Dancescape: Emotive Creation and Embodied Negotiations of Territory, Belonging, and the Right to the City in Cape Town, South Africa




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A dissertation submitted to the faculty of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Department of Geography.



Chapel Hill
2011

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# ABSTRACT

TAMARA M. JOHNSON: Dancescape: Emotive Creation and Embodied Negotiations of
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(Under the direction of Dr. Altha Cravey)


Dance clubs provide opportunities for bodies to intimately (be)come-together;

initiating contact that is often passionate, occasionally contentious, and constantly producing

new geographies of community, power relations, and resistance. These are spaces of shared

movements and shared moments—spaces constantly re-created by bodies through motion

and interaction, while simultaneously inseparable from dynamic power relations.  Studying

spaces of social dancing enables investigations of new avenues of participation and

movement, both of bodies on the dance floor, and within cities. Cities can be mapped by the

ways that people travel through the city, producing (and being produced by) emotive spaces

and driven by desire, purpose, and curiosity.  Cities are also shaped by everyday encounters

with difference—different ideas, backgrounds, values, and ways of living in urban space.

Inherent in the constructive processes of encounter are struggles over the rights to the city—

the right to create spaces of belonging in the city.  In South Africa, where difference and

division were deliberately legislated and social (specifically sexual) interaction between

racial groups explicitly forbidden, new social identities and networks are navigated, and

urban spaces are negotiated and re-mapped through participation in dancescapes. In the post-

apartheid context, urban streets are legally open and inclusive, however, the realities of everyday life reveal that urban restructuring has not alleviated the inequalities inherited from the apartheid era, and for many South Africans, the inclusive city is still elusive. The scope of this dissertation project focuses on contemporary Cape Town.  I use an ethnographic exploration of the Cape jazz and salsa dancing scenes to explore issues of territoriality, recognition, embodied memory, and participation as they shape interactions and stimulate the creation of urban spaces of conviviality and contestation.  I interrogate the tensions between the salsa and Cape jazz scenes; tensions that are indicative of overarching struggles over meaning, memory, territory, and belonging and the ways in which these concepts tie into a wider urban politics in contemporary Cape Town.  I combine Henri Lefebvre's conceptualization of the 'right to the city' with literature on emotive and affective responses to urban space in order to engage with alternative understandings of urban participation.

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am grateful to "My Kende" Kefale at The University of Cape Town for sharing important opportunities and for keeping me on the right track.  I would like to thank Dr. Edgar Pieterse and the students of the African Centre for Cities Ph.D. reading group at The University of Cape Town for the collegiality and the intellectual stimulation.

I must give special acknowledgements to Dr. Trudier Harris, Donna Lefebvre, J.D. and the students of the 2006 UNC Honors students in Cape Town for injecting light and liveliness into my Cape Town experiences.  You all made sure that there was never a dull moment, and I am so glad I was able to be a small part of your South African experience. I must give special thanks to the participants in my research project for sharing their time, experiences, and information.  I am grateful to Thulani and Linda in the District Six Museum in Cape Town for all of their help.

I am eternally dear friends Barbara Dressel and Laura Florio for allowing me to feel safe and for keeping me grounded.  You inspire me to strive to be a better person!  Most importantly, I want to express my love and appreciation to Siobhan Johnson for her strength and amazing sense of humor, Robert Johnson for teaching me to appreciate history; and to Meg Morgan for, well, EVERYTHING—including a good kick in the ass every once in a while as necessary.  A special thanks to Justice Johnson for all of the smiles.  I love you all!

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# CHAPTER 1

## DANCESCAPES, EMOTION, AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY IN CAPE TOWN

Just after midnight, the club air is thick with smoke and vibration. The swirl and flash of colorful lights is disorienting—sporadically illuminating the twisting, twirling shimmy-shaking of shoulders, arms, hips, legs, and hair. The vitality, movement, and rhythm of bodies assemble in beat, sweat, and passion—a confluence of individual desires and intentions intermingling to create a collective affective space.  Dance clubs provide opportunities for bodies to intimately (be)come-together; initiating contact that is often passionate, occasionally contentious, and constantly producing new geographies of community, power relations, and resistance. These are spaces of shared movements and shared moments—spaces constantly re-created by bodies through motion and interaction, while simultaneously inseparable from dynamic power relations of positionality and identity. Studying dance and spaces of social dancing allows for an investigation of new avenues of participation, engagement, and movement, not only of and between bodies on the dance floor, but also within the city itself.

South Africa provides a unique context to examine communal and urban spaces of belonging and transformation in relation to dance, because 17 years after the fall of apartheid, South Africans continue to negotiate radically different experiences of multicultural spaces and alternative notions of citizenship. During apartheid, segregated landscapes were built and legislated according to State-ascribed racial and ethnic categories. In cities controlled by the

racial (and gendered) politics of apartheid, mobility was a right granted only to a select few; the movement of black and brown bodies was curtailed and criminalized, particularly after dark, through a policy enforced through surveillance, curfews, police raids, and violence. In this context, nightclubs often provided experiences of pleasure and much-needed escape for patrons. Today, nighttime is still narrated as dark, sinister, and unsafe; and the city at night is generally constructed as a space of fear, insecurity, paranoia, and unease.  Despite such obstacles, dance moves people; it gets them out into the city at night. In a society where difference and division were deliberately legislated and social (specifically sexual) interaction between racial groups explicitly forbidden, new social identities and  networks are navigated, and urban spaces are negotiated, contested, re-created, and re-mapped through participation in night-time dancescapes in post-apartheid Cape Town.

I define dancescape as an amalgamation of dance scenes that are often interlinked either through geographic proximity, membership networks, or influence.  For example, salsa's global industry is a dancescape connected by an elite, dedicated few who have the luxury to travel around the world to various salsa congresses to learn or perform salsa.  Those avid salsa dancers who do not have the opportunity to travel are linked to the global salsa industry through youtube videos, the global trade in salsa instructional DVDs, and through dancers who enter a local salsa scene from abroad.  In the case of Cape jazz, practiced, by definition, primarily in Cape Town or (elsewhere by Capetonian Cape jazz dancers) is part of a dancescape that exchanges influence with Cape Town's langarm, ballroom, salsa, and hip hop dance scenes.  Dancescapes require movement through space; the interaction of bodies as they navigate the dance floor as well as the transfer of emotion and energy between

participants.  Dancescapes incorporate ritual and embodied memory, while simultaneously recognizing the ever evolving patterns of dance movements and shifting social contexts. Dancescapes are mapped onto local political, social, and economic landscapes, and are influenced by global flows and patterns of movement.

This project uses an ethnographic exploration of the Cape jazz and salsa dancing scenes to foreground a discussion of knowledge produced and rooted in embodied and emotive practices of encounter.  It investigates how dance inspires the creation and contestation of new urban pathways, spaces, identities, and connections in South Africa.  For this project, I will be exploring issues of territoriality and control, recognition, embodied memory, mobility, and participation as they connect to an expression of the right to the city and to a wider urban politics of contemporary Cape Town.  In discussing the right to the city, I explore the creation of collective affective urban space as a way of redefining urban participation.   Examining the emotive power of dance participation offers a vital contribution to studies of the everyday lived urban experience.

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**CAPE TOWN AS A RESEARCH SITE**

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Cape Town is a city of fascinating contradictions and complexities.  One is confronted daily with realities that challenge conventional notions of identity and humanity. Cape Town's landscape is one of unrelenting natural beauty.  Whether shrouded in mist; cloaked in mystery, or standing shamelessly exposed, iconic Table Mountain rises majestically over the cityscape.  Teal oceans and white sandy beaches embrace the city,

while impeccable gardens and green spaces display the area's unique biodiversity. Add to the natural beauty the charm of Cape Dutch and Victorian architecture in Tamboerskloof, the splash of colorful homes in Bo-Kaap, the opulent architectural masterpieces in Camps Bay, and the wealth of public art in Woodstock and Zonnenbloom, and one only begins to uncover the visual splender of the city. However, Cape Town is also a city that cannot ignore the ugliness of inequality and blinding poverty. Informal settlements line the freeway traveling from the international airport toward the city centre, street children wander newly remodeled sidewalks lined with chic storefronts on Long Street, asking for change, and police arrest Coloured teenaged boys in leafy white suburbs.

These contradictions are not spatially contained of course—they seep out onto the sunny streets and into the shady corners of the urban landscape. One way to examine the intricacies of social contact and encounter in a city undertaking radical re-structuring, is to examine carefully the not-so- obvious spaces that bring together many different kinds of people into a relatively safe but unstable environment where rules are evolving, roles and changing, and movement is not only expected but required. In this project, I interrogate the politics of dance practices and interactions in clubs as shared moments and spaces of encounter.

