Universität Potsdam

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Poverty, Tourism, and Poverty Tourism in Windhoek, Namibia

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Fig.	figure
CBT	Community Based Tourism
Chap.	chapter
CoW	City of Windhoek
EUR	Euro
f./ff.	and the following page/pages
GBP	British Pound/Great Britain Pound
LED	Local Economic Development (Strategy)
MET	Ministry of Environment and Tourism
n. d.	no date of publication given
NAC	Namibia Airports Company
NACOBTA	Namibia Community Based Tourist Assistance Trust
NAD	Namibian Dollar
NDP	National Development Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NPC	National Planning Commission
Tab.	table
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council

1 INTRODUCTION

Guided sightseeing tours of the former township of Katutura have been offered in Windhoek since the mid-1990s. City tourism in the Namibian capital had thus become, at quite an early point in time, part of the trend towards utilising disadvantaged urban areas for purposes of tourism – a trend that set in at the beginning of the same decade, inspired by experience already gained in neighbouring South Africa. Frequently referred to as "slum tourism", "slumming" or "poverty tourism", the phenomenon has not only been causing some media sensation since its emergence; in the past few years, it has increasingly developed into a dynamic field of scientific research, too (cf. Frenzel et al. 2015).

The report presented here is the outcome of a study project of the Institute of Geography at the School of Cultural Studies and Social Science of the University of Osnabrueck, Germany. It represents the first empirical case study on township tourism in Namibia that seeks to address a wide range of issues.

1.1 Background of the study: Development of global poverty tourism and current status of research in the field

Guided tours around townships, which can be seen as a precursor to today's township tourism, were conducted in South Africa as early as the days of apartheid. In the 1980s, such visits were either organised by the apartheid regime itself for propaganda purposes or undertaken by anti-apartheid NGOs and political activists as part of their political struggle (cf. Frenzel 2012). In Brazil, too, it was initially political circumstances that led to the development of *favela tourism* – the Brazilian version of slum tourism: In Rio de Janeiro, favela tourism emerged in the context of the United Nations Conference on Environment and Sustainable Development (UNCED) in 1992. Favelas, already visible in the distance, drew the attention of representatives of NGOs, political activists and journalists, mainly because the police and military had cordoned them off during the conference, owing to security and image concerns. They therefore demanded guided tours of Rocinha, Rio's largest favela (Freire-Medeiros 2009). The tours were organised for them by representatives of local civil society organisations and politically active individuals (cf. Freire-Medeiros 2009; Steinbrink 2013: 140).

As the years passed by, these niche products for politically interested travellers evolved, both in South Africa and in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, into commercial structures for slum tours offered on the tourism market. In the meantime, poverty tourism has experienced an expansion, developing into a popular form of tourism in an increasing number of metropolises in the Global South (cf. Frenzel et al. 2012). What has been dubbed 'slum tourism' has now become a global phenomenon (cf. Fig. 1).

It can be estimated that over a million tourists worldwide – mainly from the Global North – participate yearly in slum, favela or township tours, with South Africa and Rio de Janeiro accounting for approximately 90 % of them.[1] Even if this figure might not seem high, in view of the 459 million international tourists travelling to countries of the Global South annually (cf. UNWTO 2014), it does reveal that slum tourism is perhaps one of the fastest growing 'new markets' in the tourism sector. In fact, the market has not stopped booming:

1 In the big cities of South Africa alone, the number of tourists participating in township tours per year, according to estimates, is 800,000. Favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro experienced a boom during the developments surrounding the 2014 Football World Cup, and it is also doing so now in connection with the Summer Olympic Games due to take place there in 2016. Experts now reckon with over 100,000 favela tourists in the Brazilian metropolis (cf. Steinbrink et al. 2015). Slum tourism in Dharavi in Mumbai (India) has been experiencing a real boom since the 2008 release of Oscar-winning film *Slumdog Millionaire* (cf. Meschkank 2013).

The number of new slum destinations has been experiencing an extraordinarily rapid growth in the last 5 to 10 years (cf. Fig. 1), and more and more tourism enterprises have been offering an increasingly wide range of different activities. Guided tours, be they bus, van, jeep, quad bike, walking or cycling tours, represent the most firmly established form of slum tourism, though they vary quite strongly indeed in their concrete design and organisation and in their foci; moreover, thematic specialisations can be observed, especially in the consolidated destinations.

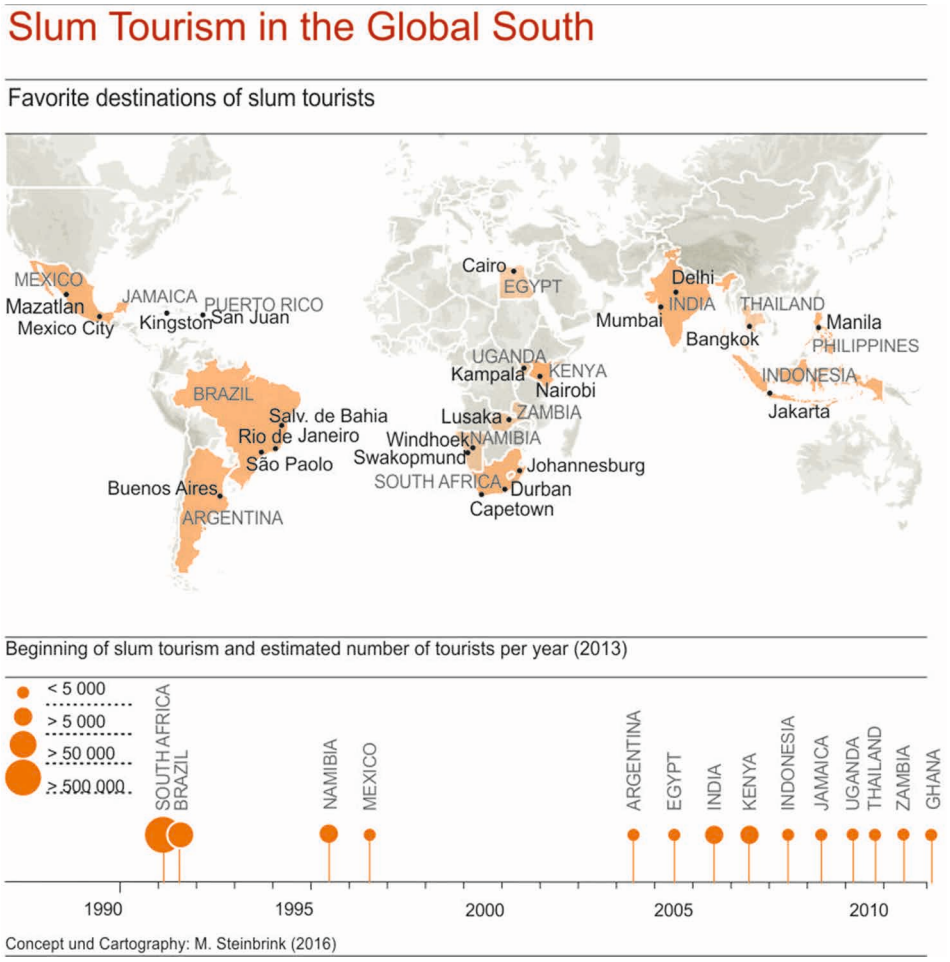


Fig. 1: Slum tourism in the Global South *Source: authors' own presentation*

And the fact that services are increasingly being offered beyond the guided tour (e.g. visits to Baile Funk Parties in Rio's favelas, organised paint ball matches, bed&breakfast facilities as well as backpacker accommodation, special restaurants and "short-term volunteering") is an indication of diversification processes that

point to a certain degree of maturity in the 'product lifecycle' of poverty tourism. Although tour providers usually advertise the activities of slum tourism as "*Reality Tours*" and "*off the beaten track*" (cf. Meschkank 2011; Dyson 2012; Freire-Medeiros 2013), it can no longer be overlooked that, in some destinations, slum tourism has now advanced to the standard programme of mainstream tourism.

Yet, slum tourism remains an extremely controversial kind of global tourism that is being greeted with much suspicion and scepticism. In particular, most journalists who first reported on the tours were quick to express their presumptions about the motives of the tourists and were soon making their conjectures the basis of their moral judgements: In reports on radio and television and in the printed media, slum tourists were often criticised and are still criticised – in quite a one-sided manner – as gapers and the slum-tourist's gaze as disrespectful social voyeurism. Comparisons with visits to the zoo or terms like "*human safaris*", "*poorism*" or "*poverty porn*" determined the scene of media reporting for a long period of time. Only recently has slum tourism occasionally been experiencing media recognition of its potential to help create and promote awareness of global inequality by bringing about direct confrontation with poverty, and to contribute to intercultural understanding. Despite the current tendency towards more differentiation in the media coverage of slum tourism, reports on it are, however, still strongly characterised by a moralising perspective (Backhaus, Frenzel and Steinbrink 2014).

The scientific community discovered global slum tourism much later than did the journalists. The first studies concerning themselves more systematically with the phenomenon did not emerge until the mid-2000s (Ramchander 2004; Rogerson 2006; Freire-Medeiros 2007; Steinbrink and Frehe 2008; Rolfes, Steinbrink and Uhl 2009). Academic interest in poverty tourism has been on the rise for something like six years now, and the subject is currently evolving into a markedly dynamic field of research characterised by interdisciplinary approaches and a multiplicity of research perspectives. An international research network comprising some 60 scientists has been in existence since 2010; it was founded with the aim of intensifying interdisciplinary exchange both on the *www.slumtourism.net* platform and at international conferences (Bristol 2010 und Potsdam 2014). Five text collections reflecting the current status of research in the field have directly resulted from this international network project. Two of the collections emerged from the 2010 Bristol conference, namely: the anthology *Slum Tourism. Poverty, Power and Ethics* (2012) and *Special Issue* Vol. 14 (2) in *Tourism Geographies* (2012). The outcome of the 2014 conference in Potsdam is a special issue of the German journal *Zeitschrift für Tourismuswissenschaften* (ZfTW), Vol. 6 (2) (2014) and two themed issue of *Tourism Review International, Vol. 18* (4) and Vol. 19 (1/2) were published in 2015.

Current studies on the phenomenon of slum tourism reflect a trend generally observable in scientific research endeavours, namely the trend not only towards

considering poverty and tourism from an economic viewpoint, but towards subjecting both of them to readings with stronger theoretical orientations in the cultural, political or social sciences. However, in spite of, and perhaps due to, the dynamism currently manifesting itself both in poverty tourism itself and in the field of slum tourism research, there is as yet no theoretical inquiry that looks into the phenomenon more comprehensively.[2]

Meanwhile, a considerable number of empirically conceived case studies from various geographical contexts and destinations are now available (cf. Frenzel et al. 2015).[3] Their thematic foci can roughly be classified under three categories: noticeably many of the studies concern themselves with slum visitors, the 'travellers', examining their *expectations and perceptions* in their capacity as tourists (1). These studies mainly focus either on the slum visitors' motives or on questions concerning the virtual contents of tourists' expectations and imaginations ("*images*"), as well as on questions regarding slum presentations and *re*presentations in the context of the tour. Other studies focus attention more strongly on *local economic and socio-cultural effects* (2). Some of these studies place educational issues in the foreground of their investigations; others put under empirical scrutiny approaches that are geared to the principle of sustainability and equitable distribution, seeking to help enhance the empowerment and economic involvement of the local population (e.g., approaches suggested in *Community Based Tourism* or in *Responsible Tourism*, and the concept of *Pro-Poor Tourism*). A few studies also target their research interest on the *perspective of those visited*, of *'the hosts'* (3), and thus on the question of how the inhabitants of poor urban areas themselves assess the tours and/or the tourists (cf. Frenzel et al. 2015).

It is worth noting that the existing research projects dealing with the issues just described each – with a few exceptions – focus attention on individual questions only. It is here that this study would like to locate its starting point; it seeks to combine different thematic foci more rigorously from an integrative point of view.

Township tourism in Namibia constitutes the example of the study being presented here. For some years now, guided tours of those settlements that were built for 'non-white' population groups during the apartheid era are offered in virtually all major town in the country (e.g. in Swakopmund, Walvis Bay, Okahandja, Gobabis, Outjo). One settlement of this kind representing the first and by far most significant destination in Namibian township tourism is, however, the former township of Katutura, located in the country's capital, Windhoek. Although Katutura is one of the oldest and most firmly established destinations in this form of tourism, there

2 For example, the following fundamental question still needs answering: How and why has it been possible, in the first place, for a market for tourism in poor urban areas to develop in a globalised, functionally differentiated (world) society? Current efforts that seek to grasp the phenomenon from the viewpoint of Niclas Luhmann's system theory seem to be promising in this context (cf. Rolfes 2010, Meschkank 2011, Rolfes, Burgold 2013 and Meschkank 2013).

3 Most of the studies are concerned with township tourism in South Africa, favela tourism in Rio de Janeiro and slum tourism in Dharavi in Mumbai, India. There are various studies on slum tourism in Nairobi as well. In addition, there are three on-going research projects with an explicitly comparative approach (cf. Dürr, Jaffe and Jones [2014]; Frenzel [2012b]; Steinbrink, Rolfes and Pott [2010]).

is as yet no study that deals systematically with township tourism in Windhoek.[4] Our study is now closing this research gap.

The empirical inquiries were conducted in the framework of a study project of the Institute of Geography at the School of Cultural Studies and Social Science of the University of Osnabrueck, Germany, under the supervision of Malte Steinbrink. The fieldwork was done in Windhoek during a stay in Namibia in February and March 2013. The stay was financially supported by the City of Windhoek (CoW); the CoW's Department of Tourism accompanied the project logistically and in matters of organisation.[5] The surveys, interviews and observations conducted in the field were carried out by ten Master's Degree students who worked in groups dealing specifically with different aspects of the topic.[6]

4 Apart from an unpublished *Diplomarbeit* (degree thesis) that looks into the question of utilising the township's potential for tourism (Mesch 2003), there is no study in existence that focuses on Katutura as a destination in township tourism. Saarinen (2010), too, only discusses the information policy pre-conditions for a better economic participation of the local population in the revenues generated in tourism against the background of the Community-Based-Tourism approach; he does, however, not look explicitly into township tourism and its structures.

5 Our special thanks go to Grace Pujatura, Olehile ("Fisher") Thataone, Phila Hukura and to all other staff members of the Tourism Department of the CoW. During our stay, they provided us with invaluable support in many respects and thus contributed decisively to the project's success. Their warm nature and their impressive hospitality made us feel very much at home in Windhoek. *We thank you all very much indeed! Sorry that the English version of this report took so long!*

6 The following students worked as field researchers: Mehtap Akpinar, Dominik Baumgarten, Michael Buning, Daniel Hausmann, Sabrina Joest, Martin Legant, Ruth Nielen, Berenike Schauwinhold (MA students in Economic and Social Geography), Tore Süßenguth (MA student in International Migration and Intercultural Relations) and Thomas Grunau (MA student in Education in Social Heterogeneity).

1.2 Objectives, research questions and methodology

The overall objective of this first case study on township tourism in Namibia is to make a further empirical contribution to the broader scientific discussion around the relationship between poverty and tourism and to an understanding of the global phenomenon of poverty tourism.

As regards our concrete research interests, the study is thematically focused on four areas:

1. *Emergence, development and (market) structure of township tourism in Windhoek*

2. *Expectations/imaginations, representations and perceptions of the township and its inhabitants from the tourist's perspective*

3. *Perception and assessment of township tourism from the residents' perspective*

4. *Local economic effects and the poverty-alleviating impact of township tourism*

Due to the multi-dimensionality of these research interests, we designed a research framework combining quantitative and qualitative methods. Besides standardised questionnaire surveys, guideline-based interviews and expert talks, the methodological elements of our field research also included participatory observations as well as mappings.

Our inquiries focused particularly (a) on the three major groups of actors in township tourism – namely, the tour providers or operators, the tourists and the inhabitants of Katutura – and (b) on the tours themselves. The study therefore had four foci of attention for the different empirical components (cf. Fig. 2). A brief explanation of the questions concerning each of the foci and of our methods now follows.

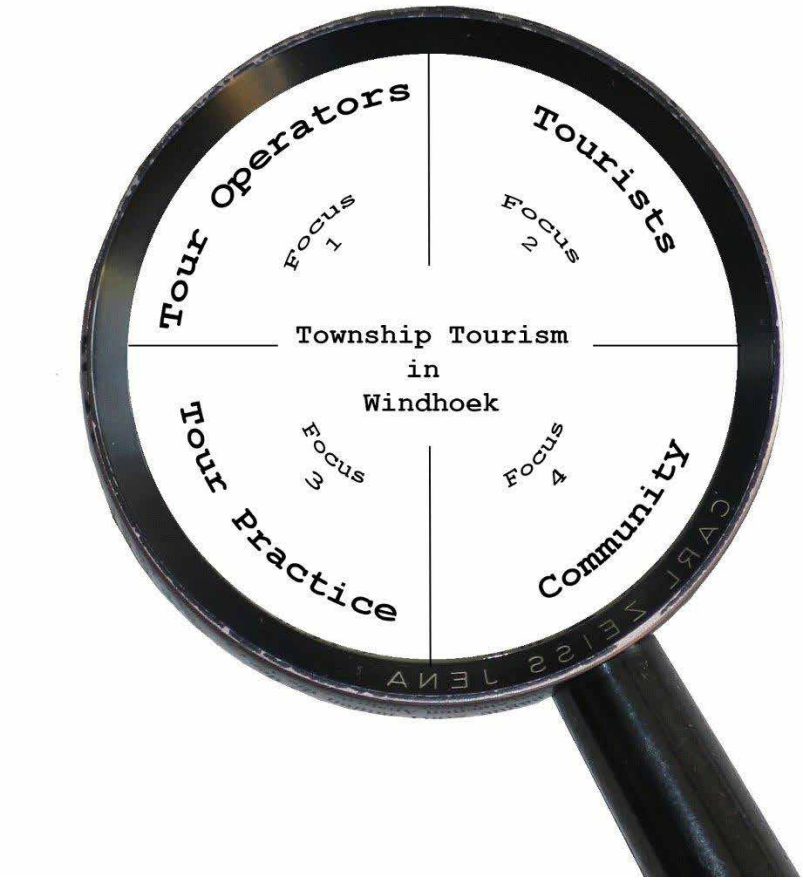


Fig. 2: **Four foci of empirical research** *Source: authors' own presentation*

FOCUS 1: TOUR OPERATORS

Interviews were conducted with 17 companies conducting township tours in Katutura; these interviews were intended to enable us to look into the emergence, development and current market structures of township tourism in Windhoek (cf. Chap. 2 and 6) and to gain insights into the reasons for different tour conceptions (cf. Chap. 4).

The guideline-based interviews were primarily designed as problem-centred interviews about 'company biographies'. The interviews were transcribed and subjected to content-analytical assessment.

FOCUS 2: TOURISTS

An important group on which the inquiries of our study focused was that of the tourists, the demanders of township tours. 70 tour participants were interviewed on the basis of a semi-standardised questionnaire about their imaginations as well as their expectations and wishes; this was done immediately before the tour commenced (cf. Chap. 3).

These pre-tour interviews were intended to provide clues to tourists' motives and to their predominant images of the township before the tour.

To find out whether tourists' expectations had been met and the extent to which this was the case, and whether their participation in the tour had led to (or would lead to) a change in their image of Katutura, we interviewed them anew at the end of the tour, making use of a questionnaire (cf. Chap. 5). Additionally, this questionnaire included data on tourists' consumption behaviour during the tour (cf. Chap. 6.4). Comparative data was collected via interviews with a further 198 tourists who were not township tourists.

The data collected was then documented and statistically analysed with the help of relevant software (SPSS, EXCELL). Moreover, the quantitative surveys were supplemented with a number brief qualitative interviews with tourists.

FOCUS 3: THE TOURS / TOUR PRACTICE

The actual practice of the township tours was also an important focus of our research work in Windhoek. In this context, we laid particular emphasis on the way and manner in which the tour operators presented and represented the township. What do they show the tourists while stage-managing Katutura in the context of tourism? What topics do the presentations draw upon and what guiding differentiations are identifiable as structuring presentation and perception in township tourism?

The qualitative field research was particularly based on the method of participatory ethnographic observations conducted during the tours; these were supplemented by mappings and informal interviews (cf. Chap. 4).

FOCUS 4: KATUTURA'S RESIDENTS/COMMUNITY

The study also sought to examine the perspective of those visited ('host community'). It was to this extent, that Katutura's inhabitants formed an important group that served as a focus of our field research (cf. Chap. 6). The study particularly raised the following questions: When did the inhabitants start becoming aware of the phenomenon of township tourism and what do they think about the presence

of tourists in their township (cf. Chap. 6.1)? What expectations and hopes do they attach to township tourism (cf. Chap. 6.2)? What motives do they think the tourists might be pursuing? In other words: Why do they think the tourists are visiting Katutura (cf. Chap. 6.3)? In Chap 6.4 the study focusses the question of the economic relevance of township tours for the township residents.

Within the scope of our inquiries into the inhabitants' perspective, a total of 100 brief guideline-based interviews were conducted with people in Katutura and then subjected to content-analytical assessment. The inhabitants interviewed were (a) people involved in various ways in township tourism; and (b) those not directly involved in activities of tourism.

2 KATUTURA AS A TOURIST DESTINATION

The tourism sector in Namibia has been experiencing an rapid and virtually uninterrupted growth process since the country's independence in 1990. At the same time, it is evolving in the complex context of socio-political and socio-economic transformations taking place in the post-apartheid era. It is against this background that visits to the former Township of Katutura have developed into an integral part of city tourism in Windhoek – a development that started in the late 1990s.

In the following, we present an outline of current developments in tourism in Windhoek and of the emergence and present structure of township tourism in the Namibian capital.

2.1 City tourism in Windhoek

Tourist numbers in Namibia have constantly been on the rise since its attainment of political independence (cf. Weaver/Elliott 1996: 210; Rodrian 2009: 36 f.; MET 2012: 30). Namibia is among the four fastest growing markets for tourism worldwide (cf. WTTC 2014: 1). Roughly 1.1 million international guests visited Namibia in 2013 (ibid: 5) – a remarkable number, in view of the country's population of only 2.1 million.[7]

Most of the tourists come from neighbouring African countries (South Africa, Angola, Zimbabwe and Botswana) and from Germany, Great Britain, The Netherlands and North America. The large majority (about 75 %) of tourists from the three European source markets mentioned travel to Namibia for holiday purposes (cf. MET 2013: 7 f).[8] Nearly 16.6 % (about 80,000) of all international holiday-makers in Namibia continue to be Germans, and 4 % each are from the Netherlands and Great Britain (cf. MET 2013). However, a stronger diversification of the source markets has indeed been observed in the last few years.

At present, the tourism sector accounts for 14.8 % of Namibia's gross domestic product (GDP); it thus represents a pillar of the country's national economy (cf. WTTC 2014: 1). As regards employment figures, there has been a steady increase in the tourism sector for years (WTTC 2014): in 2013, 4.5 % of Namibia's workforce were directly dependent on tourism for their jobs, 19.4 % indirectly, via the value creation chain.

Namibia has a large number of tourist attractions to offer. In the past, the dominant focus used to be on nature and wildlife tourism (cf. Weaver and Elliot 1996: 211). It was not until a few years ago that activities in the field of cultural tourism (e.g. ethno-tourism and city tourism) began to gain in importance (cf. Papen 2005: 80).

The Hosea Kutako International Airport, located near Windhoek[9], is Namibia's only international airport and thus the gateway to Namibia for 84 % of international tourists from Europe and North America. This suggests that the large majority of Namibia's overseas visitors start and end their stay in Windhoek (cf. MET 2013: 17). These figures alone indicate what potential there is in international tourism for the Namibian capital. That potential, however, is still far from exhausted. A current study does indeed reveal that 70 % of international tourists visit Windhoek during their trip to Namibia (cf. MET 2013: 21); but then, this figure, to begin with, has fallen by 10 % in the past ten years. Besides, the tourists

7 Cf. NSA (n.d.).

8 Visitors from the neighbouring countries, on the other hand, mention visits to relatives and business trips as the principal reasons for their travels to Namibia.

9 For the 2012/2013 fiscal year, the airport reported 384,641 passengers arriving from abroad (cf. NAC2013: 17).

spend a mere 1.25 nights on average in Windhoek (cf. Basilio et al. 2006: 4). This means that international tourists in Namibia only spend around one tenth of an average of 11.6 days of their leave in the capital (cf. MET 2013: 76).

In 2013, the accommodation sector recorded 261,232 international arrivals in the capital region of Khomas (cf. NTB 2014: 7); this number is low compared to the arrival figures reported by the airport. It is obvious, therefore, that most holiday-makers consider their stay in the city the starting and/or end point of their trip, mainly serving the purpose of shopping for (safari) equipment or for souvenirs. For the most part, a longer stay in the city does not feature on their programme.[10]

For purposes of city tourism, it is primarily the historical buildings and monuments dating from the German colonial period (*Alte Feste*, *Reiterdenkmal*, *Christuskirche*, *Tintenpalast*, Windhoek Castles, etc.) that have always been (and continue to be) marketed in Windhoek (cf. Rodrian 2009: 43 ff.); these are all located at the centre of the city. The National Museum[11] and Heroes' Acre, sights that emerged on the scene after Namibia's independence, have now joined the list. The Independence Memorial Museum, which is thematically devoted to apartheid history and the history of Windhoek, has been open to the public, after a long construction phase, since 21 March 2014. Moreover, Windhoek's inner city has many international restaurants and shopping facilities to offer, as well as a few bars, cinemas and theatres.[12] Besides, for some years now, Windhoek's city marketers have increasingly been focusing on conference and trade-fair tourism as well.[13]

At present, the city's image is largely characterised by its administrative function and the shopping facilities it offers. Most European tourists still consider Namibia's capital a boring, 'un-African', 'German' city not particularly attractive to (German) tourists. According to an analysis published in 2006 (cf. Tab. 1), the Windhoek's tourism sector is not only identified as providing a programme for tourists with little or no variety, but, in particular, as displaying a "*lack of cultural aspects and African image*" (Basilio et al. 2006: 6), too. The strengths and weaknesses of the tourist destination of Windhoek are listed in table 1.

In response to the findings of this analysis, the city is currently engaged in an intensive campaign to promote the "*cultural and heritage sites in Windhoek*"[14] – a promotion campaign also designed to foster local economic development (cf. *Local Economic Development: Strategy 2010–2015*, CoW [n.d.]: 45). Windhoek's tourism promotion campaign aims to keep tourists longer in the city by offering

10 Many tourists start their tour of Namibia directly at the international airport. Accordingly, many car rental firms provide vehicles directly at the airport.

11 The National Museum's exhibition formerly held at the *Alte Feste* can now be visited at the new museum following its inauguration.

12 Cf., e.g., the CoW's internet presence at the *My Namibia* tourism portal (http://windhoek.my.na/).

13 Besides the *Windhoek Show* consumer fair, an industrial and agricultural show with approx. 100,000 visitors that has existed for over 100 years, the *Namibia Tourism Expo* and international conferences on topics like desertification and water consumption, among others, attract international visitors to the capital.

14 "*The City of Windhoek's Tourism Strategy identifies visitors' lack of knowledge of historical and cultural aspects of the city as a major weakness of the tourism industry*" (Basilio et al. 2006: V).

more attractive programmes for them, while at the same time enabling more city neighbourhoods and other population groups to profit from the economic benefits (cf. Jarrett 2000: 4; CoW [n.d.]: 45). This is meant to remove the traditional imbalance in the Namibian tourism industry in favour of the (formerly) disadvantaged sections of the population.

Strengths	Weaknesses
Cleanliness	Difficult to get around [due to insufficiency of local public transport facilities]
Availability of goods and services	Crime and insecurity
Relaxed mix of race and culture	Lack of cultural aspects and African image
Rich heritage and heritage sites	Very little to do
Beautiful sceneries and surroundings	Lack of information [for visitors]
Peace and stillness	No [or insufficient] facilities for children
	Closing of businesses, service centers and tourism attractions on weekends

Tab. 1: Strengths and weaknesses of Windhoek as a tourist destination
Source: Basilio et al. 2006: 6 (partly modified: see insertions in square brackets)

In the mid 2000s, Windhoek's official city marketing decided to use the slogan "*City of many faces*"[15]. In terms of an image promotion strategy this slogan is designed to emphasise the city's ethnic and cultural diversity and its heterogeneous structure. This approach can be interpreted as a tourism policy attempt to avoid presenting the city's enormous socio-economic disparities as a severe urban social problem, and, instead, to promote them on the tourism market as an expression of an interesting *urban diversity*. It is against this background that the emergence and developmental dynamics of township tourism in Katutura can be considered.

