

Gentrification and Cultural Tourism in the Bo-Kaap, Cape Town

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Abstract

Gentrification may be described as a factor dividing once-vibrant societies through a new 'foreign' influx of wealthy potential investors driving out the original, and sometimes poorer, inhabitants. Tourism gentrification has been described as persons visiting a destination returning as the new inhabitants, but buying the established stock of accommodation at inflated prices. The implication of this tendency is that these new inhabitants bring their own culture and drive out the established heritage. The objectives of the study were to describe the demographic, physical, economic, cultural and tourism position of the Bo-Kaap community, and to establish any links between these factors and gentrification of the area. The study was both qualitative and quantitative among 262 households in the Bo-Kaap. Quantitative questionnaires were distributed to all odd-numbered houses, while a convenient snowball method was used for the qualitative data-gathering with 15 participants forming focus groups. The data was coded and grouped: for the purpose of this report only eight groupings are discussed. The perceptions of the Bo-Kaap respondents are mainly confusing and sometimes contradictory regarding the area's culture and tourism and whether gentrification plays any significant role.

Key words: Bo-Kaap, culture, gentrification, heritage, tourism

Introduction

This study focused specifically on the Bo-Kaap area in Cape Town, and its local community, which shares a largely common culture and heritage dating back to the slave era, when the Cap (as it was then known) was colonised by the Dutch who imported high ranking political slaves from the Malaysian Archipelago in the 17th century. The station was known by various names, including the Cap de Bonne Esperanze, the Cape of Good Hope, the Tavern of the Ocean, and the Bay of Storms (Burman, 1976:41)

The descendants of these slaves form a unique cultural community who still reside today on the slopes of Signal Hill, the area known as the Bo-Kaap of Cape Town (Donaldson, Kotze, Visser, Park, Wally, Zen & Vieyra, 2011:4). These descendants were branded by the Apartheid regime as the Cape Malays, and they still refer to themselves by this label. Some scholars refer to the Cape Malays as a 'dying race', as some of the original Cape Malay traditions are dying out, due to a growing cosmopolitan Cape Town population with its varying cultural influences (Robins, 1998/99:282).

In support of what some anthropologists would term a 'fruit salad' city of vibrant and unique multicultural traditions, as opposed to one melting pot where distinctive cultural traditions are

diluted and lost, cultural tourism is likely to thrive. The challenge is how to preserve cultural distinctiveness without social re-construction of an ethnic enclave that is inclusive of 'the other'. Robins (1998/99:292) asks: '...how do we deconstruct such essentialising versions of multi-culturalism without bending the rod too far in the direction of denial of cultural difference?' It goes without saying that tourism can only exist if it offers a uniquely special product and experience to all visitors to which they are not exposed in their home environment. Gotham (2005) supports this sentiment on tourism when stating that:

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

Given the neighbourhood's physical and cultural significance, and its increasing tourist appeal, its unique historic individuality has been recognised by the National Government and it was designated a Provincial Heritage Area in 1999 (Donaldson et al., 2011:4; 2013:179). A successful tourism framework can only exist if it satisfies the aspirations of all the stakeholders involved; where most control of tourism ownership is cradled in the hands of the local community and can only thrive with the support of the state and the private sector, therefore, the heritage of the Bo-Kaap needs to contribute to cultural tourism. According to Atkinson (2009:284), small town revitalisation suggests several possibilities which are similar to cultural tourism development, and which can model itself as a blueprint for future tourism development, also in the Bo-Kaap.

This research aimed to discover the reasons for the possible decline in the Bo-Kaap's Muslim heritage, which could be a contributing factor for its future preservation. The Cape Malay culture of the Bo-Kaap area, typically known as the 'Cape Malay Quarter', is a tourism gem, which may be slowly declining due to external global and urban forces, including 'gentrification'. From a tourism research perspective, academia need to fulfil a responsibility in uncovering what gentrification is, how this is affecting the community, and its link to developing cultural tourism for both future generations and tourists to enjoy economically, culturally and environmentally.

