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Contents Page

List of Figures

CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

The main focus of this study is to critique ways indigenous South African cultures are represented through the use of certain cultural aesthetics in cultural villages. The critique is premised on the assumption that by their very nature, cultural villages are commercial entities that are concerned with appealing to the tourist. There are many cultural villages in South Africa per province. For instance: Basotho Cultural Village (Free State): Isinamya Cultural Village (Eastern Cape): DamaZulu Lodge and Traditional Village and Shakaland (KwaZulu Natal): Shangana Cultural Village (Mpumalanga): Living Open Air Museum (Western Cape) and Lesedi Cultural Village (NorthWest Province). For the purpose of this study, Lesedi Cultural Village was selected because of its proximity to the researcher. While there is potential for a person from a foreign country touring South Africa to get a glimpse of some indigenous cultural elements, there is a potential for cultural villages to misrepresent particular communities' cultural-specific nuances, which appeal to the outsider tourists, but might be harmful to the cultural identities of the indigenous communities in question through the misuse or aestheticization of various cultural elements.

This study also focuses on the cultural and the ethical implications of misrepresenting indigenous cultures through performance and iconography, which includes exploitation of resources by the so-called dominant cultures, the reinforcing of racial stereotypes as well as the use of indigenous knowledge for commercial gain. A large part of the study also focuses on the tourist industry and the role it plays in the visual representation of indigenous cultures in South Africa and in other countries of the world.

1.2 Problem Statement

Since the fall of apartheid in 1994, and the perceived opening of the doors of learning and culture as pronounced by The Freedom Charter (1955), cultural tourism has become a huge brand for commercial interests, and a valuable catalyst for economic development and job creation. In this study it shall be argued that this form of cultural

appropriation tends to be exploitative and not supportive of the cultures in questions. “One of the primary trends in the growth of tourism is the proliferation of ‘cultural villages’ and their consolidation as a new form of cultural museum” (Hayward, 2007:22).However, as Conradie (2012:2) puts it, “the commodification of cultural heritage and identity through cultural villages has come under criticism for exploiting and denigrating the individuals and cultures it claims to represent”. There are, as Tassiopoulos and Nuntsu (2005:95) write “approximately 40 cultural villages in operation around South Africa that have been developed as a one-stop cultural immersion offering for the tourist to meet indigenous people”. Tassiopoulos and Nuntsu also report that there are three categories of cultural villages in South Africa. They are as follows:

- The ‘grass-root’ cultural village, mostly found within a rural setting;
- Township tours, found within an urban setting, mostly in the townships of the country’s major cities; and
- The commercial cultural village, which can have either a rural or urban setting.

Sub problem A

This research focuses on the last category, the commercial cultural village. Good examples of these types of cultural villages are “Shakaland in KwaZulu Natal and Lesedi Cultural Village in the North West Province” (Tassiopoulos and Nuntsu, 2005:96). This study focuses primarily on the Lesedi Cultural Village in the North West Province. Lesedi Cultural Village is a prime example of how the visual representation of indigenous people and their culture can be questionable in terms of its authenticity. This is with regard to whether the representation of indigenous culture is accurate.

Sub problem B

This study attempts to question the moral acceptability of cultural appropriation and how this may result in the misrepresentation of indigenous cultures in the context of Lesedi

Cultural Village. Hayward (2007:24) points out how “the whole enterprise of cultural villages is based on the reproduction of specific ethnic stereotypes and how in Lesedi Cultural village, the ethnic groups are arranged side-by-side so that the tourist can choose from ‘Zulu warrior nation, the proud Xhosa, the warm-hearted Pedi’ (Lesedi, 2005). Hayward (2007:24) goes on to argue that “in Lesedi Cultural Village and another cultural village, the Dumazulu Village in KwaZulu-Natal, the various ‘cultures’ are reduced to a few simplified and commoditised visual marks: the Zulus to their fighting sticks and beehive huts, the Xhosa to their distinctive white blankets, the Ndebele to their colourful geometric paintings and the Basotho to their conical straw hats and thick colourful blankets”. While Lesedi’s website has been modified over the years and today does seem to exhibit minor differences to Hayward’s (2007) description of it, it still contains language and imagery that evokes the Othering of indigenous South African cultures. On its current website, phrases like “nestled within an authentic African village environment, Lesedi provides guests with deluxe African accommodation” (Lesedi, 2024) still evokes images of an Africa that is still unspoiled and largely rural and primitive. Neville Lewis’ painting ‘*Pondo women’* in which he portrays two traditional rural women carrying loads on their heads (a common feature of African women) and the breasts bare and hanging can be deemed offensive in the way they portray African women. Liibhammer (2011:57) contends that Lewis, being an outsider, “does not identify easily with that kind of subject, causing him to portray it in a clumsy, clichéd manner, potentially reinforcing the stereotypical view of the Other”.

Portrayals of members of indigenous cultures by artists from outside of those cultures can result in what is known as profound offense. Young (2005:135) defines profound offense as an “offense to one’s moral sensibilities, or strikes at a person’s core values or sense of self”. Misrepresentation of one’s culture by an outsider can cause profound offense when it strikes at that person’s core values, such as an artist portraying members of that culture in an offensive manner. A good example is the case of Canadian artist George Southwell whose artworks have been deemed deeply offensive to native Canadians. One such example is a mural called *Labour* which adorns the walls of the Parliament Buildings in Victoria, British Columbia. Young (2005:137) points out

that “it proved offensive in large part because it is held to be a serious misrepresentation of aboriginal culture and because it has exposed the culture of First Nations to ridicule”. This is because it portrays bare-breasted native women participating in the construction of Fort Victoria. According to contemporary native Canadians, this is an inaccurate representation of native women who they claim never exposed their breasts in public. Such portrayal of indigenous cultures by outsiders causes profound offense to the members of that culture because the cultural products or objects used by the outsider have a special sacred or cultural significance. Examples like Neville Lewis’ painting *Pondo women* are also the kind of cultural misrepresentation that can cause profound offense especially being that the two bare-breasted ladies in the painting are portrayed by an outsider.

Important to this context is the use of indigenous cultures in the promotion of tourism in South Africa. I shall highlight the fact that the practice of cultural misrepresentation usually involves people from dominant cultures or societies misrepresenting material or customs from subordinated cultures. Cuthbert (1998:258) states that while the reverse can occur where minority cultures “borrow” elements of a dominant culture, the move is characterised as assimilation instead of misrepresentation. In other words, misrepresentation occurs through the domination or colonisation of one culture by another.

1.3 Research Question

A: <u>What is a Cultural Village and what is its purpose?</u>

I shall show that there are several different forms of representation that occur whereby certain aspects of an indigenous or minority culture are misrepresented for tourist consumption or some form of material gain. It is my intention to demonstrate that cultural villages are also at the forefront of appropriating indigenous cultures for commercial consumption. It has been argued by Ramchander (2007) that the scripted and performed/performative nature of cultural villages, which are described as

"complexes that are purposefully built to simulate aspects of the way of life of a cultural grouping as they were at a specific period (or over several periods) of time" (Conradie, 2012:4, cited in Hayward, 2007:22) is not a true representation of the culture that is being portrayed. The question that is posed is what a cultural village is and what is its purpose in the context of cultural representation? [1]I shall also argue that certain visual aspects of cultural villages can be seen to reinforce the *Othering* of members of indigenous cultures.

B: <u>What are the visual aspects of Lesedi Cultural Village that serve the purpose of cultural representation?</u>

This part of the research question tries to establish what role the visual culture of Lesedi Cultural Village plays in the representation of indigenous cultures in South Africa. Through this area of the research question I shall also seek to establish how the different aspects of the visual culture at Lesedi influence perceptions about indigenous cultures. It shall focus particularly on the use of cultural villages in "promoting" indigenous cultures as tourist attractions.

C: <u>To what extent does the misrepresentation of South African Visual Culture occur at Lesedi Cultural Village?</u>

This research question seeks to establish the accuracy of the visual culture at Lesedi Cultural Village. The way the indigenous cultures of South Africa are represented at cultural villages like Lesedi can have either negative or positive results. This is the representational aspect of indigenous culture that this research question seeks to establish.

[1] "Othering is defined as the action or attitude of perceiving others as different" (Culea, 2018:95)

I. **What constitutes authentic visual culture at Lesedi Cultural Village?**

This is a very important research question that builds on the above question regarding how accurate the representation of indigenous cultures at Lesedi Cultural Village is. The visual culture that is covered through this research question includes elements such as the traditional dress of some of the indigenous cultures as well the art that is on display at the village. Here I shall also establish the question of authenticity to question what facet of indigenous South African life Lesedi is trying to represent. The question here is whether it is representing, as it were a snapshot of traditional life in the past or over portrayal of rural South Africa?

II. **What are the other examples of the visual culture at Lesedi Cultural Village that can be used as points of comparison?**

This is a crucial research question which seeks to establish whether there are other similar misrepresentations of indigenous South African cultures that can be used for comparison. While cultural villages are the central theme of this study in posing the relevant research question, it is important to have points of comparison which can be used to validate the argument being put forward.

C: <u>How does this compare to other instances of appropriation of the arts globally?</u>

The main objective of this research question is to establish whether there are other similar instances where indigenous arts are misrepresented in other parts of the world, including outside of cultural villages. This part of the research question is to make comparisons with the visual representation of indigenous cultures in South Africa and other countries in the world and establish whether there is a similar pattern of misrepresentation.

1.4 Methodology

A: Qualitative research method

The preferred research method for this study shall be qualitative. Creswell (2015:16) distinguishes the following characteristics of the qualitative research methodology. That qualitative research requires (a) an exploration of a problem and development of a detailed understanding of a central phenomenon. (b) Statement of the purpose and research questions in an open-ended way in order to capture the participants' experiences. (c) Collection of data based on words, either through interviews, or through the use of images such as photographs, from a small number of individuals so that the participants' views are obtained. (d) Analysis of the data for description and themes using text analysis and interpreting the larger meaning of the findings, and finally, (e) writing the report using flexible, emerging structures and evaluative criteria and including the researchers' subjective reflexivity and bias.

Creswell (2015:16) argues that qualitative research is best suited to address a research problem in which the researcher might not know the variables and need to explore. He further argues that the literature might yield little information about the phenomenon of study. In which case the researcher might need to learn more from participants through exploration. In the case of this particular study the researcher undertook observations of cultural performances and the visual culture at Lesedi Cultural Village.

B: <u>Document analysis and observation</u>

The research method adopted for this study shall be based on document analysis and observation. On the one hand, according to Ary*et al.* (2006:464), document analysis is "research applied to written or visual materials for the purpose of identifying specified characteristics of the material" and for the purpose of discovering the relative importance of, or interest in, certain topics. For Gall *et al.* (1996:356) document analysis is performed on written documents such as textbooks, students' completed homework,

assignments and tests, computer printouts of school data, newspapers and memoranda. While there may be some similarities between document and content analysis, there are also some core differences that should be noted. These are that content analysis seeks to examine mediums in which words and images appear, while document analysis deals with examining written documents in their entirety. “Document or content analysis in qualitative research is different from quantitative research in that quantitative researchers believe that meaning is found in the text itself; for qualitative researchers the meaning of a text is discovered in the minds of its writers and its readers” (Gall *et al.,* 1996:362). For quantitative research, document analysis also applies in order to extract the meaning from the text that is being researched. As such for this study, document analysis in quantitative research will be applied. Gall *et al.* reiterate that the text will be understood better if it is studied within its context, that is, the purpose of writing it, the author’s working conditions, intended and actual audience, and the audience’s purpose in reading it.

On the other hand, and with respect to observation, Creswell (2007:134)argues that “observing in a setting is a special skill that requires addressing issues such as the potential deception of the people being interviewed, impression management, and the potential marginality of the researcher in a strange setting” (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). He identifies a range of steps in order for successful qualitative observation to occur. These include:

- “Selecting a site to be observed, which includes obtaining the required permissions needed to gain access to the site (for this study an appointment with the centre’s manager was scheduled where access was requested, and granted).
- Identifying who or what to observe, when, and for how long.
- Determine the role to be assumed by the observer – this can be in the form of a participant to that of complete observer.
- Design an observation protocol as a method of recording notes in the field. These can be notes about the experiences, hunches, and learnings.
- Record aspects such as portraits of the informants, the physical setting, particular events and activities, and the researcher’s reactions” (Bodgan and Bilken, 1992).

The literature-based method involves consulting several primary voices, namely Ramchander (2007) and Lienhammer (2011). The literature-based method was conducted at the beginning of the study through various sources including library catalogues and online journals. In the literature-based study I primarily focus on the voices that discuss the visual representation of indigenous cultures in the form of institutions such as cultural villages and through art. There is also a focus on theoretical voices like Nigerian curator and art critic Okwui Enwezor (2006), who has been a harsh critic of the visual depiction of Africa through the Western photographic lens. The photographic exhibition called Snap Judgments which he curated that showcased photographic works by over 30 photographers from across Africa is discussed at length in chapter 3.The theoretical approach is essential in bringing forth the issues that are inherent in the practice, such as ethics, the social implications as well as the economic implications. Visual documentation is just as essential because it lets the viewer engage on a more personal level with the issues at hand. This study is a Visual Arts study and a significant part of my visual research is utilizing photography as a tool of documentation and data collection. It is therefore essential that part of my study also involves searching through photographic literature to give me a clear idea of how the visual element of the study is conducted and structured. My own photography shall be included in part of my visual research.

1.5 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 is the introduction where the focus will be on establishing the problem statement where I shall highlight the problem being addressed in this study, which is the misrepresentation of indigenous cultures in South Africa through the use of cultural villages. In the research I shall establish the answer of what is a cultural village and what is its purpose. The research question also narrows the question of cultural villages down to Lesedi Cultural Village to establish what the visual aspects that serve its purpose are and to what extent the misrepresentation of South African visual culture occurs at the cultural village. I shall also through the research question establish similar instances where indigenous arts and cultures are misrepresented in other parts of the

world, including outside of cultural villages. In this chapter I shall also outline the research method I will be utilising for the study which I shall describe in detail

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Chapter 2 is where I shall review the literature that I sourced for the study and provide a justification why I think the area is worth researching. I shall comment on the literature that I will not have included and say why I excluded it. The literature review shall also include a mention of the authors that will be cited for this study and how their work are placed in the study.

Chapter 3 is the theoretical framework where I shall discuss the important area of postcolonialism as it relates to the misrepresentation of the indigenous cultures of South Africa. In this chapter I shall begin the discussion by mentioning at length colonialism itself as a catalyst for the birth of postcolonial theory. The discussion shall also delve into how postcolonial theory is interpreted and received by scholars, in particular African scholars whose views differ from those of Western scholars.

In chapter 4 I shall focus on the history of cultural representation and its link with the colonial history of South Africa and countries like Australia, the United States and Canada. I will attempt to gauge ways in which the misrepresentation of indigenous cultures was mostly for the exploitation of resources and indigenous knowledge, and only later filtered down to being for the promotion of tourism.

Chapter 5 will be a critical discussion on the impact of cultural misrepresentation of South Africa's indigenous cultures through the use of cultural villages and other various methods of cultural tourism. The chapter will deal with the reasons why indigenous communities often find it difficult to fight the appropriation of their cultures. I shall explore the concept of cultural villages in South Africa and show why it is important to question their authenticity in the depiction of the indigenous cultures of South Africa. In addition to the discussion on cultural villages, I shall also discuss at length the visual culture that is present at cultural villages and its role in the misrepresentation of South

Africa's indigenous cultures. I shall also discuss the role of photography in the visual misrepresentation of indigenous cultures in the country.

Chapter 6 shall be the fieldwork overview where I shall discuss the fieldwork that was conducted at Lesedi Cultural Village for the purpose of gathering visual data for the study. The discussion will be on the use of photography as a tool for gathering visual data and also its general use in field work. I shall also use the photographic element as a visual guide in discussing the discrepancies that are prevalent between traditional and modern at Lesedi Cultural Village.

The conclusion is where I shall provide the closing remarks, a summary of how I conducted the study, and make brief remarks on the study's findings.

For many countries around the world, tourism is a major contributor to their economies and visual arts plays an important role in marketing their destinations. "In Southern Africa, cultural tourism is seen as a tool to develop rural communities through cultural attractions such as cultural villages which in turn creates employment for the local people" (Masilela, Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2023:328, cited in Spencely, 2012). However, promoting this form of tourism has presented many challenges. Chief among these is the misrepresentation of indigenous cultures as a means of marketing South Africa as a cultural destination. It is a big challenge particularly in countries where indigenous people are a minority group. In countries like the United States, Canada and Australia, indigenous people face a constant uphill battle to protect their cultural heritage and practises from being misrepresented.

In countries like Australia, as exemplified by Janke (2008) there are efforts to protect indigenous Aboriginal cultures from the misrepresentation of their cultural heritage. However these efforts are made more difficult due a lack of legislation to prevent the exploitation of indigenous Aboriginal arts for commercial gain. In South Africa, cultural tourism is promoted through the use of cultural villages as a visual representation of the rich cultural diversity that the country possesses. Cultural villages, according to

Conradie (2012) reinforce derogatory stereotypes of tribalism, exoticism and primitivism, promoting prejudice rather than challenging derogatory stereotypes of indigenous people. However, while that is one among the negative aspects regarding cultural villages and cultural tourism in general, one must also acknowledge the positives of both, especially regarding cross-cultural interactions. Mathabathe (2019:187, cited in Butler and Hinch, 1996:01) explains that “cultural tourism activities (such as those in cultural villages) advance cultural understanding between indigenous and non-indigenous people”. And as such, as Butler and Hinch (1996:5) continue to explain, “visitors experiences of indigenous cultures improve their awareness, understanding and appreciation of indigenous people and their way of life”. Ndlovu (2019) speaks at length about Lesedi Cultural Village and PheZulu Safari Park regarding their purpose in the tourist industry and the communities they are located in general. Ndlovu (2019:37) points out that “according to Lesedi Cultural Village’s marketing statement, the primary purpose of the village is to attract tourism, celebrate diversity and educate visitors about different cultures of indigenous Black group identities. Ndlovu (2019:37) also mentions that “the idea of celebrating the cultural diversity of the people who constitute the South African national identity indicates the village’s sensitivity to the democratic government’s democratic vision of crafting an inclusive South African national identity”. In the study of the Basotho Cultural Village in the Free State province, Mearns (2007:38) points out that “cultural villages are often the only place where certain people ever have any contact with a specific culture or part of history”. Mearns, Du Toit and Mukuka (2006:32) also explain that “the culture itself and the employees of the cultural village (this is inclusive of the other cultural villages in South Africa) possess various levels of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS)”. In this way one of the important positive aspects of cultural villages is that they are positioned as a platform to educate people about the way of life of indigenous people.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The focus of this chapter shall be on the literature on cultural appropriation and cultural tourism. The sources from which I shall draw includes books as well as journal articles. Section 2.2 provides an overview of cultural tourism. It shall provide insights into the different categories of cultural appropriation and the effects they have on the affected communities. Section 2.3 draws on the literature to create links with my own arguments about cultural appropriation and cultural tourism, as well the role they may play in misrepresenting indigenous cultures. Section 2.4 provides a brief overview of cultural tourism in South Africa and how this fits into the concept of cultural appropriation. In section 2.5 I provide some concluding remarks.

Cultural appropriation covers a wide range of issues that affect millions of people around the world. However, the focus of this study will be on how cultural appropriation through tourism promotion in South Africa may often lead to the misrepresentation of the country's indigenous cultures. Other areas that will be covered include the ethical concerns around cultural appropriation as well as tourist attractions such as cultural villages which through their representation of indigenous cultures may engage in cultural appropriation. A lot of extant literature focuses on the United States, Canada and Australia where the appropriation of indigenous cultures has been both a cultural and legal issue for a number of generations (Bannister and Solomon, 2009; Haig-Brown, 2010; Howes, 1996; Janke, 2008; Monture, 1994; MacCannell, 2000). In many instances in these countries, images of indigenous peoples and their art are used in advertising without their knowledge or permission. However, most of the examples I use are drawn from South Africa, with particular reference to Lesedi Cultural Village. I acknowledge that Native American, Australian and Canadian examples are not

equivalent to South African examples or to one another. But they do nonetheless share some similarities, such as staged performances. As such, some conclusions made by the authors of the former, may be extrapolated to the South African context.

There is a wide range of literature that covers the issue of cultural appropriation and tourism (Conradie, 2013; Ramchander, 2007; Tassiopoulos and Nuntsu. 2005; Viljoen &Tlabela, 2007; Naidu, 2011; Young and Brunk, 2009;Leibhammer, 2011; Bhabha, 2004, Ndlovu, 2018; Masilela, Hoogendoorn and Visser, 2023).The literature covered in this section revolves around the visual culture of cultural villages, which relies on the representation of the cultures of indigenous people in the creation of all artistic, architectural and graphic design elements in these spaces. Literature revolving around tourism and cultural representation covers issues relating to cultural tourism which is defined in the government's *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* as "cultural aspects which are of interest to the visitor and can be earmarked as such, including the customs and traditions of people, their heritage, history and way of life" (Viljoen and Tlabela, 2007:14).

Conradie's (2013) work focuses on the role that cultural villages play in the development of the South African tourist industry and the representation of the country's indigenous cultures. Her analysis of cultural villages looks into how the concept of cultural villages and cultural tourism depicts the indigenous cultures of South Africa and the impact that has on the integrity of those cultures. The issues that are discussed in her work include the commodification of indigenous cultures as commodities to promote tourism in South Africa. Among the detrimental effects she also highlights in the way cultural villages are presented to tourists is the danger of them reinforcing racist stereotypes of indigenous cultures. This stems from her critique of cultural villages portraying black South Africans as backward and primitive in the manner that their cultures are depicted. In her critique of the negative impact of using cultural villages to promote tourism in South Africa, there is also an acknowledgement of South Africa having to redefine its image on the world stage during the post-Apartheid era.