South Africa is one of the most fascinating places in the world to study issues of bodies, movement, creation, and space. One experience that profoundly influenced my approach to research was my Peace Corps service in South Africa in 2001-2003. During that time, I began to understand the ways people negotiated challenging obstacles in active and

creative ways. Those two years in rural South Africa also exposed me to the complex and contentious process of nation-building in the post-apartheid context. I experienced the process by which people and policy were engaging the legacies of social and spatial divisions and became aware of the role that embodied memory and claims to heritage play in struggles for space and belonging in both rural and urban contexts.

The selection of Cape Town as a research site for a project on dance and urban change is driven by my broader research interests in urban contexts marked by rapid and significant change transition. My previous studies in North Carolina examined Latino migration and the changing contexts and demography of social interaction in leisure spaces. Cape Town's post-apartheid urban context is one that necessitated extreme urban spatial and legal restructuring, including the on-going programs of densification, integration, and transportation overhaul, not to mention the dramatic re-working of social programming and service delivery. I am interested in the ways in which continued conflicts over changes in the material and symbolic infrastructure of the city play out in urban social spaces. Inclusivity is often officially legislated or incentivized (although seldom achieved or frequently circumvented) in the work place (Black Economic Empowerment initiatives), in retail places, and in public spaces. But what of the spaces and moments of enjoyment that are deliberately sought out as sites of belonging and identity formation? What new insights might an examination of the intimate, emotive, and often political, nature of social dance practices offer about the ways in which people navigate, negotiate, and create urban space? How are these social spaces and practices affected and regulated by global economic and political

trends, South African national and local government policies, as well as by micro scale exclusionary practices and emotional attachments?

Apartheid was a carefully orchestrated system of racialized economic, social, and political domination in which a white minority controlled the mobility of non-white bodies and as well as their access to land, labor, and resources. Residential, institutional, and social spaces were legislatively and architecturally engineered to ensure racial separation (reflected in legislation such as the Group Areas Act of 1950 and the Separate Amenities Act of 1953), and one's existence and citizenship within the Union of South Africa was determined by bodily appearance (reflected in the codification of race under the Population Registration Act of 1950). The organization of urban space was fundamental not only to the function of the apartheid state, but also to the construction of a notion of 'citizen' that excluded non-whites (Robinson 1997).

In the post-apartheid context, urban streets, now legally open and inclusive, are decorated with images and iconography of nation-building: South African flags fluttering from government buildings, signs on street corners, billboards visible from overpasses, and advertisements in shop windows selling everything from beer to banks, all depicting a multicultural utopia[1]. In South Africa today, however, the 'realities' of everyday life are no

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[1] See Sarah Nuttall's work (2008) on advertisements and race in Johannesburg's youth culture.

closer to the promise of national harmony represented in elementary school textbooks and in television commercials: … neoliberal restructuring has not alleviated the inequalities inherited from the apartheid era, and for many South Africans, the inclusive city is still elusive.  The dreams and promises of the anti-apartheid struggle are slipping away, and many South Africans vocalize their frustration and disillusionment with a government plagued by corruption and slow to act.  Gillian Hart argues that "escalating struggles over the material conditions of life and livelihood are simultaneously struggles over the meaning of the nation and liberation, as well as expressions of profound betrayal" (2008, 680).



**Figure 1. Map of Cape Town (Source: City of Cape Town 2011)**

Cape Town is a city of profound difference. The demographics and political affiliations of the Cape Town metropole are radically different from elsewhere in South Africa. Before World War II, Cape Town was considered to be the least segregated city in South Africa; however, still suffering from the legacy of forced removals, contemporary Cape Town remains the most racially segregated city in the country. A city of roughly 3.5 million people, Cape Town is the only major urban area in which the Coloured[2] population is in the majority, approximately 44% of the population (although I have seen this number as high as 57%, see Besteman 2008), followed by Black Africans at 35%, Whites at 19%, and Asians at 2% (Small 2008).

Established as a port city since the 1600s, Cape Town was an important commercial and administrative center. In the late 1800s, factories and industrial output was negligible and the city's economic life was focused on the harbor (Maylam 1990). The discovery of diamonds in Kimberley in 1867 and gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886 spurred economic growth in Cape Town as the proliferation transport lines increased connectivity between the mineral-rich interior and the harbor (Wilkinson 2000). At the turn of the 20th century, Cape

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[2] Throughout this project, I often utilize racial terminology that was imposed on the South African population during apartheid: Indian, white, coloured (using the South African spelling, from the apartheid category that included those of mixed race, Khoisan, and South and Southeast Asian ancestry), and black South African. While I recognize that these terms are socially constructed and represent relationships of power rather than biological categories, they are still commonly used in everyday language in South Africa. People are, however, redefining themselves both within and outside of these terms.

Town further developed into an influential political, economic, and cultural center for the country. During World War I, clothing, textile, food, and paper manufacturing became an important component of the local economy (Wilkinson 2000). The Second World War spurred increasing industrialization in the Cape, and the city's economy continued to emphasize light manufacturing. In 1960, the majority of jobs in Cape Town were in clothing and textiles (Bickford-Smith, van Heyningen, and Worden 1999). Toward the end of the twentieth century, the service-based economy focusing on tourism, hospitality, financial services, and creative industries replaced manufacturing as the foundation of Cape Town's economy. After the fall of apartheid, the end of economic sanctions, and South Africa's re-introduction into the global economy, Cape Town's economy was exposed to competition in international trade. The key textiles and clothing industries were hit especially hard, which resulted in the increased unemployment and the rise of the informal economy (ibid). Currently, public-private initiatives in Cape Town are encouraging the development of knowledge economy rooted in creative industries, design, and telecommunications. In early 2007, the City estimated Cape Town's unemployment rate at 24.5% although the unemployment rate varies dramatically by racial category: black South Africans suffer from the highest unemployment rate (39.7%), followed by members of the coloured population (21.8%), Asians (9.6%) and then white South Africans (4.4%) (Small 2008). Almost 40% of the city's population live below the poverty line (City of Cape Town statistics—accessed 2010). [see Appendix.]

The city is saddled with the shocking statistics of reporting the highest numbers of both murders and drug-related crimes in South Africa (City of Cape Town, 2006b). In fact,

Cape Town has one of the highest murder rates in the world, five times the global average

(Gie 2009). Perhaps not surprisingly, violent crime is concentrated in the most

disadvantaged sections of the city. According to the City's 2009 report on crime, perceptions

and fear of crime results in "increased fragmentation and the polarisation of the city,

characterised by enforced segregation through gated communities, stigmatisation and

exclusion" (Gie 2009). Concern about crime in affluent neighborhoods is the impetus behind

the formation of neighborhood watches, the hiring of private security companies, the

installation of closed-circuit television surveillance systems, razor wire, laser beams, guard

dogs, and electric fences.

By day, Cape Town city spaces can seem relatively integrated: with students,

labourers, and consumers streaming into traditionally white areas. At night, however, the

city undergoes what Besteman describes as "nocturnal withdrawal;" people retreat to

separate residential sections (Besteman 48). The challenge for city officials and urban

planners is to develop and implement policies that enhance the economic attractiveness of

Cape Town in the global marketplace while simultaneously providing for the most basic

needs (at least) of the disadvantaged (Gibb 2007). The social, cultural, political, and

economic challenges have left an indelible mark on the urban landscape that are manifested

in unique ways within the dancescapes I am exploring.


### CITIES AND DIFFERENCE

Cities are mapped not only through the built environment, but also through the ways in which people travel through the city, producing (and being produced by) emotive spaces and driven by desire, purpose, and curiosity.  Cities are also shaped through networks, connections, and social interactions formed through everyday encounters and, significantly, everyday encounters with difference—different ideas, backgrounds, values, and ways of being and living in urban space.  Gil Valentine (2008) credits cultural studies scholar Stuart Hall with stating that the ability to live with social difference is one of the most important issues of the 21st century, therefore worthy of critical academic attention.  As Bridge and Watson point out, differences produce and are produced by urban living and urban space (2000).  The city, they argue, is a particularly important site in which to study difference because the city concentrates and juxtaposes differences of people, activities, and lived space allowing for multiple identities, spaces, and temporalities. In their edited work entitled *Cities of Difference*, Fincher and Jacobs acknowledge that "processes of representation, signification, and performativity are fundamental components of the way identities are constituted and articulated. These processes of defining difference are in a mutually constitutive relationship with the uneven material conditions of everyday life" (1998, 3).  In her work on postcolonial cities, Jane Jacobs reminds us that urban transformation may occur "within a calm consensus" among inhabitants, but more frequently, urban change is forged through and often results in either struggle or reconciliation (1996).  Valentine is critical of scholarly works on cosmopolitanism and new urban citizenship that romanticize or place too much emphasis on the role of urban encounter in social transformation.  She draws a distinction between tolerance of difference and respect of difference; urban contact between

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different social groups, she reminds us, does not always generate relationships of respect (2008).