15 Cf., e.g., *Windhoek Pocket Guide* (2012), a marketing brochure.

2.2 Township tourism in Windhoek

In the following, we give a brief presentation of the township of Kututura, the settlement on which we focus attention in our concern with township tourism; this is meant to provide background information and to serve as an introduction to our discussion of the emergence, development and structures of the new market segment in city tourism in Windhoek.

2.2.1 The Katutura Township

Due to its history, the former township of Katutura in the north-west of Windhoek is not only a narrative point of reference central to the construction of Namibia's national identity; it has also been a mirror image of the changes taking place in the country and of the social challenges posed since independence.

THE FOUNDATION OF KATUTURA UNDER SOUTH AFRICAN RULE (THE 1950s TO 1990)

Following the end of the German colonial period, South-West Africa was placed under South African administration in 1915. This was soon followed by calls from many 'white'[16] residents of Windhoek for an orderly management of "racial segregation" (Pendleton 1996: 29). Consequently, central elements of South Africa's apartheid system were adopted from the 1950s onwards. The spatial separation of urban population in terms of skin colour, which de facto was already in practice during the German colonial period, was now established under the law and this in turn provided the legal justification for the resettlement of non-white population groups (Simon 1988: 53 f.). The Odendaal Plan that was developed thereupon provided for the establishment of two new residential areas, so-called townships – Katutura for inhabitants classified as Black, and Khomasdal for those classified as Coloured. The Odendaal Plan met with great resistance among the affected populations. This gave rise to boycotts and uprisings in 1959 in which a dozen people were shot dead and many more injured by the police (Simon 1988: 55; Kangueehi 1988: 126). Nevertheless, the non-white populations were resettled forcefully.

16 It goes without saying that the colour of the skin is not a social-scientific category. Skin colour as a social category always has to be understood as the result of observational or reproductive language practice dependent on contingency. However, since colonialism and Namibia's apartheid history have left very clear traces in precisely those social realities that need examining here, we cannot help resorting to these basically racist categories in the following. For pragmatic reasons and for reasons of language aesthetics, we will not make use of formulations such as "*people classified as* '*white*' or '*black*'" or the like in this text; as a rule, we will equally avoid employing topographic emphasis for the terms in question by means of italics or inverted commas.

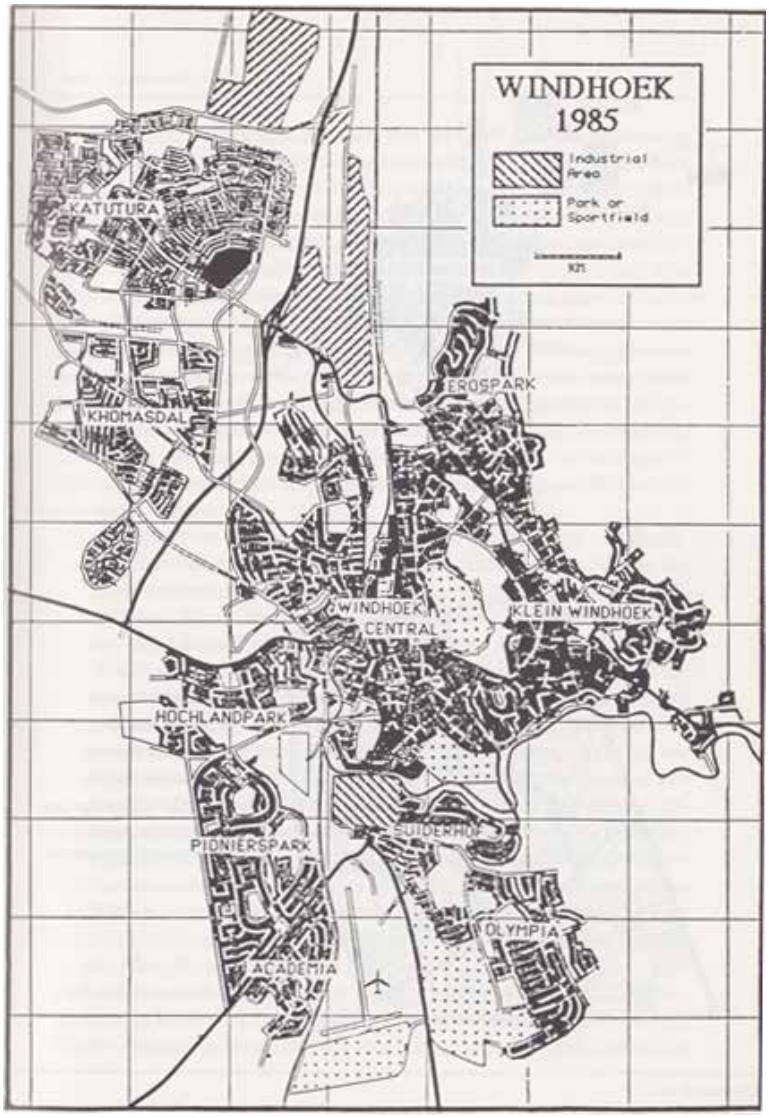


Fig. 3: **Katutura's location in Windhoek (1985)** *Source: Melber (1988: 11)*

The first housing units in Katutura were built five kilometres to the north-west of Windhoek City in the late 1950s (cf. Fig. 3). In the local language, Otjiherero, the name *Katutura* means "*the place where people do not want to live*", which, according to Pendleton (1996: 29), was given to the township to express aversion to the resettlement measures. A motorway and an industrial area were constructed between the city centre on the one hand, which was marked out as 'White Group Area', and the two townships of Khomasdal und Katutura on the other hand, which, in keeping with a planning conception based on apartheid ideology, were to serve

as so-called 'buffer zones' (cf. Simon 1988: 54); the spatial barriers were intended to reduce contact between the population groups to a minimum (cf. Fig. 3).

Katutura was "*not supposed to be a balanced, multifunctional urban district that met all the needs of its inhabitants. [Only] a 'beer hall', liquor stores and a handful of small shopping stores*" were to be provided (Simon 1988: 56). Only those who could produce proof of a work contract were officially permitted to reside in Katutura. It was therefore not possible to take up legal residence there on a long-term or permanent basis, since the right of residence in the settlement expired as soon as the work contract had ended. The separation of (predominantly male) workers from their families and serious economic and social problems were the consequences of this state-institutionalised system of migrant labour.

Residential separation continued to be a fact even after the termination of apartheid legislation in Namibia in the 1980s, since only very few residents of Katutura, could afford to acquire a place of residence outside the township.

The population of Katutura has been growing steadily since. Its peripheral location and the neglect of its infrastructure have promoted informal densification and settlement growth there, as well as the settlement's high rate of unemployment and widespread poverty; for these factors have strongly impeded access to jobs and public services such as education and health care facilities.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF KATUTURA SINCE NAMIBIA'S INDEPENDENCE IN 1990

From a historical point of view, the resistance against the forced removals from the Old Location marked the starting point of the political liberation struggle that culminated in Namibia's independence, democracy and legal equality for the black majority. After 1990, huge sums were invested in infrastructure in Katutura, which led to substantial improvement in the satisfaction of basic needs and to a better connection of the township to the city centre. In the past years, there has been a positive change in the outward appearance of the settlement, too.

Yet, the legacy of South African apartheid still impacts on the daily lives of Katutura's inhabitants today. The extent to which this is happening can be observed in a large number of unresolved town-planning and social problems. Precarious living conditions are still prevalent in many areas in the settlement. The inhabitants of the informal settlement areas on the fringes of Katutura are particularly strongly affected by high rates of structural unemployment and underemployment.[17] In addition, poverty and income inequality have even increased in the Khomas region – in contrast to the national trend – in the past few years (cf. NSA 2012: 34).

17 According to official sources, the unemployment rate in Greater Windhoek (Khomas) in 2011 was 30 %, the same figure recorded for 2001 (cf. NSA [n.d.]: 14), with younger population groups being much more strongly affected than older ones (cf. NSA 2013: 16).

The after-effects of the decades-long socio-spatial marginalisation of Katutura due to apartheid are still manifesting themselves very clearly.

This difficult socio-economic situation is being intensified by the considerably rapid population growth in Windhoek, which particularly affects Katutura and the areas directly bordering on it. Between 2001 and 2011, the official population figure for the Windhoek region rose by more than 36 %, that is to a total of 342,141 inhabitants (cf. NSA [n.d.]: 14); 71 % of these live in the north-western urban areas within and around Katutura (cf. NPC 2012: 43). Rapid urbanisation is making it difficult for planners to meet the infrastructural needs of the steadily growing population.[18] The considerable rise in Katutura's population continues to be a consequence, too, of the processes of rural-urban migration from the northern regions of Namibia as well as of translocal livelihood organisation (Steinbrink 2009). The lack of job opportunities in the formal sector – especially for the large number of unskilled workers – is fomenting competition for jobs and increasingly forcing rural-urban migrants and long-established inhabitants alike into the informal sector, which is marked by extremely low wages as well as insecure and unhealthy working conditions.

While, with the achievement of independence, the classifications 'white' and 'black' are, formally speaking, no longer (allowed to be) relevant as criteria of differentiation in Namibian society, it is economic factors that are now increasingly determining the means of social participation and, thus, socio-economic and socio-cultural development.

> *People are free to travel, take up residence, and look for employment. […] Housing and business ownership do not depend on racial classification; [but] they depend on the ability to pay. (Pendleton 1996: 166)*

It is against this backdrop of decades-long oppression and socio-spatial marginalisation that racial segregation is partly experiencing its continuation under the guise and in the mode of a 'free market'. The current degree of economic segregation is the most visible expression of the historical legacy of apartheid.[19] The social order of a dehumanising regime built on the racist differentiation of Black and White is still articulating itself in the strongly uneven distribution of wealth and poverty and in the massively unequal allocation of infrastructural facilities in Windhoek. The disparities between the living conditions of different sections of the population – which obtained their group status through allocations of racist categorisations – continue to manifest themselves in the urban

18 At 3.1 %, the population growth rate in Greater Windhoek (Khomas) in 2011 was noticeably higher than the national average of 1.4 % (cf. NSA [n.d.]). Besides, Namibia's urban population rose from 33 % in 2001 to 43 % in 2011 (ibid: 8).

19 "*Under the force of economic segregation, racial segregation will continue for the foreseeable future*" (Pendleton 1996:168).

structures. Despite the great efforts being made by the Namibian government, the large extent of congruence between skin colour and livelihood opportunities still clearly exists until to date.

In view of rapid urbanisation and persistent poverty and inequality, the goals defined in the current National Development Plan (NDP) – namely high rate of sustainable economic growth, reduction of income inequalities and creation of jobs – are of crucial importance, especially for the future of Katutura (cf. NPC n.d.).

2.2.2 Development of township tourism in Windhoek

In the years after independence, it was not just the number of tourist arrivals in Namibia that rose by leaps and bounds (see above); governmental organisations involved in development co-operation and international NGOs also arrived in Namibia in increasing numbers. Most of them opened bases in Windhoek and have since been working in Katutura as well.

> *In an effort to improve conditions for the poor in Katutura and elsewhere, many NGOs work in fields ranging from market trade and poverty reduction to children's rights, women's issues, HIV/AIDS, and education and religious training. (Ilcan and Lacey 2011: 171)*

At the same time, the government of the young nation was focusing its efforts on the development of the tourism sector as an important mainstay of its national economy. In so doing, it was pursuing the goal not least of ensuring greater participation of disadvantaged population groups in tourism: At a very early point in time, the concept of *Community Based Tourism* had become an integral part of government policy regarding tourism and its promotion (cf. Novelli and Gebhardt 2007). These factors, together with the fact that township tourism was also being established in neighbouring South Africa, contributed decisively to the development of township tourism in Windhoek.

The beginnings of tourism in Katutura can be dated to the year in 1992. It was then, that the Penduka NGO, the first institution in Katutura to explicitly gear its activities towards the needs of tourists, began to make craftwork products for Western visitors. Founded by a Dutch woman, the organisation was pursuing the goal of helping socially disadvantaged women to find a way out of poverty. The handcrafted products of that women's project were not only offered in Windhoek's city centre, but also in a shop owned by the organisation and located on its production site in Katutura.[20] The Penduka project is located on the scenically very attractive premises of the former 'white' *Segelklub* (Sailing Club) at the Gore-

20 Penduka's products are now also exported directly to Europe and the USA via mail-order sales.

anghab Reservoir on the outskirts of Katutura (cf. Rigneus 2003: 57). Penduka's customers initially included primarily employees of international organisations and their guests from their respective countries of origin as well as a few individual travellers. Apart from workshops and showrooms, the women's project now has a restaurant, a backpacker hostel and a few chalets for tourists as well. Penduka has remained the centrepiece of tourism in Katutura to date (cf. Chap. 4).

Almost simultaneously with the launching of Penduka, *Mama Melba* opened a small restaurant in her private house in Katutura. She was the first to offer the traditional Herero cuisine for international guests, too. Mama Melba is particularly known for her preparation of so called *Smileys* (goats' heads) (cf. Schreiber 2004: 3). At the beginning, it was primarily international delegations and students' groups as well as Namibian politicians and Windhoek's municipal administrators that made bookings with Mama Melba. Since 2002, township touring parties, too, have occasionally been stopping at Mama Melba's (see below) to enable tour participants to taste traditional Namibian dishes. The support she obtained from the CoW first came in the form of training courses in business and hygiene and through reservations for events organised by CoW. She now employs more than a dozen people, and, apart from the normal dinner, she also provides catering services for larger-scale events on her plot.

In the early post-independence years, there were no organised township tours yet. Tours around Katutura were first made available by Abiud Karongee in 1998. At the time, Mr Karongee was a business consultant with NACOBTA (Namibia Community Based Tourist Assistance Trust), a tourism-oriented NGO. The idea was born after an organised township tour in Johannesburg, South Africa[21], in which he had participated while on a training trip for NACOBTA. As developer and consultant for rural tourism projects, he identified township tourism as embodying a very promising niche for city tourism in Namibia. Mr Karongee started his own business by renting taxis to collect his clients from their places of accommodation and guide them round Katutura. His first customers were primarily employees of various international organisations operating in development co-operation and of foreign embassies. In 2001, Mr Karongee officially registered as a tour operator with the City of Windhoek and founded the *Face-to-Face* company.[22] Shortly thereafter, he sought to convince the city to admit township tourism into the website and printed advertising material of the City of Windhoek. The ensuing years were marked by close co-operation between Face-to-Face and the City of Windhoek. For some time, the company, on behalf of the City, directed the city-owned Tourist Information Office at the Independence Avenue; and the

21 There have been guided township tours for tourists in Johannesburg since the beginning of the 1990th (cf. Rolfes et al. 2009).

22 The company's name is also an indication of the model effect of South African township tourism in Soweto. There, too, one of the first tour companies on the market was called 'Face-to-Face'.

CoW, in pursuance of the objectives of Black Economic Empowerment, granted scholarships for the training of tour guides, who in turn worked for Face-to-Face. The examination of this first phase of the development of tourism in Katutura shows that the initial stimuli for the utilisation of that settlement's potential as a tourist destination came from national and international NGOs co-operating with ambitious individuals from the settlement itself. Their endeavours, however, were accompanied and supported by the CoW, too, from the very beginning.[23] It is also clear that the first international visitors to make use of what was offered for tourists in Katutura were not so much the typical Namibia holiday-makers, but, rather, employees of international organisations and their relatives and guests. It can be assumed that these groups visited Katutura principally for reasons of political and cultural education, partly combined with professional considerations.

The first purely commercial actor to operate on the Katutura tourism scene independently of the NGOs was the *Bwana Tucke Tucke* company. That company, founded in 1996 and owned by German emigrant and ex-soldier Carsten Möhle, is currently one of Namibia's largest professional tour operators. The company specialises mainly in overlander trips and safaris through Namibia and Southern Africa. Around the turn of the millennium, Bwana Tucke Tucke also began to include excursions to Katutura in its portfolio of touring services, the aim being to provide its customers with an opportunity to visit Windhoek, too, either before embarking on their safari trip or before their journey back home. The company has since been conducting city tours featuring visits to Katutura as a major programme item. For some years now, the company has also been running a five-hour tour dubbed "*Katutura Intensive Tours*". These tours go exclusively to the township and its immediate surroundings. From the very beginning, German (Safari) tourists have formed the company's main target group. Its customer profile thus differs noticeably from that of the township tourists of the initial phase (see above). To this extent, Bwana Tucke Tucke can be seen as a pioneer of commercial township tours in Namibia.

This first step towards commercialisation and professionalisation led on to the beginning of a boom on the township tourism market. The dynamic growth can be seen on the timeline in figure 4.

At least one new provider of Katutura tours has appeared on the scene every year in the past twelve years;[24] the 'touristification' of Katutura has continuously been on the increase within this period.

23 Investments by the city were also effected in infrastructural measures such as the improvement and regulation of existing informal markets. For example, the Single Quarters Market and Soweto Market were formalised with the aim of asserting certain hygiene and safety standards and enhancing economic efficiency. In particular, the walls around Soweto Market were decorated with colourful 'typical african' drawings, drawings certainly intended to meet the aesthetic expectations of international visitors as well.

24 Only two businesses that used to offer touring services have withdrawn in the meantime from township tourism: Rebecca Hidulika, founder of the company called Wanderzone – for some years one of the market leaders in the township tour business – mentions the increasing numbers of freelancers, who charged more favourable prices and were therefore increasingly engaged by the larger providers, as the reason for her withdrawal. Between 2010 and 2012, the Sense of Africa company provided a hop-on-hop-off city tour twice a day in a double-decker coach.

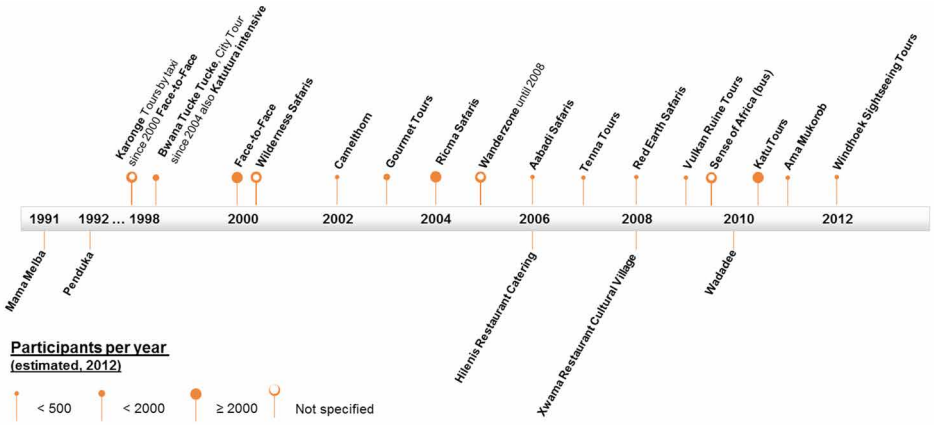


Fig. 4: **Market entry of tourism service providers** *Source: Authors' own presentation*

2.2.3 Structure of the township tourism market in Windhoek

The following is an outline of the present structure of the Windhoek market for township tourism in its basic traits. It involves looking into the supply and demand sides of the market and into current developments.

THE SUPPLY SIDE

At present, over twenty companies provide tours of Katutura. Five of the companies are in the hands of white proprietors, two of them (the proprietors of *Bwana Tucke Tucke* and *Red Earths Safaris*) being German-born, and one (the *Gourmet Tours* proprietor) being of Austrian origin. The other companies are run by black inhabitants of Katutura or Windhoek, who, as such, can be regarded as belonging to the group of the 'previously disadvantaged'.

The companies differ mainly with regard to the importance attached to the tours in their respective service portfolios. *Katutours* and *Windhoek Sightseeing Tours* focus exclusively on guided tours in Katutura. The services offered by *Face-to-Face Tours*, *Ama Mukorob*, *Gourmet Tours*, *Camelthorn Tours*, *Tenna Tours*, *Aabadi Safaris*, *Red Earth Safaris*, *Vulkan Ruine Tours & Transfers* und *Ricma Safaris* include, besides city tours, airport transfers as well as trips of one or more days.

However, the service was discontinued due to insufficiency of demand and because a spare part for the vehicle could not be delivered (cf. TNN 2010: 17).

A few providers state that their decision to found their companies was primarily motivated by the rise in the demand for township tours and that it was only later on that the range of the services they offer was extended. Other providers point out that it was only in the course of the diversification of the services offered that they decided to enter the township tourism market. Bwana Tucke Tucke and Wilderness Safaris offer both unguided and guided safari tours in Namibia and its neighbouring countries, focusing on certain selected services; their township tours only serve to supplement these offers.

The vehicles used for the tours are either veteran Land Rovers (Bwana Tucke Tucke), minibuses or special open vehicles such as those normally used in Safari Game Drives (Windhoek Sightseeing).

Guided cycling tours have also been on offer since 2011 (Katutours). Between four and eight people can participate in a tour; as many as eighteen tourists can participate in a cycling tour. Some large-scale operators provide entire tourist coaches carrying as many as fifty passengers in tours of Katutura. On average, a city and township tour lasts three hours, the time spent in Katutura varying from thirty minutes to three hours. The tours cost between NAD200 and NAD500 per person, depending on the company.

THE DEMAND SIDE

The tour operators interviewed each gave estimations of the tours they conducted and of their participant numbers (cf. Tab. 2). Judging by the estimations, we can assume that approximately 10,000 participants are guided round Katutura yearly by the companies mentioned, and a further 5,000 to 7,000 tourists in tours of Namibia conducted as package deals by other tourism enterprises or by informal guides. Hence, the estimated total number per year of participants in guided Katutura tours is between 12,000 and 17,000. If we include those tourists who visit the settlement as individual travellers not drawing on the services of tour guides and the numerous volunteer (tourists) working and living in Katutura, then we may presume that the annual number of township tourists in Windhoek has reached the 20,000 mark in the meantime. If we relate this number to that of the tourists from Europe and North America who travelled to Namibia in 2011 for holiday purposes (cf. MET 2012), we can assume that roughly 10 % of the overseas guests visit Katutura. This means that Katutura counts among the top destinations for similar services offered on the tourism market worldwide. Only a few South African townships (in Cape Town and Johannesburg) and some Brazilian favelas (in Rio de Janeiro) have been recording larger numbers of visitors (cf. Steinbrink et al. 2012: 4 f.).

The four tour companies with the largest number of customers are Face-to-Face Tours, Ricma Safaris, Katutours and Bwana Tucke Tucke, with annual participant

Company	Estimated Participants per year
Face-to-Face Tours	3,000
Ricma Safaris	2,500
Katutours	2,000
Bwana Tucke Tucke	1,000
Gourmet-Tours	500
Ama Mukorob	300
Tenna Tours	300
Red Earth Safaris	150
Vulkan Ruine Tours	150
Windhoek Sightseeing Tours	approx. 150 (only since Dec. 2012)
Aabadi Safaris	100
Camelthorn	100
Total	**approx. 10,250**
Informal Guides/Freelancers	approx. 1,000
Large-scale operators/other providers	approx. 5,000
Entire range	**12,000–17,000**

Tab. 2: Tour providers and number of tour participants *Source: authors' own presentation (as of March 2013)*

numbers ranging between 1,000 and 3,000 (cf. Tab. 2). The rest of the companies have either been operating in this sector for only a short period of time or are concerned with other, specially selected service areas. Almost all of the operators interviewed talk of a noticeably and steadily rising tendency in the demand for sightseeing tours of Katutura. They, however, variously point out that the bookings are strongly restricted to the peak season and that this brings about substantial fluctuations in customer numbers in the course of the year. Most of the providers interviewed therefore employ freelancers to serve as guides so as to reduce staff expenditure and financial risks to a minimum.

RECENT DEVELOPMENTS

Currently, it is particularly the established companies who are perceiving a change in the clientele structure in township tours. They report that the tours are no longer booked by elderly married couples and safari groups alone. There is an increasing number of younger individual travellers and culturally interested visitors now enquiring about touring opportunities as well. Besides, they say, the steadily growing group of volunteers/volunteer tourists who spend a few weeks or months working in social or ecological projects in various parts of the country constitute an important clientele for the tours. Younger people (usually couples) on camping trips through Namibia or Southern Africa, the tour operators add, represent important groups of

potential customers as well. The operators interviewed mention that there is also a process of diversification with regard to the origin of the tour participants. They state that Germans as well as other Western Europeans and North Americans do indeed continue to represent the majority of tour bookings, but note, at the same time, that guests from countries such as Brazil, South Korea, China and India are also joining the tours in increasing numbers.

On the whole, then, we can observe a dynamically growing market for township tourism in Windhoek that is undergoing a diversification process in terms both of demand and of supply. The expansion of the market has been taking place concurrently with the extraordinarily rapid rise in tourist numbers in the country.

Following the establishment of classical tours, additional service facilities such as hostels and restaurants have emerged in Katutura owing to a rise in demand and to the fact that customer groups have become more heterogeneous. Today, there are already at least three restaurants in Katutura that offer the traditional Namibian cuisine especially for tourists as well (*Xwama Cultural Village, Mama Melba, Meme Hileni Taanyanda*). And 2011 also saw the opening of the first hostel (*Wadadee House*) in Katutura; the services it provides are expressly designed to meet the needs of European and North American guests. It is frequently visited primarily by young adults of between 20 and 30 years of age who work as volunteers. Twapewa Kadhikwa, the proprietor of Xwama Cultural Village, is currently planning to set up the first township hotel and a conference centre to satisfy the wishes of guests with higher demands. Shaun Awaseb, owner of Wadadee House, has his own expansion plans, too: he is planning to build a township tourism centre at the highest point of Katutura (*'Luxury Hill'*) with a viewing platform, a restaurant, a craft-and-art centre and conference facilities.[25]

The structures of, and developments in, the township tourism market as presented above show that the market is still largely marked by different forms of guided tours around city neighbourhoods. Some companies exclusively offer township tours; others offer them only as part of their wider portfolio. With the necessary investment capital available, entry into the market, in view of the current market situation, would seem a relatively possible and easy affair. Innovative products in particular that respond to the needs of the diversifying market structure offer good prospects of success. The rocketing participant numbers in cycling tours in Katutura (Katutours), among other developments, provide good evidence for this assumption. The latest developments indicate, additionally, that tourism in Katutura seems to have economic potential that can sustain it even outside the scope of the classical guided township tour.

Katutura's appeal to tourists and tour operators alike remains unbroken; in fact, it is steadily and continuously on the increase. Since comparable forms of tourism are increasingly moving worldwide towards the mainstream of tourism and the standard programme of city tourism in the Global South (Steinbrink et al. 2012), it appears

25 At the time of our field research (March 2013), the negotiations with the CoW on the acquisition and approval of the project were about to be concluded.

likely that more and more tourists will in future be looking specifically for offers in township tourism in Windhoek, too. It is therefore very probable that this segment on the Namibian market for city tourism will grow further.

3 PRIOR TO THE TOUR: THE TOURIST'S PERSPECTIVE

This study also seeks to shed light not least on the demand side of township tourism in Windhoek. The focus to this end is on the perspectives of the tourists. The study examines (a) tourists' imaginations, expectations and wishes before the tour and (b) their perceptions and evaluations after the tour. In a first empirical step, 70 tourists were therefore interviewed by means of a semi-standardised questionnaire shortly before they embarked on their tour. To find out whether and to what extent the tourists' expectations had been met, how satisfied the customers were and whether Katutura's image had changed (or would change) as a result of township tourism, we again interviewed 67 tourists immediately after the tour (for the findings, see Chap. 5). Besides, 183 tourists who had not been involved in any tour of Katutura during their stay in Namibia were interviewed for purposes of comparison.[26]

26 The interviews with the comparative group took place within the same period of inquiry. They were conducted in front of the Tourist Information Office at the Independence Avenue in the centre of Windhoek.

3.1 Do township tourists differ from other tourists?

Within the scope of this study, our approach to the question of whether and in what respects township tourists differ from other holiday-makers in Namibia consisted in recording a few tourist characteristics. Both the data collected in this study regarding holiday-makers who did not book any township tours and the official figures obtained from the Namibia Tourist Exit Survey 2012–2013 (cf. MET 2013) served as the basis for our comparison.

ORIGIN

60 % of the township tourists interviewed were from Germany, 7 % from The Netherlands and 4 % each from Austria and Great Britain.[27] The remainder (25 %) were tourists from other Western European countries as well as from Asia and South Africa. Virtually no Namibian, if any, takes part in the tours. Most of the tour participants, then, were from Western Europe: they represented nearly 90 % of the township tourists. Our comparison of these data with the official arrivals figures for international tourists in Namibia shows that this composition fairly reflects the figures representing the different nationalities. It must be said, however, that the group of intra-African tourists is clearly under-represented among the tour participants (cf. MET 2013: 53).