Smith (1979:547) defined gentrification as the '...process of converting working-class areas into middle-class neighbo[u]rhoods through the rehabilitation of the neighbo[u]rhood's housing stock'. Therefore, gentrification is basically a modern urban phenomenon where higher income residents replace lower income residents, and this has also happened in the Bo-Kaap, mainly due to increases in property rates which wealthy 'foreigners' (in this study a foreigner is any person or group of people from outside the Bo-Kaap area) could afford, forcing local property owners to sell and relocate to other suburbs. Gentrification comes in the form of local businesses, including tourism, being displaced by 'foreign' businesses. New-build gentrification describes modern urban development in a heritage area, as opposed to the rehabilitation of existing physical fabric, which may devalue the historically cultural tourism potential of an area (Kotze & van der Merwe, 2000:39). The effects of gentrification were explored in this research in terms of how the local culture of an area could be threatened, since the Bo-Kaap community may have dispersed due to the gentrification process. The effects of gentrification, therefore, could impede cultural tourism in the process, since cultural traditions, lifestyle, history and heritage as a cultural tourism product is not only disturbed, but also not actively preserved and cherished for the benefit of future tourists and locals.

Literature review

An introductory area of research on gentrification, according to Donaldson (2009:89), could be that of exploring the role of gentrification and tourism in small South African towns, such as Greyton in the Western Cape. He further speculates that many small rural towns experienced gentrification through tourism development, and that rural gentrification entailed a displacement

of consumption practices, whereby agricultural towns are restructured into, among other things, having a primarily tourism economic base. According to Donaldson (2009:94) his survey results suggest that Greyton residents wanted to romanticise pastoralism, despite the fact that since 2000 it had become a tourism town where displaying few remaining signs of former agricultural practices. In other words, tourism wanted to attract the visitor to the country, yet tourism itself has created inroads for 'foreign' tourism enterprises and regeneration, resulting in the very country and rural quality of the town being displaced by an urban gentrification process.

Donaldson's (2009:91-93) study on gentrification in Greyton showed that tourism and heritage conservation was indeed the driving force behind gentrification in the town. The process of gentrification began during the Apartheid era, when the then-government allowed Afrikaner farmers to displace poor coloured families, forcing them to relocate to the outskirts of towns. Thereafter, and continuing in the post-Apartheid era, an urban phenomenon known as counter-urbanisation took place, where wealthy English whites from urban areas displaced Afrikaner rural homeowners by purchasing and renovating these properties as holiday homes for weekend getaways.

An international example of gentrification is of the once-flourishing capital of Brazil, called Salvadore da Bahia, where tourism had not fully realised that it could only achieve success through responsible practices. Bahia was also guilty of this; Nobre (2002:114) reported that from the 1900s to the mid-1930s, improvement and beautification projects took place, neglecting historical heritage and ties to the colonial past as a way to affirm the new country's identity.

Gentrification had already taken place within the borders of Cape Town, in Higher Woodstock, where low-income households were replaced by middle-class coloured professionals, post-Apartheid, in terms of the Group Areas Act (Garside, 1993:31). 'Underlying this physical change in the urban landscape are specific economic, social and political forces responsible for re-shaping advanced capitalist societies' (Garside, 1993:30). This is by far a main agent of gentrification—not only the displacement of low- by high-income social groups, but the renewal and renovation of housing resulting in an increase of property values and rates, forcing working class residents out of their own communities, where wealthier communities inject social capital to establish a permanent stake in their 'new-found' home. The De Waterkant area of Cape Town experienced a similar conversion, but specifically into an area with a 'concentration of gay bars and restaurants [and] is often referred to by the locals as the 'pink strip' (Hattingh, 2016:18), and a residential area for the Cape Town gay community.