Like Conradie (2013), Ramchander's (2007) focuses on cultural tourism and critically analyses whether its impact on the indigenous cultures of South Africa is beneficial or not. However, the work of Ramchander (2007) focuses more on township tourism, which is another form of cultural tourism that the South African tourist industry has capitalised on. In his analysis of township tourism he highlights the economic benefits that are brought to the township communities while also emphasising the potentially negative impact that it may bring. Of particular focus regarding the negative impacts is the socio-cultural issues that may arise with the township residents potentially feeling uneasy about the encroachment of tourists into their communities. Ramchander (2007) also discusses and critiques the promotion of township tourism as an alternative to the more traditional form of cultural tourism as non-performative and therefore more authentic.

Tassiopoulos and Nuntsu (2005) get into a bit more detail on cultural villages, highlighting the main categories of cultural villages that are present in South Africa. In their work Tassiopoulos and Nuntsu (2005) do not discuss the issue of cultural appropriation specifically in any detail. They work does however, delve deeper into cultural villages and the activities that take place in them. Even though they may not specifically discuss the actual appropriation of indigenous cultures as it pertains to this study, the issues they touch on, such as staged performances which includes tourists meeting with sangomas, may on closer inspection constitute a form of cultural appropriation. Of particular importance is that their study into cultural villages also discusses how the depiction of indigenous cultures in cultural villages influences the perceptions held by foreign tourists of the members of those cultures.

Viljoen and Tlabela's (2007) work discusses the placement of cultural villages in the socio-cultural space and how that affects both the perception and integrity of indigenous cultures in South Africa. Their discussion on the representation of South Africa's indigenous cultures is focused mainly on how the tourist industry in South Africa has developed over the years to incorporate cultural tourism and cultural villages into the mainstream tourism. Their focus on this aspect of tourism in South Africa centres on the

past exclusion of the indigenous cultures in the participation of tourism in the country resulting in very little being known about them out the country's border.

In Naidu's (2011) work the main focus is on the possible loss of identity that may result from the commodification of indigenous cultures. Particular focus is on the Zulu culture and how the historical portrayal of the language, people and geography in popular media results in the narrative that its privileging has more to do with commercial and economic transactions and less to do with the Zulu people themselves. However, there are "cultural villages that are being opened and operated, with varying degrees of success, by both indigenous entrepreneurs and government agencies as vehicles for job creation, economic development and social empowerment (Van Vuuren, 2003). Hayward (2007:27) also states that "this trend shows promise in providing opportunities for black South Africans to exercise control over and to access the economic dividends from representations of African histories in tourist attractions". Hayward (2007:27) continues that "while there are no guarantees that indigenous ownership will address the problematic colonial stereotypes presented in cultural villages, it will represent an important relocation of the power to articulate and mediate histories and identities in post-Apartheid South Africa".

In their work Young and Brunk (2009) focus on the moral and ethical side of cultural representation and how the different parties involved fit into the narrative. They do not particularly focus on South Africa but their work which looks into how the ethical conduct of those who appropriate indigenous cultures affect the integrity of those cultures does apply to this study into cultural representation in South Africa. The work of Young and Brunk (2009) is one that encourages serious discussions on both sides of the table of whether the appropriation of indigenous cultures for commercial purposes such as tourism should always be deemed morally and ethically unacceptable, or if there are exceptions to the rule where it can be deemed acceptable.

The work of Leibhammer (2011) focuses on the visual aspect of cultural appropriation where she discusses the case of white artists' depiction of black Africans in their art

works. She also discusses how the flawed scientific studies of black Africans in the late 19th and 20th centuries fuelled by the racist stereotypes that led to their misrepresentation and depiction as the Other. In her work Leibhammer (2011) exposes the biased anthropological “studies” of black Africans that were based on classifying humans according to race and racial types. Her work engages in the very important discussion on how these flawed studies would pave the way for discussions of segregation policies that would eventually lead to the formation of Apartheid in South Africa. Also of importance in the work of Leibhammer (2011) is her discussion into how white artists depicted black Africans during this period of these anthropological studies in the late 19th and early 20th century. Of importance in her discussion of these artists’ works is in how they perpetuated the notion of Othering in their depiction of black Africans.

Bhabha (2004) takes a more philosophical approach in his discussion around cultural appropriation and how the people in indigenous cultures are impacted by the resulting potential misrepresentation. His work looks into elements such as how cultures react and develop in the face of encroaching modernity. In his work Bhabha (2004) discusses the reality that cultures are not uniform entities that remain the same through the times and that eventually, whether external or internal change will always eventually take place even in the quest to stay the same.

The development of cultural villages begs the question of who actually owns culture and whether anyone can actually claim to own culture. This is an important question because it goes to the very heart of how the commodification of certain aspects of indigenous cultures can lead to their misrepresentation. This is particularly important in the South African context due to the country’s diverse cultural landscape. This diversity makes means that one cannot simply pinpoint whether any one individual can claim ownership and empirical knowledge of such a diverse cultural community. Bhabha (2004:49-50) argues that “cultural diversity is an epistemological object – culture as an object of empirical knowledge – whereas cultural difference is the process of *enunciation* of culture as ‘knowledge*able’,* authoritative, adequate to the construction of

systems of cultural identification".Lesedi Cultural Village for example, purports to represent the Sotho, Zulu, Xhosa, Tswana, Pedi and Ndebele cultures. This suggests that the staff, as well as the managers and owners at Lesedi present themselves as experts in the said cultures, which is neither feasible nor realisable. Naidu (2011:34) points out the commodification of the Zulu culture as a classic example.

> *"Historically, both popular media and political constructions of 'Zulu' and around 'Zulu' and 'Zulu people' have identified with indigenous locale as KwaZulu-Natal, as the largest concentration of people who identify themselves as being Zulu, live in the Province. However, the privileging of these particular indigenous identities and cultural heritage has perhaps more to do with commercial and economic transactions and less about the people" (Naidu, 2011:34).*

In effect, the question here is who actually owns the Zulu culture? Is it the Zulu people or monarchy, the KwaZulu-Natal Provincial Government, the national government or the organizations that appropriate the Zulu culture to promote tourism in the province? This comes to the core issue of appropriating indigenous cultures that Naidu (2011) points out in which the search for authenticity and a novel experience is a key motivation for tourists travelling to developing countries. This, according to Naidu (2011:35), "means that to satisfy tourists' demands, the host culture comes to be performed or staged". According to Naidu (2011:35), this often leads to a loss of identity in the process of being consumed by tourism'. And as Bhabha (2004:50) states, "culture also emerges as a problem, or a problematic, at the point at which there is a loss of meaning in the contestation and articulation of everyday life, between classes, genders, races, nations". In cases like this, there are ethical issues that have to be addressed with how cultural appropriation can be managed, especially when there is danger of misrepresentation when using images or cultural artefacts of indigenous people to promote tourism.

2.2 Cultural tourism and categories of representation

Bannister and Solomon (2009) write about a code of ethics that was established to govern the representation of indigenous knowledge. Established in the early 1990s,

they sought to “ensure that representation occurs in respectful and culturally appropriate ways that benefit rather than harm the communities that are being represented” (Bannister and Solomon, 2009:159). Whether it is effective or not remains to be seen, as cultural representation is such a broad issue that affects so many people and communities globally. Because the issue of cultural representation is so broad, it is very difficult to keep track of all cases that may involve the misrepresentation of indigenous cultures or knowledge anywhere in the world. For this reason, cultural misrepresentation continues to occur around the world, especially in the artistic and tourism spheres.

> *“As tourism becomes the central drive, the unifying trait, in urban and regional development, it transforms itself and the world around it in ways that undermine and subvert the original motive for cultural travel – and even the original basis for culture. Accordingly, we must question every idea we have about cultural tourism and its effects. We must especially question belief in the continued beneficial effect of tourism on cultural and other conservation efforts” (MacCannell, 2000:24).*

Through those words MacCannell (2000) encourages people to not just accept the argument about the benefits that cultural tourism brings to the communities affected. While cultural tourism brings economic benefits and creates jobs in economically depressed communities, does it have to be at the expense of the integrity of the cultures of those communities? From a South African perspective, cultural villages are an essential part of the cultural landscape, but also from an economic point where they create employment for people from the surrounding communities. However, the lines between economic benefit, tourist satisfaction and cultural conservation are very often blurred. In addition to cultural villages, one of the main forms of cultural tourism in the country is township tourism. Since the demise of apartheid in South Africa in 1994, tourism in the townships has been boosted in a big way. As I have already mentioned in the first section, township tourism has resulted in townships becoming popular attractions for tourists who want an “authentic” South African experience.

Ramchander (2007) refers to township tourism as a mixed blessing because while it brings economic benefits to the township, there are also socio-cultural issues with how township residents feel about the encroachments of tourists into their communities. In addition, Ramchander (2007) argues that while township tourism has economic benefits it can also be damaging from a socio-cultural point. He points out that it is precisely the cultural motivation that draws tourists to the townships that is less than desirable in some areas. The fact that township tours are presented as an alternative to the more traditional form of cultural tourism as more authentic and non-performative presents its own set of problems. This is because as Ramchander (2007:51) explains, township dwellers do perform for tourists in a number of ways, for instance in pre-schools that are visited by tourists, shebeens and open-air meat markets; some cultural groups do perform for visitors. The performances can include traditional tribal dances like those performed at cultural villages, or modern township dances such as pantsula that are usually performed by youth. The issue of the search for authenticity by “cultural tourists” is a strong point that is discussed by Schouten (2007). The main issue here is the staging of certain cultural practises for tourist consumption. Schouten (2007:13) gives an example of someone involved in a cultural community development project in a tribal community who had included a tour to see a staged ritual circumcision of a young boy. He argues that in the search for authenticity such staging of a private and sacred cultural ritual actually degrades the indigenous cultures and in time will diminish the cultural values attached to them (Schouten, 2007:31). It is precisely this kind of scenario that MacCannell (2000) encourages people to question.

MacCannell (2000) raises an interesting point about some of the negative implications that cultural tourism, especially the tourists themselves, have on local practices and traditions. An example he makes is a situation where the local practices and traditions of indigenous cultures are hollowed out to make a place for the culture of tourism. He argues that “this is happening even, or especially in places where tourists originally came because they were attracted by the local culture, heritage and traditions” (MacCannell, 2000:25). He also provides interesting examples of extreme cases of appropriation and cultural tourism in the form of the many reproductions of historic and

cultural destinations in Las Vegas such as Paris, New York, Luxor and Venice. These recreations resonate with the creations of cultural villages in South Africa which are essentially recreations or reproductions of the practices and traditions of the people of the various indigenous cultures as they lived centuries ago. Conradie (2013) points to a number of important issues concerning the commodification of indigenous cultures through cultural villages. Among her main concerns about the visual representation of indigenous cultures at cultural villages is the fact that in most if not all of them, all signs of modernization and outside influence are banished. She points out that 'most cultural villages provide visitors with a bite-sized and sanitized representation. In other words, tourists are provided selective snapshots of the elusive past, which portrays culture as stagnant and isolated, positioning indigenous peoples as both spatially and temporarily distant from the consumer'. She goes on to point out that there is a "danger that such forms of commodification, as a result of these 'selective snapshots' in cultural villages, will reinforce derogatory stereotypes of tribalism, exoticism and primitivism, promoting prejudice rather than challenging derogatory stereotypes of indigenous peoples" (Conradie, 2013:67).

This study also includes non-South African literature that explores cases of cultural representation. The countries that will be the main focus are the United States, Canada and Australia. I chose these countries due to the fact that they have similar histories of settler colonization to South Africa and the indigenous peoples there share similar concerns and struggles with regards to the misrepresentation of their cultures to promote their countries' tourist industries. The literature from other parts of the world also highlights the different types of representation that are known to exist, each with its own characteristics. Rogers (2006:477), in his article entitled "From cultural exchange to transculturation: A review and reconceptualization of cultural appropriation" has identified four categories of cultural appropriation each defined by different conditions under which acts of misrepresentation occur. These include;

- Cultural exchange: the reciprocal exchange of symbols, artefacts, rituals, genres, and/or technologies between cultures with roughly the same level of power.

- Cultural dominance: the use of elements of a dominant culture by members of a subordinated culture in a context in which the dominant culture has been imposed onto the subordinated culture, including representations that enact resistance.
- Cultural exploitation: the representation of elements of a subordinated culture by a dominant culture without substantive reciprocity, permission, and/or compensation.
- Transculturation: cultural elements created from and/or by multiple cultures, such that identification of a single originating culture is problematic, for example, multiple transnational capitalism creating hybrid forms.

The fact that cultural appropriation comes in such different forms highlights the fact that it is not simply as straight forward as a dominant culture misrepresenting a subordinate culture. Cuthbert (1998:258) writes that cultural representation as part of a 'complex of cross-cultural exchanges is multidirectional: in that it can occur in both the form of dominant cultural groups taking from marginal, minority and colonized cultures and in the reverse, where members of minority or colonized cultures 'assimilate' elements of the dominant culture'. However, Ziff and Rao (1997), argue that assimilation is a more "objectionable form of cultural misrepresentation, being a process whereby minority groups are constrained to adapt or assimilate the cultural forms and practices of the dominant group into their own culture".

Minority cultures can assimilate new technologies (television and electronic media for example) developed by the dominant cultures as tools to fight the appropriation of their cultural practices and traditions. Cuthbert (1998:259) reports on "Aboriginal communities in Australia have assimilated new technologies and adapted them to their own cultural and political purposes. By doing so, they problematised notions that advanced technologies will inevitably threaten the culture of non-technological societies and that local and indigenous cultures always stand vulnerable to the incursion of globalized influences'. Here Cuthbert (1998) points to the drastic implications that cultural appropriation can have on the indigenous cultures when they are appropriated.

The example made by Cuthbert (1998) here is a very important one as it highlights the implications of the incursion of globalisation and new technologies that are assimilated by the indigenous cultures of Australia. In our technologically advanced modern world with its many advances in technology, indigenous people have found ingenious ways to use modern technology as a resource to highlight the implications of cultural misrepresentation.

In other countries like the United States, indigenous communities are engaged in an everyday struggle to preserve their traditions and culture in the face of rampant misrepresentation. Monture (1994) shares an experience he had which shows just how widespread the misrepresentation of Native American culture is. From his perspective, he is able to highlight not just the harm done to Native American culture through its misrepresentation but also the underlying prejudices that drive it. One example is the fact that ‘some stores in Santa Fe feature only reproductions of Native American objects and clothing made by non-Natives, thereby denying Native artists outlets in some of the most upscale Santa Fe markets’ (Monture, 1994:116). These underlying prejudices are not only manifested in those who trade in indigenous objects and art, but in the tourists who travel to “faraway lands” to explore the cultures that are so “different” from theirs. For example, Boniface and Fowler (1993:19) write about the fact that “tourism feeds on the colonial impulse, and that part of the appeal of travelling to strange lands is the opportunity that it may afford to patronise the poor native unfortunates who may know no better way of life than that of their homeland”. Boniface and Fowler (1993) also highlight the often extreme situation where the residents (who are usually descendants of the settlers who colonised the country) of a colonized country view the indigenous people with condescension in a country that they have come to regard over the centuries as their own. In this extreme situation, the colonisers come to regard as solely in their ownership the culture as well as the landmass which they inhabit (Boniface and Fowler, 1994:19). This sense of ownership of another culture and its ways is particularly prevalent in countries like the United States, Canada and Australia that are home to indigenous populations that are largely in the minority. Through this sense of ownership,

Bhabha (2004:8) points out that “increasingly, national cultures are being produced from the perspective of disenfranchised minorities”.

South Africa’s situation is more of an exception compared to the other three countries I have mentioned. Unlike in the United States, Canada or Australia, the indigenous populations of South Africa are in the majority and largely enjoy political domination. However, cultural appropriation is as much an economic issue as it is a cultural and political issue. As Young and Brunk (2009) highlight, it is also an ethical issue that has dire implications for both those who misrepresent cultures through appropriating them and those whose cultures are misrepresented as a result. One of the important issues that are raised concerning ethics is whether all forms of cultural appropriation are morally questionable. One example they make is an instance where items are freely transferred from one culture to another. For instance, an American tourist who purchases a sculpture from a properly authorized dealer in Australian Aboriginal art has in essence, engaged in some form of cultural appropriation, but has not done anything objectionable. In contrast, the seizure of the Benin Bronzes (many of which are still in the British Museum) during the British punitive expedition of 1897 is nearly universally recognized as unethical (Young and Brunk, 2009:4). By raising these two contrasting examples of cultural appropriation, Young and Brunk (2009) set out to ignite the debate of whether there are some elements of cultural appropriation that can deemed acceptable. That debate will continue to be raised for many years to come.

Enwezor (2006) put together over 250 photographic works by over 30 photographers from across the African continent. The works form part of an exhibition titled *Snap Judgments* organized by the International Center of Photography in New York. The collection of photographs by African artists and photographers from various regions of the continent are essentially what one can call an interpretation of the contemporary African identity by Africans. It is a broad and complicated subject and as Enwezor (2006:23) argues, “whatever its identity, contemporary African Art has occurred against the backdrop of historical change. And the quest to define it has been marked both by that change and by resistance to imposing a monolithic interpretation upon it”. In the

20th century, photography has become a vital tool with which to communicate with the world. Photography as a data gathering tool has been shown to be a very useful tool in showcasing the many diverse identities of the African continent in ways that are rarely seen on the world stage.

To some degree, *Snap Judgments* can be seen as a critique of the largely accepted portrayal of Africa and Africans. As Enwezor (2006:12) puts it "the photographic imagery of Africa has circled the same paradoxical field of representation: either showing us the precarious conditions of life and existence, in which the African subject always appears at risk, on the margins of life itself, at that intersection where one is forced to negotiate the relationship between man and animal. Or we are confronted with the heart-breaking beauty of its natural world, where man is virtually absent except on the occasion when the landscape is left to the whims of tourists and researchers with dollars and fat grants". What Enwezor (2006:15) describes here are images that we see as a one-sided visual representation of an entire continent, coming from a particular corner of the world. Spivak (1988) touches on this sentiment to some degree in her study of the subaltern. The subaltern refers to the oppressed group in society that exists on the margins of the society they are part of, who are thought of as not having a voice of their own. Spivak (1988:25) argues that:

> *"We must now move to consider the margins (once can just as well say the silent, silenced centre) of the circuit marked out by this epistemic violence, men and women among the illiterate peasantry, the tribals, the lowest strata of the urban subproletariat. According to Foucault and Deleuze (in the First World, under the standardisation and regimentation of socialised capital, though they do not seem to recognise this) the oppressed, if given the chance (the problem of representation cannot be bypassed here), and on the way to solidarity through alliance politics (a Marxist thematic is at work here) can speak and know their conditions".*

Spivak's (1988) words here resonate with Enwezor (2006) in his observation of at the margins of society needing to speak with their own voices in translating their experiences and their world. Both authors discuss the problem in which a dominant group purports to speak on behalf of a subordinate group, with the latter author referring to the use of photography to achieve this objective. One particular image he mentions is the now infamous photograph by South African photographer Kevin Carter of an emaciated, exhausted and naked child crouched on the ground surrounded by the dusty rutted landscape of Sudan, which is as iconic as it is disturbing. It is mostly for this reason that *Snap Judgments* came to being. Photography is a powerful tool that plays an instrumental role in shaping perception about a place or people. As an important tool for data gathering, photography can work both ways in influencing perceptions for the better or for the worse. The purpose of the photographic exhibition showcased in *Snap Judgments* was an attempt at changing perceptions towards Africa and Africans for the better. It is by no means an attempt to sugar-coat the real issues affecting the African continent and its people on a social, economic as well as psychological perspective. What *Snap Judgments* proposes is that the paradigmatic shift from colonial and western photography in Africa to modern and African contemporary photography is captured in an attempt by African photographers and artists to re-establish the priority of an extant African visual archive (Enwezor, 2006:28).

As I have mentioned, *Snap Judgments* showcases over 30 photographers from across the African continent whose works are designed to portray the continent and its people in a different perspective. I could mention all the photographers but for this study that would just not be possible as it would take up all the space in the study. One of the photographers who grabbed my attention is the Egyptian photographer Maha Maamoun. Her photographs focus particularly on the Cairo urban landscape scene, with a focus on tourism and how certain aspect of the tourist experience have been commodified to such an extent that it has become simply a matter of satisfying consumerism. Two of her photographs that are showcased in *Snap Judgments* illustrate this very clearly. In one of her series of works called *"Domestic tourism (2005)"*, she basically appropriates images of Cairo, Egypt that are used mostly for tourist purposes

to reflect on deeper political and social issues. “The beach” is a great example of one of her works that reflect on these issues. As Enwezor (2006:30) asserts, “tourism and travel are the establishing shots of a troubled relationship between near and far, familiar and unfamiliar, native and tourist”. Enwezor (2006) here points to the fact that Maamoun’s photographs and in particular “The beach” highlights very clearly how the touristic imagination is broken by contradictions. The idea that tourists can take with them and possess a slice of the world, gave it the fleeting security of cosmopolitanism (Enwezor, 2006:30).