GENDER

As regards gender proportions, some differences can be observed between township tourists in Namibia and other Namibia tourists. In the case of the township tourists, the distribution is male tourists: 47 %; female tourists: 53 %. As regards the tourists who did not book any township tours, the distribution is males: 51 %; females: 49 %. The relevant figures for all Namibia tourists taken together reveal a distribution with a yet higher proportion of male tourists: 54 % (cf. MET 2013: 12). These findings indicate that an above-average number of female Namibia tourists take part in guided township tours. It therefore seems that the services provided in guided township tours are somewhat a little more popular with women.

27 The percentages have been rounded up or down here.

AGE

The figure for the average age of township tourists is relatively high, just like that recorded for Namibia tourism as a whole. Only 26 % of the tour participants are younger than 29 years, 27 % are between 30 and 50 years of age, and 47 % are above 50. Our comparison of these data with those for the group of the non-township tourists we interviewed does not show any substantial differences. It is apparent, then, that the tours offered appeal to tourists of different ages.[28]

TYPE OF ACCOMMODATION

Our concern with the question regarding the type of accommodation chosen in Windhoek led to the following findings: Approximately 30 % of the tour participants stayed in a hotel, 26 % in a guesthouse or in a bed & breakfast accommodation, 23 % with friends or relatives and 20 % each in a hostel or on a camping site.[29] These figures reveal certain deviations from those for tourists who did not book any township tour. For example, the proportion of township tourists who stayed in hostels was much higher than that of the non-township tourists (20 % for the former as against 2 % for the latter).[30] This leads to the assumption that the proportion of low-budget individual travellers among township tourists is somewhat higher than it is in the case of the average of the Namibia holiday-makers.

DURATION OF STAY IN NAMIBIA AND WINDHOEK

The comparison regarding the duration of tourists' stay in Windhoek and in Namibia reveals interesting differences: Whereas Namibia tourists spend an average of 11.6 days in the country (cf. MET 2013: 76), township tourists, at an average of 19.5 days, spend a week more in Namibia. Moreover, at three nights on average, township tourists stay in Windhoek more than twice as long as do the other city tourists (1.25 nights; cf. Basilio et al. 2006: 4). The question thus arises as to whether township tourists spend more time (in Windhoek) because they take part in a township tour or whether they take part in a township tour simply because they have more time at their disposal (in Windhoek). Our study cannot answer this question conclusively; many interviewed tourists do say, however, that they have not booked any tour for the sole reason that they do not spend so much

28 Only the comparison of the clients of different tour providers reveals noticeable differences in the age-related constellations. For example, the cycling tours provided by Katutours attract rather younger tourists, while Pack Safari services tend to attract the rather older ones.

29 Since multiple answers were also given, a total of over 100 % is possible.

30 During their stay in Windhoek, 35 % of the Namibia tourists stay in a guesthouse or in a bed&breakfast accommodation, 31 % with friends or relatives, 17 % in a hotel, 16 % on a camping site and 2 % in a hostel.

time in Windhoek. And talks with tour participants have revealed that there are tourists who book a tour to fill in their time in Windhoek with an interesting programme, just as there are tourists who intentionally stay a little longer in the city in order to join a township tour.

3.2 What tourists expect from a township tour

In response to the question of how they came to know about the tour offer they had booked, 30 % of those interviewed said they had obtained the information by word of mouth from other tourists, while 28 % referred to travel guide books and 14 % mentioned the Internet as their respective sources of information. A further 14 % stated that a hint in their place of accommodation had called their attention to the offer. A mere 6 % had learnt about the offer from the tourist information office and 2 % each from advertising brochures or at the travel agent's office at home. 14 % of the tour participants had joined the tour as part of a package deal.

To gain insights into township tourists' motivations and interests, we asked them, prior to the tour, how important certain aspects of the tour were to them when they did the booking. In a closed-ended question, we addressed the following aspects: a) *entertainment*, b) *adventure*, c) the *wish to see something different*, d) the wish to *do something outside* (the scope of) *tourism*, e) *contact to the local people*, f) *living conditions in Katutura*, g) *history*, h) *local culture and authenticity/ reality* (cf. Fig. 5).

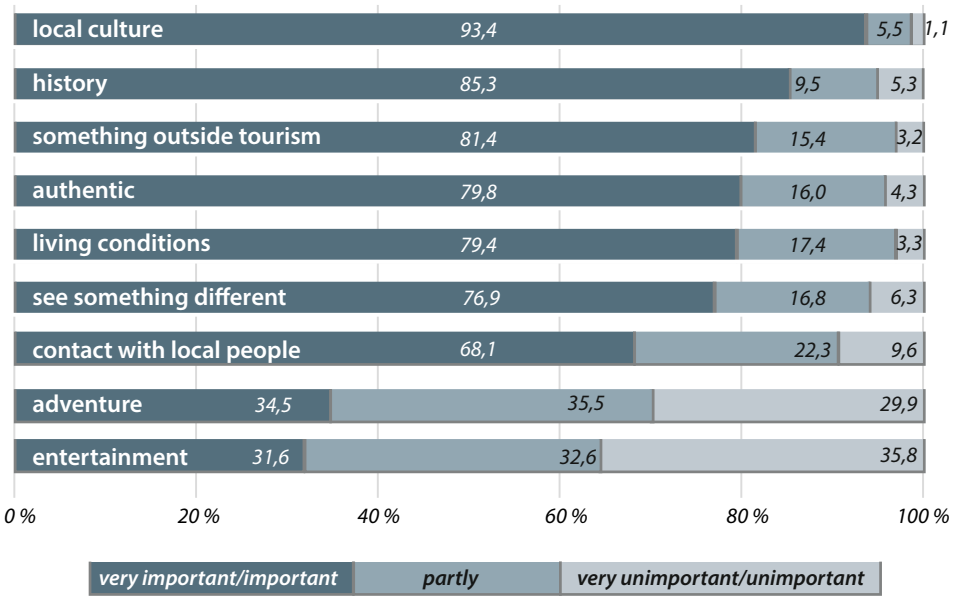


Fig. 5: How important are the following aspects for your decision to book this tour?
Source: Authors' own presentation

What these findings first show is that comparatively few interviewees said that *adventure* and *entertainment* were important to them. Only about one third expected to see the township tour organised in terms of both these aspects. The figures for these aspects appear rather low, especially when compared to those for the other aspects treated in the interview, and they also contradict the conjectures repeatedly expressed in the media about the motives of township tourists. Most tourists obviously have other expectations; they are not so much interested in being thrilled or in having fun.

Over half of the tourists interviewed (68 %) explicitly expressed the wish to have contact to the local population. Less than 10 % of the tour participants stated that interaction with people in Katutura was unimportant to them.

It is worth noting that *local culture* very clearly represents a major focus of interest to virtually all the tourists. *History*, *something outside tourism*, *reality*, *living conditions* and *the wish to see something different* – these, too, are only classified very sporadically as unimportant. It can be assumed that these six aspects, which obviously seem to be major reasons for the tourists' participation in the tours, are substantially closely connected with one another. This connection may be formulated as follows:

Striving to see *something different* while on holiday is an almost universally recognised motivation in tourism. In tourism, the tourist basically seeks to create distance from daily routine by experiencing difference. The clients in township tours, too, want to see *something else* or to see something *in a different way* during the tour – but then, not as tourists *('something outside tourism')*. Township tourism, then, is usually about what has not explicitly been staged for tourism. This aspect presumably finds expression in the wish for a *realistic*, *authentic* experience, too. However, the wish for reality can as well be understood as the wish to experience the *reality of the others*. From this we may conclude that the tour participants *are not out to* experience the *reality of the others* (as displayed) *on the stage for tourism*, that they for once hope to see it *differently*, that is *authentically*. The township, in the context of tourism, is therefore regarded as *the place of the other* and, at the same time, as *authentically* different. *The Other*, meant to be experienced as realistically as possible, obviously relates, in this form of tourism, to *local culture* and *living conditions*. What many township tourists have in mind is, therefore, the non-stage-managed experience of the *reality of the living conditions of the others*, particularly considered to be *culturally different*.

But then, what do the tourists think concretely about the *living conditions and local culture of the others*? What do the tourists expect to see and experience in Katutura?

3.3 What the tourists expect to see (and experience) in a township

Tourism always searches for new places, inventing sights and sites which are then marked and marketed as tourists attractions. What is meant here, however, is not 'places' in a physically material sense, but places as the outcome of processes of social constuction: "*Places of tourism*" are social constructs brought about essentially through communication (cf. Pott 2007). During the development and marketing of destinations, tourism has recourse to available place constructs (images) first produced outside tourism, especially in the media (cf. Urry 2002). It makes use of connectivity or establishes it. Tourism organisations quite often (re)produce certain place-related virtual contents by drawing upon generally known place constructs external to tourism, such as *"the city", "the desert", the beach"*. These "*geographical imaginations*" (Gregory 1998) are consumed and communicatively confirmed and modified by tourists during their holidays. Tourist destinations are communicatively produced and created through practice. This also applies to the new type of destination in tourism, namely the *township*, and to Katutura as a specific destination of city tourism in Windhoek.

The time frame of this empirical study did not permit us to also analyse the emergence of tourists' images, prejudices and preconceptions regarding townships and/or Katutura. Media coverage, school experiences, travelogues and travel guides as well as personal travel experiences are of crucial importance in this context (cf. Wystub 2009). This study primarily only seeks to uncover and examine the existing contents of the "*geographical imaginations*" (Gregory 1998) of 'townships'.

Based on semi-standardised surveys we look into *tourists' township images prior to their tour* of Katutura. The findings give indications of tourists' motivations and, at the same time, provide a basis for a consideration of the question of whether tourism in Katutura is leading to or will lead to a change in that township's image (cf. Chap. 5).

Immediately before the tour, the 70 interviewees were first asked to spontaneously mention the associations that the term 'township' triggered in them. The result of this association survey can be seen in the word cloud in figure 6; it represents the semantic field of the term.

More than half of the township tourists (51 %) mentioned the term *poverty*. The terms *dirt/filth* (51 %), and *dangerous* (11 %) were more rarely mentioned, and also *black(s)* (10 %), etc. Even though partly positive associations such as *lively* (6 %), *colourful* (6 %), *culture* (6 %) and *community* (6 %) were mentioned, it is still striking that negative associations clearly predominate in the semantic

field presented: according to a simple count, barely 15 % of the terms mentioned have a predominantly positive connotation.

As regards the interpretation of these findings, we have to presuppose that the attractiveness of Katutura as a tourist destination is linked to the images, associations and imaginations of place to be visited and that the expectations of what can be seen in the townships are largely identical with what the tourists hope to see there. (Would they otherwise be going there?) To this extent, certain conclusions can also be drawn from the expectations with regard to township tourists' motivations.

Fig. 6: Tourists' township associations before the tour
Source: authors' own presentation [prepared with www.wordle.net]

Since the term 'poverty' is at the centre of the semantic field that the term 'township' evokes, township tourism could be interpreted as a sort of poverty tourism. To the township tourists, the township evidently is first and foremost a *place of poverty* with all the negative qualities commonly associated with poverty. This suggests that Katutura is a tourist destination in which poverty, in particular, is expected to be experienced.

Seen from this perspective, township tourism does indeed seem like a specific form of "*negative sightseeing*" (cf. Welz 1993: 43; see also Chap. 6.3), like a kind of "*social bungee jumping*" (cf. Rolfes and Steinbrink 2009), and the tourists like bourgeois 'thrill-seekers' who, driven by a lust for *angst*, disgust, pity or the like, seek to experience the social depth. The township tours seem to permit tourists to fathom out the possible global social drop height sensually without running the risk of having a hard landing (Steinbrink and Frehe 2008). To this extent, a township tour can be interpreted as "*safe danger*", "*insulated adventure*" (cf. Steinbrink 2012: 218) or as "*controlled risk*" (cf. Freire-Medeiros 2009). Some scholars thus see urban poverty tourism as a form of *Dark Tourism*: they point out that tourists nowadays are much less afraid of coming into contact with negative experiences and that interest in "*the perfect scene of glamour or in kitschy Disneyland scenery*" (cf. Münder 2013: 1 [translation by the author]) has increasingly

been giving way to interest in events or places that used to be regarded as taboos. The tour participants, according to this view, are now striving for new, *different* experiences and are in search of '*the true*' and '*the real*' outside the conventional stage for tourism. In the qualitative interviews with township tourists, the search for the authentic was also frequently mentioned as a reason for participation in a township tour. Almost all those interviewed emphasised that they hoped to experience "*real life in Windhoek*", the "*real places*", or the "*real Katutura*", or that they wanted to be confronted with "reality" (in its purest form).

If the quest for the authentic, real and unstaged is a major motive of the tour participants (cf. Chap. 4.2), we can conclude from this that township tourism is also a form of "*reality Tourism*" (cf. Meschkank 2011; Dyson 2012)? Since poverty – as illustrated above – is, additionally, *the* characterising element of the township image, it becomes evident that certain notions of 'poverty' and 'reality' are inextricably linked to one another: Gazing at poverty seems to go hand in hand with a promise of authenticity. Katutura would thus be a tourist destination where *reality*, above all, can be experienced, with poverty functioning as the guarantor of the tourists' experience of authenticity. From this viewpoint, poverty is, therefore, not the actual attraction, but, primarily, the medium through which 'reality' is experienced.

In order to describe the tourists' township image in a more differentiated manner and, at the same time, to make it accessible to quantitative analyses, we asked the tourists to fill out a semantic differential profile of their township notions before the beginning of the tour. In the questionnaire 23 dichotomous word-pairs were presented, which were supposed to serve as a five-level scales to assess the tourists' preconceptions of townships.

Figure 7 represents the findings of the survey in a semantic profile, it indicates the mean values calculated for the different items.

Again, it can be seen that the assessments rather reveal a negative tendency: the by far greater part of the individual means is located on the right hand side, that is, on the negative side of the middle line.[31] The greatest amplitude towards the negative side, as the associations already suggest (s.a.), is represented in the term '*poor*'; this is followed by the terms *underdeveloped*, *noisy*, *unhealthy*, *dirty* and *ugly*.

But the findings also illustrate that the township tourists' expectations are not confined to negative aspects of the township, for a *community-centred*, *vibrant*, *friendly*, *active* and *hard-working* township exists in their imaginations as well.

The semantic differential thus confirms the findings of the previously conducted association survey; but, at the same time, it supplements that survey, and this necessitates further interpretations. Township tourism, then, is not only about authentically experiencing fear-instilling, repulsive, lamentable, etc. elements of

31 It has to be noted that the classification of the word-pairs as positive or negative is not inter-subjectively resolved in all cases (e.g., 'rural/urban', 'modern/traditional'); in other cases, this is simply not possible (e.g., 'African/un-African').

the township; it also has to do with the authentic experience of township aspects with a generally positive connotation: authentically *community-centred*, authentically *vibrant*, authentically *friendly*, etc. Viewed in this light, poverty would be the guarantor of authenticity for the whole spectrum of the tourists' imaginations of 'township reality' – be they positive or negative.

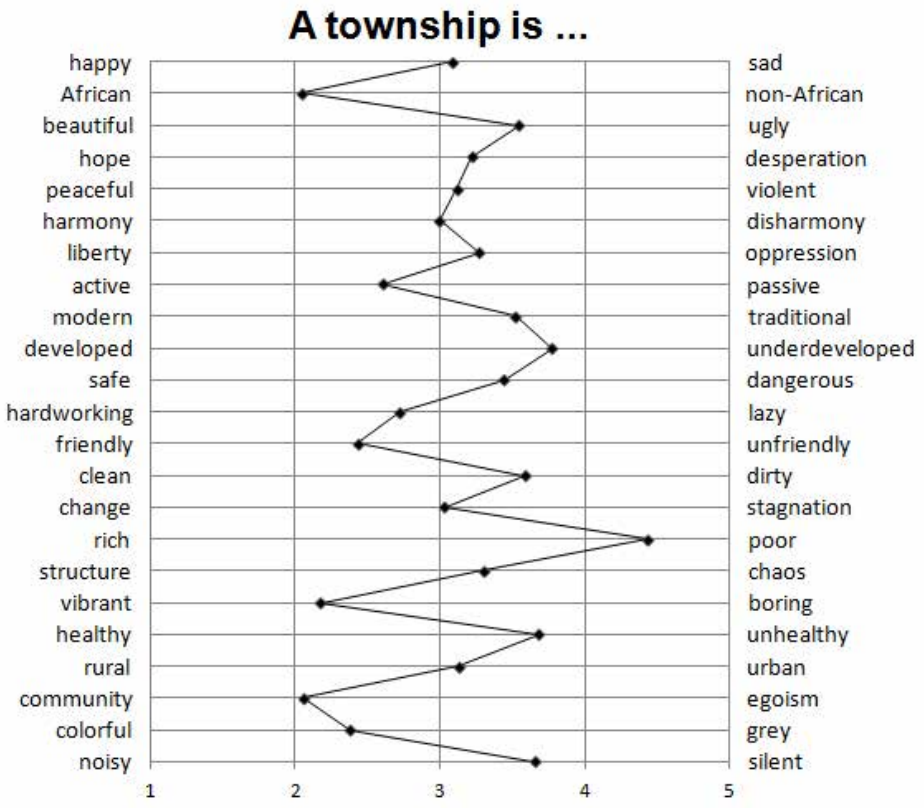


Fig. 7: Semantic differential: Tourists' notions (before the tour, n=70) *Source: authors' own presentation*

There is another factor that needs considering in an explanation of tourists' ambivalent image of the township. It is one that has been explicitly addressed in numerous interviews with township tourists – both in South Africa (cf. Rolfes et al. 2009) and in the context of our study in Namibia: many township tourists say that they want to experience "*the real Africa*" during their tours, an Africa that they obviously do not believe they can find in the inner-city areas of Cape Town and Windhoek. Due to these statements and in view of the fact that the amplitude of the semantic profile very clearly swings towards *African*, we can assume that township tourism in Windhoek is also particularly about experiencing *real Africa*. It follows

that tourists' expectations from a township tour seems to be tied to certain images of what they call "*real Africa*".

Numerous studies have shown that the predominant Africa image in Europe continues to be characterised by ethno-centric notions. This postcolonial stereotyping is, itself, marked by an ambivalence between horror on the one hand and folkloristically romanticising exoticism on the other – a two-sided view of Africa which Poenicke, among others, demonstrates in her study on the presentation of Africa in the German media and in German textbooks (Poenicke 2001: 12 ff.): on the one hand, the contributions, she notes, are predominantly about wars, disasters, crime and diseases (especially HIV/AIDS); on the other hand, the media marketing of Africa for tourism, Poenicke observes, is particularly characterised by exotic fauna, myths about discoverers and adventurers as well as wild and genuinely original nature (including the original *noble*, *savage* nature of Africa's inhabitants and their 'traditional' cultural contexts). This kind of ambivalence in Africa images can also be observed in the stereotypical presentation of Africans in films: there, we find the *noble savage*, unspoiled by civilisation, docile, lively, cheerful and always at your service; but there is also the notion of the violent, primitive and sly uncouth rascal who needs to be guided and directed by the white man. More recently, we have also had the notion of the African as a helpless victim.[32]

From that we may conclude that what the tourists expect to experience as *real* during their tours – both in its positive and negative aspects – is a representation of fragments of old, but still widespread, colonial stereotypes. The township tourists' notions and imaginations surveyed here often reflect an Africa image that is based on simplifications and essentialisations and that subsequently influences expectations with regard to township tours.[33]

We may now summarise as follows: in the context of Windhoek's city tourism, Katutura Township is not just the *place of poverty* that guarantees the authenticity of what the tourists experience; rather, Katutura represents a tourist destination that promises to provide an experience of *real Africa*. In the tourists' imagination, however, that *real Africa*, does, indeed, not look like the *Christuskirche*, the Independence Avenue and *Tintenpalast* in the centre of Windhoek; in that imagination, Africa is obviously characterised rather by *poverty*, *dirt*, *violence*, and also by *colours*, *community spirit* and *vibrant*, *noisy happiness*.

32 For an account on the projection and reproduction of eurocentric images of Africa and the Africans with special reference to reports in the German-speaking media see also Krems (2002).

33 In a test aimed at finding out the extent to which the notions of the township tourists before the tour differed from those of other tourists, the same method was applied to a comparative group. On the whole, the interview with 198 tourists who stated that they did not want to go on a township tour and that they had not been involved in any until then did not reveal any mentionable differences in the semantic differential. (They only considered the township a little *more boring* and *more violent*.) And the associations mentioned, too, produced virtually the same image as that obtained from the township tourists.

4 THE TOWNSHIP TOURS

This chapter is about the practical implementation of the township tours. It seeks to answer questions about how the settlement of Katutura is stage-managed during the tours and what representational patterns and presentation forms are drawn upon in the process. In our observations and analyses, we will therefore lay particular emphasis on the following questions:

1. *What are the tourists shown in Katutura? How are the township tours conceived with regard to the selection of sights and routes?*

2. *How is Katutura shown? What topics are addressed, what semantic couplings arise in the context of the tours, and what guiding differentiations structure presentation and perception in township tourism?*

The comparative analysis of the tours focuses attention on similarities and differences obtaining between the presentation forms of the different tour operators. It is on this basis that we intend to identify and determine factors that are likely to contribute to the reproduction and/or modification of the existing image of Katutura.

The qualitative investigation is methodologically based on participatory observations during the tours. The verbal communication between the tour guides, the tourists and the people from Katutura was recorded by means of digital audio-recorders; key observations (regarding, in particular, the relevant sights and attractions addressed and non-verbal interactions) were recorded on observation sheets. The audio-recordings, together with the observation sheets, were then transcribed and content-analytically evaluated. The different tours were individually mapped with the help of GPS handsets for the purpose of presenting and comparing the route courses.

Although the number of tourists, for reasons connected with seasonality, was relatively small, we managed to accompany sixteen tours offered and run by nine operators. The tours were conducted by eleven different tourist guides. On the whole, 45 tourists took part in the tours that featured in our study; the size of the tour groups varied between two and seven tourists. Six tours were conducted in German, the remainder in English. The tours lasted three hours on average. All of the tours – with the exception of those run by Katutours und Face-to-Face,

which took place exclusively in the township – were designed as combined tours of the historical city centre of Windhoek and the township, each tour conception with its own weighting (cf. Tab. 3).

Tour	Date	Operator	Tourists	%-Katutura (time)	Language	Vehicle
1	26.02.13	Katutours	1	100	English	Bicycle
2	27.02.13	Ama Mukorob	2	80	English	Van
3	01.03.13	Windhoek Sightseeing	3	80	English	Land Rover
4	01.03.13	Ricma Safaris	2	70	English	Van
5	01.03.13	Red Earth Safaris	2	20	German	Van
6	02.03.13	Katutours	3	100	Englisch	Bicycle
7	03.03.13	Katutours	2	100	English	Bicycle
8	03.03.13	Bwana Tucke Tucke	2	60	German	Land Rover
9	03.03.13	Face-to-Face	4	100	English	Van
10	04.03.13	Gourmet Tours	3	20	German	Van
11	04.03.13	Red Earth Safaris	3	60	German	Van
12	04.03.13	Ricma Safaris	7	70	English	Van
13	05.03.13	Ricma Safaris	3	70	English	Van
14	06.03.13	Bwana Tucke Tucke	2	60	German	Land Rover
15	08.03.13	Informal Guide	0[34]	60	English	Car
16	17.03.13	Ricma Safaris	5	70	German	Van

Tab. 3: The accompanied tours *Source: authors' own presentation*

34 Tour 15 involved 'hidden participation', four of the 'participating tourists' being members of the research team.

4.1 What are the tourists shown in Katutura?

The conception of a guided city tour basically presupposes a certain selection of what shall be shown. This selection is preceded by the decision of the tour operators concerning what, in their judgement, is worth seeing and, therefore, worth showing. Consequently, both the selection of the stops and the routes of the township tours give indications of the intentions and preferences of the respective tour operators. The selection of what the guides show also significantly influences the representation of Katutura and therefore has a pivotal impact on the tourist's perception and interpretation of the township.

4.1.1 The "places of interest"

The participatory observation of the individual tours first required that we identified those areas to which the tourist's attention is directed during guided township tours. The identification of those *'places of interest'* represents an important point of departure for the analysis of the practice of township tourism. Table 4 presents a list of localities that were covered or specifically mentioned during the accompanied tours.

The township's sights, to begin with, relate thematically to its apartheid history. Moreover, the list of *places of interest* clearly shows that *housing*, *leisure and consumption*, *markets* as well as the *infrastructural facilities* of the settlement occupy a central position in the organisation of the tours. By drawing upon this selection to focus particular attention on the day-to-day living conditions of the inhabitants, the tour operators respond to the tourists' wish to learn more about how the township inhabitants live (cf. Chap. 3.3).

Topic	Designation	Description
	Vantage point in Klein-Windhoek ('Small Windhoek')	Position providing a view of the city of Windhoek and the area surrounding it
Apartheid	**Old Location**	Former residential area set up during the colonial period by the German occupation power for the "black" population groups; its cemetery, currently out of use, now serves as a national monument reminding us of apartheid history, the resettlement to Katutura and Namibia's liberation struggle
	Wanaheda	Residential area in the western part of Katutura that emerged in the 1990s within the Wanaheda suburb of Windhoek, the suburb itself emerging in the 1950s on the basis of South Africa's apartheid policy. 'Wanaheda' is an acronym for Wambo, Nama, Herero and Damara, the names of four Namibian peoples who first inhabited the suburb
	Khomosdal	City neighbourhood to the south of Katutura set up for the 'Coloureds' under South African rule
	Western Bypass	Bypass around Windhoek's inner city (B1); constructed along checkpoints, it served as an administrative boundary and a 'buffer zone' between the 'non-white' townships and the city centre during the apartheid period
Markets and traditional foodstuffs	**Oshetu Market**	Market with numerous open and covered stalls in the centre of Katutura that, besides a large number of barbecue stalls (Kapana), mainly offers foodstuffs and services to meet daily needs
	Soweto Market	Market with largely covered stalls and relatively few local foodstuffs (Vetkoeks) on offer; the designation derives from the Soweto township (South Western Township) located in Johannesburg, South Africa
	Xwama Restaurant	Opened in 2008, the Xwama Restaurant specialises in the preparation of traditional Namibian dishes
Leisure and con-sumption	**Eveline Street**	Shopping street and popular "amusement and entertainment area" in the west of Katutura with numerous pubs or similar public houses run on an informal basis (Shebeens) and small car wash businesses
	Shopping Mall(s)/ KFC	Shopping centres at the Independence Avenue/branch of the KFC fast food chain (KFC = Kentucky Fried Chicken)
	UN-Plaza	Recreation park with cultural and leisure facilities at the Independence Avenue

Katu-tours	Face-to-Face	Ricma Safaris	Windhoek Sight-seeing	Ama Mukorob	Informal Guide	Red Earth	Gourmet Tours	Bwana Tucke-Tucke
×	×	●	●	●	×	●	●	●
×	●	●	●	●	●	×	×	×
●	○	○	○	○	○	○		○
×	○	○	×	×	○	○	×	○
×	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	×
●	●	●	●	●	●	×	×	×
●	○	○	○	○	○	○	×	×
×	×	○	●	×	×	○	×	○
●	●	○	●	○	○	○	○	○
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
○	○	○	○	×	×	○	×	×

● Alighting ○ Topic(s) addressed, no alighting × No topic(s) addressed

Topic	Designation	Description
Housing	**Informal settlements**	Marginal settlements on the north-western fringes of the township consisting largely of corrugated-iron huts with inadequate infrastructural facilities and an insecure ownership situation
	Luxury Hill	"Upper-class residential area" situated on a hill in central Katutura; its designation derives from a villa district with the same name located in the city-centre.
Development aid	**Penduka**	Aid project that provides socially disadvantaged women with opportunities of gainful employment via the production of souvenirs; besides the sale of handmade products, the project runs a restaurant and also presents traditional dance performances and provides accommodation for tourists.
	UN Habitat Research Center	Research and further training facility of the United Nations Human Settlements Programme (UN HABITAT)
Social infrastructure Law & order Health Education	Various Schools	Primary schools and post-primary school(s)
	Various nursery schools	Nursery schools
	Katutura State Hospital	State-owned hospital in Katutura
	Katutura Magistrate's Court	Magistrate's court for the District of Windhoek located at Mungunda Street in Katutura
	Wanaheda Police Station	Local police station
	Katutura Police Station	Local police station
	Windhoek Central Prison	State-owned central prison
Religion	Opongonda Cemetery	Cemetery at Brug Street and Otjomuise Road
	Katutura Cemetery	Former cemetery at Claudius Kandovazu Street
	Gammans Cemetery	Cemetery at Goshawk Street and David Hosea Meroro Road
	Various churches	Churches of various denominations

Katu-tours	Face-to-Face	Ricma Safaris	Windhoek Sight-seeing	Ama Mukorob	Informal Guide	Red Earth	Gourmet Tours	Bwana Tucke-Tucke
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
●	×	○	×	×	×	○	×	×
●	●	●	●	●	●	optional	○	○
×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×	○
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
×	optional	×	×	×	×	○	×	optional
○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○	○
×	×	○	×	×	×	×	×	×
×	×	○	×	×	○	○	×	○
×	×	○	×	×	○	×	×	×
×	×	×	○	×	○	○	×	○
×	×	×	×	○	○	○	○	×
×	×	×	×	○	×	×	×	×
×		×	○	○	×	×	×	○
○	×	○	×	×	×	○	○	×

● Alighting ○ Topic(s) addressed, no alighting × No topic(s) addressed

Tab. 4: **The "places of interest" of township tours** *Source: Authors' own presentation*

We drew upon the length of time devoted to relevant topics as a criterion for assessing the significance of the sights for the presentation of Katutura to the tourists: whereas many sights were often only briefly shown to tourists ("*on your left, you can see …*"; "*… is on your right*"), some of the sights were not shown while the vehicle was moving, but were visited after tourists had alighted from the vehicle or during specially organised stays at the sights in question. We identified five stations that, despite some individual deviations, form part of virtually all the tours (cf. Fig. 8).[35]

Fig. 8: The "Big Five" of tourism in Katutura *Source: Authors' own presentation*

35 On the tabular listing, we have used font size to highlight the five stations (cf. Tab. 4).

The most important sights in Katutura are: (1) Old Location (the National Memorial); (2) Oshetu Market (Single Quarter Market); (3) Eveline Street; (4) the Informal Settlements; (5) the Penduka Project. These places obviously represent the principal attractions of Katutura's township tourism; in the following, we will refer to them simply as *'The Big Five'*. It can be assumed that they are of special significance for the representation of Katutura in tourism.[36] In Chap. 4.2, these five sights will therefore serve as case examples in our analysis of the basic patterns of the tourism-specific representation of Katutura.