Gentrification divided a once-vibrant community spirit, thus disabling the cultural tourism potential in the Bo-Kaap as a prime cultural and heritage attraction in Cape Town. Kotze and van der Merwe (2000:39) loosely describe gentrification as 'low income residents being displaced by higher income residents'. Visser (2002:420) noted that:

...gentrification in the broadest sense has come to mean a unit by unit acquisition of housing which displaces low income residents by high income residents and is independent of the structural condition, architecture, tenure, or original cost of the housing.

An alternate form of gentrification could be that of residential and leisure use to office conversion, which includes a form of international businesses competing against poorer local businesses within the area (Visser & Kotze, 2008:2574). These modern urban tourism nodes may threaten local businesses, which have thrived for centuries on local support. Foreign tourist capital is attracted to promote 'staged authentic' tourism services at the expense of the local small, medium and micro enterprises of the Bo-Kaap community. According to Bures and Cain (2008:3), gentrification could be 'marginal gentrification' where new residents replace former residents in possession of more cultural capital, in opposition to Garside's (1993) definition, which describes

new residents as possessing more economic capital. Bures and Cain (2008:3) further mention 'upgrading' being a form of gentrification which takes place in middle to upper class areas, involving minor renovations and improvements to the built environment, resulting in wealthier and more educated residents replacing middle class residents.

Hutchinson (2006:2) focused more on the socio-cultural aspect of gentrification in his definition:

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

As a result of affluent residents moving into areas the housing-stock of communities undergoing gentrification are typically characterised by a mix of decayed and modern refurbished houses and buildings. Gotham (2005:1100) believed that tourism gentrification was a concept that served to highlight the role of state policy in encouraging both gentrification and tourism development, and was the first theorist to combine the definition of gentrification and tourism:

I developed the concept 'tourism gentrification' to highlight the role of state policy in encouraging both gentrification and tourism development; and the actions of large corporate entertainment firms in redeveloping the Vieux Carre into a space of entertainment and consumption.

Gotham (2005:1100) further argues that the flows of capital in the real estate market, combined with the shift to tourism, explain gentrification more accurately than other definitions which focus too narrowly on consumer demand and cultural preference or upscale neighbourhoods. Funds are used for local redevelopment where land is acquired and sold to private developers resulting in up-scaled urban housing, allowing new wealthy residents to occupy this land. This includes investments in museums, art galleries and historical preservation, and the increasing enmeshment of gentrification into the global systems of real estate and banking finance. Visser and Kotze (2008:2567) speak about displacement of low income households by wealthier residents due to increases in rates and property values which locals are unable to afford.

According to Donaldson et al. (2011; 2013) and Visser and Kotze (2008), gentrification may be linked to heritage and tourism development. This view aligns with the researchers' opinion on gentrification and its effects on tourism practices in the Bo-Kaap. Visser (2002:422) also enthuses that international comparative research focused on gentrification, as being linked to tourism, as leisure-led migration. In other words, gentrification in the Bo-Kaap may be caused by tourism where a mass influx of tourists later become residents of the area, so threatening the heritage components of the local community, and may be the source of intangible heritage attractions of the area. Tourism therefore needs to be responsible by relaying the history and heritage of the area, and that it needs to be protected (Donaldson et al., 2011:7; 2013:180). Tourism should therefore attract responsible tourists who would be more likely to invest in the conservation of the cultural attractions than be the cause of its displacement and ultimate erosion as perpetrated by non-responsible mass tourists who potentially become future gentrifiers of the host community: it is crucial therefore that tourism be managed in a responsible manner so that it does not play the role of 'gentrifier'.

Donaldson et al. (2011:5; 2013:179) explain that historical districts, such as the Bo-Kaap, have a certain sense of place, unlike singular isolated historic buildings, no matter how significant they may be; that the community-setting in which it is located adds further to its unique heritage and cultural appeal. This is precisely why the negative effects of gentrification need to be mitigated by both tangible and intangible heritage preservation as a cultural-tourism mechanism in the area. It

can only be achieved once the authorities recognise that rejuvenation of a heritage district does not entail the buildings alone, but also the preservation of the culture of the people residing in and around these districts. Gentrification is slowly causing some residents of the Bo-Kaap to feel uncomfortable due to the fact that the local culture of the area is being threatened by foreign businesses, where '...commercialisation and gentrification threaten the great qualities of the Bo-Kaap' (Yutar, 2001:15). Visser and Kotze (2008:2569) uphold this sentiment, stating that 'Bo-Kaap's character [is] being lost to gentrification' and that the 'Bo-Kaap [is] sinking under [a] torrent of money'.