In discussing social difference in cities (in post-9/11 Britain), Ash Amin (2002) argues that it is through everyday interaction in the city that ethnic and cultural differences can be reconciled. He asserts, however, that proximity alone is not enough to bring about social change and conviviality, and that public spaces do not necessarily promote intercultural exchange. He argues that while scholars have often promoted the transformative potential of multicultural interaction in places like coffee shops, retail centers, parks and plazas, or sidewalks, in reality, however, these spaces are often territorialized by particular groups, intentionally or unintentionally excluding others. Instead, cities need to create spaces of interdependence that he calls "micro-publics of everyday social contact and encounter" (2002, 959), in which interaction is "engineered" as people from different backgrounds are placed in

> "new settings where engagement with strangers in a common activity disrupts easy labeling of the stranger as enemy and initiates new attachments. They are moments of cultural destabilisation, offering individuals the chance to break out of fixed relations and fixed notions, and through this, to learn to become different through new patterns of social interaction" (970).

According to Amin's conceptualization, dance floors would be examples of such micro-publics. In spaces of social dancing, particularly partner work, the success of the partnership, and as we will see later, the strength of the scene is dependent upon talent and cooperation, which are not culturally defined. For this project, I am examining difference not

only in terms of ethnic or socioeconomic background, but also differences in ideologies and practices. This expanded understanding of difference is significant to a more thorough understanding of encounter. Hashing out these differences—negotiations, contestations, and open conflicts over meaning, territory, memory, and a sense of belonging defines the city. Inherent in the constructive processes of encounter are struggles over the rights to the city— the right to create spaces of belonging in the city.

## ANALYZING DANCE

My dissertation project is a marriage of my passion for dance and my fascination with the idea of (self)recognition and belonging. Because of my extensive and deep involvement with salsa scenes in North Carolina and South Africa, I am acutely aware that dancing is creatively powerful and empowering. In my experience, social dancing can allow for the embodied expression of intense joy, and communities can form not only around a shared enthusiasm for the music, but also around a shared desire for belonging. However, social dance scenes are also landscapes through which struggles over control, legitimacy, and social and cultural capital are waged (see Johnson 2011).

Dance theorist Jane Desmond argues that "many of our most explosive and most tenacious categories of identity are mapped onto bodily difference," therefore "we should not ignore the ways in which dance signals and enacts social identities in all their continually changing configurations" (2006, 49).

Dance scholar Judith Hamera (2007) borrows from Amin and Thrift, who state that social transformation requires everyday "meaningful and repeated contact" with difference in every aspect of our urban experiences (2002, 137). Hamera engages with this notion by examining dance practices in Los Angeles as "inherently intimate social and corporeal practices" (2007, 3). She argues that in dancing communities, the "politics of sociality" are initiated by everyday practices and interactions among dancers. It is these intense, intimate, personal and often intercultural connections that provide participants with both the "rhetorical and corporeal tools for communication and cooperation" (17).

Scholars have argued that dance has the ability to defy, evade, and subvert oppressive power structures and categorizations (Delgado and Muñoz 1997; Law 1997; Thrift 1997; 2008). It is the potential of dance to rewrite oppressive histories and re-inscribe oppressive categorizations that incite what Delgado and Muñoz (1997, 10) call "rebellions of everynight life" through dance practices. Examining dance clubs in London, Malbon asserts that dance, as an oceanic experience, can redefine power as internal vitality (1999). Somdahl (2006) examines the political actions of dancers and dance performances in public space, arguing that these dance activities create place and can build communities and shape political identities. However, just as dance has the power to liberate, it also has the ability to discipline, conform, and confine (see Revill 2004; Cresswell 2006; McMains 2004; Gottschild 2003). For example, Tim Cresswell (2006) explains how the codification of ballroom dance stances and steps in 20th century Britain molded the posture of 'respectable' members of British society, and modeled appropriate behavior against degenerate forms of bodily movement. Likewise, Juliet McMains details the ways in which the body is

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painstakingly trained through the restriction, control, and refinement of movements in order to portray the disciplined wildness associated with the Latin dances in American DanceSport (2006; 2009).  Dance, as a movement and performance of and between bodies, creates and is created by spaces that are fluid, multiplicitous, and political.

Dance holds that same social and political power in South Africa where crucial constructed categories of identity were visible on the body, and segregated landscapes were built and legislated according to State-ascribed racial and ethnic categories. Stories abound that illustrate the close relationship between the social and political power and the physical movement of dance. In December of 1973, Mrs. Adams, classified as "Coloured" by the apartheid government, applied to the Department of Community Development (DCD) for a permit that would enable her to invite eleven white South Africans to attend a wedding reception in Athlone, a Coloured group area in Cape Town.   The DCD granted the permit to Mrs. Adams on the condition that "the whites shall not participate in any dancing" (CDC 385 vol. 32/1/4400/155).  Mrs. Adams' permit application was not the only one of this nature with similar stipulations. Specific restrictions prohibiting dancing indicate that, in South Africa's history, social dance practices have often been treated with suspicion, as sites of inappropriate social encounter.  The restrictions highlight the significance that law makers

and gate-keepers of high society placed on social dancing as a dangerously intimate practice that could lead to devious social behavior and, most dangerously, to racial mixing[3].

Mrs. Adams' restrictions date from 1973, but racial mixing of any kind was legally prohibited in 1927, when the Immorality Act stated that any male found guilty of engaging in "illicit carnal intercourse" with a woman of the opposite racial group (in 1927, the only two racial distinctions made in this act were 'European' and 'native') would be sentenced to up to five years in prison.  Likewise, any female found guilty of permitting a man of the opposite racial group to have "illicit carnal intercourse" with her can be sentenced to prison for up to four years.  According to the act, 'illicit carnal intercourse' means sexual intercourse between two people other than between husband and wife.  The burden of proving marriage was placed upon the accused.  In 1950, the apartheid government amended the Immorality Act to state that if the accused can prove to the court that at the time of the commission of the offence, he or she reasonably believed that the person with whom he or she committed the offence was a member of the same racial grouping either by obvious appearance or by general acceptance, then this belief would be a worthy defense.  The 1950 act also changed the word "native" to "non-European."  In 1957, the penalties for those accused of violating the Immorality Act increased to "imprisonment with compulsory labour" for up to seven

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[3] For an interesting account of gender, race, and social dancing, see Aparicio 1998.

years.  Likewise, the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act of 1949 banned marriages between European and non-European (interracial) couples.

South Africa's Immorality Acts prohibited sexual interaction between whites and non-whites because racial mixing threatened the State's "myth of racial purity" (Elder 1998, 156). Social interaction, particularly sexual interaction, was a challenge to the delicate balance of minority rule that was premised on racial superiority (white supremacy) in order to establish and protect white political and economic power and social capital.

In the 20th century, segregated dance scenes in Cape Town became more entrenched as apartheid policies began to be more strictly and efficiently enforced.  However, dance and cultural expression served as important articulations of individual and collective identity, an opportunity to escape and experience a particular feeling of freedom, and a medium through which to protest apartheid conditions. Today social dance practices serve very similar functions in a changing urban landscape and context.  Recognizing the potential power of dance to provide opportunities for meaningful social interaction and transformation as well as to express desire, identity, and memory, what do we overlook if we neglect to examine dance practices more closely?  What about the functioning of cities will we not understand?   In this project, I will address these questions and concepts by unraveling entanglements of affect and emotion, rights to the city, movement and mobility, and urban space.  The overarching questions that guide this research are:

How does examining social dance practices allow for a better understanding of the ways in which the rights to the city are articulated?  What is the role of affect and emotion in

the ways in which urban spaces are created, claimed, and contested?  How are these social spaces and practices affected and regulated by South African national and local government policies, as well as by micro scale practices and attachments?

The scope of this project focuses on contemporary Cape Town, particularly Athlone, an area located on the Cape Flats, and the City Centre.  I was originally interested in examining both Cape jazz and salsa dances because both are couples dances, requiring intimate physical contact, connection, and communication.  As it turns out, the tensions between the jazz and salsa scenes reflect important tensions between these two historically linked areas within the city.