Enwezor (2006) through *Snap Judgments* focuses on photography as a social tool for changing global perceptions of a continent. Sontag (1977) gives a broader discussion of how photography has changed the way mankind looks at the world. Photography is a major contributor to much of the visual data we have about the world today. In the past the world was seen through paintings and drawings and much of the knowledge of world events was through written text. However, as Sontag (1977:4) puts it, “what is written about a person or an object is an interpretation, as are handmade visual statements, like paintings and drawings. Photographs on the one hand do not seem to be statements about the world so much as pieces of it, miniatures of reality that anyone can make or acquire”. Just as Enwezor (2006) writes about the tourist of today as being able to take and possess a slice of the world though the photographs they snap on their trips, Sontag’s (1977) argument made more than thirty years ago still holds true today. She touches very loosely on the issue of appropriation when she maintains that “to photograph is to appropriate the thing photographed, meaning to put oneself into a certain relation to the world that feels like knowledge, and therefore like power” (Sontag, 1977:4). In essence, Sontag (1977) can be thought of as referring to the modern era of tourism as a modern form of cultural appropriation. Basically, taking does not necessarily have to mean physically taking something by force. By taking a picture of something, or someone as Enwezor (2006) points out, you get keep a slice of what you have shot.

2.3 Brief overview of cultural tourism in South Africa

The idea of taking home and possessing a slice of the world is also the motivation behind the promotion of packaged tours to cultural villages in South Africa. Packaged tours to cultural villages have been widely promoted as a way of not just increasing tourism in South Africa but since the fall of Apartheid in 1994 as a way of bringing development to the underdeveloped regions of the country. Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu (2005:94) point out that since "South Africa was readmitted as a member of United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 1997, it adopted in the same year the Tshwane Declaration which, according to Galla (1998:39-40), encompasses the following guidelines concerning cultural and heritage tourism:

- To provide a unique opportunity to combine South Africa's heritage with the tourism industry to create social, economic and environmental benefits;
- To offer South Africans and tourists learning experiences on the personality of South Africa;
- To assist in providing equitable access to heritage and financial resources; and
- To achieve a more equitable distribution of the capacity to engage in economic and cultural systems in South Africa

They also state that 'the government is committed to managing effectively and conserving the cultural resources of the country by ensuring that:

- Tourism takes note of the cultural heritage resources within specific communities and environments.
- Cultural resources are managed to be the negotiated benefits of all stakeholders within a community.
- Access to management of cultural resources should be as wide as possible within specific communities and should promote co-operation between all stakeholders

- Land-use planning and development projects for tourism should include effective protection and sustainable utilization of cultural resources (South Africa, 1996:38)".

Before the apartheid era came to an end in 1994, "cultural tourism in South Africa was largely dominated by visits to cultural sites connected with its European heritage. This was despite the presence of the country's many diverse indigenous cultures, which have evolved their own unique and distinctive music, art forms and traditional rituals, as well as natural heritage such as game parks" (Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu, 2005:95). However, one must take note of the fact that there were cultural villages in South Africa before 1994, with the country's first cultural village having opened in 1965 (Van Vuuren, 2003). Since 1994, the tourist landscape in South Africa has changed significantly especially where cultural tourism is concerned. Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu (2005:95) sum it up with the following statistics. Before 1994, 30% of international visitors to South Africa came for its scenic beauty, while 26% came for its wildlife; after 1994, 27% of international tourists came to see the 'new' South Africa, while 21% came to experience cultural offerings; in other words, 38% of tourists to the country are motivated by culture as a reason for visiting (Lubbe, 2003:96).

As the statistics show, most the tourists that come to experience the cultural offerings on 'show' in South Africa are from overseas. While Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu (2005) do not discuss cultural misrepresentation and its implications directly in their article, the issues they touch on, such as the activities that take place in the two cultural villages (Kaya La Bantu Cultural Village and Mgwali Cultural, both in the Eastern Cape) do constitute cultural misrepresentation in one way or another. The two cultural villages mentioned above are not discussed this study but are mentioned in context with regard to the similarity to Lesedi Cultural Village in terms of the cultural experiences offered to visitors who come to South Africa for that purpose. For example, like Lesedi Cultural Village both but in particular cultural villages offer staged performances that include dancing and singing as well as an opportunity to meet the Sangoma (or traditional healer) and observe daily village scenes such as stamping of maize and grinding of

corn (Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu, 2005:99). The study done by Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu (2005) seems to indicate that the performances are done more for the entertainment of foreign visitors who they mention in a case study on a news article (Case Box 8.1 on page 100) about Khaya La Bantu Cultural Village that 'all (visitors) seemed to be impressed with the village's authenticity and the amount of information imparted on their short visit there.' Satisfying and impressing the tourist, as indicated in the case study is the main purpose of this and other cultural villages across the country.

Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu's (2005) article is a very important part of the literature that I have chosen to utilize in my study because the two cultural villages they discuss allow to make comparisons in terms of the similarities as well as differences in the operations of different cultural villages. In the above-mentioned case study, two examples of the impression that overseas tourists have of the cultural villages are given. In both cases, it is clear that the tourists, a couple from Australia and Thai doctor living in Chicago, the United States came to experience the cultural offerings that the cultural villages offer, in this case Khaya La Bantu Cultural Village. The description they give of the cultural village and the activities that take place differ but both responses are indicative of how indigenous cultures are viewed as "other" in the so-called cultural exchanges between tourists and locals. Of particular interest to me in the case study is a comment made by the Thai doctor in which he said: "We thought the village was very authentic and the experience showed us something very primitive" (Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu (2005). The use of the word "primitive" in describing the cultural village is somewhat disturbing in that it highlights the view of the other that is often prevalent in tourists from developed countries who visit developing countries like South Africa. The word also stems from the colonial mind-set that still seems to prevail today and manifests itself in the atmosphere created in the tourist industry. Hayward (2007) also mentions comments made by an American tourist who visited Lesedi Cultural Village that reinforce the lingering colonial mindset of the Other generally held by tourists. Haywards (2007:26) mentions "how the tourist recounts that at first sight he was intimidated by the tribal gear, and that the animal skins, beads and head dresses reminded him of the bad guys in *Neverland*, who incidentally, who appear in a stage version of Peter Pan and are a literary evocation of

Native Americans". Hayward (2007:26) argues that "this conflation of stereotypes of indigenous people, irrespective of time or place, demonstrates that European colonial imagery still looms large in the collective Western consciousness and plays a prominent role in constructing tourists' understanding and expectation of the 'primitive". These factors contribute to the criticism levelled against cultural villages in "that they reproduce stereotypes generated by the West's desire for exoticism and imaginations of the primitive Other" (Hayward, 2007:26, cited in Craik, 1997:118). It is also important to note that part of the criticism levelled is that "the majority of cultural tourism ventures such as cultural villages are owned by 'white' private sector entrepreneurs" (Van Vuuren, 2003) "who enjoy the lion's share of the tourism income while members of local communities who perform 'negative' depictions of their own identities to generate tourism income merely provide cheap labour" (Hayward, 2007:26).

Boniface and Fowler (1993) discuss colonialism and tourism and the effect it has on indigenous cultures and their way of life in the countries where they live, as well as the role of tourism in the promotion and conservation of heritage, which includes monuments, movable treasures, indigenous cultures, ideas and images. My main focus is on Chapter 3: Indigenous and Colonial. The discussion there touches on the effects that colonialism still has on the indigenous cultures of countries that tourists visit. An interesting point in their discussion is that the tourists' countries are usually those countries that were once colonisers of the countries they visit. They point out that despite the independence gained from colonialism, the tourist packages that take tourists to these countries can be thought of as a form of colonialism that still takes place in the modern age. Very importantly, they point out that today, "across the globe, colonisers may be tourists to the land from which they or their ancestors originated" (Boniface and Fowler, 1993:30). Like Tassiopoulis and Nuntsu (2005), Boniface and Fowler (1993) do not discuss cultural representation directly. They do however discuss topics and issues in which the subject of cultural representation is relevant. In chapter 3, they extensively discuss how the interaction between tourists and indigenous people in modern times is shaped through past colonization and how this still plays a role today in how tourists and indigenous people relate. Their brief mention of the safari experience

in Africa is a prime example of the relationship between tourists and indigenous people. It is an interesting analysis of the subtle connotations that are there for host and visitor. In this instance, “blacks, albeit voluntarily, guide white visitors as drivers and game spotter, while meanwhile the latter fantasizes that he is still in the metaphorical driving seat, shouldering his colonial burden as of old” (Boniface and Fowler, 1993:30).

Boniface and Fowler (1993) discuss a range of issues affecting tourism including indigenous culture and colonialism. Colonialism and its historical link with cultural appropriation is discussed in Chapter 4 in detail. Osterhammel (2005) looks at colonialism extensively and in great detail from the early modern period to the 20th century. Osterhammel (2005) discusses the different stages and levels of colonialism where it is possible to dissect certain areas and put them in context with cultural appropriation whereby they would have been a catalyst that led to indigenous cultures being misrepresented. It is in his definition of colonialism where one is able to extrapolate its link with cultural appropriation and how it continues to play a role the modern tourist industry today. He defines colonialism as:

> *“A relationship of domination between an indigenous (or forcibly imported) majority and a minority of foreign invaders. The fundamental decisions affecting the lives of the colonized people are made and implemented by the colonial rulers in pursuit of interests that are often defined in a distant metropolis. Rejecting cultural compromises with the colonized population, the colonisers are convinced of their own superiority and of their ordained mandate to rule”* (Osterhammel, 2005:16).

It is through this definition that one can get an idea of the relationship between colonialism and cultural appropriation. One of the cornerstones of colonialist thought was in constructing a notion of inferior “otherness”. As Osterhammel (2005:108) writes, “non-Europeans differed utterly and essentially from Europeans in that the inferior mental abilities imputed to them rendered them incapable of large-scale cultural accomplishments and heroic deeds that only modern Europeans could achieve”.

Amongst other things, Osterhammel (2005) points out that colonisers engaged in colonization under the guise that they were bringing the benefits of civilization to a

“backward” and “savage” people who do not know the ways of modern living. The belief that indigenous people were somehow being rescued from their “backward” and “primitive” lives can be summed in this way. The colonial rulers, as Osterhammel (2005:109-110) writes, “claimed two moral *duties*: to bring the blessings of western civilization to the inhabitants of the tropics and to activate neglected resources in backward countries for the general benefit of the world economy”.

By claiming that the process of colonialism was for the benefit of indigenous people, the colonizers were able to justify their actions in the colonized countries. By pillaging the resources of the countries and justifying it as being for the benefit of the “world economy”, they were also able to justify the appropriation of these resources for their own benefit and claiming to rid the indigenous people of their primitive and backward ways. Osterhammel’s (2005) observation of what he terms “the white man’s burden” as the way in which colonialism was justified in a way leads to a revelation of how the misrepresentation of indigenous people’s artefacts and knowledge has been justified throughout the centuries. Although Osterhammel (2005) does not specifically mention cultural misrepresentation, his detailed discussions into the motivation behind colonialism gives an idea of how the colonial mind-set that prevailed in Europe became the catalyst for just such a misrepresentation of indigenous cultures.

CHAPTER 3
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

When discussing the appropriation of indigenous cultures in South African tourism, one cannot do so without also discussing colonialism. And more important is that the two cannot be discussed without placing them within the post-colonial discourse. The importance of this link between the representation of indigenous cultures, colonialism and post-colonialism cannot be understated. Also included in this topic is the issue of othering, which is an important aspect of the relationship between tourists and members of indigenous cultures. It is important to note that while this chapter largely discusses post-colonial discourse, it will include a discussion on colonialism itself as it is where is began. The discourse of post-colonialism would not be here without colonialism itself, because as it were, post-colonialism comes after colonialism. Here however, the discussion will be on the misrepresentation of indigenous people and how it led to the exploitation of indigenous cultures and resources in South Africa.

To begin, “postcolonial theory draws attention to the legacies of colonialism and the structures of oppression that perpetuate colonial relationships between postcolonial geographies” (Pastran, 2014:46). This is something that is prevelant today, particularly in the often unequal relationships between nations in developing countries, particularly in Africa and their former colonisers. Pastran (2014:46) continues to assert that “at its simplest level, postcolonial theory posits that the historically proximate experience of colonialism has significant and continuing impacts on the political, economic and social development of both the former coloniser and colonised”. It is within this framework that the legacy of colonialism continues to impact the process of moving forward of postcolonial societies from a cultural perspective as well. Part of this legacy of colonialism that had such a significant impact on the cultural progress of the colonised was the colonisers ability to argue that colonisation was in fact for the benefit of both the

coloniser and the colonised. “The intellectual architects of colonisation like Livingstone and Lugard found it easier to argue that they were In Africa for the mutual benefit of both the coloniser (the higher race) and the colonised (the lower race)” (Eze, 2011: 225). However, there is a serious flaw with kind of thinking with regards to colonialism. Again as Eze (2011:225) argues:

> “The extent to which this reciprocity was realised is called into question when observing that while the economy of England and the rest of Europe grew, that of India, Africa and the First American peoples declined or, in many cases, completely collapsed; while Europeans multiplied and settled America, Africa and the Pacific, the indigenous populations of these places were catastrophically declining and in some cases, entirely wiped out. They were ethnically and genetically cleansed by famine, disease, arms, the cultural forces of evangelism and the racist practice of ‘white’ cultures”.

To put it bluntly, there was no mutual benefit when it came to colonialism. The end result of colonialism was that one benefited at the expense of another. The colonialists who tried to push this notion were not taking into account their superior position in terms of the resources they had which they used to their advantage. The lack of mutual benefit in colonialism is further emphasised by Mehta (2011:154), who argues that “oftentimes, imperial powers justified their colonisation of societies by assuming that they did not, or were unable to form their own governments”. This assumption is what led the colonial powers to create the impression that colonialism was mutually beneficial. This notion that colonised societies did not, or could not have a legitimate form of representation meant that the only course of action was for the colonial powers to speak on their behalf. This was a dangerous assumption that would pave the way for the large scale colonisation that would take place in Africa, Asia and the Americas. Africa in particular felt the brunt of this large scale and often brutal colonisation of its lands. The demarcation of Africa by the European colonisers would over the centuries lead to formation of the borders as we know them today. In addition to the commonly known motive to secure their share of the continent’s resources, it was also due in part

to their assumption that indigenous cultures needed to be governed by those possessed a " superior capacity for collective action" (Mehta, 2011:155).

This assumption by colonial powers of the inability of colonised societies to self rule was not just prevelant in Africa. Just as an example, in India, "the British argued against giving self-rule to educated Indians in the 19th century, by saying that they were not representative of the people" (Chakrabarty, 2011:209). It was this notion of a lack of representation for the people that convinced the colonial powers that their colonisation of the indigenous lands was justified. Of course, the colonisation of indigenous lands did not continue without resistence from the indigenous communities. In South Africa "at the end of the 19th century, resistance changed from early attempts to attain independence on disparate pre-colonial foundations, to a struggle for incorporation of elites at the national level, and later on the masses as well, on an equal basis" (Greenstein, 2022). Greenstein (2022) continues that "since the 1930s, most black/indigenous political movements aimed to transform the state from within rather than form independent political structures on pre- or post-colonial foundations". However, even through these anti-colonial movements,throughout the 18th and the 19th century, "Europeans had become increasingly secure in their sense of superiority – intellectual, moral, political, economic and technological – over the rest of the world" (Pitts, 2011:37). During this period of the 18th century, the European colonial powers were set in their belief of their absolute superiority over what they called barbarous or semicivilsed societies. In addition to the assumption that the colonised societies are unable to govern themselves or don't have a proper representational structure, this belief in their absolute superiority, in addition to the search for raw materials, new markets, mineral wealth, land and later cheap/ free labour is one of the main factors that drove the relentless European colonisation of Africa, Asia and the Americas. This belief was so strong and extreme in the 18th century that later thinkers of the Scottish enlightenment like James Mills had very strong views about the people of colonial-era India, where he was a colonial administrator. He asserts that:

> "On a barbarous, or semicivilised government, its view of its true interests is so feeble and indistinct, and its caprices and passions are so numerous and violent,

> that you can never count for a day. From its hatred of all restraint, and its love of depredation, it is naturally and essentially at war with all around it. The government of India, therefore, is not to be preserved with less than a perpertual war expenditure" (Pitts, 2011:38).

Statements like this by 18th century thinkers like Mills enabled the colonial powers to justify their actions in the lands that they colonised. However, other Scottish Enlightenment thinkers from the same period, like James Dunbar, offered as Pitts (2011:23) put it, "a strikingly thorough-going critique of the many assumptions and conclusions of the cognitive-development approach to progress". Dunbar was particularly critical of the one sided assumption about the societies that were colonised as being backward and lacking the ability for rational thought. Dunbar's analysis was alternative point of view to the accepted notion that colonised societies were devoid of, or lacked rational thought, which was used as a motive to justify their widespread colonisation. "Dunbar offered his essays as a corrective to the false and pernicious belief in their own moral superiority that Europeans had drawn from their forticious commercial and political power" (Pitts, 2011:37). While many theorists and thinkers of this era largely spoke in favour of the colonial expansion and the unjust practices of colonialism, other thinks like Dunbar who offered a more critical analysis created a sort of balance in the equation in terms of views on colonialism.

3.2 From Colonialism to Postcolonialism

The long term effects of colonialism on the colonised countries in Africa, Asia and the Americas cannot be underestimated. There is the physical impact which was the result of the exploition of the resources of these lands as well as that of the indigenous people. The physical impact being the more obvious and visible one is generally discussed more when discussions about colonialism are initiated. There is of course also the political and cultural impact that colonialism has had on colonised lands. As discussed in the previous section, the cultural and political effects are usually governed by the attitude of the coloniser towards the colonised. Of course, the colonisers generally viewed themselves as being of a superior status to those they are colonising,

who they usually view as inferior, primitive and backward thinking. These assumptions are a significant motivating factor in the drive to colonise and exploit these lands and their people.

In discussing the effects of colonialism on colonised lands, one needs to take into account the fact that are different forms of colonialism. The term “colonialism” is understood to refer to a process where people from a particular place either settle or establish a base from which to either trade or exploit resources in in a place to which they are not native. While colonialism is generally understood as a broad singular term, it is far from being one. The differences in the methods of colonisation were determined largely by where it took place and what sort of economic or political activity took place there. Harrison and Hughes (2010) break down the different forms of colonialism that determined by how they were administered. There is:

- “settler colonialism, which describes a situation in which groups of people who are ethnically and culturally separate settle in a new place, establishing a political organisation that is administratively linked to the metrolpole. Examples of settler colonies include Australia, New Zealand, Canada and the United States.
- Internal colonialism, which refers to a state with equal citizenship, but that is structured socially and economically in such a way that certain areas and populations are at a disadvantage. This has also subsequently referred to a sub-set of settler colonialism in which the large scale movement of people within a particular territory dispaces the prior occupants. Recent examples include the movement of Chinese people into Tibet, the movement of Israelis into West Bank and Gaza and Ethnic Arabs into Iraqi Kurdistan.
- In other colonies there is no mass migration but instead the colony is maintained by a small group of administrators who control the labour and resources of indigenous populations. These include the British Indian Empre, the Japanese Colonial Empire and the Dutch East Indies. In this situation, indirect forms of colonial rule are often employed where local

systems of authority and power were used by administrators. This was common practice during the colonial expansion of the nineteenth and twentieth century colonial powers into Southeast Asia and Africa.

- Other forms of colonisation include 'plantation colonisation' which mostly took place in Carribean countries like Barbados and Jamaica where European colonisers imported African slaves who came to outnumber both the colonial administrators and indigenous populations.
- There were also 'trading posts'. Examples of these are Singapore, Hong Kong and Macau. The primary purpose of these type of colonies was to establish a trading point rather than to settle or utilise the country's resources" (Harrison and Hughes, 2010:235/236).

South Africa though can be said to fall under more than one of these catogories of colonialism. In some ways it can be said to be classified as a settler colony, while it can also fall under both internal and administrative colony. And in the very early years of the country's colonisation, it could be more or less to have been in the category of a trading post. Many of the colonies, and particularly those in Africa, have evoloved and changed over the centuries they were colonised as the economic activities by the colonising country have changed. This has largely been influenced by their needs as their colonial powers have increased or declined. Howere, one needs to take into account that whichever form of colonialism was practiced in particular place or at a particular time period, the objective of each category was to serve the interests of the coloniser, whether econominally, politically or culturally and usually at the expense of the colonised.

Butt (2013) argues that "despite its institutional variation, colonialism typically displays three characteristics: domination, exploitation and cultural imposition". These charactersitics have had lasting effects on the colonised countries and cultures that continue to be felt today. From the exploitation of resources, to the gradual dismantling of indigenous cultures through unjust legislation and institutional racism, colonianism was from its very beginning about one culture that viewed itself as superior dominating another that it deemed inferior. This notion of superiority was instrumental in providing

justification for the colonisers to exploit not just the natural resources of the lands they colonised, but also the cultural resources of the indigenous cultures they colonised.

However, as the time went on and colonialism was cemented in the colonised lands, it also gave rise to anti-colonial movements whose objective was to free the colonised people from the bounds of colonialsim. It is generally well documented that throughout the period of colonisation in Africa, Asia and the Americas, various campaigns of resistance took place which resulted in the deaths of millions of indigenous people throughout the colonial period. However, even with the heavy resistence against colonisation by indigenous people, assimilation of coloniser's ways of life still took place among some indigenous people. This was evident from their adoption of the coloniser's languages, the dress and conversion to Christianity. However, the conversion to Christianity was not widespread everywhere. In places like India, Christianity was never able to take root as even today, Hinduism, Buddhism and Islam are more widely practiced. However, the colonial domination of countries like India was still achieved in other ways, mostly through violence by the British colonial administrators, and also through the seperation of access to resources and legislation designed to put Indians at a disadvantage. This strategy was not only used in India and not just by the British but in other colonial territories by other colonial powers as well.