The notion of the Bo-Kaap's waning community spirit possibly being caused by gentrification, is confirmed in the study of Donaldson et al. (2011) where it is noted throughout the interviews that the Bo-Kaap was no longer perceived as a community where residents felt more strongly about social and housing decay than 'religious heritage decay'. However, this can only be achieved if the people of the Bo-Kaap take the initiative and reclaim their community identity. Possibly the youth should not feel 'isolated' enough to relocate to 'greener pastures', but rather be proud of their heritage, instead of selling out to the highest bidder. It may well be that the situation is two-fold; that the community cannot mobilise itself due to no external support, such as state-driven initiatives focused on heritage awareness workshops, or funding needed to drive the much-needed heritage revival projects in the community.

Thus the Bo-Kaap needs to have tourism strategic planning prepared and operational to prevent tourism gentrification, which is the origin of 'staged authenticity'. Staged authenticity is in contrast to authentic tourism experiences, where the responsible tourist would appreciate the latter and thus provide financial support for future preservation of this experience. Staged authenticity recreates heritage and cultural interpretations to sell the culture as a commodity. It is opposed to community representation of its own history, controlling its own benefits from their own cultural resources, which suggests a more authentic account of the cultural destination. According to Gotham (2005:1110), symbols and motifs are selectively incorporated into tourist guiding and promotional materials to represent certain visual images of the area.

Staged authenticity poses the threat of attracting mainstream tourists who are not interested in responsible tourism behaviour, which should be at the forefront of the Bo-Kaap civic policy. Gotham (2005:1111) states that:

They are involved in adapting, reshaping and manipulating images of the place to be desirable to the targeted consumer. The same symbols, motifs and themes that relate to tourist advertising are equally applicable to people interested in purchasing a gentrified lifestyle.

This is the case in Rose Street in the Bo-Kaap where '...posh cafes and art galleries fringe the sidewalks, attracting upscale clientele, for example the Haas Art Gallery on Rose Street' (Shaboodien, 2013). In other words, mass tourism needs to stage reality for its tourists in a performance, which hides the truths of modern society where they themselves originate, and want to escape from. Crumbaugh (2005:81) believed that '...present cultural 'others' that resist the fetishisation typical of mass tourism's marketing of cultural difference...', and that the responsible tourist would rather seek the authentic experience, and aim to respect the local culture and lifestyle of the community, making it a vital target-market strategy for cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap, which needs to materialise to counter the natural development of mass tourism that is an appendage of gentrification.

Responsible tourists interested in authentic experiences are more likely to be motivated to consume specialised cultural tours narrated by locals from the area. This offers tourists the

opportunity to interact and experience the local culture beyond a superficial level, satisfying unique travel demands of smaller niche markets. Special interest groups are more likely to invest in the wellbeing of the community instead of causing its demise (Shaboodien, 2013; Barnard, 2016).

Tourism practices could have a twofold positive effect: they could increase the standard of living in the area, where inhabitants would be able to afford high property rates due to increases in property values as a result of local tourism multipliers, and, in the case of increased property values due to high-income residents displacing low-income local residents, property rates can be decreased by preventing foreign displacement of local cultural inhabitants through heritage preservation, using cultural tourism as a vehicle.

Marrying intangible with tangible heritage promotes sustainable tourism in the long term, from which tourists and locals, and eventually even the state and private sectors, can benefit. However, the massive short-term benefits of mass commercial tourism foreign exchange (usually owned by multi-national companies), usually overrides the slower yet significantly extensive benefits in the long term, which benefit all stakeholders involved. The Bo-Kaap therefore needs to guard against the claws of mass tourism, controlled by multinational corporations, which see profits being shared among the elite and not the possessors of the local tourism resources.