This dissertation project seeks to understand the ways that immaterial forces such as affect and emotion (through salsa and Cape jazz dance practices), shape interactions and stimulate the creation of urban spaces of conviviality and contestation. These processes play out in both the built and natural environments, and are removed neither from the political economy of the city nor from global economic influences and development pressures.

In Chapter Two, I outline my theoretical and methodological approach to this project. I combine literature on Lefebvre's 'right to the city' with literature on emotive and affective responses to urban space in order to engage with alternative understandings of urban participation. I also explain my critical performance auto-ethnographic approach to this research project.  In Chapter Three, I explore the historical and geographical development of Cape jazz dancing with a particular focus on club life.  I trace the relationship between jazz and the enforcement of apartheid policies, and I establish the ways in which Cape jazz

dancing (or "jazzing") has become an identity marker for members of the Coloured community on the Cape Flats. Chapter Four offers a brief history of salsa music and dance, focusing on salsa's jazz influences and the emergence of a small but passionate salsa dance scene in Cape Town. I investigate salsa's claim to cosmopolitanism as it parallels similar claims made by stakeholders in Cape Town's approach to urban renewal and growth. By investigating salsa dancescapes, I examine the processes of space-making in the city; the ways in which people create networks, communities, and territories through dance practices. In Chapter Five, I analyze and interrogate the tensions between the contemporary salsa and Cape jazz dancing scenes. These tensions are indicative of overarching struggles over meaning, memory, mobility, territory, and belonging and the ways in which these concepts tie into a wider urban politics in contemporary Cape Town. Finally, Chapter Six revisits the research questions outlined in this introduction, and proposes future research directions.

# CHAPTER 2

## CONDUCTING RESEARCH ON EMOTION, DANCE, AND RIGHTS TO THE CITY

Scholars have identified the current conjuncture as the Third Urban Revolution characterized by rapid urbanization, global and local interconnections; growth of the urban service economy; changing labor relations; domestic and international migration leading to hybrid and diasporic identities (see Hall, Hubbard, and Short 2008). This urban revolution has resulted in an explosion of renewed scholarly interest in cities with a particular focus on new urbanism. Geographers have explored new urbanism by highlighting the vitality, relationality, organization, and porosity of cities, and often emphasizing the everyday practices of urban life (Massey 2005; Amin and Thrift 2002; Lantham and McCormack 2003). Because of the significance and complexity of urban centers, it is important to examine the nature of cities from a variety of perspectives. Thus, this chapter explores the ways in which theorists attempt to uncover the life of cities: the multifaceted relationships between inhabitants, institutions, and spaces within the city that form the structures and compose the rhythms of everyday urban life. In the following sections, I combine Lefebvre's concept of the 'right to the city' with literature on emotive and affective responses to urban space in order to engage with alternative understandings of urban participation. I then explain my critical performance auto-ethnographic approach to conducting research on dance practices and the creation of urban space in Cape Town.

Perhaps the most significant recent examination of the city has been from the perspective of the "world" or "global" city. In an era of globalization and the increasing influence of urban centers in analyzing the flow of capital and information, Saskia Sassen contends that studying global cities "allows us to recover the concrete, localized processes through which globalization exists" (1996, 206). Cities are important nodes in the global circulation of information and capital—*global* cities are dominant centers for the production, retention, and flow of financial activities and services. Examining global cities also reveals a global economic network of interdependent places. However, as postcolonial scholar Anthony King argues, the global city paradigm ignores the religious and cultural origins of urban inhabitants and the "geopolitico-historical conditions explaining their presence" (King 2006, 16). Scholars say the global city literature has neglected to focus on cities in the developing world, and argue for the inclusion of cities in the global south into a discussion of influence and participation. In response to Sassen's theoretical construction of global cities, Jenny Robinson (2005) makes the case for ordinary cities in order to move urban studies beyond categories like Western, Third World, and Global. She argues that if all cities are considered "ordinary," diverse, and equally complex, then scholars must acknowledge that urbanity and the creation of "new kinds of urban futures are diverse and are the product of the inventiveness of people in cities everywhere" (1). De-privileging Western experiences and exploring the ordinariness of all cities invites the possibility of "creatively imagining the distinctive futures of all cities" (2).

# RECENT DEBATES IN SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES

There is a debate among South African scholars about the specificity of South African urbanism and the merits of using theories from the West or the global North and applying them to a South African context (see Pieterse 2009; Swilling, Simone, and Khan 2003). There is a desire among scholars to dig deeper in urban stories to uncover a multi-faceted, more "authentic" understanding of what it means to live everyday in South African cities —not only to survive, but to thrive, to create, and to struggle to cultivate a sense of belonging. In their recent edited collection, *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis,* Nuttall and Mbembe (2008) depart from a global city paradigm in order to depict the complexity of Johannesburg—not as an African city different from or similar to everywhere else, but instead to assert its elusive nature, unfixing rather than fixing the meanings of the African modern (9). Nuttall and Mbembe argue that South African urban studies has historically privileged analyses through the lens of political economy, generally ignoring "the degree to which the city always operates as a site of fantasy, desire, and imagination" (12). They categorize studies of South African cities into three themes: a focus on the effects of apartheid state planning on spatial dislocation, class differentiation, and racial polarization; an examination of post-apartheid cities through an urban development framework, and finally, an investigation of the spatial restructuring of post-Apartheid cities. Instead, Nuttall and Mbembe argue for the "city-ness" of African cities; they attempt to capture the everyday "rhythms and operations" of the metropolis (9, 15). Mbembe and Nuttall's essay is part of a larger project (appearing first in a 2004 special issue of *Public Culture* and later in the edited book, *Johannesburg: The Elusive Metropolis*) in which they open new paths for the

examination of African urban modernity.  In their afterward to *Johannesburg*, Appadurai and Breckenridge assert that much scholarship on African urbanism is "caught…between joyless developmentalism and tasteless Afrocentrism …. And we have puzzled over the challenges of writing about the politics of hope in Africa without losing sight of its severe sufferings" (2008, 352).

This concern about how to best represent African cities is the focus of the debate that the original special issue sparked between Nuttall and Mbembe, the editors of the special issues of Public Culture, and geographer Michael Watts.  Watts questions whether this project does not "evade, elude, or cheat the reality of money and power, of inequality and suffering" in African urban contexts (353).  Nuttall and Mbembe (2005) respond to Watts' claims by asserting that Watts is guilty of applying a Western or an "outsider" perspective on the study of African cities.  They reject Watts's assertion that invisibility, weak citizenship, and limited governmentality define a particularly African form of "hybrid" urbanism based on the slum.  Nuttal and Mbembe condemn Watts's perspective as a lens through which African and other "Third World" cities have been examined by the global North.  African cities, they argue, represent more than this.  Nuttall and Mbembe call for research that explores not only how people navigate, imagine, and make their homes in cities, but also the "volatile and highly creative process of city transformation and some of the forces behind this transformation" (199).  By way of contribution to this debate, Appadurai and Breckenridge argue that Africa can no longer be asked "to defer its encounter with beauty, desire, commodities, and style" until the rest of the world decides that Africa is finally

"allowed the privilege of having an everyday, of having an urban life, of having lives worth studying and styles worth emulating" (ibid).

This debate centers on not only the politics of knowledge production and the representation of African urbanism in scholarly research, but also the very nature of transformation, modernity, and humanity (see Edgar Pieterse, Notes at Ph.D. seminar, 10/23/09). I argue that the urgent issue at the heart of this debate pivots on the right to the city, on understanding the nature of participation in urban space and which practices count as acts of transformation. This debate concerns itself with what it means to participate in the creation of, at least in the immediate environment, an ideal space within city. This dissertation project is an exploration of affective/emotive registers in order to understand ways in which struggles over the rights to the city--the creation, negotiation, contestation of urban spaces—take shape.

## PARTICIPATION AND RIGHTS TO THE CITY

In this section, I discuss traditional notions of participation. I then present Lefebvre's concept of the rights to the city in order to introduce alternative possibilities for envisioning participation and creation in urban spaces.

Research Question #1: How does examining social dance encounters expand our understanding of participation in the creation of urban space?