From Africa, to Asia and the Americas, colonial powers imposed legislation that limited freedom of movement and access to vital resources like education and healthcare on indigenous populations. It is this practice that eventually planted the seed, as it were in the minds of the colonised people to begin to rise up against the colonisers. The anti-colonial movement would eventually pave the way for the period "from the 18th to the 20th centuries which saw a process of colonial independence and decolonisation which occurred in which many former colonies gained independence from their metropoles" (Harrison and Huges, 2010:236). For many of these colonies, including the administrative and settler colonies, "independence was won through violent military resistance to colonial rule" (Harrison and Hughes, 2010:237).

Whether or not the way in which the different colonies gained their independence played a role in the how they developed after independence is not something that can be known. But it is clear through recent history that each country went on a different path after independence. In the wake of their decolonisation, many of the newly independent countries in Asia, Africa and the Americas went on a quest to forge new national identities in their new postcolonial independence. While for all countries involved it was a quest that was fraught with challenges, other new nations, such as those in Africa, seemed to facing more challenges. Despite having been a period of hope and optimism, postcolonial independence for many former colonies, particularly those in Africa and Asia but especially those in Africa has been marked largely by poverty, hunger, political instability and conflict. It is through these set of circumstances that "postcolonialism does not simply seek to tell the story of what happened after decolonisation, but seeks a critical perspective on its ongoing, problematic legacy" (Butt, 2013:6). The mid-20th century saw decolonisation in other parts of the world that was conducted in different ways. In the 1960s and 1970s, indigenous people in former settler colonies like Australia, New Zealand and Canada increased pressure to have their common law and traditional customs recognised after centuries of having them supressed by the colonising settlers. It is such actions that spurned the emergence of postcolonial theory. In addition to seeking a critical perspective on on the problematic legacy of colonialism, "postcolonial critique focuses on forces of oppression coercive domination that operate in the contemporary world: the politics of colonialism and neo-colonialism, race, gender, nationalism, class and ethnicities define its terrain" (Young, 2001:11). Postcolonialism makes the important point that "there is more to achieving liberation through decolonisation than the formal decoupling of state aparatuses" (Butt, 2013:6). In other words, one can achieve liberation through a transfer of state control from one to the other. However, full liberation cannot be claimed if it is only state or political liberation that is won, while the economic aparatuses are still in the firm control of the oppressors. It is such issues that postcolonial theorists seek to address.

3.3 Origins of Postcolonial Theory

As mentioned in the previous section, postcolonial theory emerged as a result of the circumstances that the colonised nations found themselves in after gaining independence from their colonisers. The success of the anti-colonial movements saw a systematic process of decolonisation throughout especially Asia and Africa in the first quarter and second half of the 20th century. This decolonisation and the subsequent independence of nations in Africa, Asia and Latin America would have a profound impact on the development, or lack thereof of these countries particularly during the second half of the 20th century. Despite gaining independence from the European countries that had colonised them, most of these newly independent nations would still maintain political and economic ties with these European countries. In what amounts to Neocolonialism, the power dynamics have ensured that the scales are always tipped in favour of the European countries. This was especially the case with the relationship between the European countries and those in Africa. While the African countries were now able to form their own independent governments and form their own legislations, they still largely lacked the financial resources and technical expertise to run and maintain their own industries. It is this that ensured that despite winning political independence, they were largely economically dependant on their former colonisers, and for much the 20th century remained at their mercy in terms of financial and economic support.

Postcolonial theory emerged out of a need to address what was seen by some as a continued colonisation of the former colonies by means of economic suppresion, political interference, extraction of resources and labour on inequitable terms. As Pastran (2014:46) points out, “postcolonial theory developed in the 1980s after decades of ‘development’ in the newly independent states failed to achieve the goals of reducing poverty and inequality and promoting health, literacy and sustained economic growth”. Many postcolonial theorists have tried to theorise on why this has been the case particularly in Africa and some Asian countries that have been unable to cultivate sustained economic growth since gaining independence. It is through this lack of post independent economic growth in these countries that postcolonial theorists try to place

the continued effects of colonialism and percieved continuation of colonialism through economic suppression. Harrison and Hughes (2010:237) also posits that “the term ‘postcolonial studies’ emerged during secong half of the 20th century to describe a body of theory and literary criticism concern itself with how individuals and societies deal with the aftermath of colonial rule”. Harrison and Hughes (2010:237) also go on to add that “postcolonialism theory is concerned primarily with unveiling, contesting and changing the way that colonialism structured societies, and the ideologies associated with colonialism”. Postcolonialism also seeks to address the effects of colonialism on the cultures of the countries that were under European colonial rule. While the topic of colonialism usually focuses on the economic and political aspect of it, it is frequently the cultural fabric of the colonised societies that feels the negative impact of colonisation.

Postcolonialism is concerned with addressing the often brutal destruction brought to many cultures of colonised lands by colonialism. This was largely brought on by the views of people like the Scottish policy maker J.S. Mill, who claimed that “the rational capacities of individuals in colonised societies were so immature that they were incapable of being ‘guided to their improvement by conviction or persuation”(Pitts, 2011:42). This mindset of the European colonisers would extend to their view of the cultural practices of the indigenous cultures which they viewed as primitive and backwards. In pretty much all the lands that were colonised, there were constant campaigns by the Europpean colonisers to subjugate and even completely destroy the indigenous cultures of those lands by various, often brutal means. However, it was the more subdued, subtle methods that would prove to be successful in the destruction or weakening of many indigenous cultures, particularly in the settler colonies like the United States, Canada and Australia. These methods did achieve some success in other colonies as well, like those in Latin America and Africa. One of subtle methods that was used was through anthropology. Harrison and Hughes (2010:238) argue that:

> *“it is now acknowledged that anthropology as a scholarly discipline was born out of a desire to characterise racial and cultural differences to legitemise the rule of colonised societies. Archaeologists have shown how archaeological heritage management in settler societies such as the USA and Australia has marginalised*

> *indigenous people: by distancing them both practically from everyday management of their own heritage, and conceptually by conspiring in the concept of 'prehistory'which posits a break in the lives of indigenous people before and after contact. By promoting the idea that the period prior to European contact was a sort of untouched 'golden age', in opposition to the period following European when indigenous were seen to have been impacted or destroyed by the influence of the dominant culture, a wedge is place between contemporary indigenous people and their own past. This has allowed certain scientific 'experts' to assume the right to determine the management of this heritage".*

It was through such subtle strategies that European colonialism was able to weaken and destroy many indigenous cultures throughout the lands they colonised. This was particularly the case in the settler colonies like the United States, Canada and Australia but also in other colonies in Africa and Latin America. Loomba (2005:16) states that "it has been suggested that it is more helpful to think of postcolonialism not just as coming literally after colonialism and signifying its demise, but more flexibly as a contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism". In other words, postcolonialism is not just something that came after colonialism, but rather a broad series of theories and disciplines whose purpose is to address the effects and legacy of colonialism. Part of addressing this legacy is dismantling some of the methods that were used to weaken the cultural fabric of indeginous cultures all over the colonised world. While Loomba (2005:16) also discusses that taking this position also allows the inclusion of, as it were, "other people displaced by colonialism such as black Americans or people of Asian or Carribean origin in Britain as 'postcolonial subjects'", here I discuss postcolonialism in the African context.

As Igboin (2011:101) states, "one consequence of this (colonialism) was the erosion of values, culture and religion of the suborniatory". Postcolonialism in Africa mostly revolves around addressing the damage that colonialism has done to the continent, particularly its cultural fabric. Césaire (2000:45) talks about the "great historical trajedy" that befell Africa in its encounter with European colonialism, an encounter that led him to conclude that "Europe is responsible before the human community for the highest

heap of corpses in human history". This is quite a strong statement as it speaks about the human toll that colonialism had on Africa. A human toll of this nature will by any means have an impact of the cultural fabric of the African societies that were impacted by European colonialism. In many ways, what Césaire (2000) describes in that statement is what amounts to a systematic destruction of the cultural fabric of African society.

Postcolonialism in an African context seeks to address the issue of precisely how the European colonisation of Africa caused the deep internal damage to its cultural fabric that is still felt today. African postcolonism however is faced with challenges due to the varied impact that European colonisation had on Africa's cultures. Africa is home a multitude of cultures, which were impacted at different levels by colonialism so there is no one single analysis that can fit all the cultures at once. From the African context alone, it is clear how complex postcolonial theory is. However, this is endemic of it complexity even on the global scale. Postcolonial discourses have multiple layers that exist as a result of the complex nature of colonialism itself. McEwan (2007:127) has "identified four key pillars of postcolonialism, which are outlined below:

- *The first is destabilising and deconstructing the dominant intellectual discourses of imperial Europe believed to be rooted in European Enlightnment civilisation and worldview, and which are impicitly and explicitly ethnocentric. The dominant intellectual discourses, McEwan argues, comprise such disciplines as history, philosophy, development economics, anthropology, religion, politics and liguistics. Critics challenge some of the assumptions at the heart of these disciplines – the values, biases, prejudices, distortions and misconceptions they promote.*
- *The second one is challenging the constructions of power and by implication, discursive violence inherent in many concepts, labels and classifications found in colonial discourses, which in postcolonial history tend to pass as received knowledge. For definitional clarity, discursive violence refers to the barrage of intellectual and ideological discourses enunciated and propagated by the colonial establishment to just colonial sovereignty, as well as the*

necessity of the colonial order and its universalising mission. Discursive violence was applied in tandem with coercive force, but in most cases preceeded, followed and tried to justify the use of force in the colonial mission.

- *The third pillar identified by McEwan is a critique of the hegemonic accounting of history and a spatial distribution of knowledge between the West and Third World in Western discourses. Postcolonial critique highlights the dialectical interconnections between the developed world and the Third World and the multi-faceted contributions of the latter to the development of the former.*
- *The fourth and last pillar is that postcolonial scholarship attempts to recover the lost history and contemporary voices of the marginalised, the oppressed and the dominated through a radical reconstruction of history and knowledge production. It recognises and tries to reconstruct the strong civilisation of several parts of the developing world prior to European contact, the majority of which were distorted, disacknowledged and rubbished by colonialism"* (Omeje, 2015:15/16, cited in McEwan, 2007:127).

What McEwan is suggesting by outlining these four pillars of postcolonialism is that the purpose of postcolonialism is not just to simply address the impact that colonialism has had on colonised people. A deeper understanding is needed not just on the impact of colonialism on Africa but also on the impact it had on the relationship between Europe and Africa during the colonial period and in the years and decades following decolonisation up to the present day. It is also vital to consider more importantly how following decolonisation, the cultural influence that Europe continued to have on Africa has continued to define its progress and in some cases, the lack of it. One only has to look at the lack of control that many African countries have over their natural resources to see how much there is still a dependance on Europe in Africa. It is mostly for this reason that many African scholars tend to view postcolonial theory with a certain air of doubt and even mistrust. It is very interesting to note that as Zeleza (2006:99) "many

African writers, artists and other cultural producers do not describe themselves and their work as 'postmodern' or 'postcolonial'. As Ghanian writer, [2]Ama Ata Aido proclaimed –

> *"Perhaps the concept of postcolonialism was relevant to the United States after its war of independence, and to a certain extent to the erstwile imperial dominions ofCanada, Australia and New Zealand. Applied to Africa, India and some other parts of the world, 'postcolonial' is not only a fiction, but a most pernicious fiction, a cover-up of a dangerous period in our people's lives"* (Zeleza, 2006:99).

"Her point is that the 'post' in 'postcolonialism' cannot be a temporal and existential 'after' colonialism since Africa continues to be ravaged by the legacies of coloialism and the ravages of neocolonialism" (Zeleza, 2006:99). Hence I mention earlier that in the context of Africa postcolonial theory is not as straightforward as just Africa after colonialism. Africa in particular has faced many complex socio-economic issues in the more that half a century since decolonisation began on the continent. In this regard, Zeleza (2006:99) also points out "Aidoo's argument is not, in itself, a critique of postcolonial theory, which adumbrates colonialism's very persistence, but a critique of the postcolonial condition, a cry of anguish against Africa's continued exploitation, marginalisation and underdevelopment. It is an *ideological* critique". These factors are the reason that African scholars are cautious about accepting postcolonial theory in its current form. The fact that postcolonial theory has its origins in Western literary scholarship also add to the caution with which it is approached by African scholars.

3.4 Postcolonial theory on Africa

In Africa, postcolonialism has at best, an ambivilent existence. The impact that colonialism has had on Africa cannot be understated. In the more than half a century since decoloniation in Africa, large parts of the continent have seen little to almost no development and growth while some have even gone backwards due to the ravages of conflict and political instability. Despite the European rush for the continent's resources

[2] Quoted in Mongia, I.

and eventual pillaging of its precious resources, Africa still remains extremely wealthy in terms of natural resources. Unfortunately for many African countries, this wealth of natural resources has not translated into wealth for the general populace.

However, throughout the period of colonialism and decolonisation in Africa, one country, South Africa appears at first glance, to have enjoyed economic prosperity and even technological development to a point that it may have even been considered a first world country. Indeed, the country does in part fall under the category of a settler colony as it shares some similarities with other settler colonies like Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand in how it made the transition from colony to independent state. However, it can be argued that it is debatable if it would have been accurate to classify South Africa as a first world country considering that the economic prosperity it supposedly enjoyed only benefited a tiny fraction of the country's population. All this while the majority of the mostly black African population was largely excluded from this prosperity. It is for partly this reason that proponents of postcolonial theory have a difficult time convincing African scholars that postcolonialism is revelent to South Africa,as well as the rest of Africa. As Zeleza (2006:100) argues, "both postmodernism and postcolonialism are seen to be inapplicable to African realities because Africa has transcended neither modernity nor coloniality". In effect, what Zeleza (2006) is saying is that the whole notion of postcolonialism cannot be applied to Africa due to much of the continent, particularly Sub-Saharan Africa having made little to no progress in terms of modern development and not having moved on from the effects and ravages of colonialism. It goes without saying that while a lot of African countries gained a modicum of political freedom during decolonisation in the 1950s, 60s and 70s, one can say that it could not be regarded as true freedom as economically they were, and some may be still largely tied to their former European colonial rulers. This dynamic makes it difficult for postcolonialism to find, as it were, the right tone in Africa and for African scholars to take postcolonial theory on Africa seriously.

This problem of applying postcolonialism to the African problem also becomes a deeper issue when applying it to the cultural aspects of both the colonial and decolonisation period. In trying to address the effects of colonialism in Africa, it also opens up a lot of

chances for the critique of postcolonialism with regards how it also addresses the cultural exploitation of Africa by the European colonial powers. This cultural exploitation or appropriation has come about as a result of the cruel legacy of colonialism on the continent which has over the centuries and even the decades following decolonisation, resulted in the gradual degeneration of the human condition on a political, economic, social and pscycological level. This has been manifested in the form of extreme poverty, disease, conflict, dictatorships, corruption and political instability on the continent. Most of these situations have been largely as a result of the erosion the cultural values that kept much of the continent largely stable during the pre-colonial period. As Oke (2006:333) puts it:

> *"One of the general points that may be drawn from discussions of the African predicament is that the root cause the postcolonial continental failure is the erosion of basic African value that have helped to promote stable social existence over the ages. This erosion is then traced to the advent of colonialism and the consequent introduction of European socio-political systems, values and structures of capitalist economy. The net effect of all these cultural incursions, it is suggested, is that while emphasis was placed on political and economic developments to the detriment of social development, Africans' basic human values were suppressed or totally obliterated by the largely 'inhuman' Western values".*

In this way, it is suggested that postcolonial Africa is a continent in crisis, as Osundare (1998:231) says, that "the summation of the 'African predicament', Africa is the most humailiated, most dehumanised continet on earth. Her history is a depressing tale of dispossesion and impoverishment". This dispossession also refers to the dismantling and demeaning of some of the cultural values that helped to maintain some form of stability on the continent prior to its colonisation by Europeans. For postcolonial theory to be able to address the African postcolonial crisis, one of the important issues that needs to be discussed is the erosion of traditional African values that resulted from the European colonisation of Africa. By eroding the cultural values that contributed to creating a stable foundation that many African cultures were built on in the pre-Colonial

years, it also made it easier to exploit and appropriate African cultures in whatever way the European powers saw fit. The colonial conquest of Africa by Europe and the supression of many of its important traditions opened up opportunities for the exploitation and theft of the continent's many cultural artifacts that were sacred to their well-being.

One may also say to an extent that the development of commercial tourism in Africa during and after colonialism was spearheaded by the cultural exploitation of the continent's cultures. Despite the damage that colonialism inflicted on the cultural fabric of Africa's cultures during the colonial period, Africa even after decolonisation still remains one of the most culturally diverse continents in the world. The survival of the multitude of Africa's diverse cultures is what have given rise to the growth of cultural tourism on the continent. The main problem that is facing the diverse cultures of a decolonised Africa is the safeguarding and preservation of the traditions of those cultures. As mentioned in the previous sections, the problem of a lack of economic development throughout Sub-Saharan Africa following decolonisation has created an environment where exploitation can be easily perpetuated. This can be said to be so in Africa's tourism industry. While tourism does bring in revenue that goes towards some measure of economic growth, can it really be argued that this economic growth brings tangible benefits to the communities in the long run? It is a question that is often asked in Africa, particularly when it comes to cultural tourism. It is partly in this context where African scholars are not particularly receptive to postcolonial theory and feel that it is inapplicable to African realities.

The touristic images of Africa, even today in the modern age still hark back to the colonial images conjured up by the colonisers of Africa as an untouched, and uninhabited wilderness waiting to be explored and discovered. One only has to look at images in travel magazines, brochures and postcards to get an idea of how the notion of othering is still present in the mainstream marketing of African destinations for tourism. Most images of Africa that are marketed at tourists almost always depict an Africa that is wild and primitive. Only a very few show the modern urbanised Africa that is becoming the norm as the continent becomes more urbanised and more modern.

This is one of the factors that pushes many African scholars to have an opposing view of postcolonial theory being the platform to address African issues following decolonisation. This is particularly true when it comes to cultural issues, which is especially relevant in relation to the tourism industry. Brito-Henriques (2014:327) points out how the *Blue Travel* magazine, a Portugese travel magazine that was first published in 2003 by the Blue Media Publishing House perpertuated the notion of othering through the African imagery it published:

> *"imagery of sub-Saharan Africa that reporduces the myth of a pristine world, savage and brutal, but also seductive and voluptuous. The photos oscillate between the archetype of the seas of south, with their turquoise waters and coconut trees bowing over the white sands, and the archetype of black Africa, the epitome of an eternally virgin, wild and primitive land. Among the images of natural landscapes, only half of them featured people or displayed indirect references to their presence on the landscape. These images omitted the fact that Africa is nowadays a broadly urbanised continent, where over half the population lives in urban agglomerations, and where megacities are growing at a galloping rate. In the Blue Travel photos of Africa, there were hardly any cities, and almost no sign of traffic or crowded market, or even cultivated fields. All these absences were 'significant silences', deliberate omissions contributing to an imaginative geography of Africa that rejected part of its materiality and 'real' geography".*

Even where urban areas were depicted in the magazine, they depicted urban images that reflected Portugal's cultural influence in early African urbanisation. Urban areas in former British and French colonies throughout Africa adorned with similar colonial architecture that reflect the cultural dominance of those two countries in their early urbanisation. Similarly in some of those former French and British colonies, most of the marketing for tourism focuses on areas away from the modern urban areas, with the most common being the safari, which also perpetuates the narrative of an unspoiled wilderness that has been untouched by modernity. Well known national parks in Africa such as the Kruger National Park in South Africa and the Serengethi National Park in

Tanzania are examples of the perpetuation of othering through depicting a wild landscape untouched by modernity. Due to the park areas now being protected areas, many of the local people who inhabited the land in the national parks and hunted the animals for food were removed to make way for the parks and to protect the animals from hunting. Removing people from the park to create the idea of an untouched and "undeveloped" willd landscape reinforces the narrative perpetuated by publications like the *Blue Travel* magazine. These other examples, in addition to the ones mentioned earlier, further reinforce the unwillingness by prominent African scholars to accept postcolonial theory as applicable to African realities in the postcolonial era.

3.5 Reflections

From the moment colonialism took hold in Africa and other non-European lands, the rush for resources and the fertile lands began almost in earnest. It may sound simple to say that postcolonialism simply means after colonialism. It is of course not as simple as that. With postcolonialism arising out of a need to evaluate and study the effects of colonialism on the populations of the formerly colonised lands, it is also important to understand the theory of postcolonialism in applicable and where it is not. In order for postcolonial theory to be effectively applied in the analysis of formerly colonised lands, it is vital to understand how far the formerly colonised regions have progressed economically, technologically and socially as well.

In Africa, as has been mentioned, many African scholars and writers, such as Ghananian writer Ama Ata Aido have argued that due to the state in which many African countries have found themselves in, even decades after decolonisation, postcolonial theory is simply not applicable. She even refers to it as "not only a fiction, but a most pernicious fiction, a cover-up of a dangerous period in our people's lives" (Zeleza, 2006:99). The scholars are not opposed to postcolonial theory in that they view it as bad. They acknowledge that it does have relevance in other countries that have done better economically, technologically and politically since gaining their independence. However, one must take into account which discussing this topic the heavy price paid by the native populations of countries United States, Canada, Australia and New

Zealand in those countries' path to prosperity, and the plight they still continue to suffer today in the face of the continued appropriation of their cultures. These countries were mostly controlled by the descendants of the former European colonisers who already had full control of the resources and therefore those countries were able to develop at a relatively rapid rate from the time of their independence.