4.1.2 The routes

In addition to the presented sights, the route courses, that is the connections between the 'places of interests', constitute a particularly central element of the spatial framework of the scene of tourism. A further goal of our empirical study therefore involved reconstructing the routings of the tours.

The route courses taken by the tours depend on the means of transport employed. Most of the township excursions are conducted with motor vehicles (vans, cars); only Katutours organises cycling tours of Katutura (cf. Tab. 3), meaning that it is restricted with regard to the distances it can cover. The Bwana Tucke-Tucke operators run their tours in open nostalgic land rovers or jeeps from the 1960s. This enables that tour-provider to include off-road routes leading to vantage points outside the settlement in its programme as well and thus to extend it by adding "*action elements*" and "*landscape experiences*".

With the exception of the tours run by Katutours, which start directly in Katutura (near Penduka), all tours start either from the Tourism Office in the city centre or from the guests' places of accommodation. The different route courses passing through Katutura are indicated in the map (cf. Fig. 9).

The outline map clearly shows intersections of the route courses, especially in the southern part of Eveline Street and in the area around the Greendam Mountain Road (driveway to the Penduka project). All tour operators also use Mathshithshi Street and Monte Christo Street, both of which are used as 'panorama routes' providing a view of the informal settlements. The Independence Avenue, which, as a central traffic axis, links Katutura with the city centre, is used as well by almost all tour operators. These road segments permit the operators to show comparatively many 'places of interest' within relatively short distances. Convergence

36 The Wanaheda district represented yet another central topic which practically all operators made mention of during their tours. However, it was only the meaning of its name that was frequently explained as the tours drove past; no specially organised stops took place there. This explains why that district does not feature on the list of the most important sights. (The area was named *Wanaheda* during colonial times and continued to be called it following its independence in 1990. It is an acronym for '*Wambos, Namas, Hereros and Damaras*', the four ethnic groups that were living here. In 2003, following governmental and public recommendations, it was renamed in honor of Mozambican President Samora Machel.)

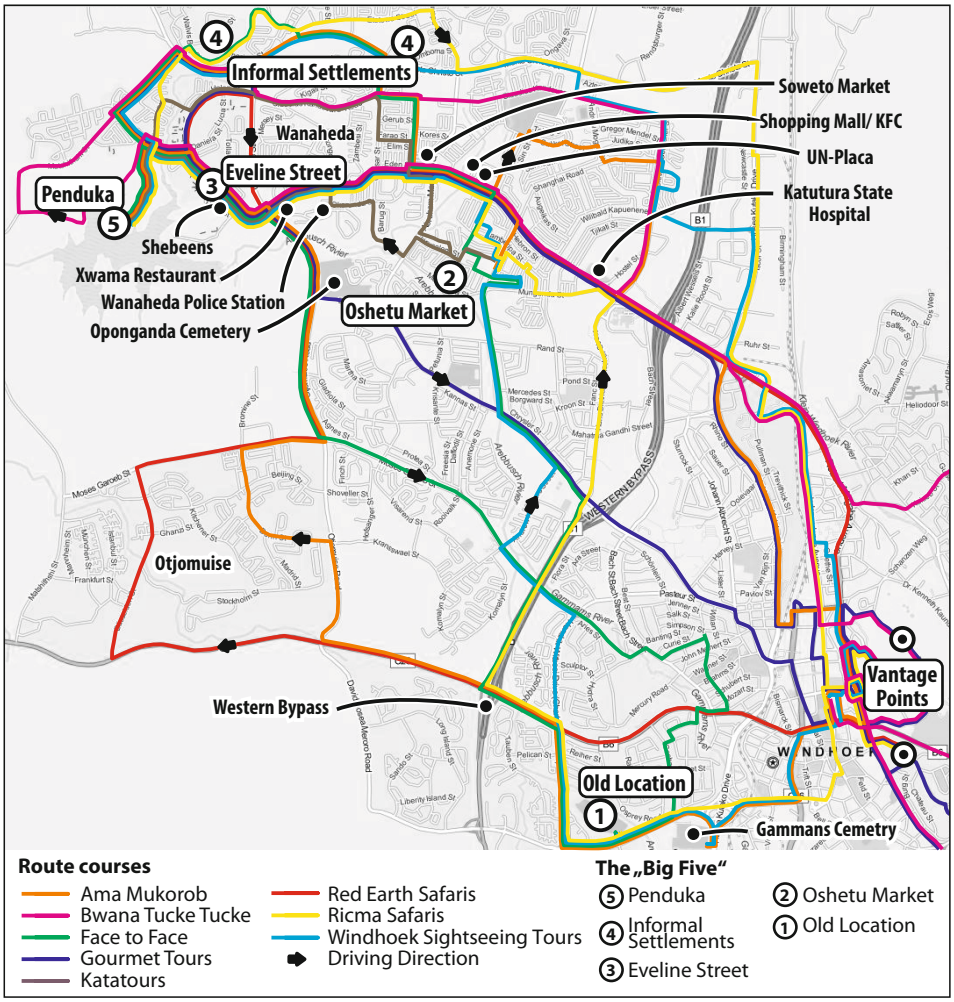


Fig. 9: Route courses of the township tours *Source: Authors' own presentation (Daniel Hausmann, Ute Dolezal)*

in the route courses taken results mainly from the access roads leading to the township's major tourist sights (the 'Big Five'; cf. Chap. 4.2). On the whole, the places that are undoubtedly most frequently visited by the tours include Katutura Central, the bordering Informal Settlement areas to the north (Hakahana, Big Bend, among others) and the undeveloped peripheral areas on the northern bank of the Goreangab Dam (including Penduka). The route courses taken by the different tour operators are unmistakably similar; for the most part, they only differ when it comes to deciding on where the Western Bypass is intersected or on which access road to take to Katutura. This in turn depends on the choice of

additional sights made by the tour operators in an attempt to give their respective tours a touch of individuality.[37]

A comparison of the route courses taken, the sights selected, the alighting opportunities offered and the means of transport used will reveal two different tour conception types: a more 'passive' conception primarily designed as a tour involving sightseeing and the transmission and consumption of information (Red Earth Safaris, Gourmet Tours, Bwana Tucke-Tucke), and a rather '(inter-)active' conception which, in addition to the information presented, mainly focuses on direct contact with the local population and on the direct sensual experience of what is shown (Katutours, Face-to-Face, Ricma Safaris, Ama Mukorob, Windhoek Sightseeing Tours). The latter increasingly provide their customers with the opportunity to explore certain places within the township on their own (for example, while visiting a market or a *shebeen*, cf. Chap. 4.2). The cycling tours run by Katutours are most clearly conceived as opportunities for physical, interpersonal, interactive experience. At the beginning of her tour, tour operator Anna Mafwila describes the experience as follows:

> *So, what we today are going to do is, basically, I will take you around in Katutura on bicycles. I think it's much more one-to-one, it's a bit friendlier and much more personal. It's a bit more closer to the people. And I think you can get a bit more experienced. (Guide, Katutours)*

Elsewhere, she calls her tours a "*very easy way to interact with people*" and "*slow adventure*".[38] Adventure and interaction play an important role in Bwana Tucke-Tucke's tour conception as well – albeit in a completely different way: the very choice of the vintage open military jeep creates the impression of unequivocal commitment to the "*township adventure*". Moreover, the tourists make use of sitting on the open back seat of the vehicle for purposes of 'interaction'; that interaction, however, is often restricted to plenty of waving and the deafeningly loud greeting of children. Further encounters with the people are specially arranged by Bwana Tucke Tucke. For example, the tour guide uses ice cubes to attract large numbers of children from the informal settlements to the jeep; and the children are then cheerfully hugged by the tourists, and frequently for that matter, producing a very popular photo motive (cf. Fig. 10). As regards the tours, Bwana Tucke Tucke posts the following comment on Youtube:

> *While on the city sightseeing tours, you will be driven in an open 1964 veteran Land Rover. This will enable you to have a clear, unrestricted view for numerous photo motifs and to perceive and capture Windhoek with all your*

37 Tour guides sometimes deviate from their standard routes to fulfil their customers' wishes. In some particular cases, the guide's 'form of the day' has led to changes in the tour programme.

38 See also: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=SniBw3LThXU (accessed: 07/03/2014).

senses. You will not be riding on a spaceship through the Katutura suburb, but will be given an opportunity for a little chat or for some small talk. You'll have to be waving all the time and will be followed by jumping and hopping children for some short distances: it's one of those rare moments of getting so close to Africa. (Bwana Tucke Tucke, on Youtube, 15/01/2011; [authors' translation])

Fig. 10: 'Katutura Intensive Tour' with Bwana Tucke Tucke (Snapshots from official YouTube Video)
Source: YouTube (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=f9jdL85EHIs; accessed: 07/03/2016)

In the case of the 'passive' tours, which do not include contact with Katutura's residents on their programmes and which primarily take the form of mere sightseeing trips, safety concerns are usually mentioned as an explanation for the fact that guests do not alight from their vehicles. However, these concerns partly seem to arise from the guides' personal feelings of insecurity:

The problem is that I find the people incredibly nice. […] But then, the problem is that the bandits are also friendly, and I simply can't tell them apart. So I've given up running around here; I don't do that anymore. As a tour guide, one surely has a certain amount of responsibility to take. (Guide, Red Earth; original statement in German)

Remarks indicating that the organisation of the tours is adapted to certain safety considerations were also made in other interviews with tour providers. What is remarkable is that such concerns were exclusively expressed by white tour operators. The safety considerations are perhaps one reason why the 'passive' tours are more stictly oriented to the township's major traffic axes and circumvent certain parts of Katutura.[39]

In summary, it can be noted that the township tours occasionally differ fundamentally with regard to their basic conceptions: while some of the tour operators mainly assign the tourist the role of a passive recipient, other tour providers

39 The findings of a current study on township tourism in Cape Town indicate that most township tour participants (73 %) are safe or feel very safe during the sightseeing tour (cf. George and Booyens 2014). Our own study in Windhoek does also show that the majority of the tourists (52.3 %) are rather safe or feel safe; however, our results are much less conclusive than those of the Cape Town study.

endeavour to involve the guest as an active participant and to enable him or her to experience things more directly. The black tour operators, in particular, rather prefer an interactive tour conception.

4.2 How is Katutura shown?

The sights and routes selected by the tour operators only represent the basic frame of township tourism. Within the scope of the sightseeing tours, the 'places of interest' fulfil the function of bearers of spatial meaning in which the contents transmitted during the tours are expected to be made sensually perceptible (cf. Pott 2007: 165). Of course, the representation of the township crucially raises the question as to *what* semantic links are offered by the tour guides. We intend to take a closer look at this question in the following, drawing upon the examples of the 'Big Five'. The presentation of the observations made at the different stops roughly follows the chronology of the courses taken by most of the tours.

4.2.1 Vantage point in *Klein-Windhoek*: Introduction into place and the drawing of boundaries

The first tour stop of 'combined city tours' is usually a vantage point situated above Windhoek's inner-city in the very wealthy suburb *Klein-Windhoek* located in the eastern part of the city centre.[40] From there, tourists obtain a panoramic view of the city and the surrounding areas. Guides particularly use this stop to provide tourists with introductory information about Windhoek's geographical situation, historical developments, and current urban structure. This "introduction into place" draws the spatial and linguistic line of demarcation between Katutura Township and the other city neighbourhoods. In this way, the tourists are attuned to the heterogenising and contrasting perspective, which then forms the basic framework for staging as the tours proceed further. This contrast is very well illustrated in the following introduction by a Ricma Safaris tour guide:

> *So, where we are standing now, here is the upper class. So, people with money are staying in Klein-Windhoek. And later, we're going to the other side […], to the lower class which is Katutura where 70 percent of the people are living. […] So, when we are talking about a typical Katutura house, a two-bedroom house, you find around ten people living there. This just happens because black people have extended families. (Guide, Ricma Safaris)*

"*Here*" in this statement is associated with the position of the "*upper class*", which, owing to its panoramic view, is here literally looking down on the "*lower class*". This, in its spatial description, is, at the same time, presented as "*the other side*"

40 Specified (final) points at Schwerinsburg Road, Orban Street and Ceres Street were chosen as vantage points.

with its typical living conditions, which, in turn, are explicitly categorised as the living conditions "*black people*". Whereas Katutura – the "*other side*" of the city – is primarily identified as *poor* and *black*, Windhoek's city centre is characterised as *rich* and *white*. The social gap between the city neighbourhoods is symbolically expressed, too, in the topographical difference in altitude and in the 'elevated', 'superior' location of the vantage point. This spatial distinction – the rich, white elite *here* at the top ("upper class") and the poor, black majority *there* at the bottom ("lower class") – provides the essential structure of the tourist gaze on Katutura. In this way, the introduced leading differentiations link up directly with the tourists' township associations, and this simultaneously secures connectivity with their authenticity expectations (cf. Chap. 3.3). For the western township tourists, 'cultural otherness' is thus pinpointed primarily via the meanings 'black' and 'poor'. This sends a clear signal with regard to the next step(s) of the tour: dark skin colour and economic poverty now become semantically associated and, at the same time, crucially important as features of alterity and authenticity.

4.2.2 The "Big Five" (1): Old Location (Hochland Park)

From the vantage point, the tourists, led by black tour operators, head for Katutura; on the way they visit the '*Old Location*', which is situated in the Hochland Park neighbourhood. The name 'Old Location' refers to a former residential area erected by the German colonial administration in 1912 for the black population and situated west of the CBD. This area, in which a large part of the indigenous African population used to live, was called the 'Main Location' prior to the forced resettlement, and Old Location or '*Alte Werft*' afterwards.

The major topics addressed at this stop includes apartheid history and the origin of the township. In addition to the regionalising and heterogenising perspective, a historicising comparative perspective thus emerged at this halting point, and Katutura was thus presented as a place rich in history. The Old Location's cemetery, in particular the *1959 Heroes and Heroines Memorial Grave* (cf. Fig. 11), represents the central spatially fixed point of reference of the historicising explanations of the issues addressed. During the visit, the main focus was on the forced removals and resettlement of the black population groups from 1959 onwards and thus on the township's foundation history. At this stop, the tour guides presented Katutura as a symbol of racial oppression, which is reflected in statements concerning the meaning of the place's name:

> *So, the Old Location was the area where the black people were staying before. But when the South Africans came, they came with the apartheid system, and they wanted the black people to move to the other side. But the black people they didn't want to go because the suburb was so far away from the*

city centre. But when the South Africans sent a bulldozer and destroyed their houses and the black people did not have a choice but to move to the new suburb. But before they moved, they came up with a name and they named it 'Katutura'. Katutura means: 'the place we don't want to stay'. (Guide, Ricma Safaris)

Fig. 11: Entrance to the Old Location's cemetery *Photo: Michael Buning*

The tourism-specific representation of Katutura raises the relevant question to how this element of Namibian history is dealt with. To begin with, the most important observation in this context is that it is exclusively black tour providers who integrate the memorial site of Old Location into their tour programmes (cf. Tab. 4). An issue particularly discussed during these tours was that of the violent restriction of the freedom of movement. The initial resistance to the forced resettlement was first explained on grounds of Katutura's remoteness from the city centre and of the impediments to mobility resulting therefrom for the black population. The issues particularly addressed included – besides the multiplicity of difficulties resulting from racial segregation and affecting the black population (e.g., in the education and health care systems) – the difficult housing conditions ("ethnic quarters", property rights, etc.). The fact that white tour providers do not have the Old Location on their programmes indicates a certain insecurity of the white guides in coping with the apartheid past. White tour guides did not completely ignore this part of history, but they frequently mentioned it during their tours in a rather relativising undertone:

We had other problems in this country besides apartheid anyway, for example droughts, floods, fire disasters and the like. In the circumstance, one had other things to do than thinking about racial segregation; one simply had to work together. On the farms outside there, where one is three hundred kilometres away from the next town, one just cannot live in extreme separation. In principle, we relentlessly violated the apartheid regulations from the very beginning, and so the regulation was diffused in 1970, at some point when it was realised that there had to be an end to criminalising the citizens. Apartheid did indeed continue to exist for twenty years, but it did so in a clearly diffused form. There are therefore fewer points of hatred and conflict today between blacks and whites here than there are, for example, in South Africa. (Guide, Bwana Tucke-Tucke; original statement in German; cf. Tab. 3)

It can be assumed that the black and white tour guides' conceptions of themselves as members of the one or other 'race' and the respective views of apartheid history connected therewith are of crucial significance, given the differences they reflect in their weightings and interpretations. It is evident that what they are out to do here is to define their own positions within one of the two "races"; this, as the quotes above illustrates, is presumably less problematic for Blacks in post-apartheid Namibia than it is for Whites in that country. Hence, the tourists were being offered two interpretations of the apartheid past which tended to differ from one another.

Since the Old Location is not situated in Katutura, but in today's Hochland Park suburb of Windhoek, the stop also offers an opportunity for a further demarcation of social and ethnic segregation lines:

Here [in Hochland Park] you can find a mixture because now, after independence, it's according to money wherever you can afford a house. But the thing is, in Katutura you won't find white people. (Guide, Ricma Safaris)

Thus, while Hochland Park has seen the formation of an ethnically mixed population structure since independence, Katutura has remained "black" ever since its foundation. The logical context created here may be formulated as follows: those who can afford the means – whether black or white – will surely not live in Katutura, but in middle-class areas like Hochland Park; but, at least for the tour guide cited here, this also means: no white person is poor to the extent of having to live in Katutura. The message thus conveyed is: Katutura is a place of poverty and will continue to be a place where only black-skinned people live despite the political and social transformations that have taken place since independence. In this way, the 'poor-and-black' semantic associations were, again, reproduced at this tour stop and the existing tourists' township image confirmed (cf. Chap. 3.3).

The tour participants were thus prepared anew for the 'place of the poor and black' just before they actually embarked on their tour of the township itself. Now that they also had the opportunity to observe Katutura as a history-charged place, the 'black-and-poor' semantic correlation appeared not just as a snapshot to them, but – in a meaning-enhancing manner – as a historical fact.[41]

4.2.3 The "Big Five" (2): Oshetu Market (Single Quarters)

The visit to *Osheto Market* in the south-eastern part of Katutura is an integral part of the '(inter-)active' programme provided by black tour operators. This market is one of a large number of open markets promoted on an urban investment programme since the mid-1990s.[42]

At the rear part of the market, traders offer clothing, electrical appliances and simple services (including tailoring, shoemaking, repairs and servicing of electrical equipment, haircuts and hairdressing, etc.) in small shops. Foodstuffs (fruits, vegetables, drinks, meat, etc.) and firewood are offered in open stalls at the roofed front part of the market. Meat is also roasted on numerous open barbecue spots and sold directly to the market visitors.

In the context of city tourism, local markets have always been regarded as places where tourists can genuinely experience everyday life in the respective city they visit. Township tour providers are aware of this and therefore partly advertise their tours by explicitly including a special 'cultural market experience' in their programmes: "*Experience and appreciate the cultural diversity and socio-economic dimensons of the township people*" (cf. Windhoek Sightseeing Tours, Fig. 12).

The visit to Oshetu Market particularly fulfils this function during guided tours of Katutura; for, quite unlike the souvenir market in the city centre, which is very clearly tailored to tourists' consumption interests, Oshetu Market is mainly frequented by Katutura's residents. Due not least to its more intensive background sounds and smells, Oshetu Market obviously suggests itself as a place that can transmit an 'authentic experience' to tourists and give them the feeling of being at the 'centre of things'.

41 After leaving the Old Location, the touring party crossed the Western Bypass (B1), Windhoek's central traffic axis, which represented the administrative boundary between the townships and the city centre during the apartheid period. "*There is a road that we call the Western Bypass. That was the division road. So at 5 o'clock or 6 o'clock the Black people had to make sure that they were on the other side of this road, because there was the checkpoint where the Black people had to show their passports. Therefore we call this place also 'Klein-Berlin' or 'Checkpoint Charlie'*" (Guide, Ricma Safaris). With the tourism-specific presentation establishing a link to this spatial distinction, the Western Bypass now symbolises, to some extent, the border crossing or "*the gateway*" to "*the other, poor side*" of the city.

42 By promoting the markets, the city seeks to improve the hygienic conditions in them and to establish them more firmly as centres of public life; it also pursues the goal of providing the inhabitants with better income-generating opportunities. It was to this end that Oshetu Market emerged from the former Single Quarters Market in 2005. In the language of the Ovambo, 'Oshetu' literally means "*It belongs to us*". The market's name can therefore be freely translated as 'Our Market'. The former name, 'Single Quarters Market', which is what the inhabitants still call the market today, has its origins in the one-roomed flats erected for migrant workers from the North in the 1950s; these flats are still located in the immediate vicinity of the market.

Fig. 12: Advertising brochure of Windhoek Sightseeing Tours (extract)
Source: Windhoek Sightseeing Tours

Most guided township tours spend a comparatively long time at the Oshetu Market, and many tour programmes also include an opportunity for tour participants to go into the market and explore it on their own: "*Please feel free to look around and hang around the market*" (Guide, Katutours). The walk through the market indeed permits the tourists to fulfil the frequently expressed wish to interact with the local population (cf. Chap. 3.2). Whereas in other places, for example in the informal settlements (see below), the visitor experiences the local people more or less passively, in Oshetu Market the individual tourist is much more active involved in what is happening. Situations of sales transactions are of special relevance in this connection. For the part played here by the tour participants as consumers not only helps them establish direct contact with local people, but also provides

a familiar frame of reference that structures the social interaction. Hence, the sales situation makes tourists feel fairly secure in their actions. This facilitates the tourist's (first) contact with the 'local culture', while at the same time giving him or her the feeling of being immersed in the daily life of a township and of taking part personally in its public life.[43]

Fig. 13/14: Preparation and consumption of Kapana at Oshetu Market *Photos: Mehtap Akpinar / tripadvisor.de*

Tasting the foodstuffs the guides referred to as 'traditional food' offered the tourists a special opportunity to fathom out '*otherness*' via the sense of taste, too, which obviously had its own unique appeal: the tourists' behaviour as they literally 'incorporated' the strange experience betrayed an atmosphere of tension between curiosity and repulsion. A vast spectrum of reactions expressed with great intensity could be observed particularly during consumption of *Mopane Worms* or the *Oshikundu* drink[44], which the guides frequently advertised as exceptionally "*typical*" and "*authentically African*": the reactions ranged from disgust and aversion to open excitement and enthusiasm. By inviting the tourists to taste the food, the guides of the '(inter-)active' tours were expressly promoting this form of coming to grips with the foreign culture.

The preparation of *Kapana* (roasted beef; cf. Fig. 13/14) is yet another spectacular event that Katutura's visitors experience in Oshetu Market:

> *Crazy, this cook-shop. Smokes like hell here! Great, isn't it? Smells like a bit charred: like in Bangkok. (Tour participant, male, about 38 years old)*

43 Many tour participants are quite willing to make use of their freedom of movement by, for example, seeking to establish contact with the market women at the sales stands and by openly enjoying the opportunities of intercultural communication in the process; however, the relatively unstructured sightseeing practice rather seems to disconcert some tourists: they constantly keep close to the tour guide during their stay in the market and/or only walk through the market scene within the tight confines of their group. It can also be observed that some tourists intentionally avoid being involved in any situations of interaction.

44 The *Mopane Worm* is a butterfly's caterpillar that feeds on the *Mopane* tree and that represents an important source of protein for people in countries in Southern Africa. *Oshikundu* is a traditional drink in Namibia made from fermented millet (*Mahangu*).

This comment reflects, among other things, the central wish to experience the different culture – '*the cultural other*' – being visited not as stage-managed for tourism, but as an undistorted, authentic expression of daily life (cf. Chap. 4.2). Additionally, the reference to Bangkok here indicates a claim to a certain degree of cosmopolitanism and to the recognition value of earlier experiences, too. This indicates a comparison of the experience at Oshetu Market not only with 'home' any more, but with another, similarly 'exotic' experience.

Storing the beef in open, non-refrigerated space, too, seemed to have an effect on the tourists which was just as repelling as it was attractive. For example, it was not only the heaps of meat attracting swarms of flies that served as a favourite motif for tourists' photos; attention was regularly called to the severed cattle skulls lying on the ground. The way meat is stored and prepared at Oshetu Market is particularly linkable to certain Africa images and therefore perceived precisely as authentically African, since it does not comply with Western notions of hygiene. And the use of sheets cut from newspapers as 'plate substitutes' and the consumption of meat with bare hands do not conform with Western habits and might thus be experienced as cultural practice that is at once primitive and very sensual; this, presumably, was of crucial importance for the tourists' sense of authenticity.

By focusing attention not only on filth and disgust, but also on features with a positive connotation such as liveliness, sensuality and exoticism as interpretational options during their visit to Oshetu Market, the tour guides enabled tour participants to more strongly evoke the positive meanings of the ambivalent stereotypical image of Africa (cf. Chap. 3.3). In this way, existing notions of township and poverty were further differentiated and relativised. Moreover, the comparatively large extent of freedom of movement and the possibilities of interaction seemed to meet the authenticity needs of the tourists and therefore to intensify their (market) experience positively.

4.2.4 The "Big Five" (3): Eveline Street

The visit to *Eveline Street* features on the programme of every township tour. It is a street located in the western part of Katutura. Eveline Street is considered Katutura's "*party street*" and "*amusement area*", and the tour guides therefore like referring to it as "*the street that never sleeps*".[45] Its streetscape is particularly characterised by small restaurants, street stalls and *shebeens*, in addition to small-scale carwash enterprises largely operated on an informal basis. Loud music dominates its soundscape.

45 "*This is Eveline Street – a party street. This is sunrise to sunrise*" (Tour guide, Face-to-Face).

Two fundamentally different modes of presentation were observed at this station during the township tours. In some tours, social problems, especially that of the high level of alcohol consumption, featured here as major issues.