Participation, the act of taking part in decision-making processes, has been increasingly proposed as the ideal direction for inclusive and transformative urban

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governance (Long 2008; Rahnema 2010).  Development theorist Majid Rahnema declares

that participation can either be "forced or free," "manipulative or spontaneous," transitive

(oriented toward a goal) or intransitive (not oriented toward a particular purpose or goal)

(2010, 127). Popular protest movements and the politically turbulent 1960s encouraged

theorists to consider the ways in which participation operates at the local level beyond voting

rights to include non-institutional forms of political participation, as well as matters of

influence, power, and control (Doherty 2009; Long 2008, 45). In the 17th and 18th centuries,

the rise of the nation-states as a political entity encouraged the development of modern

representative democracy (Doherty 2009). According to Doherty, the entangled processes of

globalization, urbanization, and decentralization make participatory urban governance more

popular and more plausible. In the 1970s and 1980s, many countries in the developing world

underwent processes of decentralization, redistributing power from the state to local

governments and municipalities (McCarney and Stren 2003, 6).  The term 'governance'

instead of 'government' indicates the shift from state-centered modes of democratic

participation toward decision-making processes that extend beyond elected officials (Doherty

2009; McCarney and Stren 2003). As a concept, governance encompasses "multiple

stakeholders, interdependent resources and actions, shared purposes and blurred boundaries

between the public and private, formal and informal, state, market and civil society sectors,

greater need for coordination, negotiation and building consensus" (Van Vliet (2008), 3;

quoted in Doherty 2009, 20). The ideal of governance was initially celebrated among some

urban planners and social scientists for incorporating voices and perspectives that were

previously under-involved in democratic processes (McCarney and Stren 2003).  People's

participation in decision-making processes is designed to shift power into the hands of participating citizens so that they can have more control over access to resources and have more of a say in planning for the future (Rahnmena 2010, 132; Long 2008).   However, critics argue that governance is little more than "another element of a global hegemonic neoliberal discourse" (McCarney and Stren 2003, 31), and scholars increasingly acknowledge that participation does not necessarily lead to the empowerment of previously excluded people.  In fact, the practice of participation is often co-opted by either governments interested only in political slogans or development agencies interested in receiving project funding.  This co-optation maintains un-even power relationships and can neutralize participation (Long 2008).

Recent scholarship has built upon French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's concept of the rights to the city in order to discuss urban participation.  Cities are sites where belonging is expressed, rights to space are negotiated, and identities are constructed and contested, all of which are everyday processes and practices (Secor 2004).  According to Lefebvre, it is our legacy as human beings to create our own space; the freedom with which we are able to create this space is the crucial measurement of the quality of social life (Shields 1999). Lefebvre believed that the city should be explored as a work of art constantly created and recreated in the everyday rituals and interactions of urban residents (Fenster 2005b).  For Lefebvre, the "right to the city" refers not only to the right to urban services but also the right to inhabit and transform urban space and thus to become a creator of the city: "the right to the city manifests itself as a superior form of rights: right to freedom, to individualization in socialization, to habitat and to inhabit" (1996, 173; quoted in Amin and Thrift 2002, 143).

For Lefebvre, the rights to participation and appropriation are key components of the right to the city. The right to participation ensures that city dwellers can become involved in decision-making processes that regulate, create, and maintain urban space (Lefebvre 1968 in Kofman and Lebas 1996: 174). The right of appropriation entitles the city's inhabitants to "physically access, occupy, and use urban space" (Purcell 2002, 103). However, Purcell reminds us that Lefebvre conceptualizes appropriation broadly to include the right to 'full and complete usage' of city spaces, allowing and encouraging inhabitants to (re)create urban space to meet the needs of everyday life (ibid. quoting Lefebvre 1996, 179). The right of appropriation challenges exclusionary spaces in the city. But beyond this, the right to the city "is not simply a right to consume, since human beings also have a need for creative activity, for the oeuvre, of need for information, symbolism, the imaginary and play" (Parker 2004). According to Purcell, producing space in the city requires planning not only material spaces (roads, parks, buildings), but also constructing social relationships, attachments, sentiments, and an urban imaginary; it involves "producing and reproducing all aspects of urban life" (Purcell 2002, 102).

Lefebvre was theorizing about the rights to the city in the context of student uprisings in Paris in May 1968, events inspired in no small part by Situationist ideology. These uprisings were propagated by an increasing number of social movements focused on articulating alternative and creative ways of engaging urban life in cities (Parker 2004). Stefan Kipfer argues that Lefebvre viewed the May uprisings as a combination "revolutionary assertions to power and spatial centrality" with the aspirations of marginalized groups (2004, 204). As a result of this uprising, Lefebvre envisioned a movement that would

reclaim both the material and the imagined/conceptual spaces of everyday life (Gregory 2000).

Champions of Lefebvre's 'rights to the city' concept generally agree that the idea is promising yet underdeveloped and vague not only about what the right to the city involves, but also how such rights should be implemented, resulting in the adoption of several different ways of envisioning and discussing the rights to the city.  The most common utilization of Lefebvre's "right to the city" is via a discussion of governance and urban citizenship, implying the people's necessary involvement in decision-making processes in planning and policy.  In this literature, the right to the city is often presented as a utopian ideal.

For example, in his work on insurgent citizenship, James Holston uses Lefebvre's framework to illustrate the interrelated processes of urbanization, democratization, and neoliberalization (2010). In the web of these inter-related processes, Holston defines insurgent urban citizenship as the collective recognition of the rights to the city and the ability to confront organized "entrenched national regimes of …inequality" (2).  Mark Purcell (2002) contends that academic interest in the right to the city concept is a reaction to neoliberal urban policies and the shift from local government to local governance. These processes have created exclusionary spaces and practices for city dwellers; thus Purcell argues for urgent attention to the plight of urban inhabitants. Purcell argues for a more radical examination of Lefebvre's idea of the importance of decision-making role of *citadins*, urban citizens.  By elevating the role of the *citadin* in urban social relations, the power structures and relationships that place control over urban space in the hands of the state and capital can

be shifted to *citadins*.  Purcell argues that in an era where the relevance and power of the nation-state are challenged, 'rights to the city' discourse may open new avenues for discussing notions of active citizenship detached from the state.

In a UN-HABITAT and UNESCO 2009 joint report entitled *Urban Policies and the Right to the City:  Rights, Responsibilities and Citizenship*, the authors cite Lefebvre's notion of the city as a heterogeneous public "place of social interaction and exchange," and struggle over the meaning and function of the city (15).  Defining the right to the city as a "claim upon society" for recognition, access, and the ability to shape urban space and direction, the report argues that these rights be "granted both to individuals and to collective groups— creating cosmopolitan development that celebrates cultural diversity and encourages intercultural collaboration" (16). The report states that the right to the city does not bestow *specific* rights on inhabitants, but somewhat vaguely grants certain freedoms and responsibilities on all urban citizens to participate in urban life.  Likewise, local governments must ensure that government operations are transparent, equitable, and efficient and that inhabitants are free to participate in decision-making processes. City government must recognize and respect the economic, social and cultural diversity of its inhabitants, and work to reduce poverty, violence, and social exclusion.  Here, participation implies active citizenship, in that city inhabitants play an important role in shaping the policies that affect the future of the city.

Similar to the above concepts of the right to the city as participation in decision-making processes, recent literature also defines the right to the city as inclusivity—the ability

of inhabitants to be socially included through fair and equal access to economic and political opportunities and public space.

Anna Plyushteva (borrowing from Fainstein 1996, 26) argues that the primary assumption written into Lefebvre's right to the city concept is that "production of urban spaces reproduces social injustice" (85). She suggests that "equality and dignity" are ultimately at the center of the struggle for social justice, not issues of urban space, although she does recognize that the city is the platform on which these struggles play out. Instead of being "static and untouchable," urban public space should be "dynamic" and adaptable to the need of urban citizens. The concept of rights to the city, she argues, should be redefined to articulate "a right-as-means rather than right-as-end" for those inhabitants actively asserting and negotiating their existence in the city.

Gilbert and Dikeç (2008) argue that examining recent vociferous debates on citizenship and immigration provide an avenue for examining the rights to the city. For Lefebvre, they argue, the urban is not limited to the boundaries of a city, but also involves the city's system of social production. Therefore, they argue, "the right to the city is a claim for the recognition of the urban as the (re)producer of social relations of power, and the right to participation in it" (254).

As Stefan Kipfer points out, Lefebvre perceived the urban to be "an ensemble of differences," therefore Kipfer argues that the "right to difference" is "the flipside of asserting the right to the city" (Kipfer 2008, 204). Tovi Fenster (2005) critiques Lefebvre's right to the city from a feminist perspective, arguing that this notion neglects patriarchal power

structures. To expose this negligence, Fenster examines the everyday practices and experiences of women in London and Jerusalem to uncover the ways in which attachments to place and feelings of belonging are gendered. For Fenster, Lefebvre's right to the city is based on a particular understanding of public space as white middle-upper class, heterosexual and male. These spaces are often not used and experienced by nor open to women and ethnic/cultural minorities in the same way. Fenster argues that by failing to establish the relationships between the "public" and "private" realms, in the city, Lefebvre defines a public domain that "is sterilized from any power relations" and his notion of the right to the city is not sensitive to the "gendered realities" of many urban inhabitants.