Intangible heritage preservation, balanced with economic and cultural-tourism objectives, could therefore be the key in changing to tourism. This, however, can only be initiated by the members of the Bo-Kaap community themselves, before stakeholders can start believing and investing in a tourism development framework for the Bo-Kaap. Visser (2002:419) claims that gentrification in the Bo-Kaap threatens the Muslim heritage of the area and that there is a lack of research on the effect of these processes in South Africa and its neighbourhoods.

According to Shaboodien (2013), gentrification is a natural process of change to which the Bo-Kaap community has to adapt, by managing gentrification through cultural tourism development. This can reverse the process of negative gentrification, instead of exacerbating a non-responsible gentrification process further, which mainstream commercial tourism enables. This is accomplished by empowering locals to maintain their community structure through tourism entrepreneurship based on celebrating their own heritage and inviting tourists to experience an authentic service.

Research design

A blended technique was used, combining quantitative and qualitative questions within the framework of a questionnaire, which was included in the quantitative survey. In-depth interviews and focus group discussions comprised questions of a qualitative nature. The combined quantitative and qualitative data obtained from the survey was quantitatively analysed by coding responses into close-ended categories, while the information obtained from the qualitative data collection was analysed through a qualitative approach. The projective technique of questioning was adapted in this methodology approach, to aid as a forecast of possible recommendations for future cultural tourism based on current cultural-tourism resources available in the community.

The survey comprised self-administered and assist-administered questionnaires, which were delivered personally to respondents. The target population was the residents of the Bo-Kaap area in Cape Town, and the sample size for the quantitative survey was 262 households of a population frame of 741 houses. A probability sampling method was used, where household units were labelled with numbers. Systematic sampling as a method of probability sampling used an odd number-system to assist in the choice of households in the area during the fieldwork process (Maree, 2007:140).

The qualitative data collection used non-probability sampling, with a snowball sampling technique (Maree, 2007:140). Interviewees and focus groups chosen in the initial stages of the research serve the purpose of referees to other potential individuals and organisations within the area. Fifteen participants were conveniently selected, which included community leaders, gentrifiers, local and non-local businesses, nationally-based NGOs, local community organisations and public agencies, such as the City of Cape Town. A comparative analysis was drawn between the quantitative and qualitative results achieved through this mixed method approach. The research explored whether tourist expectations of experiencing authentic local cultural tourism services in a local heritage attraction and attempts to establish whether modern urban development within the historical architectural character of the Bo-Kaap, has contributed to the waning heritage and cultural preservation initiatives in the area, and thus the community spirit of the local culture of the Bo-Kaap. It also needed to ascertain whether there is a lack of a tourism authority in the Bo-Kaap protecting its people and tourism resources, and if there are any forms of 'responsible tourism frameworks' as a guideline for cultural tourism in the area.

Findings and discussions

Because the study was extensive only the most salient aspects of gentrification, cultural and tourism findings are discussed in this section. The replacement and influence of new cultures visiting or relocating to the area are thought to impact on the physical aspects of the cultural and tourism landscape of the community, and cultural dynamics in the community are under future threat. Staged authenticity could be commercialising the unique heritage qualities of the Bo-Kaap community.

Perceptions of cultural change in the Bo-Kaap community

With regards to perceptions of cultural change 68.3% of the respondents strongly agree that life has changed in the Bo-Kaap; simultaneously respondents agree that practice and knowledge of the Bo-Kaap culture has changed since 1994. Respondents said, for example, that they did pass down traditions to the next generation, and the youth agree that their parents pass on local traditions to them. Cultural change, as an effect of gentrification, is perhaps perceived to be pandemic in the Bo-Kaap by the community, even though the community members do not necessarily subscribe to change. It seems, therefore, that in order for the community to tackle cultural change head-on, it needed to provide a platform for open discussions on what the community means for itself, and align common goals to the future of the Bo-Kaap. Culture is not static and it has an impact on the strict authenticity of heritage, where ideologies on the management of culture may transform over time (du Cros, 2001:166). Perceptions on community and cultural change cannot be measured in isolation from gentrification.