Fig. 15: **Township tourists as guests at a shebeen** *Source: katutours.com*

> *This is Eveline Street. So, almost every second house is a shebeen; actually they were not intended for selling alcohol but for soap, candles, sugar – all the basic stuff that you need in the house. But now it's just well-known for drinking […]. We have people complaining 'We do not have money', 'We do not have jobs' but they still can afford to buy alcohol. Concerning alcohol consumption, Namibia is known in Southern Africa as one of the highest in consumption and this is really devastating. So, if you are interested in such kind of things, Eveline Street is really nice for you. But I would not recommend it at night. This is also the reason why I do my tours in the morning and not at night. (Guide, Katutours)*

Issues such as prostitution, violence and crime, if mentioned during the tours, were mostly addressed at Eveline Street. During various tour operations, guides explicitly warn against visiting the place alone either as a night guest or as a tourist, pointing out that Eveline Street is dangerous, wild and, in fact, a 'no-go area' for tourists.

On the other hand, Eveline Street functions as a sight at which the young, dynamic and lively side of Katutura is demonstrated. The loud music, the funny names of the shebeens featuring on the hand-painted advertising boards[46], the cheerful celebrations (poverty notwithstanding!) – these, too, represent messages transmitted at Eveline Street. During some ('inter-)active' tours, the shebeens also

46 Examples of names particularly popular with the tourists and guides are: "*Bad Boys 74*", "*Pub September 11*", "*Tsunami.com Bar*", "*Ethnix Grill&Lounge*" and "*Love Bar*".

serve as a means of establishing contact with the local population and experiencing a piece of the 'open-air' township culture (cf. Fig. 15).

Furthermore, the shebeens and informal micro-enterprises serve as a point of reference which the tour operators frequently drew upon to illustrate the business skills of Katutura's inhabitants and their 'creative way' of coping with their living conditions.[47] In all the tours, the high rate of unemployment was presented as a central social problem in Katutura. However, a clear qualification of the problem situations was sometimes noted in the guides' accounts on informal employment:

> *So, the unemployment rate in Namibia it's a 51 percent now. So, that's a lot. But for me … I am not sure whether the figures are always the right ones because there are those people that are self-employed. So nobody knows how many people are really unemployed. (Guide, Ricma Safaris)*

During our tour observations, it became clear that the representation of Eveline Street was double-sided: on the one hand, it was described as noisy, wild and dangerous and as a social hotspot; on the other hand, it was presented as lively, colourful, rhythmic, young, dynamic and creative. Again, this suggests semantic links to the existing ambivalence of stereotypes about Africa. The tour guides seemed to be making use of this ambivalence by ensuring connectivity to the tourists' township associations via negative meaning associations and, at the same time, by directing the tourist's attention to interpretational options with positive connotations. This looks like an attempt by the tour operators to safeguard the credibility of their (positive) presentation precisely through the very same negative notions of the township transmitted by the media. The tour operators partly seemed to be purposely striving to correct an image of Katutura that they feared might turn out to be too negative.[48]

47 In this respect, the so-called 'daily job-seekers' also served as reference points for the tour guides. These job-seekers spend much time in certain places and streets within the city area, perseveringly waiting for potential employers in the hope of finding casual jobs.

48 This pattern of argument is also reflected in the presentation of other issues. More often than not, mention was made of the cleanliness of the streets and public places: "*On your right is a recreation park with a playground for children and a school adjacent to it. Also incredibly beautiful; just have a look round, please. Anyone who has travelled a lot and is aware of the situation in other countries knows that poverty is often accompanied by filth. But this does not need to happen at all, as you can see here*" (Guide, Red Earth; original statement in German; cf. Tab. 3). Many tour guides also called attention to a well-functioning municipal waste management system. On the whole, the strong emphasis on cleanliness seemed to aim at correcting a potentially negative association of a township with filth and dirt. The German-speaking tour guides, in particular, mentioned the German colonial past (and not without some pride) as an explanation for the cleanliness.

4.2.5 The "Big Five" (4): Informal Settlements

The marginal *informal settlements* located on the north-western and western fringes of Katutura and consisting largely of corrugated-iron huts constitute a further important attraction in Katutura tourism (cf. Fig. 16).[49] During the tours, it is particularly the Hakahana, Big Bend and Otjomuise areas that serve as illustrations of the living and housing conditions of the poorest parts of Windhoek's population.

There are noticeable differences between the tour operators in their sightseeing practice regarding the informal settlements. For example, Katutours does not show these settlement areas at all:

> *I do not go there because I do not want to cry on that poverty and I think it will not help us to see people suffering if we do not have anything to give them. They are angry and they do not have a job and they want a better life and I do not think that looking at them is the right way to do it. So for this reason, that is why we take a much safer, respectful route to give you an introduction of Katutura. (Guide, Katutours)*

In this introductory explanation given shortly before the tour, Anna Mafwila mentions (1) moral and ethical motives, (2) safety concerns. Differences between the other tour operators particularly express themselves with regard to the routes taken (cf. Fig. 9; Chap. 4.1.2). Most of them keep a certain distance by exclusively taking tarred roads (Monte Christo Rd./Dusseldorf Str.) as 'panorama routes' for their visits to the informal settlements (Bwana Tucke-Tucke, Windhoek Sightseeing, Ama Mukorob, Gourmet Tours, Red Earth). These tours restrict their sightseeing to a view from outside. Only tours organised by Face-to-Face and Ricma Safaris – and also those operated by the informal guides – ran through untarred roads cutting across the informal settlements.

In the staging of the tours, informal settlement areas play a central role in regard to the illustration of difference. It is interesting that in the process, various tour guides fall back decidedly on a heterogenising perspective that draws the lines of demarcation between the informal settlements and the rest of Katutura, calling the former "*the other side of the city*": "*So, this side is the other side of Windhoek, the poor side of Windhoek*" (Informal Guide). Whereas at the beginning of the tour (see Vantage Point) the whole of Katutura was described as "*the other side of the city*", this remark was now apparently referring to the informal settlement areas only. This was perhaps one of the tour guides' responses to the fact that the tourists were often astonished at the unexpectedly good constructional and infrastructural condition of the formal areas of Katutura. The observed living conditions were perceived in several instances as not being as poor as expected.

49 The term 'informal settlements' refers primarily to the creation of housing without any official permit as well as to the insecure ownership situation and lack of legal security to which the inhabitants are subjected.

Fig. 16: **Panorama of corrugated-iron shacks in the informal settlements** *Photo: Michael Buning*

To put it in overstated terms: Katutura as a whole appeared less different because it looked less poor. The outer appearance of the informal settlements, on the other hand, came somewhat closer to meeting the tourists' expectations; the visible signs of poverty were sufficient to satisfy the 'otherness' requirements of the tourists. On the other hand, the tour operators also drew upon the informal areas to address the issue of internal regionalisation, which is interesting from a city-tourism perspective, and the socio-economic contrasts within the township itself: "*Ok, here in Hakahana, where we are standing now, this is the poorest part of Katutura*" (Informal Guide). In the context of township tourism, the informal settlements thus become 'places of absolute poverty' and their inhabitants the "*poorest of the poor*". The presentation of 'absolute poverty' thereby alludes to the building materials and the simple constructions of the corrugated-iron huts – but in particular, to the inadequate infrastructural facilities. The sanitary situation represents the major topic addressed in the relevant presentations:[50]

50 The black guides, in particular, made use of the toilets and other sanitary facilities – including those outside the informal settlements – as a central criterion for illustrating differences in housing quality: "*And as I told you, the colloureds, their houses, they all had the toilet inside. When we are going to Katutura you will see the difference. There the toilets are outside and the people are sharing one toilet*" (Guide, Ricma Safaris). Historically, the frequent reference to sanitary facilities designed to illustrate differences in housing quality can be traced back to the apartheid period, when matters of hygiene used to play a central role in endeavours to legitimise racial segregation: "*Within the Old Location the 'sanitation syndrome' was used to justify systematic racial segregration of African inhabitants from whites in the city. That is, in a circular argument, adequate sanitation was not made available to the African inhabitants of Windhoek on the grounds that they were considered to be without need of sanitation. Throughout the years that the location existed the issue of public sanitation was used to legitimate [Sic!] and justify racist attitudes and treatment of the city's African*

So, here there is no electricity and there is no water in each house. Some of them have electricity. They get it illegally from the posts that are about to end here. And then they have communal shared bathrooms. Like this one, the brown building that you see over there with the ventilation; that is a bathroom or toilet actually. [...] So, the open roof facility, like this one, that you see here, these are the showers. People take a bucket and take a shower inside. (Guide, Face-to-Face)

The poor prerequisites for the satisfaction of basic human needs, for example inadequate protection against climatic influences and limited means for the cultivation of personal hygiene, were identified, addressed and rendered visible in the informal settlements as signs of 'absolute poverty'.

Taking a look at these signs of poverty seemed to be a special experience of contrast for the tour participants. Yet, many tourists perceived this confrontation, unlike their experiences in other stations visited in the course of their tour, as emotionally burdensome. This was confirmed in many respects by the observations we made during the accompanied tours: the atmosphere in the vehicle and the tourists' behaviour changed conspicuously during visits to the informal settlements. For example, the tourists then spoke much less than they otherwise did during the tour; and what they said, if they did speak at all, was only about what they saw or had seen. Their photo-taking behaviour changed, too: some tour participants who otherwise frequently pressed the release buttons of their cameras stopped taking any further photographs; and they increasingly expressed their doubts as to whether or not it was permissible to take photographs of people in such living conditions in the first place. Other participants, on the other hand, did indeed take pictures particularly frequently as if they had at last found the motifs they had desperately been looking for.

These changes in behaviour can each be interpreted as signs of an explicit recognition of deviation from the known and thus as an extraordinary experience of difference and otherness. Although the tourists were shown much only from the safe haven of the tour vehicle, the fact that they were never offered the opportunity to alight from the vehicle while in the informal settlements became particularly significant, since this lent force to possible fears of coming into contact with the settlement inhabitants as well as to concerns about safety. No one on the observed tours asked for permission to leave the vehicle and make contact with the inhabitants of the informal settlements. In this phase of the tour. The distance maintained to the people being looked at seemed to fulfil the needs and wishes of the tourists.

In the stage-management of the tours, the informal settlements doubtlessly represented the 'dark side of poverty', unlike the other stations, whose positive

inhabitants. In effect, this was an attempt to bind ethnicity to a particular place, and corresponds directly to the developing reserve policy." (Grewald 2009: 258)

aspects (the zest for life, business skills, exoticism, etc.) the tour guides repeatedly focused on as well, presenting them as interpretational options. The tourists thereby perceived the 'absolute poverty' in the informal settlements as a depressing experience, since it called for pity – but, at the same time, as an extremely impressive experience of difference, too. What was shown in the informal settlements seemed most likely to confirm the tourists' expectations before they embarked on the tour (cf. Chap. 3): a presentation was given of the informal settlements that conformed with what the tourists had previously thought of the township as a whole. The intensive experience of difference observed in the tourists' behaviour was thus based on the experience of an *expected difference*. To that extent, the important function of the informal settlements in the stage-management of the tours consisted in establishing agreement between the existing notions of the township and what was shown during the tours, with the intensity of the experience of poverty at the same time ensuring that the tour as a whole fulfilled the tourists' quest for authenticity. By explicitly confronting the tour participants with the signs of 'absolute poverty' and this unpleasant experience, the tour providers were conveying the message that nothing had been embellished or staged for tourists. This, at the same time, lent credibility to programme as a whole.

4.2.6 The "Big Five" (5): Penduka

The last port of call was a sight that features in virtually all of the township tours, namely the Penduka Project situated in the west of Katutura. The project is located on the premises of the former Windhoek Sailing Club at the Goreangab Reservoir (cf. Tab. 4).[51] Launched by a Dutch woman in 1992, the project seeks to give support to disadvantaged women and women with illnesses. Its core activities consist in the production of handmade textiles, jewellery and pottery both for the local souvenir trade and for export to Europe. This is supplemented by the project's on-the-spot offers for tourists, which include folkloric dance performances, accommodation and a restaurant that serves Namibian dishes. Penduka is one of the few facilities within Katutura that have been oriented to the tourism market from the very beginning (cf. Chap. 6.3). Two aspects of the project are of particular significance with regard to the representation of the township:

(1) the presentation of Penduka as an aid project;
(2) its staging of local African traditions.

Its linkability to tourists' township associations (cf. Chap. 3.3) is particularly backed by the notion of 'the need for help' connected with the poverty concept:

51 The word "Penduka" means "wake up!". The project's name thus sounds like an appeal from outside directed to the socially disadvantaged women of Namibia and calling on them to work actively towards changing their situation.

Women in Namibia suffer from a low social status, which makes it difficult for them to find a job. As a result, the entire family lives in poverty. This vicious circle is often strengthened by a physical handicap or by diseases like tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS. Penduka tries to break this negative circle by providing these women with work. This way they can support their families and as a result their social status will improve both within their family and within their local community. Penduka is a non-governmental development organisation working with women in Namibia. (http://www.penduka.com/en/for-us/)

The representation of a lack of the ability for self-help can be observed at other tour stations, too. This applies particularly to tours with a 'passive' conception. Unlike black tour providers, who attributed positive developments in Katutura mainly to initiatives taken by the local population themself, white guides put much stronger emphasis on the role played by external aid organisations:

Look to your left: the large green shade nets that you see over there. They were donated by the United Nations. That's a vegetable garden project; they [the UN] also donated the water supply facility. The people produce vegetables for their own community and supermarkets and create income for the people. A super-project, too, that one! (Guide, Red Earth; original statement in German, cf. Tab. 3)

Since perceiving Africa as an underdeveloped continent that depends on international aid is certainly common in everyday discourse, highlighting the need for help in the context of township tourism does not seem to be negatively connoted. On the contrary: the tour guides obviously emphasised the local projects in order to lay claim to the positive development of Katutura. Yet, while the majority of the aid projects are only presented to show the infrastructural and socio-economic progress, Penduka is the only project that is specially oriented to tourists' purchasing power and aims to utilise the local people's need for help economically. Tourists' consumption is thus proclaimed, so to speak, a form of aid.

And at the end you can do a little bit of shopping. So, the women's project of Penduka is one of the projects that is on our itinerary. I designed the itinerary in that way that it is not for crying on the poverty of the people but we rather help to bring people to Katutura and interact with the local people and also spend a bit of money. This is actually my concept of business, perhaps to help developing this neglected part of Windhoek which is also the [Sic!] home to the majority of Namibians. That is why we end here in Penduka. (Guide, Katutours)

The purchase of souvenirs in the context of township tourism consequently becomes particularly important in connection with the associations of poverty with the need for help. In a way, the tourist is even rewarded at Penduka with the role of a 'development worker', in view of the impression that by shopping there he or she can contribute significantly to the survival of socially disadvantaged women. The image of an underdeveloped population dependent on international support is not questioned at Penduka; it is purposely reproduced to be utilised economically. The good feeling of being able to help at the same time exercises a presumably positive influence on the visitor's touring experience and on the evaluation of the tour. As far as the tourists are concerned, the purchase of souvenirs at Penduka has the potential to reduce the emotional strains resulting from the inspection of the wretched conditions, especially after the visit to the informal settlements (see above). At the end of the tour, the tourist finds himself or herself in a position to do something to improve the situation: He or she can help!

Fig. 17: **Penduka advertising brochure (extract)** *Source: penduka.com*

Assuming that the Penduka project also aims to utilise the local culture for economic purposes, it is hardly surprising that the tourist's visit is advertised as "*a cultural shopping experience*" (cf. Fig. 17). To a considerable extent, both the products and services offered (e.g. dance performances) and the architectural and landscape designs of Penduka are aesthetically geared towards the positive aspects of the tourists' images of Africa as sketched in chapter 3.

The textiles, jewellery and pottery are, however, not only displayed as "*ethnic*" (and therefore traditional); as far as their production is concerned, they are, interestingly, also staged as therapeutic (that is, as psycho-pathologically helpful).[52] For instance, the motif design of the textiles (cf. Fig. 18), according to information given by the distributor, draws explicitly on the fates and life stories of the women concerned. This illustrates a linkage generally observed in the stage-managed presentation of Penduka, namely between traditional African culture and the (women's) need for help. The quotation stated further above can also be interpreted in this sense: "*Women in Namibia suffer from a low social status, which makes it difficult for them to find a job. As a result, the entire family lives in poverty.*" The women's (and their families') poverty is here explained with reference to their origin (Namibia); this implies employing a culturalist pattern of interpretation to explain poverty phenomena.[53]

Fig. 18: **Place mats with embroidery** *Source: penduka.com*

52 The presentation of the handmade products as the result of a kind of art-therapy for individual traumas not only places the tourist's purchase of souvenirs in the context of economic aid, but also presents it as psychological support.
53 To a certain extent, (women's) poverty is thus presented as being culturally determined and therefore endogenous. In this way, possible feelings of guilt resulting from the tourists' knowledge of historical and world-economic factors are presumably made to appear less important.

During the stay at Penduka, the visit of the workshop offered before the subsequent sale of souvenirs intensifies the tourists' perception of authenticity: the tourists see the partly disabled women at work, often clad in traditional clothing, which permits them to convince themselves on the spot of the authenticity of the products as 'original African' handicraft produced by 'real handicapped African' women.

Even if the souvenir products, hardly reveal any traditionally cultural basis but are geared, instead, towards tourists' stereotypical notions and expectations in a manner perfectly understandable from a market-economic perspective (cf. Thurner 1994: 14), 'authenticity' as Penduka's sales argument seems, still, to ensure that all those involved – tourists and craftswomen alike – benefit from the project. In aesthetic terms, however, Penduka's products by no means evoke negative associations like the need for help and poverty; they instead take up elements of the ambivalent stereotype of a 'real Africa' that have an exclusively positive connotation. Also, the folkloric performances in particular, singing, drumming and dancing in coloured costumes, employ quite typical, idealised notions of an allegedly traditional and cultural background of the female performers. This also applies to the architectural and scenic (re-)designing of the former Yacht Club with the thatched round huts built for the accommodation of tourists and located against the picturesque background of the lake, including pelicans and other exotic birds. This idyll complies with the idealised archetypal picture that portrays life in Africa as rural village life closely linked with nature (cf. Poenicke 2001: 8).

The fact that Penduka's natural scenery places it in sharp contrast to the urbanised nature of the township does not seem to reveal any contradiction or inconsistency in the tourism-oriented representation of Africa, because life in the township and Penduka's wild romantic landscape picture can both be perceived as 'typically African'. We are thus dealing with an expected contradiction here which, *ergo*, is 'authentic', too. Moreover, it is likely that virtually all the tourists, owing to their extensive travel experience, are quite aware of the 'staged authenticity' of Penduka and that they recognise the staging itself as a familiar and therefore 'normal' experience in tourism. Since the status of Penduka as an aid project for '*authentically* poor African women' who can '*really* be helped' by the tourist remains unchanged in the circumstance, the obviously 'staged authenticity' does not need to affect the tourists' perception of authenticity. For the 'need for help' continues to represent the essential background context during the stage-management of the Penduka project; consequently, poverty continues to function as a guarantor of authenticity – even in spite of the obvious stage-managed nature of its representation.

In the design of the tours, Penduka at the same time fulfils the function of a 'recreation area' in which the tour participants can relax after their township experience: at the end, the tourists are led from the African township to an African idyll, from the partly threatening hustle and bustle of urban life to the peaceful calm of the countryside, from the tightness of the urban environment to the open-

ness of nature, and from the hopelessness of the misery of the informal settlement (see above) to the hopefulness of the aid project. And the fact that the tourist can help here (as a tourist) contributes to a relaxing appeasement of conscience. The clear and explicit orientation of the project to tourists' needs and wishes means relaxation, too: after the intensive and partly confusing experiences undergone in Katutura, the township tourists are gently led back to the well-known context of tourism, the context in which scopes of action and role expectations are more familiar and therefore provide security.[54]

54 To some tourists, the high fence surrounding the premises, the electric gate and the security staff controlling entry into the site may also be useful with regard to relaxation after the tour.

4.3 Summary

The findings of our observations show that the presentation of Katutura is, on the whole, anchored to the notions and expectations central to tourism. At the initial stages (Vantage Point, Old Location), in particular, the tours fall back to a very large extent on the image of the township as the 'place of poverty' and the 'place of the Blacks', which ensures the connectivity of tourism-oriented presentation via the categories of 'skin colour' and 'poverty'. As the tours proceed, however, the presentation does not relate to negative associations (filth, danger or threat, misery) alone, but is also linked to positive stereotypes (exotic, tradition, zest for life). Within the scope of the tours, then, attention is never drawn to the 'dark side of poverty' alone, but rather to an ambivalent notion of 'real Africa' (cf. Chap. 3.3). Moreover, by focusing on the residents' day-to-day living conditions, the tour operators fulfil the tourists' wish to learn more about the 'real life' of 'the others' on 'the other side'.

In the course of the tour, the negative township image is modified to the extent that the sights are represented and weighted in a manner that puts stronger emphasis on those aspects of the ambivalent '*real Africa*' stereotype that are positively connoted. All the tour guides, as 'Namibia's ambassadors', strive to create a picture of Katutura that is as appealing as possible, regardless of their respective tour conceptions – 'passive' versus '(inter-)active' – and regardless of skin colour. This enables the tour participants to relate to positive meanings that supplement the negative township associations and render them relative. This representation style is an essential feature of all the tours.

On the other hand, observed differences in the presentation of the history and present situation of the township can perhaps be traced back to the tour guides' ethnic self-conceptions. For example, the 'passive' tours conducted by white guides attach much more importance in their presentations to an ethnicising perspective than do the tours run by black guides; postcolonial stereotypes, too, are more obviously reproduced in these tours.

In their totality, the tours seem to be conceived in a way that meets the tourists' alterity and authenticity expectations linked with the poverty concept, while at the same time making them perceivable as a positive holiday experience. In the case of the observed tours, this tends to lead to the fact that the poverty is not attributed to unequal power relations and social injustice, but presented a specific expression of a way of life. Hence, the problem resulting therefrom in regard to the representation of Katutura would be that of making poverty appear as a more or less natural characteristic of black existence, or as an expression of 'black culture'; the stage-management of township tourism is thus running the risk of lending force to an ethnicisation, culturalisation and depoliticisation of poverty.

Does the mode of representation in tour management and operation practice as described in this chapter actually have an effect on the tourists' perception or interpretation of space? What impact do the tours therefore have on image production? These questions are due to be examined in the next chapter.

5 AFTER THE TOUR: THE TOURISTS' PERSPECTIVES

This chapter seeks to find out whether and to what extent township tourism contributes to a change in the image of the township (Chap. 5.1); and looks into the question of customer satisfaction (Chap. 5.2). This gives rise to two sets of questions:

1) *Does township tourism only involve employing and reproducing existing preconceptions and notions of the township? Or does it revise and/or extend them in the course of the tours? If it does, to what extent does it do so?*

2) *Do the tours, in their design and organisation, live up to expectations? And are the customers satisfied with the tours?*

To examine the tourists' impressions after touring Katutura and to draw conclusions therefrom regarding what township tours can do to bring about changes in the image of the township, we interviewed tour participants immediately after the tours. The standardised questionnaire used for the interviews also considers aspects of customer satisfaction.

5.1 Tourists' impressions after the tour

For a start, the tour participants were asked to mention up to three points that particularly impressed them during the tour. The answers to this open question are reflected in the word cloud in figure 19.

Fig. 19: Tourists' township impressions after the tour
Source: Authors' own presentation [done with www.wordle.net]

Most of the 147 points mentioned in all refer to the locality of Katutura and its (*infrastructural*) *facilities* (55 %), as well as to the *residents* of Katutura (35 %). As regards the infrastructural facilities and the outward appearance of the settlement, the settlement's markets with the local products, its diversity, its architecture and its cleanliness were particularly emphasised, in addition to the size of Katutura. By contrast, relatively little was said concerning the tours themselves and their organisation (10 %).

Many of the tourists (close to 26 % of those interviewed) were particularly impressed by the *friendliness* of the people of Katutura. Other positive human qualities were frequently mentioned as well, e.g., *happiness* (13 %) and *openness* (9 %). Furthermore, the *living conditions*, *way of life* and *community* aspects as well as the *residents' initiatives* (e.g. the Penduka women's project) made a particularly strong impression on the tourists, too.

Our findings clearly indicate that the positive aspects definitely outweigh the negative ones. A mere 5 % of the impressions mentioned point to negative features. The positive experience of the township thus shifted to the foreground

after the tour. The term *poverty*, in particular, which had played an important role in the association survey conducted *before* the tour (cf. Chap. 3.3), became an astonishingly rare occurrence *after* the tour: no more than 8 % of the post-tour interviewees mentioned the poverty feature. Put in a nutshell: the perception contents expressed after the township tour differ very substantially from the extremely negative preconceptions expressed before the tour. This can be evaluated as indicating a change in the interviewees' image of the township that happened during the tour.

The tourists interviewed were again asked, after the tour, to complete the semantic differential sheet, our aim being to present a picture of the township tours' potential to change Katutura's image. The two profiles identified (the 'pre-tour' profile and the 'post-tour' profile) are shown in figure 20.

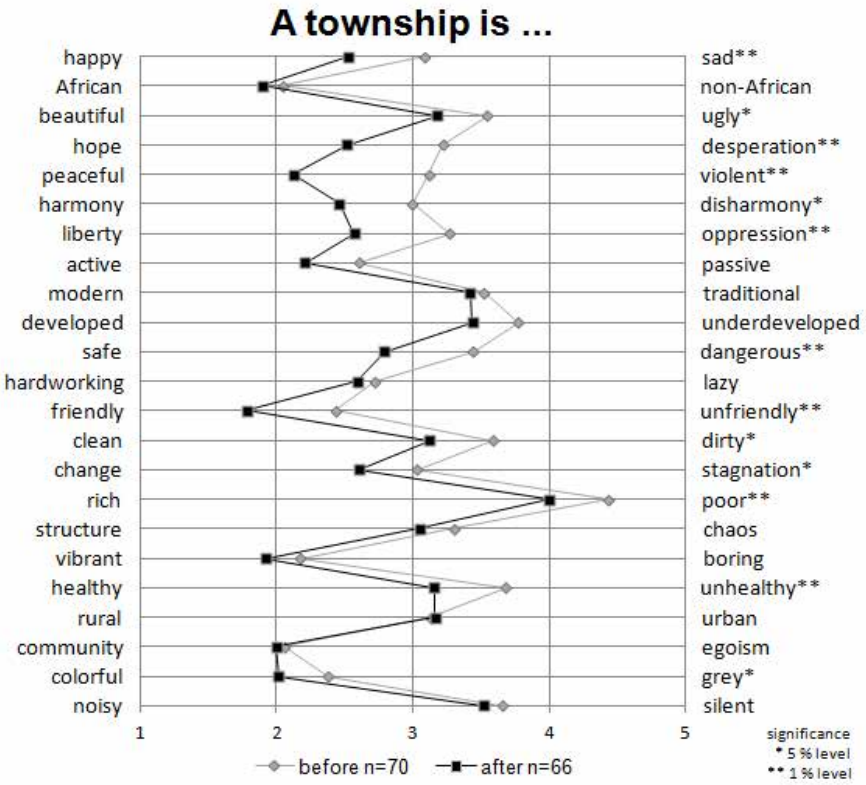


Fig. 20: Semantic differential: tourists' preconceptions before versus their impressions after the tour
Source: authors' own presentation

Here, too, the partly considerable differences between the pre-tour and post-tour assessments are immediately obvious: the large majority of the item pairs reveal an after-tour assessment that is unmistakably more positive than that given before the tour; in none of the items can a negative deviation be identified. Thirteen of the items reveal differences in their mean values which, in statistical terms, too, range from significant (5-% level*) to highly significant (1-% level**).

In the following, we summarise our findings by comparing the semantic differential profiles (before/after) and relating them to the transformation of the township's image:

» After the tour, most of the tourists were of the opinion that Katutura was as *underdeveloped* and *noisy* as expected and that its people were equally *traditional* and *community-centred*. (No statistically significant deviations can be identified here.)

» The tourists perceived Katutura's residents as almost as *hard-working* as expected (hence, no significant difference).

» Katutura fulfilled expectations insofar, too, as it was perceived as *very African* (no significant difference).

» Katutura was perceived – in accordance with expectations – as very *vibrant* (no significant difference either).

» In the tourists' perception, Katutura was *poor*, but *not quite as poor* as expected (highly significant difference).

» Most of the tourists stated that Katutura was *less dirty* and *less unhealthy* than assumed (significant difference in each case).

» In the tourists' perception, Katutura was *less ugly*, too, than preconceived (significant difference).

» The tourists perceived its inhabitants – contrary to expectations – as *happy*, *hopeful* and *free* rather than sad, desperate and oppressed (highly significant difference in each case).