It is also worth noting that the cultural exploitation and misrepresentation in Africa would not end during the period of decolonisation. One industry that would embrace cultural misrepresentation during the second half of the twentieth century is the tourist industry. However the issue of the lack of economic development in much of Africa throughout the 20th and 21st centuries gave rise to the continued exploitation of the continents indigenous cultures. In this instance it is through the highly profitable tourism industry that this misrepresentation takes place. The use of cultural images such as those cultural villages in perpetuating a narrative of Africa still being a primitive continent devoid of modernity has the potential of reinforcing racist stereotypes towards the continent and its people. This also contributes to the continued perpetuation the othering of indigenous African cultures.

The touristic images that market tourist destinations in Africa as unspoiled and uninhabited can be found in most media like travel magazines and postcards. While a few depict urban areas as places of interest for tourists, that is only a small fraction of them. A large number of them depict open landscapes, in particular national parks as places where one can explore and discover the wild spaces of Africa in their natural and unspoiled state. Where culture is involved, there is the option of places like cultural villages that fit into the paradigm of cultural tourism. This cultural aspect of tourism is marketed to tourists who want to experience what they percieve to be Africa before modernity. This is another example of the othering of indigenous cultures through the commodification of cultures. Travel magazines like the Portugese magazine *Blue Travel* further perperpuated the othering through their depiction of African landscapes marketed as wild and unspoiled.

CHAPTER 4

HISTORY OF CULTURAL REPRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

Historically, from the early years of European colonisation of non-European lands, cultural appropriation was not a simple matter of a dominant culture taking the cultural elements of the colonised cultures and making it their own. Cuthbert (1993) argues that there are definite differences between when those of a dominant culture take and use elements of a marginalised culture and when the reverse happens. It is a term that she refers to as “differential power”, an element which creates differences in the balance of power between different sides whereby one side wields more power than the other and therefore has the capacity to impose itself. It is this imbalance of powers, “which is also differential access to resources, which makes some exchanges but not others appropriative” (Cuthbert, 1993:258).

Rowell (1995) gives a more simplified but straight to the point explanation of the element of differential power. He points out that “a dominant culture “borrowing” from oppressed groups is a special case because it is done from a position of power and privilege” (Rowell, 1995:138). Marginalised or oppressed groups on the one hand usually have no other recourse but to borrow or use elements of a dominant culture as a form of assimilation. This goes back to the point made by Cuthbert that when a marginalised group borrows element s of a dominant culture it is not misrepresentation but is regarded as assimilation. This is because as Rowell (1995: 138) points out, “domination typically occurs where one group controls the economic and political power of a country, judged by the degree to which other cultures are represented in executive positions and positions of political power. Domination also occurs where one group is habitually better-off economically, having the highest wages, most rewarding jobs, greatest proportion employed and the highest standard of living”. It is here where differential power and differential access to resources comes in. This domination also plays a role when it comes to the legal systems that are often the only route that marginalised groups can take to combat the misrepresentation of their cultures.

Boniface and Fowler (1993:19) argue that “tourism feeds on the colonial impulse and is in many ways, a sort of neo-colonialism”. The colonial mind-set also prevails in the so-called New World nations like the United States, Canada and Australia. In these countries, which are discussed in the paper in limited detail, the indigenous populations have largely been reduced to a small minority and in fact now make up the lowest percentages of the overall populations of those countries. This, combined with their low socio-economic status, has made them vulnerable to all forms of exploitation, including the misrepresentation of their cultures. However, in South Africa, the indigenous populations are in the majority but despite this their socio-economic status remains low in relation to the non-indigenous population. As a result, the indigenous cultures of South Africa often fall victim to commercial exploitation and cultural misrepresentation.

One of the unfortunate consequences of colonialism, as pointed out by Boniface and Fowler (1993:19), is that the colonisers have not only taken ownership the land they have occupied, but there is also the subjugation of the indigenous cultures that have inhabited those lands for hundreds and even thousands of years longer. This is quite often the case in countries like the United States, Canada and Australia but also not uncommon in South Africa. Howes (1996:139) argues in this context how the Native American culture has become a highly saleable commodity. One of the main factors that give rise to cultural appropriation is in the domination of one culture over another. This falls into one of the four categories (Cultural dominance) of cultural appropriation as listed below. The domination of one culture over another is the cornerstone of colonialism. As Rogers (2006:479) asserts, “cultural dominance refers to a condition characterized by the unidirectional imposition of elements of a dominant culture onto a subordinated (marginalized, colonized) culture. In terms of cultural appropriation, this category focuses on the use of elements of a dominant culture by members of a subordinated culture in contexts in which the dominant culture has been imposed onto the subordinated culture”.

Rogers (2006:478) also touches on cultural exploitation, which “focuses on the commodification and incorporation of elements of subordinated cultures”. This is the

element that most comes to mind when one thinks of cultural misrepresentation, and is the one that most epitomizes the colonial mind-set that leads to the misrepresentation of indigenous cultures. Rogers (2006:486) further points out and identifies the following four main concerns expressed about acts of cultural appropriation by dominant from subordinate cultures.

- "Cultural degradation, meaning appropriation can have corrosive effects on the integrity of an exploited culture because the appropriative conduct can depict it in a distorted manner causing tears to appear in the fabric of a group's cultural identity;
- The second concern is the preservation of cultural elements. This is an important concern in that it argues against cultural exploitation on the grounds of cultural preservation. The argument here is that cultural objects, symbols, and practices are best understood in their native contexts and that priority should be preservation of the integrity of marginalized cultures.
- Also a very important concern is the deprivation of material advantage. The concern here is that cultural products, either of the past or of living cultures are being exploited for financial gain, which also presents legal challenges for the cultures being exploited. In this instance, it is a battle between individual ownership (a western concept) and collective ownership.
- Closely related to the above, this final concern is the failure to recognize sovereign claims. Western legal systems and concepts of ownership widely support the widespread appropriation of elements of traditional cultures without compensation, but the problem is that they also prevent traditional cultures from blocking what they perceive as inappropriate uses or adaptations" (Rogers, 2006:487).

In this chapter, I give a historical view of cultural representation and where it most likely started and how it has affected those cultures that have been most at the receiving end. Section 4.2gives a historical account of cultural misrepresentation. Section 4.3 gives an overview of the different attempts to define cultural misrepresentation. Section 4.4 touches on cultural misrepresentation in other parts of the world. Section 4.5 delves into the methods of resistance adopted by indigenous cultures and minorities in their battle against the misrepresentation of their cultures. Section4.6 explores the historical process which would see the concept of cultural tourism develops out of colonial exploitation. In section 4.7 I offer concluding remarks.

4.2 Historical accounts of cultural misrepresentation

Godby (2010:54) argues that “Duggan-Cronin may have been shown to have constructed his photographs of African subjects in certain ways to create a specific image of Africa that had obvious political connotations”. Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin was an Irish-born photographer whose photographs that were taken in the 1920s and 1930s depicted black South Africans in traditional attire in a supposedly traditional setting. In a certain section of the study, Godby (2010:61) points out that in many of his photographs, Duggan-Cronin “supplied items of dress and other items of culture to create a more realistic cultural image”. Duggan-Cronin’s use of these items to attempt to create a picture of cultural realism in his photographs reveals what one can call a re-enactment of culture, similar to what we see today in cultural villages. It goes back to the second of the four concerns identified by Rogers (2006) regarding cultural preservation. In his attempt to suggest general authenticity in his images, Duggan-Cronin often used the same item in more than one photograph, often being worn in an incorrect cultural context. Many of these cultural items that Duggan-Cronin adds to his photographs to create a sense of cultural realism are items he collected himself in the ‘Native territories’. Again, going back to the four main concerns of cultural misrepresentation identified by Rogers (2006), I touch on the second concerns regarding cultural preservation.

In the same context that cultural items are removed from their native sources and placed in places of “safe keeping” such as museums, it can be argued that Duggan-Cronin’s collection of native cultural items is an exploitation of culture on the grounds of cultural preservation. By keeping the items as his private collection, it goes against the idea of preserving the integrity of the marginalised cultures which he photographs. Rogers (2006) maintains that it makes no sense to preserve the cultural items of marginalized cultures without a clear understanding of how they fit into the culture’s belief systems. The need for dominant cultures to prioritise the preservation of cultural objects, symbols, and practices also stems from the historical context in dominant cultures’ belief that they know better, including what is good for marginalised cultures. This belief stems from the notion of superiority that was the driving force behind the

colonisation of indigenous people and eventual exploitation of their cultural knowledge and resources.

Figure 1:'Three Bhaca men running', by Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin. Undated compound study, in 1925 field album, photograph number 1322, McGregor Museum, Kimberley.

The methods that Duggan-Cronin used in his photography warrant a certain level of concern. In addition to using cultural items that he collected and kept in his private collection, he also arranged his subjects in ways he felt were suitable to create a feeling of historic accuracy before shooting, such as the photograph of three Bhaca men (Figure 1) running towards the camera. There are numerous examples of such instances where Duggan-Cronin used cultural items that he collected and kept in his photographs to create a sense of historic nostalgia. Some of the examples that Godby (2010:61) gives can be found in the preparatory albums that Duggan-Cronin puts together and includes instances like a photo of three Bhaca chiefs, from three different places wearing the same regal leopard skin, which would have different meanings for each of the three chiefs. In one of the more ironic examples of Duggan-Cronin's efforts to create a culturally authentic African feel in his photographs, one of the native people inquired "what is the use of trying to civilise us, if you want to photograph us in our skins which we have already thrown away" (Godby, 2010:62).

The example above is as ironic as it is disconcerting, because it also raises concerns about the lack of consideration by outsiders (in this case Duggan-Cronin himself) for cultural meanings attached to certain cultural items and the role they play in cultural hierarchies. The biggest irony in the incident above is that the colonisers' quest to "civilise" or "westernise" indigenous people proved so "successful" that documenting "authentic" indigenous culture became a challenge for photographers like Duggan-Cronin. By the late 19th and early 20th centuries, native people in South Africa and other Southern African colonies wore western clothes whereas traditional clothing was mostly worn for entertainment or during cultural ceremonies, as it remains the case today. It also highlights the contradiction prevalent in the colonisation of native people and the subsequent misrepresentation of their culture. I say contradiction because on the one hand one of the consequences of colonialism was the near destruction of many indigenous cultures and their traditions. And on the other hand the same people who strive to "civilise" indigenous people want to document and record the "authenticity" of the very cultures they wish to destroy or have already destroyed. This was the challenge that faced photographers during the later colonial periods of the late 19th and 20th centuries.

The lack of true authentic cultural material in a traditional setting meant that artists and photographers like Duggan-Cronin had to use cultural items they had in their possession to create an authentic feel in their photographs of native people. It is interesting that many of these cultural items were not in the possession of the indigenous people they represent, but with Europeans like Duggan-Cronin or in museums and/or private collections. This appropriation of indigenous cultural items had far reaching effects on the integrity of indigenous cultures whose way of life and traditions were negatively affected.

Here, Leibhammer (2011) comments not just about the portrayal of black South Africans by white South African artists but also about the "scientific" study of black indigenous cultures that fuelled racist stereotypes about black people in South Africa. She also points to how museums in South Africa in the late 19th and early 20th centuries

contributed to fuelling these racist stereotypes through their displays that rendered black South Africans as other. This rendering resulted from the colonial notion, which continued through the early 20th century of European superiority. The “scientific” racism, as Leibhammer (2011:43) calls it, coincided with what was termed the “native question” gaining prominence as a political issue, and modern theories of racial segregation beginning to be discussed. It was also during this period, in the aftermath of the South African War (1899-1902), that the discussions of racial segregation would begin with the passing of discriminatory laws that sought to strip black South Africans of any sense of ownership of both land and culture. The scientific study of physical anthropology was the underpinning of these discriminatory laws and provided justification for hierarchies of race (Leibhammer, 2011:43). These hierarchies were based on the pseudo-scientific and eugenicist interpretations of Darwinism, defined as the evolution in nature of the survival of the fittest.

This new type of anthropological study was based on classifying humans according to race and racial types and through this put ‘Bushmen and Hottentots’ at the lowest point and Europeans at the pinnacle” (Leibhammer, 2011:47). Museums have played a leading role in the misrepresentation of indigenous cultures because many cultural materials that are held there were taken from their places of origin, usually colonised lands against the will of the inhabitants. In many of the instances this happened due to the fact that the colonisers felt they had some sense of ownership of the indigenous cultures. Fairchild (1991:102) dissects the theory developed in the 19th century by physical anthropologists and advocated by Rushton (1998) in “socio-biology whereby Asians, Caucasians and Africans, as a result of evolution, may be ranked on a wide variety of personal and population attributes”. Fairchild (1991:103) argues that this theory is grossly flawed because it does not take into account the various “arguments against the validity of the concept of race, which was an ideological invention that supported European and American imperialism”. Rushton’s (1998) advocates from these theories by 19th century anthropologists such as Samuel G. Morton, Josiah T. Nott and Paul Broca that not only brain size and intelligence are interlinked, but that brain size differs between races.

Based on these studies done in the 19th century, Rushton (1998) has concluded that black Africans possess smaller brains than Europeans, which equates to lower IQ levels and therefore lower intelligence. This notion is further reinforced by Jackson Jr and Weidman (2005/2006). In it they quote British scientist Francis Galton who in his paper "*Hereditary Genius,* published in 1869, he makes clear his view that blacks, again based on 19th century cranial measurements were at least two grades below Anglo-Saxons in ability and intelligence (Jackson Jr and Weidman, 2005/2006:68). By publishing these reports in the 19th century in an effort to prove the superiority of the white race over the black race, scientists like Galton had already created a sound justification for the colonisation and exploitation of lands inhabited by blacks. This in turn filtered down into justifying not only the exploitation of the cultures of black people but their subsequent appropriation as well.

While the museums were one way of "preserving" the traditional and cultural artefacts of indigenous people, photography became the main tool used for the anthropological study of indigenous people. In the early years of the 20th century, with physical anthropology in decline, a new genre of photography emerged, of which Duggan-Cronin was a chief proponent. What Leibhammer (2011:51) points out is that "photographic images of black South Africans that were produced within the framework of physical and cultural anthropology were thought of as evidence for contemporary theories of difference, and thus their net effect was to establish black South Africans as other". The depiction of black South Africans by white South African artists is a form of visual misrepresentation that often reinforced the racial stereotypes associated with indigenous cultures. Leibhammer's (2011:53) focus on white South African artists' depiction of black South Africans focuses on artists like Neville Lewis, Constance Greaves and Barbara Tyrell. These artists are known for depicting black South Africans as the "essentialised" Other as well as other black individuals in a western portrait style. Each of the artists mentioned had a completely different visual style of capturing and depicting their subject. However, they all had one thing in common. Whether it was done intentionally or not, each of them to some degree portrayed members of black

South African ethnic groups in a manner that presented them as other. Spivak's (1988) observation of the subaltern speaks of the downtrodden masses, the Other as it were at the lowest margins of society for whom the colonial administration, the postcolonial scholar and elite of Indian society purport to speak. She states that "certain varieties of the Indian elite are native informants for the first-world intellectuals interested in the voice of the other" (Spivak, 1988:26). Like Duggan-Cronin through his photography, the artists through their paintings attempt to capture black South Africans in their traditional setting and dress. Artists like South African-born Barbara Tyrrell are known for having recorded the dress and customs of black people throughout Southern Africa. She travelled to "rural areas of South Africa in search of people she believed to be wearing 'authentic' tribal dress and practising ways of life that, if not disappearing, were becoming hybridised"[3] (Leibhammer, 2011:55).

Neville Lewis is a portrait artist who worked both in South Africa and Britain and was known for depicting soldiers serving in the front line during the Second World War. Although he painted portraits of white people too, Lewis was also known for the portraits of black South Africans that he painted, especially during the Second World War. He was certainly in his element when he painted individual sitters, such as with his painting *Lance-Corporal Job Masego – MM,* which he painted in Cairo in 1942. These portraits of black soldiers were rendered in a heroic, dignified manner. However, it was when he painted blacks in their traditional settings that Lewis reverted to the example of the kind of the visual portrayal of indigenous people by white artists that reinforced the old stereotypes associated with them. A striking example is his painting entitled Pondo women which portrays two women in a rural setting with loads on their heads and their breasts bare. This rendering of *Pondo women* comes across as alienated in its gendered and rural Otherness" (Leibhammer, 2011:57). This depiction of black Africans/South Africans in this manner, especially by white artists reinforces the entrenched stereotypes associated with the Othering of black African/South Africans.

[3] Cultural hybridisation refers to the blending of different elements from different cultures, such as items of clothing and languages. Cultural hybridisation can often occur as a result of one culture dominating another.

In these instances of white artists/photographers depicting black South Africans in their various media, the aim of the artists themselves was as is claimed, in the name of cultural preservation. On the other hand, one has to ask whether any of the black South Africans benefited from the artistic representation of their cultures. It is a question that needs to be asked about an issue that is very difficult to address, especially from a socio-economic and artistic perspective.

4.3 Cultural Suppression in the New World

One of the ways in which dominant cultures stifled indigenous thought was through language control. This strategy of colonial domination was adopted in places like Canada, Australia and South Africa. Haig-Brown (2010) gives a good example of how indigenous thought was stifled through language control in the Canadian context. “In order to gain mastery over indigenous thought, it was necessary first to subjugate it at the level of language, control it free from circulation in speech, expunge it from the things that were said, and extinguish the words that rendered it too visibly present” (Haig-Brown, 2010:932). While this is a Canadian example, similar strategies were adopted in other colonised countries to stifle indigenous thought and control the indigenous people. Subjugating indigenous thought at the language level was one of the ways in which colonisers gained control of indigenous societies. Language is an integral part of any culture and plays a leading role in maintaining their integrity. Through the use of language, indigenous knowledge is able to be passed on from generation to generation thereby ensuring the knowledge is maintained and that the essential traditions of the culture remain strong. In essence, language is the thread that ties a culture together and by destroying the language of any cultural group, that thread is severely broken. This in turn makes it difficult for indigenous cultural knowledge to be passed on from generation to generation thereby gradually killing the culture.

One of the effective methods that were used to achieve this was the establishment of residential schools in which English or other European languages were instilled as the languages of instruction. Among the measures that were taken was the institution of

“severe punishments for speaking a Native language or practicing what was designated as the ‘devil’s work’ (Haig-Brown, 2010:932). In Canada this was practiced in the late 19thand even well into the 20th century. Such practices by colonising powers worked effectively in subjugating indigenous people’s cultures by essentially cutting off their continued progression through the younger generations. This includes misrepresenting important cultural elements that often carry significant spiritual meanings for indigenous people. During colonial times, many sacred cultural artefacts (such as masks, sculptures, statutes, and other cultural items that have deep spiritual meanings) were taken from their traditional homes and many now adorn museums and private collections in mostly western countries.

4.4 Colonial exploitation to cultural tourism

The exploitation of natural resources and indigenous knowledge done during the colonial period was the most common form of appropriation perpetrated by colonial powers against indigenous people. Rogers (2006:486) puts it perfectly when he writes that “subordinated cultures are generally treated as a ‘resource’ to be mined and ‘shipped home’ for consumption”. Rogers (2006) highlights these concerns of cultural exploitation from a modern point of view. However, the exploitation of indigenous cultures, their knowledge and resources has been occurring for centuries throughout the colonial period, whether in Africa, the Americas or Asia. Cultural exploitation during the colonial period occurred largely as a result of a need by the colonising powers to exploit the resources often by any means necessary. This exploitation of land meant that indigenous people lost what was in most cases their only link to their cultural sites where they felt a deep connection to their ancestors for example. Osterhammel (2005:44) also points out how the use of force, especially “as social Darwinist thought came to prevail in the nineteenth century, colonial wars were viewed as wars to spread ‘civilisation’ to adversaries who were said to lack civilised rules of conduct”. Even though these so called colonial wars were viewed in this light, the main motivation still remained the annexation of land to facilitate access to and exploitation of natural resources.

In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, the main development in colonial history was the European occupation of Africa; a singularly condensed expropriation of an entire continent termed the 'partition of Africa' (Osterhammel, 2005:34).For the European occupation forces, the partition of Africa was about access to land and resources by the establishment of borders that have endured which were later followed by the establishment of independent African national states. No thought was given to the effect this would have on the local African population which was made up of many different tribes and ethnic groups that were spread over a wide area of the continent. These partitioned areas were basically the blueprint of what would become the current nations of post-colonial Africa.

In Africa (with specific reference to South Africa), as well as in the United States, Canada and Australia there is a widespread use of images of indigenous people and their culture as part of a drive to grow the tourist industries. Images of cultural sights as well as cultural symbols, artefacts and cultural ceremonies are a common feature on pamphlets and postcards promoting destinations that have deep meaning for the indigenous people who live in them. Known as cultural tourism, it is a fast-growing sector of the tourist industry in many parts of the world, especially in developing regions like Africa and economically depressed areas of developed countries like the United States and Canada. In South Africa, "the commodification of culture and heritage for tourist consumption has been promoted fervently as a vehicle for local economic development, particularly in rural areas" (Conradie, 2013:2). Cultural tourism has also grown out of a desire by tourists to have an authentic experience. Authentic is a relative term as it is open to different interpretations as to what is authentic and what is not. This is especially true in the case of staged [4]authenticity.

The staging of what is regarded as a realistic portrayal of how certain cultures lived in centuries gone by, through the use of facilities like cultural villages is one of the most recognisable example of the concept of cultural tourism in South Africa today. Schouten

[4] The term "Authenticity" is closely associated with 20th century German philosopher Martin Heideggerthrough early translations of *Being and Time* (published in 1927) into English.