In a different approach to what the 'right to the city' means, Don Mitchell, in his seminal work, *The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space*, argues that cities are made and remade through struggle. For Mitchell, rights are social relations of power, and the rights to the city are reliant on access to public space, but what and where public space is, he usually leaves ambiguous and undefined. The heterogeneous nature of cities necessarily reflects people with different backgrounds, agendas, and ideas about how cities should operate, what they should look like, and which urban experiences are valuable. Mitchell suggests that cities are formed and social justice is championed through struggles over different ideas and projects, the conditions of public space, and definitions and entitlements of citizenship. In other words, cities are formed through encounters with and struggles over difference--different backgrounds, meanings, memories, and ideas.

**RIGHTS TO CITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In the post-apartheid era, bolstered by a new constitution, South Africans have

embraced the language of rights in a continued struggle to create an equal and open society.

South Africans use rights talk to articulate a desire for improved access to basic human and

social services (clean water, housing, sanitation, education, and health care), land,

employment and voting rights.  A number of important studies examine this continued

engagement with the state and local governments and civil society.

In pondering the question of how to rebuild South African cities, prominent scholar

Abdoumaliq Simone (2004) thinks that we have to go beyond viewing the right to the city as

a right to basic services.  For Simone, the right to city indicates a right to pursue one's

aspirations, a right which fundamentally relies upon the residents' abilities to create

connections between the "infrastructures, spaces, populations, institutions, and economic

activities of the city" (323).  Establishing these connections, Simone argues, are often

motivated by the everyday "sensate" and "intuitive capacities" and practices of inhabitants

"to create experiences of reciprocity and structures that stimulate actors to better anticipate

each other" (unpublished paper, 3).  In this interpretation, the right to the city cannot be

legislated entirely by local government and through urban policy initiatives—urban residents

must play an active role in the pursuit and realization of their aspirations.

Simone discusses the right of the city as enabling aspirational pursuits—following

one's inner-most hopes and dreams—and thus goes beyond linking participation solely to

voting rights and access to public places.  Likewise, Zayd Minty uses Lefebvre's right to the city to outline the role of culture and cultural expression in the cultivation of inclusivity in Cape Town.  He argues that inhabitants often articulate an imagination of the city through the medium of performance and visual arts, forms of expression which can facilitate understanding and unity across socioeconomic and cultural boundaries (2005).  Additionally, artists and cultural expressions are often inspired by inner-most emotional responses to places, people, memories, or events.

I outline an approach to participation and the right to the city that goes beyond decision-making roles and access to public space. The approaches to participation outlined above do not explain the important affective and emotional maneuverings and negotiations that are part and parcel of urban participation.  These conceptualizations of Lefebvre's right to the city imply a *direct* and *intentional* engagement with the state or structures of governance.  In this project, I expand the definition of participation to include the intransitive, everyday negotiations and contestations inherent in social dance practices and integral to creation of social space.  While these dance scenes serve as reflections of broader urban issues and stories in Cape Town, involvement in these scenes does not necessarily indicate an intentional articulation of rights.  Nevertheless, social dance practices represent active participation in the creation and appropriation of urban space and social networks, therefore social dance practices, as embodied negotiations of Lefebvre's right to the city, demands attention. I argue that these struggles are also not only struggles over public space, but, importantly are struggles over the ability to create and access "thick spaces" of belonging in the city—space imbued with meaning and memory for inhabitants.

I am intentionally decontextualizing Lefebvre's right to the city to make it applicable in a Cape Town context[4]. Lefebvre's concept emerged in a very specific European context in which he articulates his disillusionment with the social relationships of capitalism and with the state. His work on the right to the city yet expresses hope for a city future. I use the concept of the rights to the city as a way of examining spaces, movements, and relationships in Cape Town. As a city first established as a way station in the 1600s, Cape Town has developed within a unique context—but one that is not removed from global flows of capital, power, and information. I decontextualize Lefebvre's right to the city—I extract the essence of the right to inhabit and create urban space.

For this project, I am looking at a different aspect of rights to urban space, an alternative method of creating space and a sense of belonging in the city. At a time when South Africans are exploring and articulating their rights, this project offers a different framework from which to examine the negotiation and expression of these rights. I am interested in the micro-politics of encounter with difference, the ways in which these encounters are shaped by emotion, and how they reflect and influence the broader socio-

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[4] Lefebvrian scholar, Elizabeth Lebas (1983) argues that academics reading and writing about Lefebvre in English often translate and transfer his concepts out of the specific French context in which Lefebvre developed these ideas. While translation and appropriation of Lefebvre's concepts may open new theoretical possibilities, Lebas argues that translating pieces out of temporal order and decontextualizing Lefebvre's work removes it from the events and intellectual debates of its time. Instead his work takes on the debates of the new context. Stuart Elden criticizes scholars for appropriating Lefevre's ideas without properly recognizing Lefebvre's theoretical or political background. Elden seems particularly hostile to the incorporation of Lefebvre into postmodernist "pick 'n' mix" projects, lacking in theoretical rigor (809).

political urban landscape.  In my utilization of Lefebvre's concept, I am exploring

participation and the right to the city as the everyday emotions, passion, inspirations, and

negotiations practices that comprise the creation of spaces and connections in the city.

Through movement, social dancers participate in the creation and negotiation of city

spaces.  As an emotive, embodied activity, dance allows participants to establish territory and

to cultivate a sense of belonging.  It is important to explore dance practices as affective,

emotive practices in order to reveal new ways of understanding lived experience, interaction,

participation, and creation in the city.

## AFFECTIVE-EMOTIVE GEOGRAPHIES, DANCE, AND THE CITY

In the following section, I will outline the influences and debates of affectivo-emotive

geographies, then establish the linkages between dance, affect, and the city to theorize my

second research question:

Research Question #2: What is the role of affect, emotion and encounter in the ways

in which urban spaces are created, claimed, and contested?

Davidson and Milligan (2004) claim that "the most immediate and intimately felt

geography is the body, the site of emotional experience and expression" thus necessitating

the need to explore "how we feel—as well as think—through 'the body'" (523).  Emotions,

they argue, are related to place and can alter the way place is experienced and understood.

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Emotions are "connective tissues that link experiential geographies of the human psyche and physique with(in) broader social geographies of place." (524).   Phil Hubbard (2005) conceptualizes emotions as "the felt and sensed reactions that arise in the midst of the (inter)corporal exchange between self and world" (121-122).   In what Keith Woodward (2007) has termed "the emotive turn" in Anglo-American geography, geographers have recently emphasized the importance of affect and emotion when studying the relationship between the body and place.

Although his most often utilized engagement with affect is drawn from *A Thousand Plateaus* with Félix Guatarri, Deleuze develops a theory of affect throughout his lifework.[5] Affect, for Deleuze, describes a body's capacities to act and capacities to be acted upon or affected.[6] He describes affect in a way that looks radically different from common definitions of emotion:  affect is the power *to* (Woodward 2007).  In his work on *Ethics*, Spinoza describes affect as the body's 'power of action,' suggesting that each encounter with other objects, people, events, or processes either enhances the individual's power of acting, or reduces it (1989, 129-131; cited in Duff 2010).  Duff explains that for Spinoza, "this affective modification involves a transfer of power, capacities, or action-potential between bodies"

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[5] For this discussion of affect, I am drawing on the following texts: Deleuze and Guatarri, *A Thousand Plateaus* 1987, 256-57; Bonta and Protevi 2004; Colman (in Deleuze Dictionary; Woodward 2007)

[6] This is tied into the notion of longitude and latitude to map the body in terms of sets of relations and affects. For a more in depth discussion of this concept, see Woodward 2007; Bonta and Protevi 2004; Deleuze Dictionary).