» In the tourists' perception, Katutura was *safe*, too, *rather than dangerous*, and its people were *peaceful* rather than *violent* (highly significant difference in each case).

» The tour participants perceived Katutura as *more harmonious* than expected (significant difference).

» Most of the tourists stated that Katutura was in fact even *more colourful* than expected (significant difference).

» In the tourists' perception, Katutura's inhabitants were in fact much *friendlier* than assumed (highly significant difference).

Visiting Katutura evidently led to very remarkable changes in tourists' preconceptions and notions of the township. This also found expression in the qualitative interviews conducted with tour participants in. The findings: prior to the tour, many of them felt insecure and sometimes even literally uncomfortable, firstly because they did not know how they would cope with the expected stresses and strains of the feeling of pity or with the direct experience of filth and misery, and secondly because they had moral doubts about "*staring at poor people*". After the tour, however, many of the tourists interviewed reported about very intensive positive experiences in Katutura and indicated that they were impressed by the uniquely friendly nature of its people, by their sense of community, by their vitality and liveliness and by their cheerful, friendly nature. The previously gloomy and grey image of the township had now given way to a noticeably more bright and colourful one.

On the whole, the findings presented here indicate that township tourism in Katutura is capable of changing that township's image positively (and, in the end, that of townships in general). This finding seems to be quite in line with what the City of Windhoek (CoW) aims to achieve: the CoW does indeed promote township tourism with the aim, not least, of improving the image of Katutura and, therefore, that of Windhoek for that matter, and this in turn is designed to ultimately help enhance the city's attractiveness for tourism (cf. Chap. 2).

By presenting Katutura as an urban area in which people pursue very normal day-to-day activities, these observations could, on the one hand, open the floor for the argument that the tours are urgently needed as a means of creating a counter-picture to the horror scenario of townships often transmitted by the international media. This would lead to a weakening of homogenising and essentialising views and to a relativisation of common clichés. On the other hand, however, the fact that, owing to the tours, the tourists' image of the township noticeably becomes more colourful and sometimes even turns 'rose pink' can be subjected to critical assessment, too. For example, there is indeed a tendency in tourism-specific township representation to deproblematise the issues at stake. The selection of what to show in Katutura and the way it is shown and commented on (Chap. 4) can easily result in perceiving its living conditions as a form of local colour and an expression of an interesting cultural particularity and not as the

result of inequality and injustice in Namibian society and in (world) economy. Such a culturalisation of poverty intended to meet tourists' needs and expectations gives rise to a depoliticisation of poverty, which often goes hand in hand with sweeping statements such as "*poor, but happy*" and with the reproduction of certain (post-)colonial stereotypes. Hence, the *modus operandi* of township tourism finds itself in a position of noticeable tension between welcome endeavours to get rid of 'horror scenarios' of the township life on the one hand and uncritical social romanticism on the other.

The effect of township tourism as described here complies with observations that have been documented in various studies on poverty tourism in the Global South. The studies by Rolfes et al. (2009) in Cape Town, by Meschkank (2011; 2012) and Dyson (2012) in Mumbai, as well as the studies by Freire-Medeiros (2012) in Rio de Janeiro demonstrate that tourists' preconceptions undergo noticeably positive change as a result of participation in comparable tours (on this cf. also Rolfes and Burgold 2013). It is obvious, then, that poverty tourism generally functions as a means of changing the way of looking at urban poverty or at poor urban areas, thus contributing to image improvement.

Regardless of how the change in image is assessed, the relevant international studies conducted so far have left two questions unanswered:

1) *Does what tourists experience when touring a particular settlement undergo any generalisation? Does that experience therefore have any general impact on tourists' preconceptions of poor urban areas ('slums') in the Global South?*

2) *How sustainable is the image-enhancing impact?*

The data obtained in this study will at least serve to get us closer answers to both questions: The sample data collected also comprises answers from 69 Katutura tourists who had already taken part in a similar tour elsewhere.[55] These data can be used to look into the question of whether the preconceptions of tourists who participated in similar tours recently differ from those of tourists who will be joining such a tour for the first time. A comparison of semantic differentials suggests itself to this effect. Figure 21 shows the semantic profiles for both groups.

55 This group exclusively comprises tourists who were either interviewed by us directly before they embarked on their tour, or who said they still intended to join a tour of Katutura during their holiday. Their respective tour experiences elsewhere had been at least one year back. Their answers have been submitted to a comparison with those of 70 tourists who expressed the intention to join a tour, but who had not had any previous experience with similar tours.

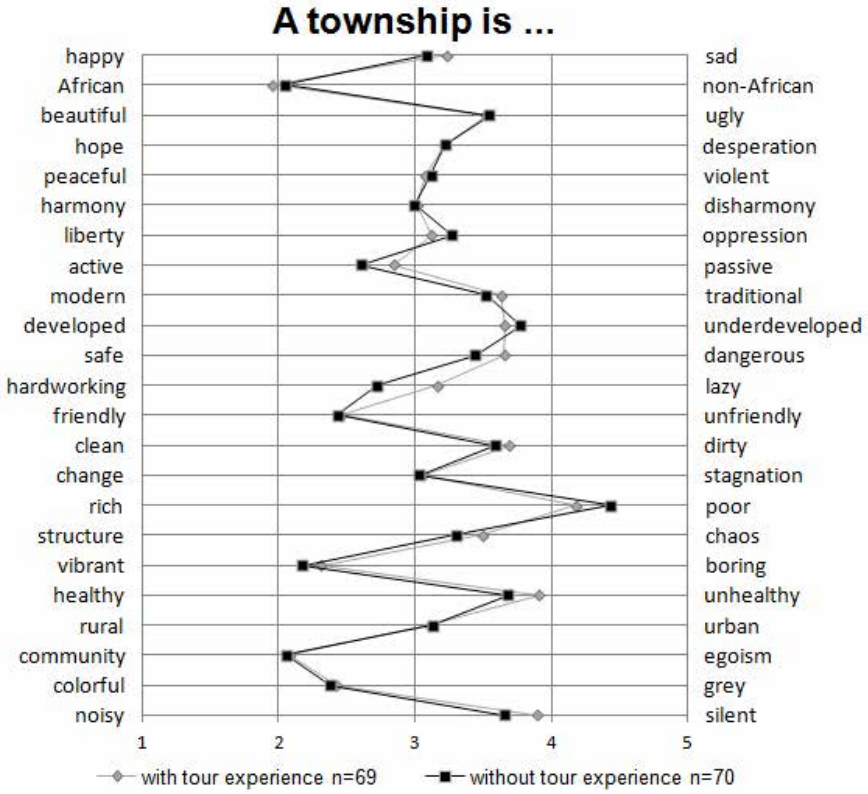


Fig. 21: Semantic differential: preconceptions of tourists with and without tour experiences
Source: authors' own presentation

The comparison of the mean values in the semantic differential does not show any substantial differences between both groups. Judging from the comparison, what tourists experienced in earlier tours does not seem to have any significant influence on their preconceptions prior to the next tour of a similar kind. This astonishing finding suggests two possible conclusions: (a) positive experience with similar tours was not sustainable and so memories of it were therefore overlaid (e.g. with media discourse) in the meantime, or (b) what was experienced elsewhere was not generalised and thus not made applicable to Katutura. The search for a clear-cut answer thereto could be the concern of future research endeavours.

5.2 Tourists' satisfaction

The findings presented in chapter 5.1 clearly show that the tour participants' perception of the place they had booked for their visit apparently did not conform to what they had thought it was before their tour. This means that the destination did not meet their expectations. In tourism, such an experience usually results in disappointment or even anger ("*That isn't what I booked, is it?").* Hence, if township tours were actually a form of 'negative sightseeing', tours offered with particular emphasis on positive aspects of the destination would be bypassing tourists' needs. This in turn would have to be reflected in customers' dissatisfaction.

In a bid to look into this issue, we first asked tour participants, after the tour, to say how strongly they thought the tour focused on specific aspects. Aspects like those considered in the interview conducted prior to the tour were considered here, too: *entertainment*, *adventure*, *contact to the locals*, *living conditions of the residents*, *history*, *local culture*, '*Africanness*' and *authenticity/reality*. It is quite obvious that there are differences between the foci the tourists had expected (or hoped) to see and the actual foci of the tour (cf. Fig. 22).

THE INDIVIDUAL ASPECTS IN A PRE-TOUR-POST-TOUR COMPARISON WERE AS FOLLOWS:

ADVENTURE AND ENTERTAINMENT

Fewer participants, still, identified an emphasis on *adventure* during the tour than those who wished for it before the tour (23 % after the tour as against 35 % before it). And the number of tourists who noticed a focusing of the tour on *entertainment* elements was almost as small as that of those who considered these aspects important before the tour (36 % as against 32 %). These differences reveal a slight tendency: the tours evidently tended to focus a little less on *adventure* and insignificantly more strongly on *entertainment* than some tourists had expected before embarking on the tours. However, in view of the – on the whole – relatively low figures, it is noticeable that both aspects did not seem to form a major focus of attention – not for the tourists and not in the organisers' tour conception. As such, the tour services provided obviously met the expectations of most of the clients.

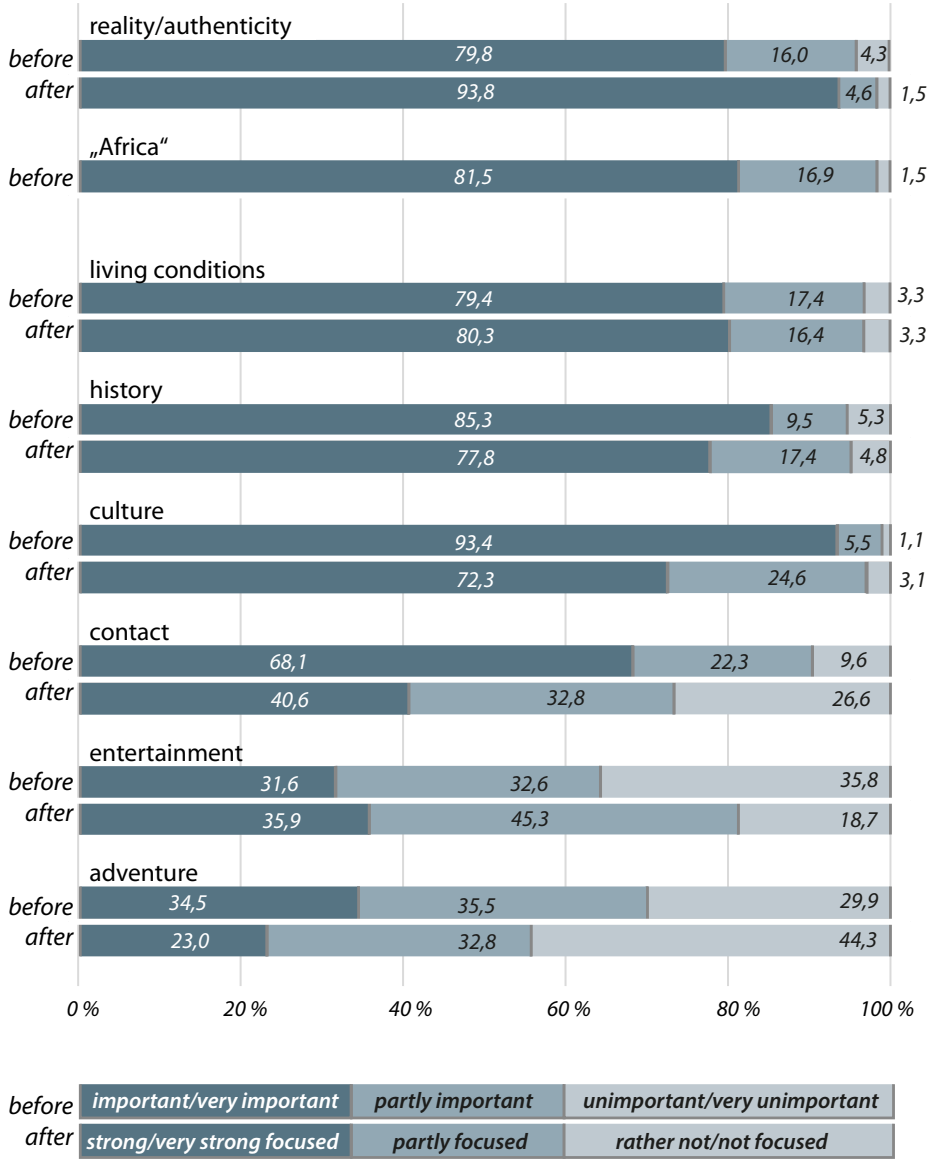


Fig. 22: Expected and perceived foci before and after the tour *Source: authors' own presentation*

HISTORY

The percentage of tourists who perceived a strong emphasis on the *historical* aspect during the tour is high (78 %) and only a little lower than that of those who considered this emphasis important before (85 %). The tour conceptions thus seem to have fulfilled to a large extent the wish of tour participants for historical background information.

CULTURE

The figure for tour participants who perceived a strong emphasis on the *cultural* aspect is high (72 %); but then, it is considerably lower than that for tourists who, before the tour, regarded this emphasis as important (93 %). The discrepancy can perhaps be explained on grounds of existing differences (not examined in this study) regarding the tourists' respective concepts of culture.[56] Given the nevertheless high figure recorded (72 %), it can be observed that the tours substantially met the expectations of most of the tourists with regard to cultural aspects.

LIVING CONDITIONS

As regards *living conditions*, what the tourists experienced during the tour was almost identical with what they had expected prior to the tour: the percentage of tour participants who perceived a strong emphasis on living conditions (80 %) virtually corresponds exactly to that of tourists who considered this emphasis important before embarking on the tour (79 %). It is therefore quite evident that the services provided lived up to expectations here.

CONTACT TO THE LOCALS

At 68 %, the figure for tourists who, before the tour, stated that contact to the local population was important to them is clearly above that for tourists who were of the opinion that their tour actually laid rather strong emphasis on this aspect (41 %). A truly significant difference can thus be observed between the expected focus of the tour and that actually perceived during the tour. Many tourists doubtlessly wished for more interaction with Katutura's inhabitants. For instance, various tour participants spoke out, in the subsequent interviews as

56 By 'culture', some tourists, we may presume, primarily mean something like (African) tradition(s), whereas others rather see 'culture' in terms of everyday culture or 'way of life'. And there are other tourists to whom the term 'culture' particularly means something like 'cultural performances' (music, dance, art, etc.).

well, in favour of more interaction and expressed the wish to spend more time outside their vehicle instead of remaining seated in it as if "*in a goldfish bowl*" (as one tourist put it). Tourists said they wished to have more stops and, on the whole, to spend more time at the halting points so as to come into contact with people from Katutura. What this illustrates is this: although many tour providers strongly emphasise the possibility of 'intercultural exchange' in their programmes (cf. Fig. 23), most of them grant their customers fewer interaction opportunities than desired.

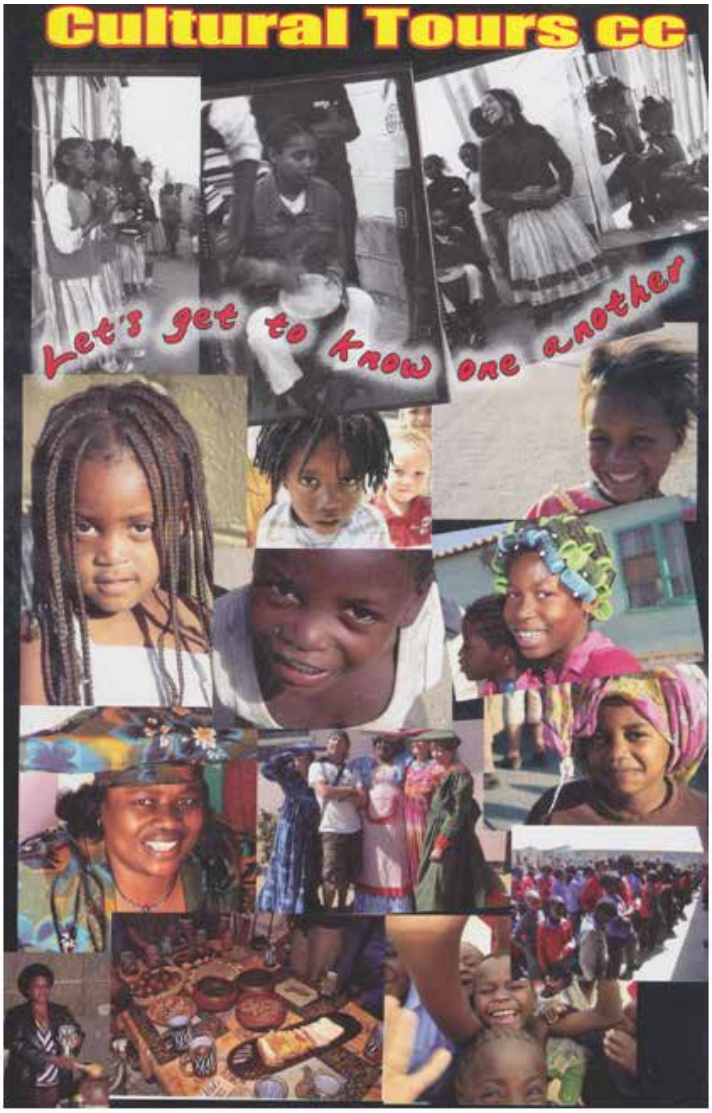


Fig. 23: Advertising brochure of a township tour provider (extract)
Source: Hatu Angu Cultural Tours, Swakopmund

In various interviews, tourists pointed out that the wish for interpersonal contact does not arise solely from an interest in the lives of the local people, but that they also saw interaction as a possible means of bridging the gap between the locals and the tourists and, thus, of overcoming the (feeling of) separation between both sides. Some tourists observed that they found the perceived distance between them and the people of Katutura uncomfortable and partly embarrassing, and that they regarded personal contact as an opportunity for them to overcome their own feelings of shame:

> *The fact that we were in a car itself sort of added to that feeling of separation and segregation. I would have preferred not to feel like if there were this clear separation between tourists and the locals. (Tourist, about 29 years old)*

REALITY/AUTHENTICITY (AND "AFRICANNESS")

Almost all tour participants (94 %) agreed that they perceived a thematic focus on the *reality/authenticity* aspect during the tours. This figure exceeds – and very clearly, too – the, itself high, percentage of those tourists who had stated before the tour that they considered this emphasis important (80 %) and backs the assumption formulated in chapter 3 and 4 that township tourism in Katutura is obviously a form of *Reality Tourism*. Besides, the overwhelming majority of the interviewees (82 %) perceived a focus of the tour conception in the *'Africanness'* aspect, which, again, confirms the assumption that what the township tourists experience as authentic relates to the *authentically African* or to '*real Africa*'. From this we can conclude that tourism-specific representation not only meets the authenticity requirements of its customers, but is also linked to tourists' existing preconceptions of a 'real Africa' or of *'African Reality'*.

Immediately after the tour, tourists were asked to give their comments regarding their satisfaction or dissatisfaction with it. They were requested to state the degree of their satisfaction in regard to each of the following six aspects: (a) *information content*, (b) *tour route*, (c) *means of transport*, (d) *tour guide*, (e) *tour conception*, (f) *price-performance ratio* (cf. Fig. 24).

It is evident that, on the whole, the tourists were highly satisfied. Virtually all the tour participants revealed a degree of satisfaction that ranged from satisfied to very satisfied with the *tour guide*, the *information* supplied and the means of *transport* used. The degree of satisfaction was also high with regard to the *route* taken and the *tour conception*; however, for each of these aspects a little more than 10 % said they were not fully satisfied. The only aspect that was somewhat negatively evaluated was that of the price-performance ratio: nearly 20 % of those interviewed stated that the *price-performance ratio* did not meet with their full

satisfaction. What was criticised, however, was not the quality, but the price of the tour, which was thought to be too high.

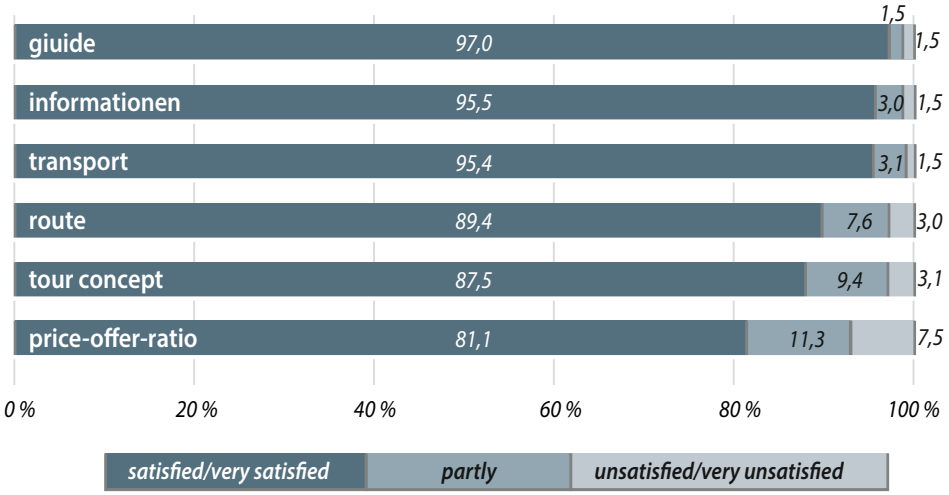


Fig. 24: How satisfied are you with the following aspects of the tour? *Source: Authors' own presentation*

95 % of the interviewees replied positively to the final question as to whether they would further recommend the tours they had participated in; this, too, is an expression of the fact that most of the customers were satisfied with the content and organisation of the tours.

These evaluation results, then, by no means suggest that the tourists were disappointed because their Katutura experiences did not meet their pre-tour expectations. One possible explanation for this apparent paradox can be sought in the ambivalence of the Africa image predominant among European tourists (see the discussion in Chap. 3.3). Judging from the findings presented here, the presentation of Katutura during the township tours did, in the final analysis, not contradict expectations. Indeed, some of the central aspects of the tourism-specific staging do not fit in with one side of the predominant Africa image, but they do fit quite well into the other side (i.e. the positive side) of that ambivalent image. For instance, even before the tour, connotations such as cheerfulness, friendliness and liveliness, which, in the end, had pushed the negative elements of the image – such as filth, crime and misery – into the background, were already part of the semantic field of that township image characterised by stereotypes about Africa (cf. Chap. 3.3) – even though to a much lesser extent than was the case after the tour. Due precisely to this connectivity, the tourists obviously did not feel they were being presented with something that had nothing to do with what they actually wanted or expected to see. It was only in their weighting that the tourists' actual perceptions differed from their expectations. Poverty, however,

continued to function as the guarantor of authenticity. The poverty perceived by the tourists was indeed not quite as visible as expected; yet, in their perception, Katutura still appeared to be 'poor enough' to serve the usual image of Africa. This, moreover, still permitted them to interpret the visible signs of poverty as an authentic experience outside the stage of tourism.

Accordingly, the satisfying tour participants' feeling of having seen something of *real Africa* in Katutura was often accompanied, too, by the reassuring awareness that the *township or, rather, Africa* was *in reality* not at all as wretched, filthy and dangerous as many thought it was, but, primarily, just as lively, colourful, friendly and cheerful as many equally thought it was. For they themselves, having actually been there, now knew this and were *really* satisfied.

6 THE RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVES

In general, it can be said: where the city is the stage of city tourism, the city dwellers are the actors and extras who act on that stage, keeping it lively and finally moulding it into the attractive place for tourism that it is. The same applies to township tourism in Katutura: its inhabitants are objects of the 'tourist gaze' and major actors in the tourism-specific staging of the place. The residents of Katutura thus have a pivotal role to play – regardless of whether or not they want to play it.

The relationship between tourists and the people they visit, especially in the case of township tourism, is one that has been rated as sensitive to problematic: the tourist's gaze at the inhabitants of structurally disadvantaged urban areas has been the subject of a truly heated international debate over the moral assessment of township and/or slum tourism. Ethical concerns have been voiced in particularly strong terms in the mass media. In daily newspapers and in internet forums, 'slummers' have been described as immoral gawkers and the gaze of the privileged (white) tourists from the Global North at the poverty and the daily living conditions of the (non-white) township and slum dwellers in the Global South has been critically described as disgraceful social voyeurism (cf., exemplarily: Odede 2010).

Although the inhabitants of tourist destinations play an essential role with regard both to the concrete practice of township tourism (*inhabitants as an attraction*) and to the ethical assessment of this form of tourism (*inhabitants as moral subjects*), there has so far been much more speculation about, than research on, their own view of the phenomenon of slum tourism. Freire-Medeiros' study at the Rocinha Favela in Rio de Janeiro (Freire-Medeiros 2012) represents one of the few exceptions in the international research on the subject. The study being presented here therefore seeks to contribute towards closing this research gap, explicitly focusing this chapter on the perspective of the resident population of Katutura. Its first concern is with that township's inhabitants' perception of tourism (Chap. 6.1): since when have Katutura's inhabitants been aware of the presence of tourists in their township? What has been their observation as regards tourists' behaviour? In chapter 6.2, we look into the question of what the inhabitants think about the presence of tourists in their neighbourhood and what they expect from tourism in their area. Starting from the residents' opinion, chapter 6.3 presents the inhabitants' assumptions regarding the tourists' motives for visiting Katutura; this is followed by a discussion of whether township tourism in Katutura, from

the perspective of its inhabitants, is a form of 'negative sightseeing'. To close this chapter, we raise the question as to whether and to what extent the Katutura community benefits economically from township tours (Chap. 6.4).

Fig. 25: Interview with nursery school teachers in Katutura *Photo: Malte Steinbrink*

The investigation is based on a total of 100 short guideline-based interviews conducted in Katutura. Since the individual viewpoints and assessments recorded are presumably strongly dependent on whether a resident of Katutura is actively involved in tourism or directly benefits from it, 73 interviews were conducted with inhabitants who are not involved in tourism and 27 with people who, in one way or the other, are actively involved in tourism (e.g., market women, shebeen owners, workers in social projects, owners of restaurants).

6.1 Perception of township tourism in Katutura

84 % of the inhabitants interviewed were aware that township tours were being conducted in Katutura. Only 12 of the 73 residents interviewed said they had not perceived any tourists in Katutura thus far. In response to the question as to when they saw township tourists for the first time, 49 interviewees mentioned an approximate date. As the timeline illustrates, tourists were first perceived in Katutura in 2000 (cf. Fig. 26).[58]

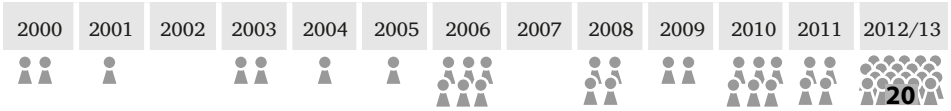


Fig. 26: When did you first see tourists in Katutura?
(2012 and 2013 have been put together in figure 26, since the survey was conducted in late February/March 2013)
Source: authors' own presentation

The perceptibility of township tourism in Katutura has obviously been undergoing a considerable increase especially since 2006 – in accordance with the number of newly established enterprises that provide guided tours of that township (cf. Chap. 2.2). The foundation of the Katutours enterprise by Anna Mafwila in 2011 has played a particularly crucial role in the process. Tour participants dressed in yellow safety vests and light blue bicycle helmets and riding on colourful mountain bikes (cf. Fig. 27) have been attracting the attention of many a resident of Katutura[59]:

> *I've seen them around. Mostly coming from the side of Goreangab where they travel with the bicycles [...] First time when I saw them was the beginning of January this year [2013] because I think that project [Katutours] only started a year ago. So that's when I started seeing them around. (Male inhabitant, about 24 years old)*

58 Some residents could not state a precise date, but said they might have seen tourists at an earlier point in time without, however, recognising them as such: "*It might be that I've seen them but not knowing that they are tourists. So I can't really remember exactly when I saw them. But when I actually got an understanding of what the people are doing or how they are called that was I think 2006*." (Male resident, about 33 years old).

59 In an interview, the Katutours operator reports that in the initial phase, many inhabitants of Katutura did not take the cycling participants in her tours for tourists but for competitors in a cycling race. Some of them, she says, were surprised at the very slow speed, but cheered up and applauded all the same and even took some pictures of the strange group. Anna Mafwila also takes pleasure in telling the story that Katutura's female inhabitants, in particular, were happy to see a "*black woman*" always leading the field.

Therefore, awareness and knowledge of the phenomenon of township tourism have been an established fact among Katutura's residents particularly in the last two years.