Perceptions of benefits of cultural tourism in the Bo-Kaap

The benefits of tourism, as a treatment of the cultural effects of gentrification, needed to be gauged by the community. A group of respondents (30.1%) were not sure whether tourism does indeed protect the local culture and heritage of the Bo-Kaap, but a large (69.9%) following of the community does, in fact, believe that tourism protects the local cultural resources. It is possible that some community members are not aware of who is managing their resources, or aware that it is not within their control, but at the same time surmising that tourism is a protecting agent. This appears as a contradiction to sentiments that the community is changing and that historical and cultural tourism values have changed since 1994. There is, therefore, a perceived lack of knowledge surrounding any cultural development policy for the Bo-Kaap, or for different sectors of the community, regarding tourism impacts on the cultural heritage of the community. Sixty nine

point nine percent of the Bo-Kaap community members agreed that the historical and cultural tourism value of the area had changed since 1994, which could be linked to the fact that residents strongly felt that life in general had changed in the Bo-Kaap, where lifestyle, traditions and the culture of the community have altered. Waning authenticity could therefore be a cause for concern as gentrification appears to mushroom in the area. It is incumbent on the residents that the Bo-Kaap culture be protected through sustainable tourism measures to counter the negative social effects of gentrification.

Perceptions on cultural tourism development in the Bo-Kaap

It would also appear that perceptions surrounding the Bo-Kaap tourism (policy) are mostly neutral or unsure, followed by a second component who disagree that sustainable cultural tourism development is taking place in the community, and therefore guidelines need to be harnessed by the community. The community lacks any initiative and control over the heritage resources in the area; they believe that the culture is changing but that they do not benefit from tourism in the Bo-Kaap. Perceptions on tourism development are, therefore, mostly unclear and somewhat negative about any developmental processes in the community, which should be planned, reviewed and managed according to developmental principles. The study results highlight that the Bo-Kaap community have multiple perceptions on cultural change, the economic effects of gentrification, and the role of tourism in cultural conservation for the area.

What can be deduced from the survey data generally is that households in the Bo-Kaap are satisfied with the level and pace of tourism development in the area. This may be interpreted that residents actually welcome cultural tourism development, which is really a strengthening of the community's cultural and religious identity, acting as a barrier to long-term gentrification. Another aspect of tourism, according to respondents, is that there appears to be an increase in job opportunities in the Bo-Kaap, as well as general development and upgrading of the area also considered to be beneficial for the community. This is understandable since tourism development appears synonymous with gentrification in the Bo-Kaap. Although development and regeneration of buildings are a symptom of tourism gentrification, it need not be perceived in a negative light; development and upgrading, also linked to tourism gentrification, may be perceived as a compromise of the valuable cultural fabric of the area perhaps, ironically, destroying the motivation of tourists to visit Bo-Kaap attractions. This fabric is described by Barnard (2016:4) as the rare and threatened cultural history, mid-19th century architecture, the terrace-rows building styles of the 18th and 19th centuries, and the narrow stone streets. Some respondents are adamant that tourism development is not taking place, and link their views to political promises made by an international hotel which reneged on job promises in return for the community's space for development (Anon, 2013).

Perceptions of cultural change

A majority of respondents say their culture has changed; 68.3% claim the Bo-Kaap local heritage culture is not the same as before 1994 and is evolving over time, resulting in a predominantly Cape Malay heritage slowly transforming as a result of 'new' cultural groups moving into the area, or the media suggesting such changes are taking place. So, according to community perception, cultural change has taken place on a broad front but change is not perceived within households, which appears as a contradiction. This implies that the practice and transmission of cultural knowledge is slowly fading even though this may be perceived at a minimum rate in the family home, and certainly not at any dramatic rate within the community; supporting the perceptions that gentrification of the Bo-Kaap is also evolving slowly.