(2007:25) points out that while “there is a positive side of tourism for local cultures in the form of a revival through tourism of local crafts, traditions, music and dance, there is a downside. [5] This is concerned with the erosion of the same phenomena (cultural tourism) through tourism and emphasises the danger of staging for the tourist gaze, producing crafts solely for tourists and the detrimental results of the ‘demonstration effect’”. To add to the discussion of the staged circumcision from Chapter 2, staged cultural performances that were part of tourist packages certainly raised many questions regarding tourists’ search for an authentic cultural experience. For one thing, as in the case of the staged circumcision and most importantly, the question would be who is demanding to see such a highly sacred and sensitive ritual? And are there any limits to the exposure of foreign eyes? And for such a delicate procedure as a circumcision, one also has to ask such questions as ‘might they run out of boys to circumcise during peak season, or how many times can you circumcise someone (Schouten, 2007:30)?

And a really good question in this case would be, can it really be considered an authentic cultural experience when such a sacred ritual is performed over and over again for a tourist experience? Also if a ritual as sacred as this one can be staged for the benefit of tourists how then can it be considered authentic? In such an instance it can be likened to a running performance in a theatre.

The growth of cultural tourism in South Africa has been particularly prominent since the dawn of democracy in 1994. And although it is not unique to South Africa, it provides a perfect opportunity to study it here because of the unique history of the country through its transition from apartheid to democracy. The opportunities for economic development that come with the promotion of cultural tourism in South Africa, and particularly the economically depressed areas of the country like the rural areas and townships cannot be denied. However, there are questions regarding the potentially detrimental effects that this type of tourism may have on the host people. With particular reference to township tourism, Ramchander (2007:44) examines “the opportunities for and

[5] “The demonstration effect is the occurrence of indigenous and rural communities and cultures adopting western style and behaviour that they have observed in visiting tourists through demonstration and interaction” (McClary, 2008:1)

constraints on tourism development and the influences of these factors on township residents. The question put forward is how tourism can be practiced in these areas in a way that ensures the benefits reach locals without being detrimental to their social and cultural heritage". The challenge with this form of tourism which involves even the smallest amount of representation of aspects of the local cultures is in who benefits from it and how much of the benefits reach the local communities, but more importantly at what price. Can the communities targeted for development through cultural tourism reap the benefits that come with the exposure without compromising some or most of their cultural values? Ramchander (2007:44) strongly suggests that it is important that "the extent to which South Africa, like other developing countries, is benefitting by showcasing indigenous or marginalised communities as part of a cultural tourism strategy be interrogated".

4.5 Reflections

Culture is always a sensitive subject. And when you consider its history of exploitation, misrepresentation and erasure, questions about the implications for that culture arise. With respect to cultural tourism, there is always a question whether its "desired side effects, such as job creation, the uplifting of communities, and the preservation of cultural lifestyles and expressions being are truly being realised, or have cultural expressions indeed changed and adapted to suit the demands and needs of the consumer tourist" (Ramchander, 2007:44)? This also applies to the concept of cultural villages. Both involve commodification of cultural practices to appeal to tourists who are searching for what they perceive to be authentic cultural experiences. Cultural villages, which are custom built homesteads where indigenous culture is presented for consumption and are the cornerstone of cultural tourism in South Africa have been the subject of much criticism and have been accused of exploiting and denigrating those individuals and cultures they claim to represent (Conradie, 2013: 2). Cultural villages in particular are performance-based and questions have arisen over the years mostly concerning how accurate is the representation and portrayal of the various cultures showcased.

As Conradie (2013,2) points out, “it was with the dismantling of apartheid and subsequent acceptance into the international arena that South Africa had to redefine its own image in order to assume its rightful place in the international community where countries are constructed as commodities or brands”. As such, in this instance, the most valuable resource the country has at its disposal is its cultural diversity and it is this diversity that has become the main tool for promoting tourism in South Africa. However, Conradie (2013) points out that the concerns expressed about South Africa’s cultural villages include the fact that they are reproductions of colonial and apartheid stereotypes but also that at such ventures ‘tradition’ and ‘authenticity’ are associated with an imagined state of precolonial cultural purity, and thus the absence of westernisation and industrialisation. The result of these accounts of indigenous cultures, as Conradie puts it become entrenched in the global imagination and tourist imagery as constitutive of the ‘real Africa’. Such forms of commodification unfortunately do more to feed and reinforce the known stereotypes of African people as stagnant and backward. This has a far bigger danger of promoting prejudice rather than challenging the derogatory stereotypes of indigenous people. Visitors who genuinely wish to learn more about the cultural heritage of South Africa ultimately lose out on the opportunity to learn about the complex interweaving of rich and diverse heritages into the everyday lives of contemporary South Africans. It is what one can think of as almost like a double-edged sword. For all role players involved it is a delicate balance between economic benefits, job creation, as well as exposure for the local communities and cultural preservation.

CHAPTER 5

THE CRITIQUE OF CULTURAL VILLAGES IN SOUTH AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

According to Conradie (2013:4), cultural villages only began to be developed in South Africa in the late 1980s, with two being developed as recently as the first decade of the 21st century. Since the first cultural villages were developed in the late 1980s, several more have been developed in various regions of the country, each showcasing the past customs, dress and traditional ceremonies practised by that particular culture. Although there are differences in each of the cultural villages, for example, the entertainment provided or the type of service, they ultimately all have one or more things in common. Their purpose or function, "with the help of cultural workers is to provide a simulation of aspects of a way of life of a cultural grouping, as it was at a specific period (or over several periods) of time" (Van Vuuren, 2001:139).

The staged performances in cultural villages are meant to provide a sort of a history lesson on how various cultural groups lived in the past in an interactive and informative environment in which visitors are meant to feel like they are part of the performance. Many of the cultural villages in South Africa claim their representations of past traditional lives are an accurate look into the lives and traditions of the diverse cultures of South Africa. History of course is open to different interpretations and cultural villages essentially interpret the history of different cultures through staged performances. For example, at Lesedi Cultural Village the main performances that take place at the end of the daily tours of the cultural homesteads are meant to project a story for the audience through the drumbeats that reverberate across the hall. In addition to the drumbeats, the other elements of the storytelling that is incorporated into the performances include attire that the performers wear. Each of the different segments of the performances incorporate the specific attire and the cultural props relating to that particular cultural ritual. Cultural elements like drums, spears, shields, masks and certain variations of jewellery are used to convey a sense of cultural diversity and togetherness at Lesedi Cultural Village. The costumes that are worn by the performers are displayed as a depiction of how the members of the indigenous presented themselves in the past era before modernity. However, the performative nature of cultural villages which is designed as a form of entertainment for tourists brings into question the true purpose of

cultural villages and how their portrayal of the various indigenous cultures of South Africa affects how they are perceived and whether it strengthens or weakens them.

It goes without saying that this has over the years had both advantages and disadvantages. Section 5.2 discusses whether the development of cultural villages is a blessing or a curse for the indigenous cultures of South Africa. Section 5.3 discusses and examines the visual culture at cultural villages, with a particular focus on Lesedi Cultural Village. Section 5.4 discusses the role of art and photography as disciplines in the perpetuation of cultural misrepresentation. This section looks at the mediums of photography and various art forms are used in the depiction of indigenous cultures that very often causes them to be perceived in negative ways. Section 5.5 gives a breakdown of the activities that take place at Lesedi and how they fit into the tourist experience. Section 5.6 provides an honest and critical look at cultural tourism and cultural villages themselves. Here I explore both the positives and negatives of cultural tourism and cultural villages from both my own viewpoint as well as that of various authors that give their own interpretation of their growth in the tourist industry. Section 4.7 draws some conclusions.

5.2 Visual culture at cultural villages

Cultural villages, as part of the initiative to broaden the cultural experience that tourists seek in their travels, have adopted several visual methods of marketing themselves. Different cultural villages use different methods to achieve this. But the main thing they have in common is their use of visual cues in the form of cultural images. Lesedi Cultural Village, the cultural village that my study focuses on, has several different methods it uses to market itself through its diverse cultural images. Lesedi Cultural Village is unique among other cultural villages in South Africa. While the other cultural villages largely focus on the individual cultures that are native to the part of the country they are located, Lesedi Cultural Village focuses on six of the main indigenous cultures of South Africa. These are the Zulu, Xhosa, South Sotho (Sesotho), Tswana, Pedi and Ndebele. This gives it the unique distinction of being the most diverse and colourful in

terms of the cultural experience it offers to the visitor. This is reflected the visual culture that is on display at the cultural village, from the curios sold there, the prints, the architecture, the layout and right down to the decorations.

Much of this visual culture is there for the purpose of showing the different cultural elements of the Zulu, Xhosa, South Sotho (Sesotho), Tswana, Pedi and Ndebele that are on display. While the different cultures that Lesedi focuses on are not immediately evident to visitors as they enter the cultural village, it becomes apparent as they are taken on the tour of the different homesteads. However, even from when visitors first enter Lesedi, there is already a visual display of colour that they are greeted by. This is in the form of memorabilia that are sold in the markets near the entrance and in the gift shop where cultural souvenirs are on display. The entrance itself is made up of an arch that is painted in the colours that are attributed to the Ndebele culture so that visitors can have an idea that they are going into a place that is full of colour. The buildings at the reception are painted in a range of colours and patterns that reflect the different cultures that are represented at Lesedi. The buildings, being the most prominent structures with the most colourful displays, are the first things visitors see when they enter Lesedi.

It is interesting to note that the buildings are of modern design. Of importance are buildings that house the reception, the shebeen, aptly called the Ndebele shebeen and the souvenir shop. These buildings are very interesting because while they are adorned with Ndebele patterns, they are by all counts modern buildings that incorporate modern building standards and techniques as opposed to authentic Ndebele houses built using traditional methods. The Ndebele Shebeen for example is built in the style of modern shebeens found in the townships all over South Africa with Ndebele patterns painted on it. Such mixing of modern and traditional is prevalent throughout Lesedi Cultural Village, from the reception buildings, to the restaurant, and the different homesteads that depict the indigenous cultures of South Africa. For this analysis I am focusing on the Ndebele Shebeen (see Figures 2 and 3) which, as the name suggests is made to reflect the Ndebele culture. The main problem with the Ndebele Shebeen is the immediate

contradiction in the attempt to convey a cultural message in its design. Here you have a modern building that houses a shop that sells modern Western food and beverages and is painted in traditional Ndebele decorative patterns. For an institution whose claim to prominence is the preservation of indigenous cultures, this contradiction of the depiction of indigenous cultures shows a disregard for cultural authenticity and an aestheticization of Africanness.

The patterns that are most prominent on the buildings at the entrance and reception area of Lesedi are the Ndebele patterns which are the brightest and most colourful of the patterns on display. Keep in mind that the IsiZulu culture is the dominant culture at Lesedi Cultural Village. It is generally more represented at the village as a whole, with the IsiZulu homestead being more detailed in terms of the traditional structures on display. It is interesting that despite not being the dominant culture at Lesedi, the Ndebele culture appears to be most represented at the entrance. Most of the buildings and structures at the entrance, including the reception area, the shebeen and the performance areas are painted in the Ndebele pattern, as seen in Figures 2 and 3.

Figure 2: Lobby area at Lesedi Cultural Village, Image by Greg Balfour Evans

Figure 3: Ndebele Shebeen at Lesedi Cultural Village, Image by Greg Balfour Evans

The other cultures are of course visually represented throughout Lesedi in the various homesteads and other structures that dot the village. While not quite as bright as the Ndebele structures, the other structures such as the Zulu and Sotho structures have their own patterns that give them their own unique characteristics. The colourful souvenirs that are sold at the various points in the lobby area are worth mentioning as they are an interesting part of the visual culture at Lesedi. Ornaments that are sold

include traditional items such as beads, traditional dolls, various traditional dress and instruments. Most of the traditional objects are put on display in the open lobby where visitors can see them from the moment they enter the village, while others are sold in the nearby shop. Upon closer inspection, one will notice that not all the souvenirs sold in the shop are traditional or a reflection of a life lived in the distant past. Some of the curios that are on display in the souvenir shop, as seen in Figure 4 are little models of cars and bicycles.

This is obviously a stark contradiction to the image Lesedi is trying to project of how indigenous cultures lived before the arrival modern technology. Those seem to have been made purely for commercial purposes. In some ways, they show that even though they are meant to showcase indigenous life in the distant past, these cultural villages are still in the modern facilities targeted at a modern audience. There is a definite conflict between modern and traditional at cultural villages like Lesedi, which purport to be about showcasing and preserving indigenous cultures. It can be argued that the purpose of combining modern and traditional at cultural villages is to strike a balance between tourists seeking an authentic cultural experience while catering for their modern needs. This notion is problematic in that it shows willingness in those that run cultural villages to play into the problematic European expectations about African people. This Eurocentric approach, which I witnessed during my visits to Lesedi Cultural Village manifests itself often at cultural villages with the aim of giving tourists an “authentic” African experience while still providing them with modern facilities with all the modern comforts. And in order to please tourists cultural villages like Lesedi gladly oblige in providing facilities that are both traditional and modern. This conflicts with the aims of the cultural village of giving visitors an experience of how life was before the arrival of modern technology.

Figure 4: Items on display at shop in Lesedi Cultural Village, Image by Melissa Jooste

The layout of Lesedi Cultural Village is simple and laid out in a way that visitors can easily follow. From the entrance, the visitor is immediately greeted by the bright colours of the Ndebele culture adorning the buildings in the lobby and reception area.

Figure 5: A map of the layout of Lesedi Cultural Village, Image by Greg Balfour Evans

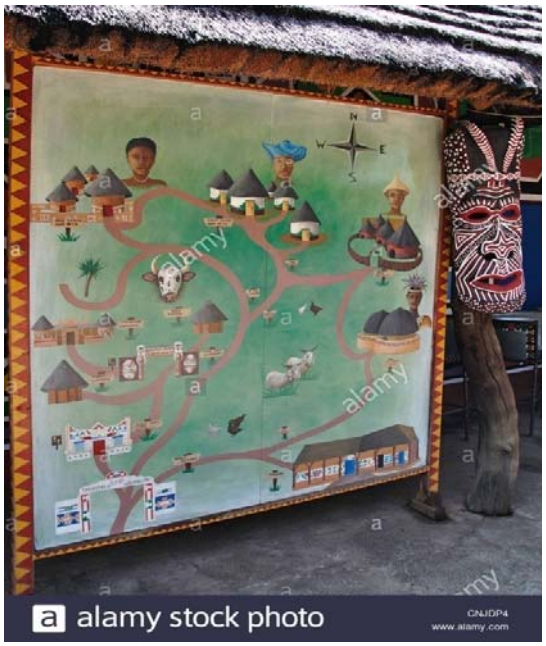

Figure 5 is a crude but fairly accurate map of the basic layout of Lesedi Cultural Village that shows the location of each of the different homesteads that depict the different cultures that are represented at the village. The homesteads are arranged in a loop that

surround a central point. Visitors are taken on a tour of each homestead along paths that lead to each of them. The tours generally follow an anticlockwise direction, starting with the Zulu homestead, which is the first one on the pathway, followed by the Sotho homestead and then the Xhosa homestead and so on, until the tour gets to the final homestead which is the Ndebele homestead near the lobby area. Facilities like the restaurant and performance hall are in the centre with the homesteads surrounding them. After being guided on the tour of all the homesteads, visitors are led to the performance hall where they can enjoy the cultural performances and then have lunch in the restaurant.

The art that is made at Lesedi is an interesting mixture of traditional ornaments from the different cultures that are represented at the village. The art is made mostly onsite by skilled craftsmen and women and displayed in the village's courtyard in the lobby area or sold at the souvenir shop. It is mostly in the form of traditional objects such as traditional dolls, cultural clothing, spears and shields and other objects of cultural significance. Although they are traditional objects, their role is mostly of a commercial nature. They are made mostly for the purpose of being sold to the tourists that visit Lesedi. Like the buildings at the village, the memorabilia is made with intricate and colourful patterns that reflect each of the cultures that are represented at the village. The sale of these cultural items at Lesedi reflects the commodification of culture for tourist consumption. This commodification reflects the visual culture of not just Lesedi but cultural villages in general. The patterns and colours on the buildings and other structures also reflect the visual culture at Lesedi which is one that supposedly showcases the cultural diversity that is on display there. The structures in each of the homesteads are painted in specific colours and patterns that are unique to the cultures they represent. While some of the structures in the homesteads are culturally accurate in their designs, like the Zulu structures for example, some are clearly not. A good example is the Ndebele homestead where despite the structures having the colourful patterns and colours associated with the Ndebele cultures, the structures themselves are closer the Cape Dutch houses in design.

Figure 6: House painted in traditional Ndebele colours at Lesedi Cultural Village

Figure 6 clearly illustrates this with what looks like a modern house with a Cape Dutch design painted in traditional Ndebele colours. Examples like this show that the visual culture at Lesedi and other cultural villages rely on a more “artistic” approach to showcasing the indigenous cultures of South Africa, with a focus being more on visual aesthetics in form of colourful shapes and patterns. The visual culture at Lesedi Cultural Village seems to focus more on elaborate patterns and bright colours as a way of attracting visitors rather than the cultural aspect of the village.

5.3 The role of photography and art in cultural appropriation

The aim of this study is to put together and analyse the literature that relates to topics and issues related to my study as well the tools I intend to use to conduct my study. One of the tools that is central to my study is photography. As my visual data is in the form of photographs, it would be highly inappropriate not include a section that discusses the role of photography in cultural appropriation. Photography ostensibly records what can be thought of as a true depiction of the world, but actually portrays a constructed world. An example of this can be seen in the study by Wingfield (2012) which gives an account of the events surrounding the opening of a bridge at Malungwana Drift on 7 January 1938. The article focuses on the work and photography of Max Gluckman in which he “documented and described in detail the events

surrounding the opening of a bridge at Malungwana Drift on 7 January 1938" (Wingfield, 2012:56). What is very interesting about the events on that day that I am intending to discuss is not so much the opening of the bridge itself as it is the visual representation of the people in the photographs. Being that the opening of the bridge took place in what was then known as Zululand, currently KwaZulu-Natal, the visual representation largely consists of a significant contingent of Zulu people in traditional Zulu wear.

Plates among the photographs by Gluckman depict Zulu men in traditional Zulu attire performing and singing as they walk across the bridge. As evidenced by other, presumably Zulu men in the photographs wearing western clothes, traditional clothing was only worn during celebrations and other type of events even during the early years of the 20th century. One can think of it as being something similar in nature to what takes place in cultural villages today. Although it was not intended for a tourist audience, Gluckman captured what can be thought of as a good example of a performative type of ceremony.

The performative aspect of the ceremony is also evident in the surroundings and circumstances of the whole event.

Figure 7: Gluckman's third plate

The original caption to the plate read:

> "*Warriors, singing the ihubu, lead the cars back over the bridge. Note the man chanting with his stick lifted; in left foreground, next to the policeman, is an [6]induna in the military garb much favoured by Zulu" (Wingfield, 2012:8).*

Just to give one example, one of his photographs, Figure 7 depicts a group of Zulu men dressed in traditional attire moving across the newly opened bridge while dancing with cars following behind them while spectators watch them from the side of the bridge. In this way, the original purpose of the photographic documentation of this ceremony would have had the intended effect which was to suggest that two different groups of people, in this case Zulus and Europeans could cooperate in celebrating a single event (Wingfield, 2012:59).

The display of indigenous cultural elements in cultural villages such as Lesedi Cultural Village is a largely constructed depiction of what one can consider to be an idealised version of indigenous cultures. This issue of the othering of indigenous people and cultures is compounded by the fact that the performers are simply actors in a constructed world whose purpose is to sell an image of Africa as a primitive backward continent. In effect, one can compare cultural villages to theme parks. They are sort of cultural theme parks in which indigenous cultural practices are displayed for entertainment. One only must look at brochures and pamphlets that market cultural villages to tourists.

Photography itself plays a vital part in the marketing and exposure of cultural villages to the public. However, this is highly problematic in that the cultural villages are presenting an edited, sanitised and othering depiction of the indigenous cultures on display. In the case of Lesedi Cultural Village, the dominant visual element is the traditional Ndebele patterns that adorn nearly all the structures at the entrance and main lobby area. There are several different platforms that cultural villages use to market themselves. From brochures and postcards to online platforms, there is an emphasis on photography to

[6] Induna is an IsiZulu/IsiXhosa term referring to someone, usually a man, who occupies a position of authority or responsibility in a tribe, usually a chief or a high ranking warrior.

show the best side of Lesedi. And the traditional Ndebele colours tend to usually take centre stage being the brightest and most colourful patterns. Being painted on most of the structures located at the entrance of Lesedi works well from a photographic perspective as it is the first place visitors see as they enter the village.

This goes in line with the fact that photography largely showcases the dominant, or most visually appealing part of a place. In the case of Lesedi Cultural Village the most visually appealing part is the entrance and lobby area with the Ndebele colours adorning the buildings there. This part of Lesedi is also where most of the activities take place as it is where visitors generally congregate in large groups before beginning a tour of the rest of the cultural village. This is the area that features in most photographs of Lesedi in postcards, pamphlets and travel brochures as well as online facilities. This has the effect of giving a false impression that one culture dominates over another. Though I did mention in the previous section that the Zulu culture is somewhat the dominant one at Lesedi Cultural village in terms of representation, the other cultures remain well represented throughout the cultural village. The people who work in cultural villages, particularly those who perform the traditional activities, have also knowingly or unknowingly become part of the problematic effect of this reinforcing of the Othering of indigenous cultures.