Fig. 27: Participants in a Katutours township tour in conspicuous safety vests *Photo: Daniel Hausmann*

OBSERVED TOURIST ACTIVITIES: TAKING PICTURES AND INTERACTING

The interviewed inhabitants' answers to the question regarding the observed activities pursued by tourists in Katutura ("*What are the tourists doing in Katutura?*") can roughly be considered under two categories: *taking pictures* and *interacting*.

Most of the interviewees (41) agreed that *taking photographs* was the principal activity of the tourists and that it formed part of what characterises township tourists' behaviour: "*They do take pictures. A lot! They always have big cameras*" (male inhabitant, about 18 years old). Some of those interviewed thought that taking photographs was perhaps the main purpose of tourists' participation in the tours: "*They only come here to take some pictures*" (male inhabitant, about 20 years old). As regards the choice of photo motifs, the interviewees reported that the tourists particularly liked taking pictures of people in traditional attire, market stalls, foodstuffs and dishes, children, as well as dwellings in the informal settlements. Even though the interviewees thought the choice of motifs occasionally seemed arbitrary and partly incomprehensible[60], most of them were

60 "*They take pictures of anything: even children playing, the houses, the people, the informal settlements and so on.*" (Male inhabitant, about 38 years old)

obviously not basically opposed to tourists taking photographs. However, it was the manner in which tourists made use of their cameras that was criticised; this criticism was voiced in a number of interviews. It was noted that many tourists did not ask before pressing the release buttons of their cameras.

Interaction with Katutura's residents was observed as a frequent activity of the tourists, too, especially simple greeting in the street and enquiring about, for example, local eating habits, traditional products and living conditions. Shopping in the markets was a particular occasion on which such observed conversations took place. One of the female interviewees reported on the following observation:

> *They [the tourists] were passing by. One man was selling those traditional baskets. They asked him: 'How is it made?' He was an Okavango guy from Okavango region. So he explained to them how they are made, from which material they were made. That time they even bought those baskets. (Female resident, about 35 years old)*

Others reported, besides, that some tourists were explicitly charitable in their actions, giving money or food away or making donations to certain social facilities (cf. Chap. 6.4):

> *They [the tourists] are doing all types of things. They are even giving charity. They are also giving people food and assist kindergartens and these homes, where orphans are living. (Male resident, about 16 years old)*

6.2 What Katutura's residents expect from township tourism

Our study also included the question as to what the inhabitants of Katutura expect from tourism. The answers to this open question can be grouped into three categories: (a) answers regarding *economic and social development*; (b) answers concerning a *change in the township's image*; (c) answers referring to *interaction/ exchange* (cf. Fig. 28).

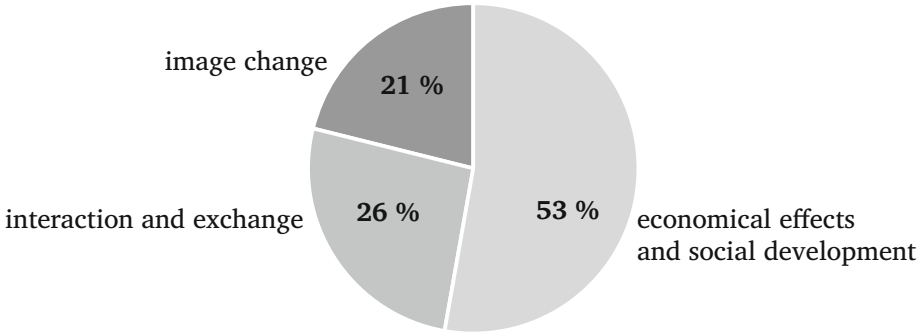


Fig. 28: **"What do you expect from township tourism?"** *Source: Authors' own presentation*

HOPE FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

Matters of economic and social development featured prominently among the expectations expressed (53 % of the answers given). The answers given in this respect partly relate to hoped-for economic benefits resulting from consumption by tourists and to the role of tourism in job creation and income generation (income and employment effects of tourism):

> *For example the restaurants will gain a lot and at least they will be able to employ more people and by that it will reduce the number of unemployment. (Female resident, about 20 years old)*

Going by the expectations expressed in other statements, social and cultural institutions (such as kindergartens, schools, health centres and churches) would benefit from tourism and this could help improve infrastructural facilities in the settlement.

THE WISH FOR CHANGE IN THE TOWNSHIP'S IMAGE

Besides expectations of positive socio-economic effects of tourism, many residents of Katutura hoped that the growth in tourism in their township would also bring about a change in its image (21 % of the answers given):

> *Ah, it's actually great for them to come and see how we live. Because most of the people from overseas don't know how we live. They only see on TV. They think this place is violent and that this place is dirty and poor. But it's good that they come so that they can see how everybody is living, how the living standard is, how the conditions of the people are, how we live. And how we start our projects. (Male resident, about 24 years old)*

The hope for positive economic effects and the expectation of a change in Katutura's image were frequently mentioned concomitantly. Various interviewees were of the opinion that both went hand in hand. In this connection, the interviewees were occasionally explicit about what they expected from the City of Windhoek (CoW) and the Namibian Tourism Board. For instance, the interviewees not only called for better co-operation with the authorities, but also demanded stronger public involvement in certain projects:

> *And the thing that they [CoW] still have to improve is: they still have to open up more social, cultural and religious places here in the community. So that the tourists can get more places to visit and to see more places. It's good for the community and for the tourists. (Male resident, student, about 24 years old)*

THE WISH FOR INTERACTION AND EXCHANGE

The residents' wish to have more interaction and (intercultural) exchange with the international visitors was, additionally, clearly expressed in 26 % of the answers given. The interviewees frequently drew attention to the potential of township tourism as a means of promoting efforts on both sides to get to know (and learn from) one another. At the same time, however, language barriers and the perceived cultural distance were identified and discussed as impediments to interaction. In this context, some of the interviewees observed critically that the tours often did not offer any opportunities for communication between tourists and the local people due to a lack of stops and opportunities for tourists to alight from their vehicles (cf. also Chap. 4.1).

In view of these rather high expectations, it is not surprising that the local population's opinion of township tourism was, on the whole, very positive (cf. Fig. 29).

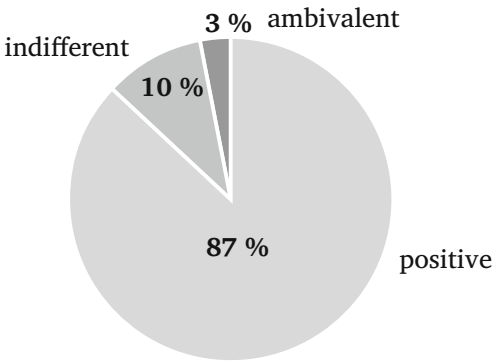


Fig. 29: Residents' opinion of township tourism *Source: Authors' own presentation*

Most of those interviewed residents (87 %) gave an exclusively positive reply to the direct question of how they assessed the fact that tourists were coming to Katutura.[61] The statements made vary, however, between cautious approval – "*I think it's okay*" (female resident, about 30 years old) – and downright enthusiasm – "*It's phantastic!*" (male resident, about 23 years old). Some interviewees also expressed a feeling of pride, given the interest shown by international visitors: "*I feel proud, I feel good that people are coming from overseas.*" (male resident, about 26 years old). This feeling of pride can be interpreted as a reaction to the profound experience of the history of discrimination and stigmatisation (cf. Freire-Medeiros 2012): having gone through a long period of marginalisation, Katutura's inhabitants now obviously interpreted the interest shown by tourists as a sign of acknowledgement and recognition. This, in turn, could be seen as an indication that township tourism was in the process of positively strengthening the inhabitants' identification with their neighbourhood.

10 % of those interviewed expressed a feeling of indifference to tourism: "*I don't mind.*" (female resident, about 45 years old), and only 3 % expressed an ambivalent opinion. However, the critical statements made did not refer to the phenomenon as such, but to the current practice of township tourism:

61 The fact that the findings presented here are overwhelmingly positive could be due to certain distortions resulting from the interview situation. Since the interviews were conducted by two female interviewers from Germany, who might themselves have been taken for tourists by the interviewees, it is conceivable that the answers were partly 'painted' by politeness and social correctness.

> *I like it, but at the same time it's of no use, because they just come and see, but they never bring changes. [...] I think if they would get off the bus and interact with people, ask questions to know how the living standards are in Katutura. That would show us, that tourist[s] not just come here to take pictures and video of us, but they come to interact. We could both learn about our cultures and share information about how they live and how we live. (Female resident, about 21 years old)*

Indeed, attention was sometimes called in this connection to communication problems and to the rarity of contacts with tourists:

> *It's good that they are coming, but I don't know how to contact them. (Male resident, about 32 years old)*

It can thus be concluded that increased exchange between the visitors and the inhabitants would make township tourism much more acceptable to the local population. On the other hand, the high expectations of the local people also involve the danger of disappointment. And this, then, could lead to a less welcoming attitude. The tour operators should be aware that the future of township tourism in Windhoek relies on the people of Katutura.

6.3 Inhabitants' assumptions regarding tourists' motives – Is township tourism 'negative sightseeing'?

In a review of the 150-year-old history of 'slumming' from the Victorian era to the present, Steinbrink (2012) points out that the moralising debate over the pros and cons of visits to poor urban areas is virtually as old as the phenomenon itself. He observes that the visitor's motivation has been a special focus of that debate ever since. In the search for explanations of the phenomenon of poverty tourism, he notes, it was journalists, in particular, who came up with quick speculations about tourists' motives – speculations, he explains, which subsequently formed the basis for ethical and moral assessments and/or condemnations (cf. Steinbrink et al. 2012). Comparisons with "visits to the zoo" or with "human safaris" are still widespread, and tourism in disadvantaged city neighbourhoods has occasionally even been described as "*poverty porn*" (cf. Flinders 2014; Selinger and Outterson 2009), which features wealthy tourists amusing themselves by watching other people's poverty. And there has also been many a discussion of poverty tourism involving the moralising consideration of the voyeurism accusation against it on the one hand and of its pedagogical use, its sensitising function and its possible role in promoting intercultural exchange ("*educational tours*"; "*cultural tours*") on the other hand (cf. Gentleman 2006; Weiner 2008).[62]

But what, in fact, do the inhabitants themselves feel about this? Why, in their opinion, do tourists visit Katutura? Is the frequently voiced criticism of township tourism as 'social voyeurism' justified from the township residents' perspective?

In a bid to obtain clues to the local people's picture of tourists and their alleged motivations, as well as to what is supposed to be characteristic of Katutura's 'otherness', we also asked the inhabitants we interviewed the question: "*Why are the tourists doing tours through Katutura?*".

In most of the 73 interviews, the wish to experience *something else* or to experience *a difference* was mentioned in response to the question regarding the presumed motives of the tourists:

> *They want to see the conditions of how the people live here because they think that it's different from where they live. So they come and see the difference in how the people live, what they eat, what they do. (Female resident, about 20 years old)*

62 Cf. Rolfes et al. (2009).

In doing so, the interviewees were addressing an aspect that, in tourism research, too, is regarded as an essential basis of tourism: the creation of distance to one's daily environment by experiencing difference (cf., e.g., Pott 2007; cf. also Chap. 3). The inhabitants of Katutura were thus expressing the view that their neighbourhood represented a place which tourists could relate to environments familiar to them by way of comparing and contrasting. Various schemas are identifiable in the interviews with Katutura's inhabitants with regard to the assumed comparative perspectives of the tourists: many interviewees expressed the assumption that the international visitors were in Katutura, in particular, to experience the township by comparing it with their own places of origin. Others thought that it was particularly Windhoek's internal diversity – i.e. the comparison of Katutura with other neighbourhoods of the city of Windhoek – that was the main motive for the tourists' interest in the township. This, to begin with, is a reference to the economic disparities obtaining between the city neighbourhoods: *wealthy* over there, *poor* down here: "*Katutura is not Windhoek. Katutura is like a separate location where almost only poor people stay*" (female resident, about 28 years old). The aspect of skin colour, too ('the whites' and 'the blacks'), was a recurring issue in many of the interviews. In the inhabitants' view, then, touring Katutura was also a matter of experiencing alleged differences between *black* and *white*:

> *Maybe they are coming to experience the Katutura life. [...] There's a difference between the town places, where the whites live, and Katutura, where the blacks are living. (Male resident, about 16 years old)*

From the viewpoint of the inhabitants who assume this comparative perspective, township tourism, then, is not so much tourism in which the focus is confined to the inspection of *poverty*; rather, they see it as a form of tourism in which the *black/white* distinction occupies a central position. Judging from this viewpoint, the differences experienced in Katutura would be observed as expressions of a cultural difference defined particularly via skin colour. Thus township tourism is not only to be interpreted as 'poverty tourism' but to large extend also 'racial tourism'.

It is noticeable, on the whole, that the assumptions expressed by Katutura's residents concerning tourists' motives clearly resemble the basic contrasting structure of township tours described in chapter 4.2: 'rich' and 'white' over there, 'poor' and 'black' over here. The motives which the inhabitants assumed were thus comparable to those which the tour conceptions served. And what the inhabitants assumed largely corresponded to what many tourists expected to experience prior to their tours (cf. Chap. 3.2).

TOWNSHIP TOURS – NEGATIVE SIGHTSEEING?

For a further examination of the tourist gaze on Katutura in terms of the residents' assumptions, it appears reasonable to arrange the inhabitants' answers in accordance with the distinction between *positive sightseeing* and *negative sightseeing* as proposed by Welz (1993) and Sandford (2004) and derived from MacCannell's (2001 [1976]) fundamental work in the theory of tourism (cf. Chap. 3.3): The term *negative sightseeing* is used to describe visits to places or sights which do not extract their attractiveness for tourism from the admiration of their aesthetic beauty or the like, but from their shock-provoking, disconcerting or pitiful impact. In the following, the answers given by the interviewees will be classified in accordance with this schema (cf. Fig. 30). To this end, we look into the question as to whether the tourists, in the inhabitants' opinion, consider Katutura a positive or negative sight.

On the whole, it is noticeable that the answers given mention both aspects in almost the same frequency. Roughly half the inhabitants interviewed presupposed that tourists went to Katutura to see or experience something which they themselves perceived as positive and considered worth seeing, too. Besides the beauty of the settlement ("*The tourists want to see the beauty of the place"*; male resident, about 34 years old), some interviewees presumed that the inhabitants themselves represented an attraction (in positive terms) for tourists:

> *Maybe Katutura, according to me, it's a beautiful place. The way it's built and the way people are acting in the area. It's beautiful. It is also very attractive to the tourists who are coming to visit the area. (Male resident, about 30 years old)*

Mention was also made of aspects such as the *cultural diversity* within the settlement, the settlement's *particular way of life* and the inhabitants' *traditions*:

> *Katutura is a place where we are intercultural. You find different people from different cultures. For example you find Hereros here, Ovambo speaking people, Kavangos, Damaras. Tourists are mostly attracted by that. They want to know how these people live, what language they speak and find out about the many economic activities that they do here. So in that case, it attracts them. (Female resident, about 35 years old)*

Many answers given in the interviews reflected a certain amount of pride on the residents' part – pride in their neighbourhood as well as in their respective ways of life, cultures and history.

But this self-confidence does not find expression in all the answers given; approximately half the interviewees' answers suggest the assumption that the

tourists' interest in Katutura was rather explicable in terms of negative sightseeing. They thought the tourists were primarily interested in the people's problematic living conditions.

> *I think in Katutura, there's not so much interesting. Maybe they only want to see poor people. (Male resident, about 50 years old)*

In this connection, the tourists' wish to visit the informal settlement areas and observe the poverty there was often mentioned as a conceivable reason for participation in township tours: "*Let me be honest, I think they want to see poverty*" (female resident, about 38 years old).

This clearly indicates that part of the residents interviewed obviously presupposed that the international visitors considered Katutura to be primarily *a place of poverty* which was therefore being visited as a *negative sight* (cf. Chap. 4.2). However, these answers can be further differentiated with regard to the assumed intentions of the tourists and to the role assignment related thereto: some of the interviewees assumed that tourists went to Katutura as passive recipients who, to some extent, were only out to satisfy their curiosity about poverty ("*They only come to watch poverty.*"). In a way, these answers confirm the suspicion regarding voyeurism. In contrast thereto, some residents rather believed the international visitors had lofty motives, presupposing that the tourists mainly had an explicitly educational purpose in mind and had come intentionally to broaden their knowledge about the difficult living conditions in the township. This occasionally reflected the expectation that the visitors might use this knowledge in future for the well-being of Katutura. And indeed roughly one half of those interviewed explicitly said they thought the tourists had come with the intention to help:

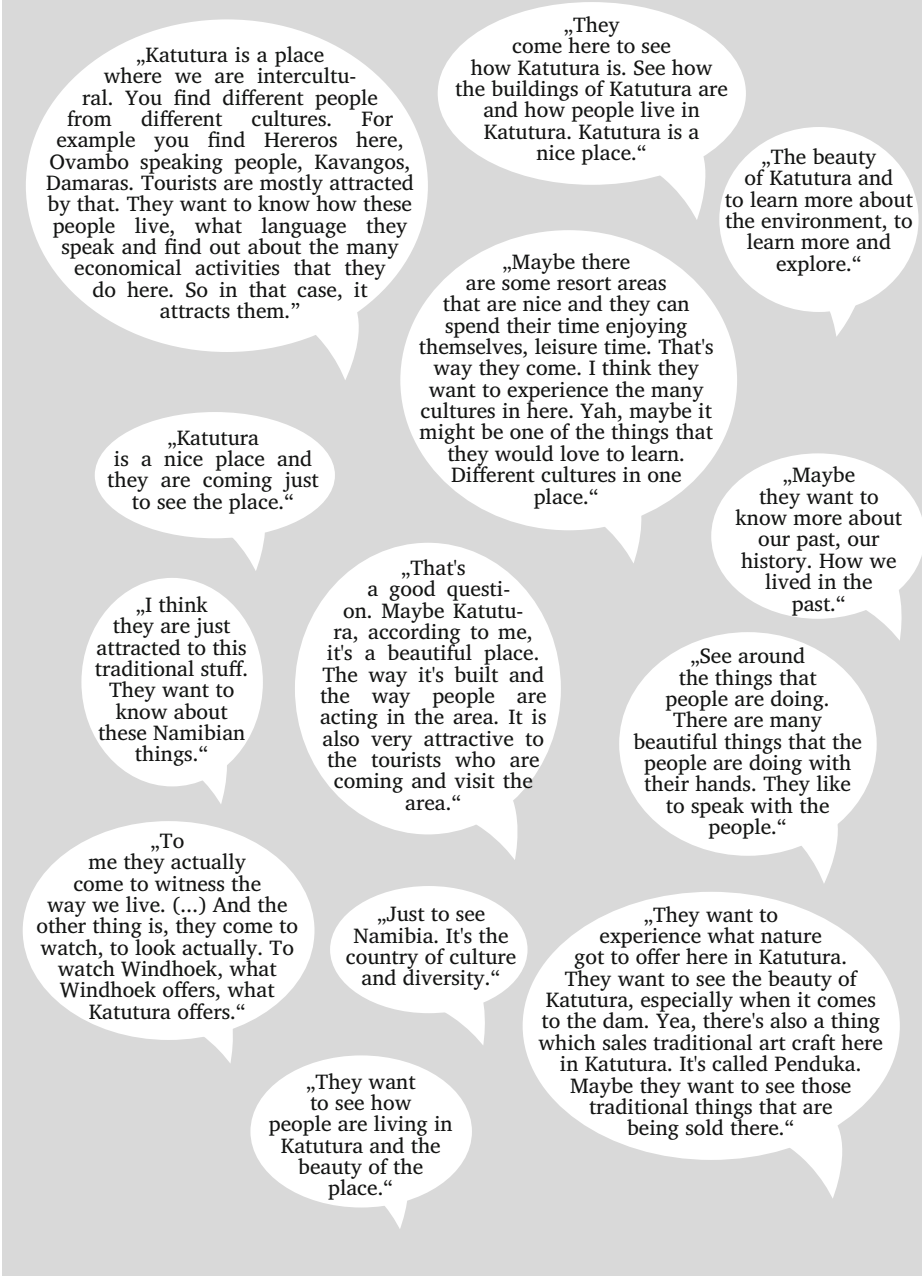
> *Maybe they want to help our people and that's why they come to see what they need. (Female resident, about 30 years old)*

> *Maybe they want to bring some change. Especially here in Havana [informal settlement area in Katutura] we don't have electricity. Maybe they want to develop. (Female resident, about 24 years old)*

These answers reflect, firstly, what Katutura's inhabitants expect from township tourism (see above),[63] which, secondly, is accompanied by a certain role assignment in which Katutura's inhabitants play the part of those in need of help, while the tourists become 'development aid volunteers'. These answers could thus be interpreted as the manifestation of a persistent postcolonial pattern that con-

63 Occasionally, this basic expectation of what township tourism can do or bring about is even noticeable where the interviewees do not assume any lofty intentions on the part of the tourists: "*Curiosity. Just want to see how we live. I don't think they even come to develop us or share their experiences*" (female resident, about 21 years old).

POSITIVE SIGHTSEEING
They come to enjoy



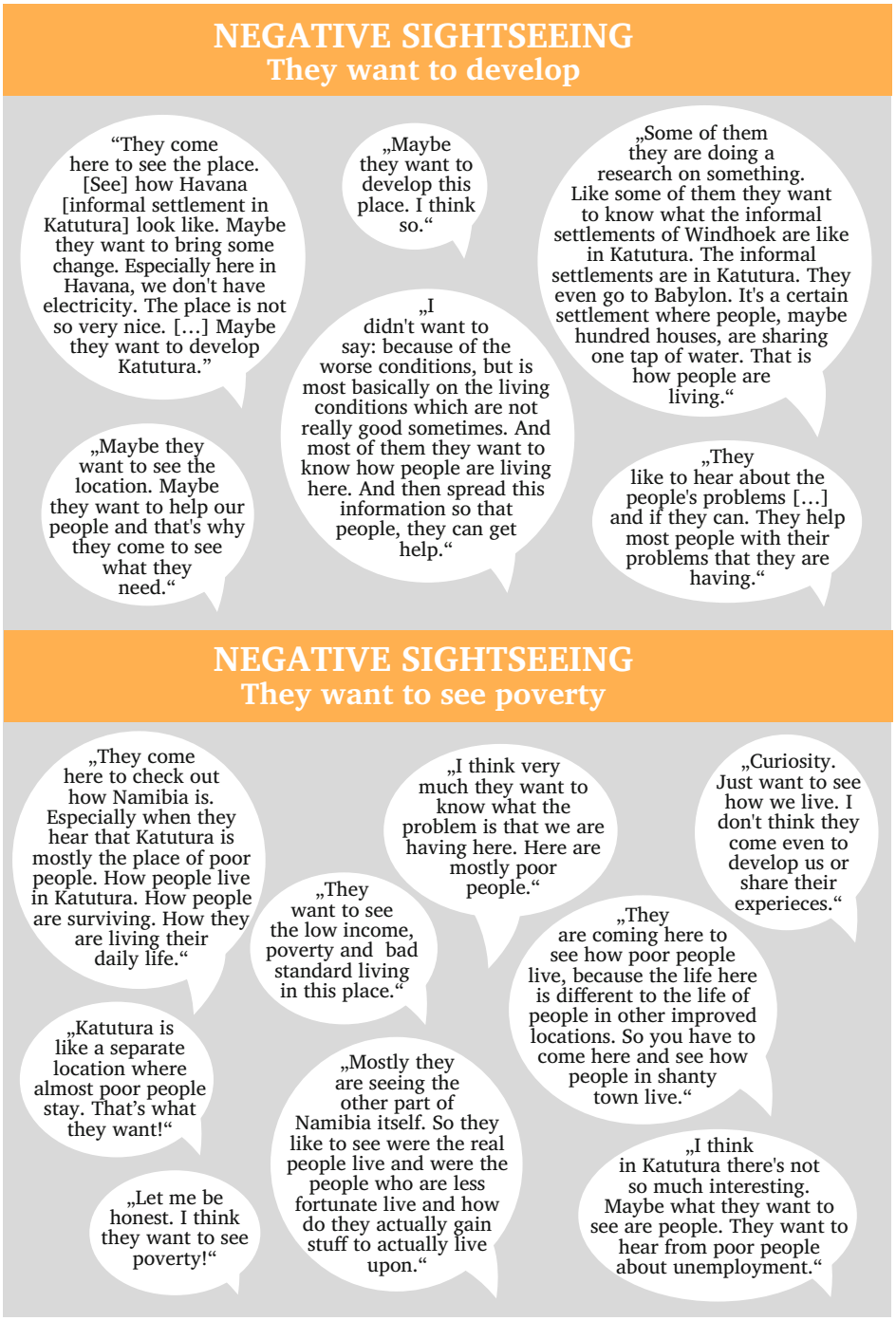


Fig. 30: **Assumed motives of tourists visiting a township** *Source: authors' own presentation*

tinues to find expression in the forms of thinking and identity constructions of many people in former colonies. In any case, the feeling of self-confidence and of being able to act independently, as expressed in other answers (see above), is not revealed here.[64]

On the whole, it can be noted that the intentions pursued by tourists in Katutura tourism, as assumed from the inhabitants', cannot be precisely categorised as either negative or positive sightseeing: while some of the inhabitants expressed pride in their neighbourhood and assumed that their own way of life, culture and history were tourist attractions, others thought that the tourists were mainly interested in their misery. This difference in the evaluation of the tours also reveals itself in the roles assigned to the tourists. On the one hand, the tour participants were perceived as passive observers of the local conditions of poverty, which implied negative sightseeing and seemed to support the thesis of social voyeurism often advocated in the media. At the same time, however, other residents believed the tourists were explicitly pursuing an aid-oriented or educational interest. These cases imply interpreting township tourism rather as developmental tourism or educational tourism.

64 The employed classification schema contrasting *positive sightseeing* and *negative sightseeing* is in part not clear-cut; the differentiation categories overlap and sometimes blend together, as the following statement illustrates: "*They like to hear about the problems of the people. Yeah, maybe they like to speak with people that have problems. But, I think, they also come to see the beautiful things that the people of different tribes are doing with their hands. You know, Namibia is the country of culture and diversity*" (male resident, about 26 years old).

6.4 Local economic benefits of township tourism

In the public media debate surrounding the ethical assessment of poverty tourism, its supporters often emphasise, besides educational and sensitisation considerations, the prospects of a positive impact on incomes and jobs as well (cf., e.g., Gentleman 2006; Weiner 2008). Economic stimuli are often mentioned as a counter-argument to the voyeurism accusation (cf. Chap. 6.3). Scientific observers, too, argue similarly when discussing poverty tourism against the background of recent concepts in tourism research. For instance, the *Community Based Tourism* approach, like the *Pro-Poor Tourism* concept, emphasises the effects of this form of tourism on the local economy, as well as its poverty-alleviating impact (cf. Hall 2007; Scheyvens 2007). Furthermore, for some years now, there has been a discussion of the idea of *Responsible Tourism*,[65] which has been proposed as a framework for the design and organisation of township tourism (Booyens 2010, Koens 2012; 2014). What this implies is that tourism scholars, too, draw upon the factor of economic benefit as a basis for the moral assessment of poverty tourism. The question being raised, then, is not so much whether this form of tourism, as such, is morally justifiable, but, rather, who benefits from the turnovers generated and to what extent. In the poverty tourism debate, economic benefit is presented, so to speak, as the end that justifies poverty tourism as a means to that end and thus renders it *defensible in a responsible manner.* The remarkable thing here is that there have been by far more speculations and claims on this issue than actual research. Empirical insights in the actual economic effects of township tourism are still rare and mainly consist rather of a few descriptive case studies (cf. Rogerson 2004; 2008; 2013; Booyens and Visser 2010).

In Windhoek, too, the argument of economic benefit has been put forward by various groups of actors involved in township tourism. For example, many of the tour operators we interviewed pointed out that their tours contributed towards improving the economic situation of township inhabitants:

> *Look, nowadays the tourism trend is going into responsible traveling. So, a lot of people that travel want to practice that. So it´s part of responsible tourism, so it´s part of giving back to the part of the country that needs your improvement and if you want to practice that there is no way that I cannot take you to Katutura, cause it will help to uplift those people from poverty. (Manager of Abadi Safaris)*

65 Although the term *Responsible Tourism* was sporadically used as early as the 1980s and early 1990s (e.g. Wheeller 1991), its current global popularity can actually be traced back to developments in South Africa towards the end of the 20th century. The point of culmination of those developments was reached in 2002, when the Declaration of Responsible Tourism was signed at the first International Conference on Responsible Tourism in Destinations in Cape Town (Goodwin 2011).

