGs bring Soweto's story to life by sensitizing linguistic and musical components of its culture to highlight its cultural notoriety in contemporary South Africa (Chapter 5).

Soweto embodies the story of South African transformation by showing how houses, once owned by the government and lent to black migrant laborers, are now owned, renovated, expanded, and remodeled; by showing how people forced into a capitalist economy have both thrived within this economy and/or created informal means of engaging with it; and most importantly, by showing how a history of pain and suffering can be made into a narrative about the beauty of cultural products which emerge despite this terrible past. Selling Soweto is like selling other urban impoverished areas across the

world, and selling Soweto is simultaneously like selling South Africa because the South African government has hijacked the Sowetan story to sell their country.

Tourism is often ignored by researchers as a silly affair that trivializes and commoditizes the cultures which so many of them dedicate their lives to studying. Bruner (2005, 2) claims that this is often due to a fear that the ethnographer is too similar to the tourist. My first year of ethnographic research was filled with thoughts like this and attempts to distinguish myself from the tourists who filled Regina Mundi on a daily basis. Yet ignoring the issue of tourism was ignoring the crux of my research location. Soweto's fame and notoriety has emerged from tourism. Its anti-apartheid history would not be known if it were not memorialized in touristic buildings such as Regina Mundi or the Hector Pieterse Memorial and Museum. Its relative economic stability, especially compared to other townships, comes from the infrastructural developments (i.e. public transportation, government facilities, safety, water, sanitation, etc.) pushed by the ANC to transform Soweto into one of Gauteng's tourism hubs. The key to understanding contemporary happenings in Soweto is its touristic history and contemporary practices, detailed in this dissertation.

Soweto has metaphoric and demonstrative characteristics that lend itself, in its landscape and in performative demonstrations of its cultural life, towards the narrative which has been constructed about it. Encountering these durable and non-durable artifacts through the senses, emotions, and feelings, tourists leave Soweto feeling that they have intimately come to know this place, its people, South Africa, and perhaps even other urban

impoverished areas (i.e. slums, ghettos, townships) across the world.⁴² TGs are central to the successful branding of Soweto through its narrative; without TGs, this transformation story would not be known. “The wallet of Joburg” has found value in its “storybook” potential, in its ability to speak to human experiences of transformation. Just as a storybook contains words on a page but can be read in different ways, Soweto’s physical infrastructure remains the same but its ‘heart and soul’ have changed.

⁴² Many tourists have documented this by relating their experiences in Soweto to their experiences in other urban impoverished areas. Matthewkiorioth (2016), for example, compared Soweto to both an American ghetto and an Indian slum.

AFTERWARD

Multiple times in this dissertation, I mentioned that Soweto's storybook does not tell the story of all of its inhabitants. So why write a dissertation replicating and dissecting such a story? Why provide another source of distribution, a physical storybook structure, for this narrative?

In Chapter 4 I analyzed the creation and dissemination of Soweto's storybook. As I mentioned there, a storybook has a beginning and an end. The story, because it is bound, is trapped in time; the story of Soweto has remained the same over the past decade, and will continue to remain the same, I suspect, because it sells. So while Soweto and Sowetans move on with their lives, develop their township, and make it the visible "wallet of Joburg," the story that is told about it remains the same. Its characters (both its protagonists and antagonists), its plot (of transformation), and its scenery remain constant in this storybook, but in real life they evolve. The antagonist can no longer be the apartheid government for real change to occur, it must now be the forces which hold it back from progress. Its plot can no longer be of transformation if they need more transformation to occur in order to live ordinary and comfortable lives. Its scenery can no longer display the past (apartheid), the remains of the past (poverty), and the present (culture) if it is to become an economic hub.

This dissertation is the first step in moving past a stagnant story of a township. While this dissertation does the hard work of dismantling the story – of explaining it, documenting its history (its creation and dissemination), and analyzing its medium of communication

(i.e. touristic sensitizations) – further ethnographic work needs to be done on the exploration of life inside this storybook. The other stories that are told and the other histories that are known need to be analyzed. Histories of investment, both economically and personally, need to be documented. I wrote this dissertation about the externally-facing story told about Soweto so that myself and other interested scholars can dive in even deeper to its social life, to the stories which people within Soweto tell each other. Soweto stories are rich and plentiful, this has only been one of them.

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