It goes back to the question of whether cultural misrepresentation benefits or causes harm to indigenous cultures. And more importantly what benefits if any, do cultural villages bring to the communities they are located within and serve? The visible benefits of course are already that they are bringing in tourists who seek to experience other cultures and bring in benefits such as employment and improved income particularly to rural areas. This is already the case as they are usually located close to areas that are economically depressed and where issues like unemployment are high on the agenda. It is also very important to note that while the creation of cultural villages is intended as way to showcase the different cultures of South Africa through the sale of cultural merchandise and the re-enactment of cultural performances and ceremonies to mostly foreign visitors, other implications that are just as important and need to be considered.

5.4 Activities at Lesedi Cultural Village (a breakdown)

Tinker (2010) provides a description of the activities that take place in cultural villages like Lesedi as they are presented to tourists.

> "*First, the visitor undergoes a sort introduction; at Lesedi and Shakaland, this comes in the form of a video, at Village People this is a short talk. Next, one tours the village, accompanied by a guide who explains various aspects of everyday life. Inevitably, there follows an energetic dance routine, with drums and impossibly high kicks, before the visitor is released from the experience or sent to lunch, where they can recover and enjoy a familiar buffet" (Tinker, 2010:19).*

During the personalised tour I was given by one of the performers I was also granted access to the interior of the homesteads and allowed to take photographs inside. On the first day of my field work I was able take photos of only one of the homesteads. Having arrived at the cultural village during the latter part of the day, I was able to follow the second tour of the day. There are two tours each day where tourists are given a sort of history lesson of the cultures that are showcased at Lesedi Cultural Village. This is done in the hall where the performances take place through a projector showing DVD footage of the historical overview of the country on to a large retractable screen behind the stage. The footage begins by showing how people from the different cultures lived before the colonial period and the goes forward to the conflicts that took place between the colonial powers and the tribes before ending with a depiction of present-day South Africa. Once the whole DVD has been watched the tour begins immediately. The tours last for about an hour during which time a guide takes the visitors through each of the homesteads and gives them a summary of the different cultures and how they lived and conducted themselves.

The two-hour daily tours and performances do not have any differences, aside from the fact that each tour is hosted by a different person. What is clear is that the performers who conduct the tours are required to have knowledge of South African history and

different cultural customs of each of the different South African tribal groups. After the tour is complete, I resume the next phase of the visual research which is to shoot planned photographs outside of their performances. I have the performers pose for me outside during their brief breaks from each performance after or before they change into their next traditional attire. The different traditional attire that they wore for each of the performances contributes to the visual culture of Lesedi in showcasing the diverse cultures that are on display. The background I utilise for each of the photos is also an important factor as it speaks to the purpose of conducting my study to examine the visual culture of cultural villages with particular attention to Lesedi Cultural Village.

For some of the photos, I juxtapose the performers in their traditional attire with cars and other modern features at the cultural village to highlight the traditional versus modern conflict confronting each of the indigenous cultures of South Africa. Another factor I also want to highlight is the performative element of cultural villages like Lesedi Cultural Village. The performances conducted at cultural villages are themselves very loud and vibrant and leave the tourists excited and I did notice during my time there that they do enjoy them. The performers can dress as a tribal group that is not necessarily their own as they change into different cultural attire to conduct different performances. The performances are visual spectacles that are presented as being very colourful and diverse in line with the different cultures they represent.

However, it is not clear as to whether the tourists have attained the knowledge regarding the cultural experience that they have come to experience, and what they have seen is indeed merely a performance representing a life lived in the past. Of course, it is hard to say whether this is what tourists think when they visit cultural villages or even when they visit South Africa with the purpose of being given a cultural experience. Tinker (2010:46) points out that “visitors at Lesedi often discuss whether the village was meant to be set in the distant past, or whether it was meant to be contemporary. And while they do learn about people and their culture, they are often unable to situate this knowledge into a temporal space, thus they do not know what culture they are learning about”.

5.5 A critical look at cultural representation and cultural tourism

An important part of this study is on the social responsibility of cultural villages and the impact they have on the communities they service. While we do discuss the positive aspects of having cultural villages we should also be more critical in their analysis and provide detailed information on both the positive and negative impact they have on the communities that surround them. There are different points of view concerning the pros and cons of cultural villages. Each of them present valid arguments on whether cultural villages are for the benefit of the different cultures located in the communities they serve or whether they are detrimental. Cultural representation is a broad issue that demands plenty of research and investigation. As the title of this chapter indicates, my research in this study is an investigation into cultural villages and the role they play in the representation of indigenous cultures in South Africa.

From a critical perspective, Tinker (2010:18) describes cultural villages, with specific reference to Lesedi Cultural village as “human zoos where people perform for rich tourists”. Ramchander (2007:51) also highlights a similar sentiment of township residents who feel like they are living in a zoo when tourists pass their neighbourhood and take photographs of them. In the quest to be part of an authentic cultural experience and an ever increasing desire for the various sectors of the tourist industry to meet the demands and wishes of foreign visitors, one could argue that not only the dignity but also the sense of humanity among the township residents as well the performers in the cultural villages are lost. Although unlike animals in a zoo, the performers in a cultural village are still able to go back home after a day’s work of entertaining tourists, being confined to that kind of space for most of the day performing for tourists with their cameras constantly flashing can seem like being in an environment similar to a zoo.

The selling point of all this, as I have mentioned before, is the visual images that sell the commodity that is South African culture to the foreign tourists that visit the country seeking that authentic cultural experience. These images tend to be problematic in that

they are selling an idea of what indigenous South African culture is or was like many centuries ago. Photography is a powerful tool in selling ideas to an intended market for a particular industry. In this case photography, through images of local people taking part in cultural rituals and/or wearing traditional attire is a selling tool designed to give foreign travellers an idea of what life was like or could have been like had it not been overtaken by modern technology. The different types of cultural tourism that give rise to installations like cultural villages are documented in the form of literature written by various authors who have already been mentioned throughout the dissertation. Cultural villages create a problematic perception of an idealised indigenous life to satisfy the growing market of cultural tourism that keeps those seeking an authentic cultural experience coming to South Africa.

Santu Mofokeng's depiction of black South Africans in a landscape that is often stark and changed by development is a visual representation of how the exploitation of land and resources in South Africa has altered the landscape so much in the country that it seems so foreign to the people who for many centuries considered it their spiritual home. In this case, photography through the eyes of Mofokeng captures the South African landscape in a way that helps to highlight the exploitation and appropriation of an important cultural product (land) that has adversely affected the people who call it home. Vogel (2011) highlights graphically the effect that the exploitation of the land has had on the thought processes of the indigenous people of South Africa and how they relate to the landscape. He gives a hard-hitting insight into Mofokeng's interpretation of exploitation of resources and the representation of land through his landscape photographs. In much a similar way as the appropriation of indigenous cultures begs the question: "Who owns the landscape?" so the representation of landscape resources begs the same question. Mofokeng points out something very important in asking the question pertaining to the ownership of the landscape that it is not so much "who owns the landscape but rather who owns the view of the land" (Vogel, 2011:126). This applies very much in the tourist sense with regard to the tourist gaze. Mofokeng's photographs are a graphic illustration of a gaze into a scarred landscape that was once unspoilt and beautiful but has buckled under heavy exploitation.

Like Mofokeng, David Goldblatt's photographs of the South African landscape also highlight what was once a wild and unspoilt landscape that has been transformed by the actions of man through exploitation. The photographic depiction of cultural villages as centres of cultures from a bygone era invites the sort of tourist gaze that is in stark contrast to the interpretation of Goldblatt's and Mofokeng's photographs of a scarred and desolate landscape. One can think of them as being akin to theatres, places of entertainment and performance where tourists can take a trip back in time to when people lived without the distractions of the modern world. Like with theatres, performances are scheduled in stages, with different ones taking place at different times and lasting for a prescribed length of time. The performances are choreographed and arranged in a uniform pattern that follows a prearranged schedule. This is a daily routine as the audience, which is the tourists, move from one performance to another. In doing so, the tourists are given a chance to not only have their wishes come true but to also be a part of what they see as a true and authentic African experience. The tourists record these experiences as memories with their cameras as photographic evidence of their "authentic African" experience. Of course, the tourists themselves go to cultural villages with the knowledge that the performances are staged. However, some studies, such a survey conducted by Van Vuuren (2000:150) "conclude that the constructed villages (cultural villages) in South Africa are generally constructed to satisfy tourists' fantasies and expectations. The marketing of cultural villages as places of culture where the visitor can experience "authentic African culture" is at the core of their existence. While they can experience snippets of the culture in the cities, in a cultural village it is juxtaposed with the modern aesthetics of the urban area that does not in the view of the visitor, represent all that is "African".

The misconception outside Africa that "modernity does not equate to the African experience" is common and seems to drive the marketing of tourist attractions in the various African regions, including South Africa. As Viljoen and Tlabela (2007:14) write, 'in most cases, cultural villages depict indigenous cultures as they existed in the 19th or early 20th century and depict mostly a picture of early building styles that were largely

traditional'. Although "the first cultural village in South Africa was built in 1965 by a white entrepreneur" (Van Vuuren, 2003), "the majority of cultural villages in the country were built in the 1990s, with most being in Kwazulu-Natal, the Lowveld and the areas in and around Gauteng, such as the Northwest Province and Limpopo Province" (Viljoen and Tlabela, 2007:14). Because indigenous cultures were largely excluded during the old apartheid era in favour of more European themed tourist attractions, there was very little known about them from an international perspective. After the demise of apartheid in 1994, tourism in South Africa was marketed to be more inclusive of all the different cultures that are part of the country. The increased use of cultural villages was seen as a way of including indigenous cultures as part of the tourist attractions of South Africa and they would be at the forefront of the drive to increase the marketing of cultural tourism as a more viable form of tourism for South Africa.

While this type of initiative does bring various benefits to the various communities around cultural villages, there are still disadvantages associated with it. The majority of cultural villages are situated on or near an established tourist route to enable tourists to have easy access to the facility. Most are also located in rural areas often a fair distance from major urban centres (Viljoen and Tlabela, 2007:14). This is where the benefits come in as rural areas generally do not provide the same opportunities for employment as urban areas. The setting up of cultural villages in rural areas also brings investment opportunities that would otherwise not be possible as the influx of tourists brings money to the communities and helps to improve their lives. The result of all these benefits is employment as well as exposure for the community. But with that means more tourists and more tourists mean more commercialisation, which may not always be a good thing. Urry (1990) highlights a very interesting way in which tourism has developed and been commercialised that has parallels with the development of cultural tourism in places like South Africa. The tourist gaze refers to an age-old concept that is as old as tourism itself. His analysis of how the tourist gaze in the City of Paris evolved following its reconstruction in the late 19th century is very interesting for its striking similarities to the what can be interpreted as sort of 21st century tourist gaze with regards to cultural villages.

> *"This romantic experience could be felt especially intensely in front of the endless parades of strangers moving up and down the boulevards – it was those strangers they gazed upon who in turn gazed at them. Part then of the gaze in the new modern city of Paris was of the multitude of passers-by, who both enhanced the lovers' vision of themselves and in turn provided an endlessly fascinating source of curiosity" (Urry, 1990:137).*

This is not a description of cultural villages but here Urry's (1990) interpretation of the tourist gaze as experienced in Paris in the 19th century has striking similarities to the curious observations of tourists to the staged cultural performances in cultural villages. The parallels between Urry's (1990) description of the gaze in the 19th century Paris and 21st century cultural tourism in South African cultural villages are very striking. What it shows is that times may have changed but the curiosity and instincts that permeate in human nature remain the same. The difference between the tourist gaze in Paris in the 19th century and the tourist gaze in South Africa in the 21st century is the technology. The invention and further development of photography in the following decades has meant that the curiosity that sparks the gaze of the tourist can now be recorded almost instantly and kept for many years. The *flâneur,* or stroller as the French word translates to is essentially what can be thought of as the predecessor to the modern-day tourist. The similarities between the *flâneur* and the modern-day tourist are in the way they explore their surroundings and the mannerisms they display as they indulge in their curious gaze. In a very similar way as the 21st century tourist, the 19th century *flâneur* was shielded by the anonymity of the crowd, able to move about unnoticed, observing and being observed but never really interacting with those encountered (Urry, 1990:138). Similarly, the 21st century tourist explores his environment in relative anonymity, rarely interacting with those he encounters.

The difference that I mentioned earlier between the tourist of the 19th century and that of the 21st century with regard to the technology is the method of the gaze applied by each. If one must travel to any tourist destination anywhere on the globe, it is quite likely that you will see a camera on almost every tourist at any one of them. In the 21st century, the gaze of the tourist is applied with cameras, and more recently with introduction of smartphones, digital video has become more democratised enabling the

tourist gaze to be recorded in real time, and to be shared via social media eg, Youtube, Facebook, Instagram etc. The principle behind the gaze is still the same, but the method has changed. Urry (1990:138) puts it perfectly when he writes that the "strolling *flâneur* was a forerunner of the 20th century tourist: the democratised taking of photographs – of being seen and recorded and seeing others and recording them". For this study, I do of course refer to the tourist of the 21st century, where the medium of photography has become even more entrenched in the tourist gaze with the rapid spread of digital photography. Sontag (1979:55) excellently explains the link between the *flâneur* and the modern tourist whose tool of choice is photography, with his interpretation of the latter:

> *"First comes into its own as an extension of the of the eye of the middle-class flâneur…The photographer is an armed version of the solitary walker reconnoitering, stalking, cruising the urban inferno, the voyeuristic stroller who discovers the city as a landscape of voluptuous extremes. Adept of the joys of watching, connoisseur of empathy, the flâneur finds the world picturesque".*

However, while the 19th century *flâneur* was attracted only to specific aspects of a particular place, the 21st century tourist with camera in hand is attracted everywhere, to every possible object, event or person (Urry, 1990:138). This is precisely how the modern-day tourist explores as opposed to the *flâneur* in the 19th century. The increased use of photography in tourism has meant that the tourist gaze is no longer about just taking a stroll through a specific area and spending time exploring it in detail. Cultural tourism is a good example of how photography has changed the way tourists explores the destinations to which they travel. With photography now a medium of choice for travellers, gazing is not just a matter of observing and taking in what one is seeing. With a camera a tourist simply snaps and moves on to the next subject.

And when you consider the kind of traffic at holiday spots like cultural villages during planned tours, it becomes clear how much has changed in over 100 years that tourism has evolved. Although they have not been around for a long time, cultural villages in South Africa exemplify exactly the type of mass tourism that has evolved into what it is as a result of the spread of photography in tourism. Other factors include faster and cheaper travel. Often in large numbers, the modern tourists visit cultural villages with

cameras in hand to snap the exotic cultures of South Africa. It is not so much the gaze as it is more of a quick glance with the camera as a tool for keeping record of the visit for posterity. Holidays today are now tours in which a dozen or so tourists are taken from one destination to the next over a predetermined period of time and given snippets of life in those destinations. In cultural villages, most visitors generally come in groups that are part of organised tours. The tours generally cover different points in the cultural villages that represent different aspects of the culture or cultures depending on which cultural village it is.

5.6 Cultural villages: blessing or curse

Cultural villages can be found in one form or another all over the world and various authors have written about them with differing views and interpretations. One important thing cultural villages have in common, wherever they are in the world is that they are performative in nature and it is this common denominator that various authors, such as Viljoen and Tlabela (2007), van Veuren (2004) and Conradie (2013) write about and give more attention to. Some write favourably about them while others are more critical in their approach. They can be found all in the different regions of the country and each has its own signature and style of showcasing each different culture that it is tasked with showcasing. It is very important to note that the performative element of cultural villages is structured in such a way as to satisfy mostly foreign tourists who want an authentic cultural experience during their visit to South Africa. Conradie (2013:4) voices a very important concern about the representation of indigenous cultures in most cultural villages where signs of modernisation and outside influences are banished. Conradie (2013) does however look at two grassroots cultural villages, namely Tsitsikamma Khoisan Cultural Village, which showcases Khoisan culture and located along the famous Garden Route in the Western Cape, and Mama Tofu's (Ngxingxolo) Cultural Village, which showcases Xhosa culture, and is located near East London in the Eastern Cape. These two cultural villages have taken a different approach to showcasing their respective cultures. The first thing to take note of is that both cultural villages are owned and ran by indigenous people. The Tsitsikamma Khoisan Cultural

Village, established in 2002 is ran by Khoisan descendants, while Mama Tofu's Cultural Village was started and ran by Mama Winifred Tofu and her daughter Zinzi Tofu. Since Mama Winifred's passing away in 2015, her daughter Zinzi has now taken over the running of the cultural village. "Both cultural villages differ from most other cultural villages in that visitors to the villages are not presented with the simulation of traditional life as it was supposedly lived prior to colonial contact, whether through performances, presentations or infrastructure" (Conradie, 2013:5). Conradie (2013:5) goes on to explain that "both cultural villages play significant roles in the preservation of cultural heritage through the education of local communities about their own history and identity, and have fostered pride in heritages often denigrated by colonial and apartheid administrators".

The above point is very important as it illustrates an all too common feature of most cultural villages in the way they portray indigenous cultures. But it is also important that credit is given to those that taking a different approach and showcasing indigenous cultures in way that challenge the colonial stereotypes. Before tackling this point and getting to the crux of what it means, it is vital to first get to the essential part of what cultural villages actually are and what their roles are in the communities within which they are located. There are various definitions of cultural villages depending on the perspective from which you look at them. Cultural villages and concepts similar to them can be found all over the world. From a South African perspective, according to Conradie (2013:4) cultural villages can be thought of as "a 'new genre of cultural museum', complexes that are purposely built to simulate aspects of the way of life of a cultural grouping as they were at a specific period or over several periods of time". According to Tinker (2010:23), refers to cultural villages as cultural theme parks which have a great responsibility for exhibiting South African culture to the world and even to South Africans themselves. The cultural villages employ workers, who are usually from the relevant ethnic or linguistic groups they represent to work and sometimes even live in these villages. While working in these cultural villages, their job is basically to "perform and demonstrate" aspects of a purportedly traditional way of life (Conradie, 2013:4).

MaCannell's (2000) discussion of the case of Torremolinos, a former fishing town on the coast of Spain and how it transformed from a "mere place to a tourist destination" is particularly chilling because it mirrors the circumstances under which cultural villages here in South Africa have come into existence. While not in any way a cultural village, MacCannell's (2000:25) discussion is very chilling where he mentions how after initial contact with the wealthy pre-tourists, it was no longer necessary for any fishing or associated activities to take place, as long as some of the boats, nets and fishermen remained photogenically arrayed as a reminder of their former purpose. In a similar manner, one could point that the cultural villages in South Africa have adopted a similar mantra whereby the members of the indigenous cultures portrayed perform and pose to present a visual imitation of the way things were to serve their purpose in the entertainment of foreign tourists.

5.7 Reflections

In Lesedi Cultural Village, the tours cover different points that represent the homesteads of the different indigenous cultures of South Africa. In both cases, a guide (who is usually a local person from one of the surrounding communities) takes the tour through the different homesteads and gives a summarised account of how the people in each culture lived as well as their traditions and customs. Each stop lasts about 10 to 15 minutes during which the tourists can take photos, shoot videos and ask questions if they have any. The tour ends with a performance consisting of traditional dances from the different indigenous South African cultures. Due to the number of the people in a tour, one-on-one interaction is limited and although the guide will often try to get the visitors to participate in the performances, the limited time is very often an obstacle. Lesedi Cultural Village, though located in Gauteng Province, the most densely populated province in the country is in an area that is still largely rural and is reached by a single two-lane road. Its relative proximity to a major highway as well as Lanseria International Airport means it is relatively easy to access and the road that leads to it is in relatively good condition for most the way. While the ease of access is a good thing

for the tourists and to an extent the people work at the cultural village, it can become a bit of an issue when large groups of tourists visit, especially in large tour groups.

Larger tours do have the benefit of bringing more revenue which in turn goes towards providing employment for the residents of the surrounding communities and also in the upkeep of the cultural village. However, going back to Urry's (1990) comparison between the 19th century *flâneur* and the 20th century tourist, large groups of tourists visiting a place such as a cultural village do have its downside. The tours in cultural villages such as Lesedi are timed and choreographed to follow a particular order or schedule. As a result, tourists are given only a snippet of the account of traditional life in South Africa. One can of course argue that the benefits are far more reaching than the downsides which include as I have mentioned before the revenue brought by the throngs of tourists who visit the cultural villages. Other benefits, such as employment and improving the lives of the communities around the cultural villages have already been mentioned. The photographs that are used to market cultural villages as well those shot by tourists themselves provide exposure and contributes to increasing the number of visitors that come to the villages. This can be both beneficial and detrimental to the wellbeing of the communities around the villages. One of the reasons tourists choose to visit cultural villages during their holiday in South Africa is their search for an authentic cultural experience. So the question is: Do cultural villages offer an authentic cultural experience for the visitor coming from a different part of the world? When it comes to cultural experiences, it is difficult to determine exactly what constitutes authenticity. It is a concept that is open to different interpretations. The main objective of tours like those conducted in cultural villages is two-fold, namely:

- To provide tourists seeking to experience the different cultures of South Africa with an experience that will leave them with an unforgettable experience that will make them want to come back; and
- To uplift surrounding communities through providing employment for the people in these communities and also create more awareness of the customs and traditions of indigenous cultures so that they can be preserved.