However some respondents claim that the Bo-Kaap culture has not changed noticeably because of the strong tradition of Ramadaan. It is therefore thought that the Bo-Kaap culture has not (completely) died out, and that some heritage will be preserved on which tourism can be built. This is probably because some 'big events' (for example the "Cape Malay Carnival" in the Bo-Kaap area attract much attention and excitement, despite their irregular occurrence, and are unlikely to succumb to the influence of 'new' inhabitants.

This perception is supported by du Cros (2001:166) when she describes how cultural heritage (as in the Bo-Kaap) becomes synonymous with the neighbourhood and can be used to induce a sense of cultural continuation and enhancement through the recognition of the history. Unique heritage can therefore be sustainable, where gentrification can be controlled eliminating possible negative impacts (some residents, who believe that cultural change is taking place say this is caused by gentrification).

The Donaldson et al. (2011:10) study suggested that cultural change may not only be linked to the change in home-ownership (gentrification). This study found that there was a minimum change between 1994 and 2011 of only 1.6% regarding transfers of home-ownership, with a corresponding decrease of 1.6% in tenancy, implying that transference of ownership is not related to gentrification, and that the change in culture cannot only be related to this phenomenon.

Western cultural influences in the Bo-Kaap

The cultural effect, and not necessarily so much the influence of western cultures, could be a reason for the Bo-Kaap losing its unique cultural heritage, and may be an obstacle to developing cultural tourism in the area. However, if cultural tourism can equate to income for some of the residents and youth, this may be a tool for cultural conservation, which may become a motivating factor for residents not to sell their homes, slowing the cycle of gentrification. An example of this could be socio-cultural pride, where the residents are faced with fewer social problems, and the community remains intact. Ultimately, instead of a negative cycle of gentrification, a positive cycle of cultural tourism could take effect, where in turn, the active conservation of the cultural heritage for the neighbourhood's cultural well-being may eventually be utilised on an on-going basis for cultural tourism production ensuring economic benefits for the community.

Cultural tourism to counter impacts of gentrification

The study data suggests that it is imperative that cultural tourism development be exploited in the Bo-Kaap, especially of its rich historical heritage, cultural relics and attractions. These could potentially be used to develop an economic platform, which could address the reasons why some Bo-Kaap residents are moving away: family expansion, the need for bigger properties (expanding families), monetary gain, and relocating elsewhere to avoid the increasing property rates in the area. The financial empowerment gained from cultural tourism in the area could assist some residents in paying the municipal accounts comfortably and thus remain in the Bo-Kaap area. Family expansion and the need for bigger properties are valid reasons to relocate, however monetary gain for the sake of a gain could be addressed through innovative community assigned strategies and cultural awareness programmes for the residents, where the source of motivation for choices could be internal change, such as the need for saving relationships, the community, and the true heritage.

It is evident from the study data that physical, economic, cultural and tourism changes have occurred but perhaps only on a limited scale. It is debatable whether some of the cultural or economic changes are directly caused by (or cause) gentrification, where physical changes are more easily attributed to tourism gentrification. This also speaks to the possibility that tourists could become potential gentrifiers, especially since they share the same characteristics of being

attracted to 'authentic' neighbourhoods where, according to Gotham (2005:1111), 'staged authentic tourism' and property marketing are faced by similar demand patterns. Cultural tourism development could then be a sustainable (and responsible) form of development for the Bo-Kaap community if the residents took ownership of the assets, rather than allowing 'foreign' controlled national tourist businesses or the local elite, which could lead to the cultural impacts and tourism gentrification being reduced, or at least controlled.