(885).  She suggests that affect is a particular way the body manifests the "power of acting" (Duff 2010,882 quoting Deleuze, 1988, page 50). Brian Massumi's work has also been extremely influential: he describes affect as a "felt but impersonal, visceral but not neatly corporeal, force of intensive relationality" (Lantham and McCormick 2004, 706).  Borrowing from Deleuze, Massumi asserts that affect is autonomous in that it can escape confinement and capture within the body (Massumi 2002: 35).  Hayden Lorimer (2008) describes affect as "properties, competencies, modalities, energies, attunements, arrangements and intensities of differing texture, temporality, velocity and spatiality, that act on bodies, are produced through bodies, and transmitted by bodies" and do not necessarily follow any rational or predictable logic (552).   For Thrift, one feels moved by affects and affections, although one may not necessarily be able to describe them or even be conscious of them (2004; in Duff 2010). Mike Featherstone (2010) describes affect as an *intensity*: "an unstructured non-conscious experience transmitted between bodies, which has the capacity to create affective resonances below the threshold of articulated meaning" (199). In *A Thousand Plateaus*, Deleuze and Guatarri assert that affects are becomings; not only is it an experiential force, but affect can also become material, as it can "compel systems of knowledge, history, memory and circuits of power" (Colman 2005, 11-12).  According to Colman's reading of Deleuze, affect is the force driving social production in the contemporary world, and "affective power can be utilized to enable ability, authority, control and creativity" (p12).

Because affective geography is nascent, much of the energy in affective-emotive geographies has been spent outlining what constitutes 'affect' versus what falls into the realm of 'emotion,' (often these terms are used interchangeably).  Woodward thoroughly outlines

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these debates arguing that while both affective and emotional geographies explore force relations between bodies, their articulations and receptions differ in important ways, and he examines this primary distinction as follows:

"Emotions can be understood as those forces working upon a body that are "sensed," recognized, and represented to the self and attributed a certain subjective content in the general form of "I feel x". In contrast, affect works within the range of the "pre-individual" (Simondon 1964; 1989), "quasi corporeal" (Massumi 2002: 58), or "pre-subjective" (Spinks 2001: 24); that is, those force relations that are in-between, operating upon bodies' openness to and production through the outside" (169-170).

Woodward detects a common thread among emotional geographies that draws on phenomenological understandings of the specific, political, and personal relationships among the body, space and place. Emotional geographies often highlight the formation of *representational* geographical knowledge through particular embodied ways of being and doing that may operate at different sensual registers other than the visual, textual, and linguistic. Geographies of affect, in contrast, privilege *extra-representational* approaches to analyzing the invisible worldly forces, while consciously steering clear of defining static concepts or categories. These texts instead concentrate on the ways that "meaning frequently slips away from intense, embodied movement and practice on the ground" (189). Woodward sees this as the key distinction between the developing geographic theories of emotion and affect.

In his essay on hope and affect, Ben Anderson (2006) describes the relationship among feelings, emotions, and affect as follows: feelings are instantaneous indicators of the existence of an affected or affecting body while emotions represent a more extensive set of relations that can be considered "corporeal intelligence-in-action" (737). Affect cannot be captured by, and in fact exceeds, the expression of emotions or feelings. Steve Pile (2009) also attempts to tease out the similarities and differences in emotional and affective geographies. Emotional geographies, he asserts, examine expressed emotional experiences, treating people's own accounts as genuine and forthright. Representations of emotions are socially constructed—they are located in the body and relationships between bodies. While emotions may take on social forms of expression, these expressions seek to represent genuine personal experiences. Pile explains that affective geographies do not assume the nature of emotions and assume people's accounts of their emotional experiences are necessarily superficial. Pile defines affect as a non-or pre-cognitive and transpersonal (both within and between bodies) capacity which a body has to affect and to be affected. Pile admits that theories of affect are often deemed to be too abstract and ungrounded by scholars attempting to understand the ways in which people understand their lives.

Given their commitment to the extra-representational (as opposed to the representational), geographic studies dealing with affect have emerged, in part, in an engagement with Nigel Thrift's work on non-representational theory. Thrift's Non-Representational Theory (NRT) opens possibilities for an examination of practices, "corporeal routines," and examinations of the body regarding pre-cognition, affect, and the sensual, challenging the hegemony of cognitive and visual epistemologies. Thrift describes

affect as "a form of thinking, often indirect and non-reflective true, but thinking all the same. And, similarly, all manner of the spaces which they generate must be thought of in the same way, as means of thinking and as thought in action. Affect is a different kind of intelligence about the world, but it is intelligence nonetheless" (187). One of the critiques of Thrift's Non-Representational Theory (as it was first outlined in the late 1990s) is that NRT is apolitical, or as Thien argues, the politics of change that NTR puts forward is established on unreal and apolitical bases (2005). Thrift's focus on the pre-cognitive as a universal can instigate a dangerous retreat from the politics of the body, threatening to undo much of the attention that feminism and Queer Theory has focused on body politics (Nash 2000; Thien 2005). A second (and related) criticism of Thrift's NRT is that it reinforces the separation between mind and body reflecting a Cartesian dualism/dichotomy. Harding and Pribram (2002) argue that Thrift negatively positions emotion in opposition to reason. Since these critiques surfaced, work in affective geographies has sought to rectify this oversight by focusing the political manipulation of affective registers.

## DANCE AS EMBODIED EMOTIVE GEOGRAPHIES

Attempting to understand the transpersonal flow of affect or emotions as embodied practices has pushed research beyond the visual and textual into areas such as performance as non-representational geographies. Smith and Wood (2004) claim that performance can expose the "affective content of those 'tacit knowledges' which subjects can enact but not necessarily articulate verbally or consciously" (535). Dance as an affective and emotive

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corporeal routine has largely been ignored by geographers until recently when, in search of alternative ways of knowing, interest in embodiment, non-representational theory, and performativity has challenged geographers to examine dance practices more closely (Davis and Dwyer 2007; Nash 2000; Saldanha 2005). In his work on rave scenes in Goa, India, Arun Saldanha (2005) very clearly illustrates the interconnections of music, body, affect, and space. He argues that "music defines spaces of belonging through the repetition of difference. If music is nonrepresentational, neither reflecting nor transcending but shaping social reality, especially through dance, then the geography of music is the study of the interplay of sound, embodiment, space and politics" (2005, 719). Saldanha describes not only the affect that the sound has on bodies, but also the sweat, the sun, the humidity— he explains that all of the body's scenes are related to time and space, therefore music is experienced through legs, guts, posture, smell, touch, and sight.

In his explorations of vibrations and Jamaican dancehall scenes, Julian Henriques (2010) writes that movement and affect are embodied together, thus "to feel…is to feel moved" (57). His article focuses on the ways in which affect is transmitted like vibrations between bodies on the dance floor. Geographic studies dealing with affect, emotion and dance in particular, have emerged, in part, in response to Nigel Thrift's work on non-representational theory (Thrift 2008). The embodied and affective quality of dance contribute to what Thrift calls the "sixth kinaesthetic proprioceptive sense" of dance, which is difficult to articulate. Theorists and geographers studying dance are concerned with Thrift's tendency to ignore not only the political, but also the social, historical, and cultural contexts of dance practices and embodiment. As George Revill points out, dance for Thrift, is a "metaphor for

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unreflected, unarticulated, practical action" (2004, 201; see also Saviliano 2000), a point that Revill refutes by mentioning that his ability to achieve a particular sense of freedom and expressivity was hindered by incompetence and that the mindless state of 'nature' the NRT suggests ignores years of rigorous training the body must go through (Revill 2004, 206; see also Saviliano's description of the dedication and practice necessary to achieve the elusive 'tango high'; thus the 'natural-ness' of the dance is actually the effect of a body intelligence developed through years of training and experience.) Saldanha is also quick to point out that non-representational theory gives little attention to the differentiations between bodies (corporeal specifications), and therefore to the actual politics that arise in dancescapes. I value Thrift's attention to dance and his recognition of the (often underestimated) power of affective movements of dance practices. However, I agree with Saldanha's approach and cannot ignore the representational meanings and material aspects of the dancers and the dance scenes that I examine for this project. The emotive qualities of dance and dance *combined* with materiality of the body (such as the age, size, or physicality of the body contributing to ability), the representational meanings associated with bodily appearances (such as race or gender) and meanings attached to dance scenes (such as locations of clubs or memories of dance experiences) are often what make dance participation so politically charged. Therefore, I borrow from and build upon NRT by examining the functioning of affect and emotion as well as the social and historical contexts of salsa and jazz dance scenes ethnographically.