However there needs to be a distinction between cultural preservation and cultural exploitation and it is here where the line needs to be towed between cultural appropriation that benefits and one that harms. By taking photographs, one is already appropriating what they are photographing. So, the many photographs that are taken during the tours that take place in cultural villages and other tourist cultural destinations already constitutes cultural appropriation to a certain extent. As Urry (1990:138/139) writes, “to photograph is in some way to misrepresent the object being photographed. It is a power/knowledge relationship. To have visual knowledge of an object is to have power, even if partially, over it. Photography tames the object of the gaze, the most striking examples being of exotic cultures”. In some ways, one could perhaps say that the once formidable indigenous cultures of South Africa have been tamed through the gaze of photography from being on display in cultural villages. Through the photographic documentation of displays of indigenous cultural life in the cultural villages, the presumed mystery and exoticism of the cultures, which is what attracted the tourists to the destinations in the first place is somewhat lost. The photographic element of cultural tourism and its taming of the object of the gaze may have its advantages and disadvantages, but it does provide the opportunity to look more closely at how cultural villages can be further utilised to truly benefit local communities while at the same time giving tourists the authentic cultural experience they seek.

CHAPTER 6

FIELDWORK OVERVIEW OF LESEDI CULTURAL VILLAGE

6.1 Introduction

Although the research method in this study is based on document analysis and observation, there is still a visual element which was utilised during the field work at Lesedi Cultural Village. While traditional art methods like painting and sculpture are still utilised in the visual arts arena, more modern methods like photography and digital arts are making more inroads into the visual sector. Each source I searched and utilised is a visual representation of what cultural appropriation is. Regardless of the fact that some of the sources do not specifically mention cultural appropriation, they do however discuss issues of appropriation that are related to it in some ways. For instance, Sontag (1977) refers to an example of photography as a method of appropriating what one sees.

> *"Faced with the awesome spread and alienness of a newly settled continent, people wielded cameras as a way of taking possession of the places they visited. Kodak put signs at the entrances of many towns listing what to photograph. Signs that marked the places in national parks where visitors should stand with their cameras"* (Sontag, 1977:65)

The idea of people wielding cameras to "take possession" of the places they visit is a very similar one to what we see with modern tourism today as tourists travel all over the world with cameras in hand to own a slice of the world as they see it. The above quote by Sontag (1977) refers to travel in America during the early part of the 20th century when mass photography was still in its infancy. However, even then, the modern concept of representation through photography was already taking shape in the western world and particularly in the United States with the exploration of many of the newly discovered places in the west of the country. Through this and other sources that have been written about cultural villages it is fairly reasonable to make the connection and

see the similarities between cultural tourism today in South Africa and travel in the United States in the early 20th century.

When speaking in relation to the settlement of South Africa and also the rest of Africa by Europeans, keeping in mind that the continent was already inhabited by indigenous people, one can grasp the meaning of what Sontag (1977) is saying and how that relates to the forms of cultural tourism today and the context under which photography falls. Photography and its relation to the exploration of Africa and its use in the depiction of Africa is something that is widely discussed in literature across the board (Wingfield, 2012; Godby, 2010; Enwezor, 2006; Sontag, 1977). Focus is on how European photographers depict Africa from their perspective and how that influences overall perceptions about the cultures of Africa. Of importance to this study is, at what point does the representation of the cultures by the artists become harmful to their integrity. Examples of such photographers that are worth mentioning include Andrew Putter, Alfred Martin Duggan-Cronin, Max Gluckman and Neville Lewis.

A common denominator among these photographers is that they are white artists who tended to depict black people and certain aspects of their cultures in their works. Neither produced their works for the purpose of tourism. For instance, a series of photographs produced by Putter (2012) entitled “Native Works” which were a response to Duggan-Cronin’s more ethnographic portraits which he produced between 1919 and 1939. Putter’s (2012) can at best be regarded as a critique of Duggan-Cronin’s photographic works. The latter are “located, in part, within an anthropological discourse and have usually been seen to have contributed to a view of ‘black’ southern Africans as primitive, unchanging, tribal” (Putter, 2012:249). By creating his Native Works series, Putter is critiquing ethnographic artists and photographers like Duggan-Cronin to call attention to, and underscore the absurdity of their works.

6.2 Field Photography at Lesedi Cultural Village

Settling on photography as my main medium was inspired by the simple fact that photography is the most commonly used medium for promoting tourist destinations and for maintaining attraction to those destinations and the obvious reason that it provides visual documentation of my study. In justifying my decision to utilise photography as my main medium capturing data I shall also discuss the method of data collection in this visual aspect of the research.

In addition to my own photos that I took during my field work at Lesedi Cultural Village, the works of the photographers I studied were also used to illustrate my arguments about cultural representation. Photographs such as those of Putter and Duggan-Cronin were a vital resource that assisted me to draw comparisons between the past eras of cultural representation as well as contemporary practices. Reading about other photographers, their methods and execution of their works the contexts of their respective works certainly helped me apply the lessons I have learned. While the works of Duggan-Cronin and Putter were more ethnographic in their nature, the images I used have a more tourist feel to them.

The images I shall put forward here as part of my visual data analysis made up a large part of my visual research that I conducted during my visit to Lesedi Cultural Village. My trip to Lesedi Cultural Village took place over a period of four days in which I conducted detail field research which involved capturing visual images of the attractions that are on display for the purpose of entertaining and providing tourists with a cultural experience. I requested, and was granted permission to enter Lesedi Cultural Village in order to commence my research. I have provided a detailed account of the conduct of the field research in Chapter 3.So, I shall therefore not belabour the issue here. The aim of this chapter is to provide an analysis of the visual data that I collected during my fieldwork and ways in which it impacted the overall structure of this study.

My decision to choose fieldwork and photography as my main method of data collection resulted in me having to make the following decisions:

- That I always had adequate petrol in the vehicle for each day given that the drive to and back from Lesedi Cultural Village is relatively long, and the fact that I did not make arrangements to sleep over;
- I had enough money in case I needed to buy something to eat and drink while at the cultural village;
- My camera was always in good working order; that had enough memory in the memory card and that the batteries were always fully charged.
- I had sufficient consent forms printed in order for the participants to sign.

I needed to be as prepared as I could possibly be for the field work to progress as smoothly as possible. The first task was to ensure that I had informed consent forms that I would give to my research participants and to ensure they understand my purpose, and to sign the forms as an expression of their consent to participate in the research. The procedure of consent enabled me to capture the photos of the performances without any conflict of interest. It was of ethical importance that my research participants were aware that I was not a tourist taking photos that would be displayed in photo album back home. During the first day of the field research, my task was to get the consent form read and signed by the research participants. Once I had secured consent I began the task of data collection. This entailed going on tours, watching the performances and taking photos.

The shooting of photographs was done on all the three days of the field work. It was of critical importance that I capture the visual images of the main activities that take place at the cultural village including the important structures that make up the homesteads at the different points of the cultural village. Photos convey a visual story of the way the different homesteads are arranged. They also visually articulate the energy of the performances. I shot the photos with a Nikon D5000 DSLR camera. The main objective of the photos was to support the narrative I would provide and bring out the context of the research. I should mention that it was not just the homesteads that fascinated me about Lesedi Cultural Village. Other points of interest were the main gate, the main restaurant and the reception area at the main gate. I was also fascinated by the way the

tourists responded to the performances at the various homesteads. The interesting part of the tours and performances at Lesedi Cultural Village was the fact that on each day there were different guides and certain performances were performed by different performers.

One of the things that are of interest in the visual documentation at Lesedi Cultural Village is the fact that performances that seek to depict each of the different cultural groups are performed in most part by the same people. For me it is debatable whether that can be deemed authentic. Having spent four days of field work at Lesedi Cultural Village, collecting as much visual data as I did, and having the opportunity to interact with the different performers, I became acutely aware that the performers come from different ethnic backgrounds. It also became evident that not all ethnic groups showcased at the cultural village were represented among the performers. And yet each stage of the performance was meant to be a unique portrayal and showcasing of the different cultural groups, their traditional attire and colours, as well as their perceived identities.

On the third day of the field work, instead of attending the performances, I decided to wait outside and take photos of the performers in between the performances. Due to limited time between performances, I had to move quickly to get the best shots. This entailed selecting varying backgrounds as well as different poses. While I managed to get the performances in the right frame some of the photos and backgrounds were not as perfect as I would have liked them to be. However the main objective was to capture as many images as I could, which I would later scrutinise with a view to ascertaining the extent to which they may be deemed to be authentic portrayals of the cultural groups they purport to portray. In some of the photos I could tell it was the same performers dressed in different cultural attire. For instance, in Figures 7 and 18 below four females performed dance routines of different ethnic groups. In Figure 7 they appear in traditional IsiSwati dress, while in Figure 8 they perform dance routines in traditional SeTswana dress. Because different dance routines follow a precise schedule, the

performers have limited time, sometimes as little as two minutes to change into different traditional attire in order to perform their next routine.

Figure 8: Four performers at the Lesedi Cultural Village in traditional SeSwati dress

Figure 9: The same four performers intraditional Setswana dress

This observation is in line with the argument that some cultural villages provide a snapshot of the cultural elements of indigenous cultures. On the contrary, what is being argued here is the fact that these are choreographed routines intended for the pleasure and admiration of foreign tourists. The photos in this chapter (excluding the ones by Duggan-Cronin and Putter) illustrate that while cultural villages like Lesedi Cultural Village were established to showcase the indigenous cultures of South Africa, they do

take account the changing dynamics in modern South Africa with presence of modern facilities and amenities in the tourist accommodation. The question of course is: What exactly do tourists want to see when they visit cultural villages in South Africa? What kind of impression of South Africa should they have at the end of their tours? By analysing the photographic data I have collected and compiled,a conclusion that can be drawn is that tourists to South Africa leave with a ‘cultural experience’ that is presented to them in a performative way.

6.3 Reflections

The conflict between modern and traditional is always going to be very well pronounced in a section of the tourism industry that deals with culture and misrepresents cultural elements to increase tourism. For the duration of this study, both research phases (that is the visual as well as the theoretical research phase) have had their own set of challenges that required a large amount of data to be collected. Any kind of study that involves searching for sources from different categories in order to complete will present mammoth challenges.Given that this study deals with the promotion of tourism through cultural representation from a visual perspective, it was very necessary for me to maintain the central theme of the research, which was the visual culture of cultural villages. Even from a theoretical perspective, I needed to ensure that the narrative on the visual culture of cultural villages is maintained.

When writing this chapter on data analysis, I started out with theoretical data first as I needed to separate the two methods of data collection which I utilise in the research phase. After completing the theoretical data collection I then moved on to the visual data collection, which entailed the field work I undertook at Lesedi Cultural Village. I divided the sections of the chapter into the theoretical and visual data analysis sections to provide a distinction between the different techniques I used the research phase of the study. The third section is a summary of what I observed at the cultural village during the field work. I deemed it important to include a section on the line between modern and traditional that cultural villages seem to straddle in their efforts to

accommodate the needs of tourists. The fact that the compounds at Lesedi Cultural Villagethat are used to accomodation tourists represent the different ethnic groups is something that I was not aware of until I began my field work at the cultural village. Although I have visited Lesedi Cultural Village before, I had never seen the interior of the homesteads. This of course had a significant influence on how I would progress with the study and particularly this chapter.

It is quite fascinating that in a place whose purpose is provide visitors with an “authentic” African cultural experience, tend to also be replicas of modern households. Cultural villages are community centres that are tasked to showcase and preserve indigenous cultures for posterity whilealso generating revenue for economically depressed areas. It is also indisputable that as commercially active institutions they provide a service that needs to be maintained to high standards. Given these factors, some compromise needed to be made in order to satisfy both these obligations that cultural villages have, and the tourist expectations of the hospitality industry. Cultural villages are by no means perfect in their roles as custodians of indigenous cultures. It is important to note that there are other institutions that play a role in the representation and preservation of indigenous cultures, such as musuems, art galleries, and educational institutions through presevering indigenous knowledge.

CONCLUSION

Cultural villages have become an essential part of the cultural tourism landscape in South Africa, particularly since the transition in 1994 from the Apartheid era to the new democratic dispensation. There is a large variety of cultural villages located throughout South Africa. These include; Basotho Cultural Village (Free State): Isinamya Cultural Village (Eastern Cape): DamaZulu Lodge and Traditional Village and Shakaland (KwaZulu Natal): Shangana Cultural Village (Mpumalanga): Living Open Air Museum (Western Cape) and Lesedi Cultural Village (NorthWest Province). These cultural villages fall within different categories, of which there are three main types. They are:

- The ‘grass-root’ cultural village, mostly found within a rural setting;
- Township tours, found within an urban setting, mostly in the townships of the country’s major cities; and
- The commercial cultural village, which can have either a rural or urban setting.

The type focused on is the third type, the commercial cultural village, which Lesedi Cultural Village falls into. Part of the research question was to establish how the representation of indigenous cultures at Lesedi takes place. With cultural tourism being an important aspect of tourism in South Africa and cultural villages paying a crucial role in cultural tourism, it was important to ask the question of how this affects the cultures involved. Cultural villages in South Africa, in their current form are meant to serve the purpose of preserving the integrity of indigenous cultures. The method of representation that they employ is crucial to preserving their integrity, as this also influences how they are perceived by outsiders. An important part of this study is on the social responsibility of cultural villages and the impact they have on the communities they service. While discussing their impact on the cultural communities they serve, it is important to weigh both the positives and negatives of how cultural village represent the visual culture they showcase.

Visual culture refers to the visual elements that are utilised at cultural villages to showcase the cultures that are represented. This is done using elements like cultural artefacts, traditional clothing, traditional housing that is unique to the represented cultures, patterns on everyday objects like dishes, pots, jewellery as well as souvenirs and other memorabilia sold at shops that are usually found at cultural villages. The visual culture at cultural villages is important because it is part of the process of marketing cultural villages as destinations for foreign tourists. These visual ques that are part of the visual culture at cultural villages speak to the debate concerning the commodification of indigenous cultures through these cultural villages. Photography is the medium that is used in the visual marketing of cultural villages. From postcards, pamphlets, travel brochures, travel books and tourist photos, photography plays a big role in influencing perceptions of indigenous South African cultures through the visual culture at cultural villages. This however creates the problematic perception of an idealised indigenous cultural way of life for the purpose of satisfying the growing cultural tourism market.

One of these problematic notions is the common misconception that modernity does not equate to African and is what drives the marketing of the various tourist destinations throughout Africa, including in South Africa. It is primarily for this reason that cultural tourism revolves mostly around cultural villages which depict indigenous cultures as they lived in the 19th and early 20th century. This sort of depiction is indeed problematic because it reinforces the racist stereotypes that also then reinforce the othering of indigenous cultures. The tourist gaze as described by Urry (1990) is one of the consequences of cultural tourism that results from this othering of indigenous cultures. The invention and subsequent development of photography has allowed the tourist gaze to expand and become ever more invasive as cultural tourism increases in South Africa.

In reference to Urry (1990), in his observation of the *flaneur*, there is a parallel between the tourist gaze that was observed in European cities, and particularly Paris in the 19th century and the modern tourists who explore cultural villages with cameras in hand in

the 21st century. At first glance, the differences between the tourist gaze in the19thcentury and the tourist gaze in the 21st century are quite apparent. The *flaneur*, or stroller as the French word translates, was described as one who, as he strolls about the city streets, observing but always unnoticed, shielded by the anonymity of the crowd he strolled within. In contrast, the modern-day tourist in the 21st century moves everywhere, camera in hand, snapping at everything that is of even the slightest interest. However, it is important to note that the 19th century *flaneur* is considered to be the predecessor to the modern-day tourist, with the difference being that the *flaneur* simply utilised his gaze as he strolled through the city streets while the modern-day tourist has their camera as the tool of their gaze.

The modern-day tourist's gaze is, at least from a technology perspective a bit more sophisticated than that of the strolling *flaneur* of more than a century ago. While the *flaneur* explored their surroundings through observation while maintaining an air of anonymity, the presence of the modern-day tourist is very much noticeable while they are utilising their trusty camera as the tool of their gaze. Through photography, with cameras becoming more affordable and more widely available the tourist gaze, including through cultural tourism, has become attainable to more people. Urry (1990:138/139) points out that "to have visual knowledge of an object is to have power, even if partially, over it. Photography tames the object of the gaze, the most striking examples being of exotic cultures". So, what the development of modern-day tourism has done through photography is provide tourists with a tool that gives them more control over their gaze while retaining the percieved "mystery" and "exoticism" of the cultures. The photographic documentation of indigenous cultures at cultural villages provides an interesting insight into how cultural villages are utilised to benefit local communities.

Photography in modern-day tourism has also laid bare the discrepancies of how cultural villages juxtapose cultural and modern in their bid to attract the modern-day tourist. Just as a case example, Lesedi Cultural village has traditional homesteads for each of the cultures represented. Each of the homesteads represent a particular culture that is

unique to each of them. However, there is a discrepancy regarding certain placements in the homesteads which take away from the true cultural experience that tourists are looking for. The homesteads are meant to convey the past lives of indigenous cultures in the age before modern technology. This is contradicted by the presence of modern objects like electric lights and televisions in the homesteads. This illustrates the dilemma that cultural villages face in catering for tourists who seek a real cultural experience while being provided with modern accommodation. In most of the tourist images of African destinations, it is mostly the wide-open landscapes that are depicted in tourist postcards and magazines and other media used to advertise Africa to tourists. Though urban areas are depicted in some of the images, they are shown in rare cases and mostly in the more commercial and mainstream tourist publications like travel magazines and postcards. This depiction of wide empty landscapes depicted in tourist magazines and postcards is another example of how Othering still being used in the marketing of African destinations for tourism. The Othering example can be seen in the content published in the Portuguese travel magazine called *Blue Travel Magazine.* Brito-Henriques (2014:327) refers to the depiction of the empty landscapes of Africa as “deliberate omissions contributing to an imaginative geography of Africa that rejected part of its materiality and ‘real’ geography”.

As this is something that has been happening through the colonial period to reinforce the notion of othering, it has continued to happen even during the period after colonialism. Throughout the postcolonial period, even up to today, the tourist industry in Africa has continued to use the landscape format of the unspoilt wilderness to present African countries as desirable tourist destinations. The reinforcing of this othering is achieved through the depiction of African landscapes as unspoiled and devoid of any modern development. This is of course wrong as Africa is full of modern urban development, and in these modern urban developments there are places and landmarks that are uniquely African and can be marketed as African destinations just as much as the wild landscapes. In pointing out this it is important to note that the marketing of African destinations is aimed at tourists from mostly Europe and North America.The vast majority of these tourists do not come to explore the modern urban

centres of the continent but to take part in safaris where they go to see the wild animals of Africa like the famous Big Five.This goes hand in hand with the depiction of Africa as an unspoiled wilderness waiting to be explored by, as it were, a new generation of European and American explorers.

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APPENDIX 1

Historically, one of the biggest struggles that marginalised, minority or colonised groups face in countries like the United States, Canada, Australia and even South Africa is the legal battles they very often must engage in to protect the integrity of their cultures. One must remember that the legal institutions in many countries were established and, in some countries, still controlled by members of the dominant cultures in those countries. The laws that govern the use of indigenous knowledge, culture and traditions for entertainment, science and other applications are also usually passed by members of the dominant culture. As a result of these discrepancies, members of marginalised and minority groups often find it difficult to contest the appropriation of their cultures as the legal systems in many first world nations favour the members of the dominant cultures. There are a number of examples, most of which are American examples, but I will use just one highlighted by Howes. This example is of a case called "*Nelson vs Times* (1977) and involves the publication of a photograph of a Native American boy in a forest next to the review of a book titled *Glooskap's Children* in the *Maine Times.* The boy's mother argued that the photograph invaded the seclusion of his private life and exploited his likeness and his heritage as a member of the Penobscot Nation of Tribe of Indians" (Howes, 1996:146). In this case, as in many other similar cases the court ruled in favour of the defendant on the grounds which I shall outline in these points as pointed out by Howes.

- The right to privacy is a personal right which can only be invoked by the personal privacy is invaded – in this case, her son.
- The court also held that the unauthorised use of the son's photograph did not constitute a recognisable cause of action because the photograph did not expose anything more about the plaintiff than would have been visible to the public eye. In other words, no details about the boy's private life were revealed.
- The issue of exploitation by classifying the use of the photograph as 'incidental' or 'exploitative' rather than 'commercial' was also dismissed by the court. Howes argues that this distinction is difficult to sustain, as it is evident that 'Indian features' have commercial value in North American consumer culture, and have traditionally been exploited to sell everything from cigars and running shoes to automobiles.
- Lastly, the court held that in the absence of any allegation or evidence of the defendant having physically intruded on 'premises occupied privately by the

> plaintiff for purposes of seclusion', there was no reason to conclude that the plaintiff's solitude had been invaded" (Howes, 1996:146).

Cases such as the *Nelson v. Times* case are a cause for concern as they bring to light the cultural bias of the Anglo-American legal system towards the Native American community. This is but one example of many other similar cases involving the appropriation of elements of Native American culture in which the courts rule in favour of the defendants. While outlining the strides being made in Australia towards encouraging the respect and recognition of the cultures of indigenous Australians, Janke (2008:7) points out Australia's current legal framework provides limited recognition and protection of their cultural and intellectual rights. *Our culture: our future* is a 380-page report on Australian indigenous cultural and intellectual property rights. Written by Janke (2008:3) herself, the report contains among other things "recommendations for changes to legislation, policy and procedures to protect indigenous cultural knowledge and expression. At the time the recommendations were made and the period after, the Australian government still had yet to decide on the matter". While initiatives like the report by Janke are indications that strides are being made in protecting indigenous cultural knowledge and expression in Australia, there is still a lot of work that needs to be done for legislation to fully recognise and protect indigenous cultural knowledge. Protecting indigenous knowledge and expression is an ongoing challenge that faces members of indigenous cultures all over the world.