Similarly, many residents of Katutura – as stated in chapter 6.2 – look forward to a contribution from tourism to the economic development of their city neighbourhood. Accordingly, the CoW also emphasises the economic stimuli that could come from township tourism as well as the participatory opportunities it could provide for 'formerly disadvantaged population groups'. In particular, the Department of Tourism considers township tourism a driving force expected to give a positive push to the development of Katutura and to help create more jobs for its residents: "*We think there is so much potential in township tourism. If it is properly managed and developed we can actually create more jobs for local people*" (G. Pujatura, Head of Tourism, CoW). In this statement, the CoW explains the city's endeavours to promote township tourism.

This chapter seeks to put the argument of economic benefit under empirical scrutiny. It examines the local economic effects of tourism in Katutura in a bid to discover whether and to what extent its inhabitants benefit economically from tourism in their township. The investigation focuses exclusively on the turnover generated within the scope of the guided commercial township tours, since this organised form of visits is still of the by far greatest significance for tourism in Katutura (cf. Chap. 3).

6.4.1 The market volume of the tours

Our estimation of the market volume of the guided township tours was based (a) on the turnover generated directly from tour bookings and (b) on the expenses met by the tourists in the course of the tours. We first worked out the average price of the township tours and then interviewed 63 tourists, at the end of their tour, on their spending behaviour in the township.

The tourists paid an average of NAD350 per tour they participated in, plus approximately NAD550 spent during the tour. The average turnover generated per tour participant can therefore be calculated at roughly NAD900. The approximate market volume of the guided township tours can be determined via an extrapolation of this average sum to the estimated number of tour participants per year (cf. Chap. 2.2.3).

Judging from our surveys, then, the guided township tours generate an annual turnover of NAD10.8 million to NAD15.3 million (cf. Tab. 5).[66] The maximum market share of township tourism, calculated against the total turnover generated in inbound tourism, i.e. against the revenues obtained from cross-border traffic from abroad (cf. NTB 2013: 20), would be 0.17 %. This certainly implies

66 Expenses incurred by individual travellers and other tourists who visited Katutura on their own have not been considered in the calculated market volume. This also applies to so-called 'indirect effects' arising from the eventuality of tourists extending their stays in Katutura in order to join a township tour (for example, in the case of expenses due to a further room booking).

that township tourism in Windhoek represents no more than a niche segment on the Namibian tourism market; yet its local economic potential should not be underestimated too quickly. If we take, for example, the minimum monthly wage of NAD670 for farm workers in Namibia as a reference basis,[67] we will find that the turnover generated annually from township tours accounts for the annual income of as many as 1,903 people.[68] This arithmetic example based on equal distribution is unrealistic of course; but it illustrates that it is not the amount of turnover generated alone that is relevant for the poverty-alleviating potential of township tourism, but, in particular, the distribution of that turnover.

In the following, we take a closer look at various income and employment effects of tourism-based consumption with the aim of arriving at an assessment of who benefits from township tourism and to what extent they do so.

Revenues obtained by tour operators (tour price)		
From 12 000 tourists per year	NAD 4 200 000	EUR 350 000 USD 457 000 GBP 302 000[69]
From 17 000 tourists per year	NAD 5 950 000	EUR 495 000 USD 647 000 GBP 427 000
Expenses incurred by tourists in the course of their tours		
From 12 000 tourists per year	NAD 6 600 000	EUR 550 000 USD 718 000 GBP 473 000
From 17 000 tourists per year	NAD 9 350 000	EUR 775 000 USD 1 016 345 GBP 671 000
Total turnover		
From 12 000 tourists per year	NAD 10 800 000	EUR 900 000 USD 1 173 960 GBP 775 000
From 17 000 tourists per year	NAD 15 300 000	EUR 1 270 000 USD 1 663 000 GBP 1 097 000

Tab. 5: Estimated turnover generated per annum from township tours ("Market volume")
Source: authors' own presentation

67 Cf. http://www.wageindicator.org/main/salary/minimum-wage/minimum-wages-news/namibia-revises-it-minimum-wages-august-10-2013 (accessed on 05/08/2014).

68 This would account for 0.66 % of Namibia's workforce in the capital region of Khomas as recorded in the *Namibia Labour Force Survey 2012* (cf. NSA 2013).

69 Exchange rates as of March 15 2013 (I NAD = 0.0831 EUR; = 0.1087 USD; = 0.0717 GBP). We have not been able to find the direct GBP-NAD exchange rate for March 15 2013; in our conversion between these two currencies, we have therefore drawn upon the EUR-NAD and EUR-GBP exchange rates for that date. The sums stated in Table 5 have slightly been rounded up or down for illustration purposes.

6.4.2 Income and employment effects due to revenues obtained by tour operators

Income and employment effects result partly from turnover generated through tour ticket sales. The direct beneficiaries of these revenues are primarily the proprietors of the tour-operating enterprises themselves, and their employees, too, who are engaged in the organisation and execution of the township tours. This group consists of an estimated 40 people. Hence, income effects result both from the potential proceeds of the tour-operating companies and from the wages paid to their permanent employees and/or – depending on the contract situation – to the freelancers they engage.[70] The extent to which Katutura's inhabitants have a share in the earnings of the enterprises is dependent, therefore, on whether they themselves are company owners or whether they are employed as guides or engaged in other functions. Five of the 17 tour operators interviewed within the scope of our study live in Katutura. Moreover, a large number of the enterprises are headed by black (male and/or female) managers, that is by members of formerly disadvantaged population groups. Most of the guides are residents of Katutura as well.[71] In the interviews, various tour providers stated that they would love to engage more staff from Katutura, but regretted that it was difficult to find suitable people to recruit. They pointed out that the low level of education and the lack of qualifications such as the public drivers permit posed problems. Besides, three (white) interviewees drew attention to what they called "*inappropriate working morale*" of (black) Katutura people.

A look at the composition of proprietors and employees of tour-providing enterprises will reveal that members of the non-white population group, which is described as 'formerly disadvantaged', are noticeably more strongly represented and therefore benefit more from the income generated from the participation fees paid by the tourists. On the other hand, these income and employment effects are restricted to a relatively small group of people. In contrast thereto, the turnover resulting from what the tourists consume during the tours seems to benefit substantially more people in Katutura. It is thus obvious that this turnover is of special significance with regard to the opportunities of economic participation for the local population.

70 During the interviews conducted with tour operators and guides, no reliable data was provided regarding company proceeds and salaries. According to one tour guide engaged on a freelance basis, the average receipts per guided tour were approximately NAD100.

71 Obviously, more expertise is ascribed to the township's inhabitants, as the 'historically affected', when it comes to presenting everyday life in, and the history of, Katutura as authentically as possible. Origin, language and skin colour of the local tour guides thus appear to be a kind of 'competitive advantage' that particularly meets tourists' authenticity requirements.

6.4.3 Income and employment effects due to expenses incurred during tours

For our study of the consumption and spending behaviour of tourists during the township tours, we asked the tourists, at the end of their tour, to state *how much money* they had spent *at which tour stations*, and *on which goods and services*. The tourists' expenses can be grouped in three main categories: (a) *souvenirs*, (b) *food and drinks*, and (c*) financial donations* made in support of social facilities (cf. Fig. 31). In the following, each item of expenditure will be presented in order of economic significance; this is meant to illustrate the income and employment potential of tourists' consumption behaviour.

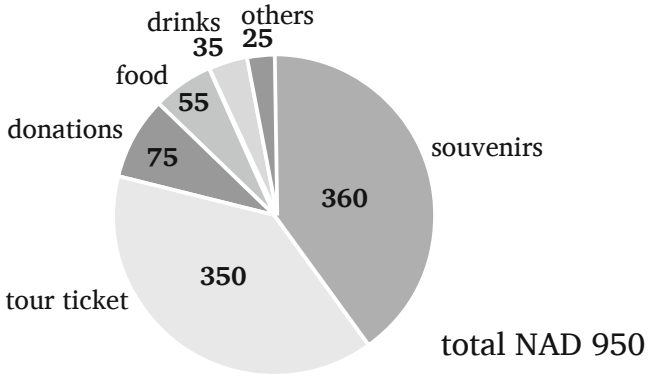


Fig. 31: Average expenses of a tour participant (in NAD) *Source: authors' own presentation*

A) SOUVENIRS

The trade in souvenirs revealed the by far greatest economic significance. All in all, 65 % of the expenditure engaged in during a township tour falls within this category. On average, each tour participant spent approximately NAD 360 on souvenirs.

By far the largest share of the gains from the souvenir business goes to the Penduka women's aid project, a production and sales facility for handcrafted textiles, jewellery and earthenware. 75 % of all the revenues obtained through souvenir sales are generated in that project. This is hardly surprising, since virtually every tour operator purposely makes regular halts at the Penduka station, one of Katutura's five major attractions (the 'Big Five'), to enable tourists to buy souvenirs (cf. Chap. 4). Penduka's tourism-oriented sales strategy and the firmly defined – partly commission-based – areas of co-operation between the tour-operating companies and the NGO are obviously well targeted and designed to

lead effectively to the pursued goals. At the same time, the attractiveness of that station seems to be partly due to the fact that its premises – thanks to their fences and secluded location – satisfy the high safety needs of precisely those operators who otherwise refuse to alight within Katutura. Moreover, it can be assumed that Penduka's clear-cut formulation of its social orientation is extremely conducive to marketing and sales. Here, tourists not only have the opportunity to satisfy their consumption needs, but can also express their wish to help. This explains why more than half the turnover generated in the course of a tour is realised in Penduka. Its employment effects are based essentially on the production of goods for the sales market for tourism. There is an additional demand for labour in the areas of sales and other services for tourists, for example in connection with accommodation and catering on the Penduka premises. Since women in Namibia (and elsewhere) are basically more strongly affected by poverty than men (cf. NSA 2012), the gender-based orientation of the Penduka project needs to be appreciated with special emphasis: Penduka primarily provides women with the opportunity to secure their livelihoods.[72] According to a 2003 study by Rigneus, that aid project provides an estimated 30 employees with full-time employment. In addition to these jobs, there are further income and employment effects deriving from home-based work contracts. At the time of the Rigneus (2003) study, approximately 90 women in the immediate surroundings of Katutura were deriving benefits from the demand for textiles in the tourism sector.[73] The pay earned from sewings and embroideries produced in home-based work is determined in terms of the quantity and quality of the products made. Hence, the monthly income of the women producing for Penduka lies between NAD200 and NAD700, depending on the demand circumstances (cf. Rigneus 2003). These earnings represent an important contribution to the safeguard of livelihoods for women who have hitherto been jobless for the most part, and for their families.

Some operators of sales stalls in the markets also benefit from the sale of souvenirs and textiles to tourists, but to a much lesser extent than do the female employees at Penduka. For example, shoes made from car tyres and springbok leather or zebra skin meet regularly with the purchasing interest of international visitors at Oshetu Market.[74] Stall operators offering 'traditional' African clothing, too, occasionally seem to meet tourists' tastes. This applies both to the Herero costumes and to colourful textiles from other parts of Africa offered at the Oshetu and Soweto Markets (cf. Fig. 32).

72 It is exclusively its security staff that consists of male employees.
73 Additionally, there are 300 women in the rural areas of Namibia who also generate income by doing needle work for Penduka.
74 Some tourists also buy spices said to be 'typical of the country' as souvenirs.

Some of those dresses are from Senegal and Togo. No, that's not Namibian but some of the Namibians do like it. Actually, we bought the dresses for the Namibians but then they found them too expensive, because it's 300NAD. So we reduced the amount of dresses but then we saw a lot of tourists coming through and they really liked those dresses. They really liked them and they sell out fast when we have them. (Female stall owner at Soweto Market)

Fig. 32: **Market stall with 'traditional' African gowns** *Photo: Berenike Schauwinhold*

Visiting a local market represents an integral part of most of the township tours and tourists frequently perceive interaction with the traders as a uniquely impressive experience (cf. Chap. 4.2.3); the markets therefore possess a special potential to improve and extend the opportunities of economic participation for the local population by way of selling souvenirs and/or handcrafted products and textiles. However, the market stall operators are only just beginning to perceive the tourists as potential clients. Therefore, revenue obtained from tourism has hardly played any role so far in the daily business of the traders.[75] Special offers designed to meet demands from tourism or market stalls specialised in handcrafted products are not available in Katutura at the moment.

75 *"They do [come] especially when we have the African attire, then they come for that. […] They buy dresses like Namibian dresses. […] I would say we sell one in a week if we are lucky"* (Female stall owner at Soweto Market in Katutura).

B) FOOD AND DRINKS

The tourists spent an average of NAD80 on food and drinks. This accounted for roughly 15 % of their total expenditure.[76] The food and drinks were bought primarily at the *markets*, with Oshetu Market playing a special role. To this extent, it is primarily market stall operators providing 'typically African' foodstuffs or drinks who benefit here. Meanwhile, tourists' demand for chilled soft drinks and mineral water prompted some stall owners to adapt their assortments slightly.

> *I wasn't selling water in bottles because local people don't actually buy still water. We drink water from the tap. So because of the tourists I had to add the still water to my products. (female vendor at Oshetu Market)*

The interviews revealed, however, that a stronger orientation to tourists' needs was considered too risky in view of the fact that the level of the tourism business in the township was still low.

> *Mainly the water and otherwise I haven't changed much because otherwise you might change this and that thing will be there and it won't actually get bought if the tourists are not coming. (female owner of a fruit and vegetable stall at Oshetu Market)*

Some shebeens, too, benefit from township tourism in Katutura by selling drinks to tourists. "*They like Windhoek Lager and a cool drink. Everyone who is coming is buying one or two drinks. But not more than two drinks*" (male owner of Yellow Horse Bar). The shebeens earn between NAD10 and NAD30 per tourist they sell drinks to. What the traders and shebeen owners earn through sales to tourists is, however, marginal compared to the revenues they generate from transactions outside tourism. For this reason, the market women and shebeen owners we interviewed have seen township tourism so far as, at best, a positive supplement to their main businesses.

It may well come as a surprise that the level of turnover generated from the sale of drinks was not higher, given the duration of tours (3 to 4 hours each) and the high temperatures prevailing in Windhoek. Our observations, however, revealed that the tourists often took their own drinks along with them to the tours, the reasons being twofold: first on grounds of hygiene and health concerns; secondly because some tourists were in part simply unaware that there was anything at all they could buy in Katutura.

76 In the interviews, the tourists (were required to state and) only stated the expenditure on food and drinks which they themselves had met. In most cases, local speciality foods and drinks such as *Kapana*, *Oshikundu* or *Vetkoeks* which the tour guides offered for the tourists to taste were already included in the tour price.

The low level of expenditure on food can be explained by reference to the fact that tourists restricted their consumption of food at the markets largely to inexpensive finger food, which, besides, was consumed because of the exotic experience of its taste rather than for reasons of getting a whole meal. So far, visits to restaurants have been very rare items on Katutura township tour programmes, the one exception being Penduka. Hilene's and Mama Melba's house restaurants, which were founded with support from the City of Windhoek (CoW), are not yet established as fixed items on regular tour programmes. Both facilities function as 'restaurants on request' for the City and other major players who visit Katutura occasionally. The same applies to the Xwama Cultural Village, which was opened in 2008 and which also specialises in the preparation of Namibian dishes. According to its operator, tourists account for less than 10 % of visitors to the Cultural Village, too.

The income-generating potential of township tourism in gastronomic services still has to be graded as very small, promotional endeavours in the sector notwithstanding.

C) DONATIONS

During their visit to Katutura, tourists donate NAD75 on average; the donations are made primarily for social projects and organisations. Only in rare cases were financial donations to individuals observed during the accompanied tours; and at present, hardly anyone begs in Katutura.[77] Even though donations barely represent 14 % of what tourists spend during a tour, this support is indeed of importance to some social institutions and facilities. For tourists often support individual projects with donations in cash and/or kind. The lion's share of this support, again, goes to the Penduka project, thanks to the regular and comparably very frequent visits to that project.

> *They donate quite a lot. Like you did see, we have a donation box. Also when tourists are dropping by they mostly donate something to us. (Management, Penduka)*

Otherwise, there are some social facilities for children (e.g. nursery schools or orphanages) that particularly benefit from tourists' donations.

> *They [the tourists] go through the house, check the playground, play a bit with the kids, take pictures and they always come with something they leave the kids with: toys or otherwise books, shoes or sometimes toiletries*

77 In various tours, tour guides did explicitly warn that tourists should by no means give money to individuals. Meanwhile, they, on the other hand, were often quite appreciative of a tip they got at the end of the tour.

or even food. […] Sometimes there are some who instantly give money or sometimes the guide collects money from them and brings it in. (Female employee at a crèche)

We use[d] to visit a kindergarten. So what we normally do during the tour is, we take pens, crayons and books for the children. Because sometimes the tourists contact us before they come and ask what they can do to help. And then we also try to tell them if you want to donate to a kindergarten, if you want to visit a kindergarten, then this is the list of things that you should take with you. (Former operator of Wonderzone)

So far, financial support from tourists for social facilities in Katutura has been rather spontaneous and sporadic and therefore difficult for the projects to predict. Long-term support relationships between the tourists and the projects have only rarely come into existence. During our research period, too, we did not receive any reports from the tour providers about regular and more extensive (financial) commitment on the part of individual tour companies to particular social projects in Katutura, for example in the form of pro rata profit sharing or of steady financial support. Yet, at the end of the day, it is the role played by the tour-providing companies and their guides that will be decisive in the distribution of the donations obtained; this is because, by choosing the social projects to be visited and by providing the relevant information, they are in a position to direct and canalise tourists' behaviour as regards the donations they make. In this respect, however, none of the tour providers has come up with a noticeably targeted strategy so far.

6.4.4 Achieving greater economic involvement of the local population: some clues and thoughts

All in all, the income and employment effects of township tourism in Katutura can be assessed as very limited, in view of its relatively small market volume and of the fact that, so far, it is the tour operators and the Penduka women's project that have mainly profited from consumption by township tourists. There is only a veritably small group of people in Katutura who are benefiting to an appreciable extent from tourism in the settlement. Most of the players – such as the market stall operators and the shebeen owners – have only participated sporadically and marginally in the revenue obtained from township tourists' expenditure. To that extent, the hope that township tourism would reduce the local people's poverty, as formulated by various groups of actors, will need to be reformulated in very clear relative terms. To some people, township tourism is indeed a lucrative busi-

ness; however, it can by no means be said that it has produced or is producing significant results for the local economy of Katutura.

This sobering realisation could now lead to the conclusion that the argument frequently advanced that township tourism will be of considerable benefit to the local economy is obviously unfounded. The argument that emphasises the poverty-reducing potential of township tourism rather appears to be part of a "respectablisation strategy". For instance, it could be assumed, firstly, that this argument is being put forward primarily by the few who actually benefit from township tourism (in particular, the tour providers), or by those otherwise interested in seeing this form of tourism further established (e.g. the CoW); secondly, that this argument is designed to eliminate the moral concerns of potential clients (tourists) and thus to help transform an ethically doubtful form of tourism into something respectable ('township tourism as development aid').

Such critical assumptions are indeed understandable; but they do not do justice to the many positive individual cases, as well as to the motivation and commitment demonstrated by numerous actors in township tourism in Katutura. We therefore wish to propose a few reflections, at the end of this report, on how a rise in the number of Katutura's inhabitants benefiting from tourists' purchasing power could be achieved in future, although our project group has found that the poverty-alleviating potential of township tourism is much smaller than can be inferred from the public and academic discussion.

Basically, two paths suggest themselves here that could lead to an improvement of local economic participation: 1. Enhancement of market volume, 2. Enlargement of the group of beneficiaries ('profit distribution')

ENHANCING THE MARKET VOLUME

The total turnover generated in township tourism could be raised by raising the annual number of tourists – that is by means of targeted marketing measures aimed at intensifying the current positive growth trend in the number of tour bookings. It is presumable that a common communication strategy elaborated by the competent tourism authorities and tour operators could lead to the desired results. It would have to be a strategy that aimed to increase the proportion of guests from overseas booking township tours. (At present, that proportion ranges from 7 to 11 %.) To that end, the services offered in township tourism would have to be advertised more energetically, the message delivered being that a visit to Katutura is just as much a must-do during a holiday stay in Namibia as is a safari across the impressive animal kingdom and uniquely fantastic landscapes.

Besides targeted marketing measures, innovations in product development, could help increase turnover as well. A conceivable measure here, among others, would consist in extending the classical township tour programmes to include

topic-specific tours, too. We think, for example, that market tours focusing on local market scenes in Katutura ('*Katutura Market Tours*'), or '*Katutura Food Tours*' targeted on culinary experiences would seem promising in this respect. Such tours would, inter alia, bring food stalls in the markets and gastronomic services more sharply into focus. Tours focusing on topics such as the provision of residential areas and house building ('*Housing in Katutura*') would also be conceivable; such tours would be addressing the needs of tourists with special educational interests (e.g. students, volunteers, etc.). These proposals imply a diversification and specialisation of the programmes on offer that should be capable of substantially enlarging relevant client groups in township tourism and thus enhancing its market volume in Katutura. As regards the development of relevant products, support measures could come from the City of Windhoek (CoW), which, at the same time, would specifically be promoting entrepreneurs from Katutura.

A second way of enhancing the market volume of township tourism and the turnover generated in it would consist in exerting greater influence on tourists' spending behaviour, the aim being to spur them on to more consumption during the tours. Since the chances of economic participation for the local population mainly depend on the sale of souvenirs, food and drinks, it appears imperative to utilise and/or expand existing structures of supply in tourism more effectively.

Tour operators have a central role to play in this context because they largely control the value creation chain in township tourism, acting, as it were, as 'gatekeepers'. By organising the tour procedures, that is by determining certain halting stations (cf. Chap. 4), the tour operators also decide on who among the local actors may get in contact with the tourists in the first place. In this way, tour providers and tour guides direct purchasing behaviour, and, in the final analysis, also select and determine those who may benefit from tourists' consumption activities.

> *I feel like township tours are very important but they´re also a very sensitive industry. It needs to be more sustainable, so that the community in Katutura also benefits from it rather than just taking a big bus of tourists and driving through the township […]. Because how does the community benefit from that? Nothing! But if there is more interaction, if for example you have local tour guides that are taking the tourists in the townships and if you are visiting community based projects, so that maybe the tourists can buy crafts from them. That way the community also benefits. (Former female operator of Wonderzone)*

Though most of the operators are quite aware of this connection ('No stops, no money!'), some of the tour providers have so far used the Penduka station alone as an alighting station during the tours. Thanks to the professional nature of its organisational structures and to its social orientation, that women's project does indeed deserve to be highlighted in many respects as a best-practice example;

yet, it would be reasonable to design and organise tours that also include other stations as halting and alighting stations, as this would help curb tourists' consumption activities. The CoW could provide support in this context, too – to the extent that it helps to extend existing supply structures in other parts of the settlement or to develop new ones and make them known as halting options to the tour-providing companies. In that case, it would, on the other hand, be the task of the tour operators to integrate these offers into their tour procedures. Such a diversification and extension of the halting stations featuring offers of consumption opportunities would not only help promote tourists' willingness to buy; it would also enlarge the group of local beneficiaries.

PROFIT DISTRIBUTION

As regards stronger economic participation of the local population, it would not only be desirable to enhance turnover, but to further extend its distribution, too. The available studies on consumption behaviour during tours have found that at present roughly 56 % of the proceeds obtained go to Penduka. It is necessary to ensure supply and purchasing incentives in other halting stations as well in order to counteract a disproportionately strong concentration of income allocation. In our view, the township's markets, in particular, possess the potential needed to increase the local population's prospects of economic participation in township tourism.[78] The goods currently available on offer alone are already quite capable of satisfying tourists' needs.[79] It is indeed also imperative, however, to convincingly present to the tourists the goods available on offer at various halting stations, the aim being to generate more profit from the tourists' purchasing power; the presentation of the goods offered will need to draw upon *well targeted information campaigns*. Consequently, the goods offered by the market stall vendors would have to be advertised in a well targeted manner and integrated into the tour processes. In this case, the tour guides would have a crucial role to play; however, the traders themselves would need to have a stronger say within the tour programmes, too. Since the acquisition of souvenirs and other goods satisfies the wish – often expressed by tourists – to 'do others a good turn', calling attention to various local products and donation options not only helps to improve opportunities of economic participation for the local population, but also boosts customer satisfaction (cf. Chap. 4.2.6). Moreover, it would be necessary to make market stall vendors increasingly aware of the potential of tourists' purchasing power. This could be brought about, for instance, through ventures of co-operation between

78 Orientating the tours to the informal markets also appears promising, since the CoW already considers informal markets a major strategic instrument of economic development and economic participation of the local population in Katutura (cf., e.g., the brochure on *Informal Markets. The Heartbeat of Windhoek* published by the CoW's Strategic Executive Economic Development and Community Services).

79 On the whole, roughly one third (34 %) of all township tourists' expenses are met in the markets.

individual tour companies and stall operators or through CoW educational and training programmes that, for example, acquaint the market stall operators with tourists' buying habits. The creation of co-operatives of craftsmen and craftswomen offering their products at Osheto Market or at Soweto Market would be conceivable, too. Handicraft workshops operating outside the markets could just as well be included as halting and shopping stations in the tours. Here, too, the City could come in with relevant support as an adviser and a player.

Finally, the tour operators, in their capacity as employers, can again bring their 'gatekeeper' function into play. For the tour entrepreneurs, with the help of their *recruitment strategy*, decide, after all, on the extent to which members of (formerly) disadvantaged population groups may participate – as employees – in turnover generated through township tourism. Due to the tourists' need for authenticity, township tourism does seem to hold opportunities for participation in store, especially for these groups; however, in view of the difficulties mentioned by the tour operators regarding the recruitment of suitable guides, the potential advantages have not been exploited to the optimum so far. Therefore, if the objective being pursued is to improve economic participation, it will first be necessary to provide in-house and/or government-sponsored *training schemes* for people from the township so as to make them better qualified to meet the demands of the labour market in tourism.[80]

Considering the great significance of educational, consulting and sponsoring programmes, various private actors have repeatedly requested public measures designed to improve opportunities for economic participation, expecting the CoW, in particular, to assume the mediation and organisational tasks needed for co-operation and to ensure more effective networking of all those actively involved in township tourism:

> *For me, the City can play a better role in organizing township tourism. Just call us together, all the stakeholders. Let's create a chain of offerings. We don't need to be fighting. […] And we can all carve out something unique for each one to offer. So we can give each other a competitive advantage. […] Very profitably for everybody […] and then we grow together. (Female owner of the Xwama Restaurant)*

However, as this study has shown, the role played by other actors involved in township tourism – especially by tour operators – doubtlessly becomes substantially significant, too, when it comes to improving the economic potential of township tourism and the prospects of economic participation. A stronger involvement of

80 After all, competition in the private sector makes it imperative for township tour providers to engage the best-qualified candidates. Since the (political) goal of poverty reduction is not directly relevant to the continued (economic) existence or to the economic success of the tour companies, there has to be a strong content-based exchange that reconciles different interests.

the enterprises in training programmes and in job-oriented training schemes therefore seems particularly expedient. *Joint efforts* in the extension of training programmes could constitute a contribution (a) towards a stronger orientation of available educational and training opportunities to the needs of tour operators; (b) towards addressing such opportunities in a precisely targeted manner by means of public institutions of education and training. In the final analysis, then, the endeavours of all those involved will be indispensable in a bid to strengthen the role played by township tourism Katutura as a local economic driving force.

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Guided sightseeing tours of the former township of Katutura have been offered in Windhoek since the mid-1990s. City tourism in the Namibian capital had thus become, at quite an early point in time, part of the trend towards utilising poor urban areas for purposes of tourism – a trend that set in at the beginning of the same decade. Frequently referred to as "slum tourism" or "poverty tourism", the phenomenon of guided tours around places of poverty has not only been causing some media sensation and much public outrage since its emergence; in the past few years, it has developed into a vital field of scientific research, too. "Global Slumming" provides the grounds for a rethinking of the relationship between poverty and tourism in world society.

This book is the outcome of a study project of the Institute of Geography at the School of Cultural Studies and Social Science of the University of Osnabrueck, Germany. It represents the first empirical case study on township tourism in Namibia. It focuses on four aspects:

1. Emergence, development and (market) structure of township tourism in Windhoek
2. Expectations/imaginations, representations as well as perceptions of the township and its inhabitants from the tourist's perspective
3. Perception and assessment of township tourism from the residents' perspective
4. Local economic effects and the poverty-alleviating impact of township tourism

The aim is to make an empirical contribution to the discussion around the tourism-poverty nexus and to an understanding of the global phenomenon of urban poverty tourism.

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