Perceptions of cultural impacts on gentrification in the Bo-Kaap

The information obtained from the study-data advises that the main cultural impact of gentrification is actually an indirect one with many residents stating that the physical change in the cultural landscape has been most prevalent. Twenty seven point eight percent noted that the change in the profile of residents had been the replacement of coloured or Cape Malays' by a growing number of black and white persons in the area. Describing the racial categories in the Bo-Kaap could imply that the perceived changes may be relatively recent and not rapidly growing, which suggests that gentrification may only be slowly changing the composition of the area. Because of the different and sometimes contradictory lifestyle practices there are perceptions of intolerance among groups, which could be managed through cross-cultural dialogue to counter the negative cultural impacts of gentrification, and ultimately on the tourism potential of the Bo-Kaap.

Residents had expressed that the cultural impacts of gentrification in the Bo-Kaap were the physical changes of the cultural landscape as a result of an influx of 'western and African cultures' introducing a lifestyle and set of values which were foreign to the traditions of the area. These visible and intangible impacts could be more directly linked to gentrification as opposed to the demographic, cultural and tourism changes experienced in this study, since these are witnessed accounts of residents of the Bo-Kaap community. The Bo-Kaap has been identified as a tourism destination/attraction due to its various distinctive architectural and historical heritage.

Perceptions of tourism authenticity

A resounding 90.4% of respondents are of the opinion that tourism in the Bo-Kaap is not authentic because it lacks Bo-Kaap resident tourists' guides who are able to relate truthfully the heritage of the area. The survey-data suggests that the core of the authenticity is essentially tainted because the non-local guides are unconcerned about the local community's true history, heritage and cultural lifestyle experiences, being more concerned for personal financial gain at the expense of the local inhabitants' needs and demands. This attitude affects the deeper experience of the tourist, which is unsustainable for the development of the broader community in the long term – what could be termed as 'staged authenticity' in the light of the mixed attitudes towards tourism development and the negative perceptions surrounding tourism authenticity. This could, or could not, exacerbate gentrification, and could or could not aid in the responsible management of gentrification and its interdependent efforts on the Bo-Kaap community. However, some of the reasons for the positive reactions towards tourism being new-build development upgrades, coupled with a belief that tourism causes gentrification, as well as the interpretation of non-authentic tourism due to 'staged authenticity' as one of the marketing mechanisms, could potentially mask the likelihood that tourism gentrification is taking place in the Bo-Kaap tourism quarter.

Recommendations

A tourism policy, therefore, needs to be developed for success in the Bo-Kaap for future generations to enjoy (Shaboodien, 2013; Barnard, 2016). Real estate and tourism approaches need to be integrated to protect the residential heritage component of the area, including selling property to descendants of this historic slave district, to protect the legacy of this area. It may be

a bit late but it can still save the last of these ethnic descendants and the Bo-Kaap, which is paramount to South African slave history. It is, therefore, the role of the community of the Bo-Kaap to strike a balance between preserving its tangible and intangible heritage. At the same time differences must not be isolated since change is inevitable and can only remain sustainable for a community by adapting and knowing when to accept change which cannot be resisted.

Conclusions

The data of the effects of gentrification, where the community's perceptions on physical, economic, cultural and tourism changes in the Bo-Kaap, have been analysed in relation to the literature reviewed on gentrification, and its various effects on a host community, and supplemented with data presenting the real estate ownership in the Bo-Kaap community, as well as motivations to selling family real estates in the area, which could trigger gentrification. The study also provided glimpses into the attitudes of the respondents towards the community, youth problems, culture, gentrification, and cultural tourism development. Other data on the perceptions and potential reasons for the physical, economic, cultural and tourism changes in the Bo-Kaap area, with particular reference to staged authenticity as a possible indicator of tourism gentrification in the Bo-Kaap area, suggests that the community's perception on methods of reviving culture for management of the impacts of gentrification in the area is through maximising and minimising the positive and negative effects of cultural tourism gentrification. These thoughts are emphasised by Barnard (2016:4) in an article in the Cape Town newspaper, *Die Burger*, where she notes that the local community will have to decide on the future of the Bo-Kaap.

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