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# AFFECT AND URBAN STUDIES

Increasingly, scholars have called for the examination of the ways in which affect operates in cities.  Loretta Lees (2002) argues for approaches to urban studies that link the material and the immaterial.  She argues in particular for ethnographic methodologies which de-emphasize representation in favor of theories of practice as engaged modes of understanding.  In response to Lees, Lantham and McCormack (2004) argue for conceptualizations of urban materiality that recognizes the significance of the immaterial.  In fact, Lantham and McCormack reject the inclination to establish materiality and immateriality as binary opposites in which the material is defined as the concrete, the tangible, and the "real" and the immaterial as the abstract and the "unreal" (704).  Materiality must be reconsidered as movement and process while immateriality must be conceptualized in order to integrate various "non-representational forces and practices and processes through which matter is always coming into being" (705).

Recent scholars continue to debate the role of affect in urban studies, but all assert that it has a role. Nigel Thrift (2008) argues that scholars of urban studies must not neglect to recognize that the "systematic knowledges [involved] in the creation and mobilization of affect have become an integral part of the everyday urban landscape" (172).  Additionally, in their article calling for the rematerialization of research in urban geography, Lantham and McCormack (2004) argue for increased attention to affect, stating that scholarship engaged with the materiality of urban space must also recognize the significant role that affective economies plays in the construction of materiality.  In his assessment of de Certeau's essay

on walking in the city and the work in Cultural Studies that engages this essay, Brian Morris (2004) calls for a more robust examination of the role of affect in understanding everyday urban practices.  Rising to this challenge, Cameron Duff (2010) explores the relationship between affect, belonging, and place in youth social spaces in Vancouver.  Feeling, she contends, is embedded in much of the rituals, routines, and places of everyday life; "to walk in the city is to be affected by the city, just as one's walking affects the city that this walking produces" (884).  Using Edward Casey's concept of "thick" and "thin" places, Duff seeks to explore the ways in which "thin" places are transformed through affective registers into places imbued with memory, identity, and attachment.  'Thick' spaces are rich, meaningful, and provide for the individual a sense of belonging and an affective experience (Duff 2010). Duff suggests that "thin" places, in comparison, are unmemorable and indistinctive; they "offer nothing to hold the self in place" (882). She offers the examples of "thin" places as shopping malls, international airports, and fast food restaurants, places designed to be homogenous and unspecific.  Duff's contribution to the literature is an analysis of the ways in which thin places are transformed into thick places through the labour of affective rendering. Youth engage in both individual and collective "processes of navigation and memorialization" of places to construct a sense of belonging in the city (888).

In his 2009 inaugural lecture at The University of Cape Town, Edgar Pieterse, director of the African Centre for Cities recognizes the attention to affect as a promising epistemological contribution to African urban studies.  He suggests the importance of examining affect/emotion and the related judgments, actions, responses, and intentions "because it is only through the redeployment of such registers that one can begin to fathom

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what is going on in the real city" (14). Affect is therefore an important part of the ways in which cities in South Africa come to be understood. But what exactly do empirical examinations of affect allow us to understand about lived urban experiences and the right to create urban space? As Minty (2005) points out, cultural expression and performance are important avenues through which residents can participate in the making of urban space. In this dissertation, I focus on the ways in which participation in dance scenes inspires emotional responses, which in turn influence movement, actions and interactions that enable people to participate in the creation of urban space.

In this chapter, I am discussing affect as a non-conscious, un-articulated feeling transmitted between bodies and across spaces. It is a feeling that inspires an embodied response. In interviews and casual conversations, dancers often described the "vibe" of a particular place. In these exchanges, vibe describes a feeling or energy transmitted between and among people and through space. The affective confluence of bodies in motion, energy (generated, in part, by attitudes and movement), sound, and light creates vibrations, a vibe that attaches sentiment to place and influences the dancing experience. Emotion, in contrast, is an articulated feeling that is also embodied and also inspires actions and reactions, but emotions are felt and expressed by an individual, and not necessarily transmitted between bodies. Emotions are recognized, expressed, or represented forces working within and upon a body. Affect is not confined within the body; it relies upon a circulation among and interactions with other bodies.

In the next section, I describe the empirical methodology I will use to explore these aspects of dance participation.

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# THE ETHNOGRAPHY OF DANCE: CRITICAL ETHNOGRAPHY AS EMBODIED QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Reviews of recent qualitative work in geography have lamented the lack of attention to embodied research practices.  In their review of qualitative geography, Davies and Dwyer (2007) argue that in order to attain a more complete understanding of the interrelationship between affect, emotion, embodiment, and social life, new methodological approaches are necessary. The methodological problem with studying affect and *feeling*, according to Keith Woodward, is the seemingly impossible endeavor to represent the non-representational (2007).  He points out that when we as researchers interview individuals about their experiences, how should we analyze their responses?  Do we take these responses as truth, as mental maps, or do we analyze them as evidence of subjective experiences? He outlines the epistemological problem that this poses:  "nonrepresentational theory identifies affects that are deeply immediate and material, the stuff composing the material world and its relations, but as soon as we begin talking about them, we've stopped talking about them and are talking about something else" (34).  The question becomes: how do we articulate knowledge and practices based around and rooted in affect/emotion?

Research on affect, non-representation, and emotional geographies (and the intersections of these) has been a recent avenue for discussing embodied geographies.  In its attempt to bridge theory and practice, Nigel Thrift's Non-Representational Theory (NRT) has, in many ways, jump-started examinations of pre-cognitive processes, feeling, affect, and

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emotion. Thrift laments that, in geography, analyses of materiality have been stifled both by an 'undue' focus on the cognitive and by inadequate technologies that might allow for a more thorough understanding of material practices. Methodologically, NRT encourages "equal rights to disclosure, through dialogical actions rather than texts, through relation rather than representation" (148). As an intervention, Woodward proposes an ontology of difference that "retains political force while incorporating recent, difficult-to-define conceptualizations such as affect" (38). To help me work through the question of method, I turn to Wood, Duffy and Smith's work on musical methodologies in which they discuss how to conduct research which addresses the nonrepresentational, affective, and creative qualities of music (2007). I will address specific methods in more detail below.

I am practicing critical ethnography by conducting interviews, engaging in casual conversations, narratives, participatory mapping, and doing archival research as a means of accessing knowledge through an affective, haptic methodology. I begin by offering a somewhat detailed definition of critical ethnography, and follow with a discussion of why it is the most appropriate approach to studying affective, embodied, everynight life practices of dance and mobility. In addition, in the spirit of auto-ethnography, I use my own work as a dancer/performer to enhance the more traditional methods of collecting ethnographic data. I also took extensive notes of the many aspects of night life in Cape Town South Africa from March 2009 to May 2011.

While scholars do not dispute the importance of studying the role of emotion and affect in lived urban experiences, there is less agreement as to the methodologies that should

be used to extract an understanding of this role. I am using critical ethnography and borrowing elements from performance, dance, and auto-ethnography in order to explore movement, actions, and interactions as articulations of emotional responses.

## ETHNOGRAPHY

One of the key traditional embodied methodological approaches in geography is ethnography. Ethnography has a long history within the discipline of geography; however, as Herbert (2000) points out, it has been a rather neglected history. Herbert argues that ethnography is a key methodological tool for understanding the embodied social practices, processes, and meanings of everyday life, because it not only examines what people *say*, but also what they *do*. He argues that the researcher's body must be thought of as a research instrument. Reflexivity is a popular way in which embodied research in geography is methodologically approached. Reflexivity and the role of these power relationships in the production of knowledge (and the insecurity arising from this self-consciousness of power relations) has been the focus of much attention for ethnographers in geography and beyond. In 2003, Crang argues that, with the possible exception of a few sentences of reflexivity in a methodology section, the body of the researcher is written out of (or disappears from) the rest of the research product despite discussions of research being co-or-doubly produced, and the vital positionality of the researcher in the field (Katz 1994). Additionally, he argues that while there have been important studies which "recognize the positioning and presence of

bodies, along with how they are made socially meaningful, there are rather few that unpack

the body as active agent in making knowledge" (499; see also Longhurst, Ho and Johnston

2008).  In 2005, Crang laments that

> "while we have struggled to populate our work with real subjects rather than research objects, there have been fewer attempts to talk about materialities in practice if not in topic…While we have talked around emotion, there has been less work through emotions…The body has recently become an important topic of work, but not yet something through which research is often done" (232).

Dance is a language of the body—a signifying system of images and symbols

(symbolic gestures) that communicates information and expresses emotion.  Because of the

intimate and emotive quality of social dance, I am borrowing concepts from both dance and

performance ethnography to broaden my understanding of ethnographic research for this

project.   Dance ethnographer Deidre Sklar laments the tendency in academic research to

erase the researcher's body from scholarly text and argues that the body is one of a dance

ethnographer's primary resources because "there is no other way to approach the felt

dimensions of movement experience than through the researcher's own body" (2000, 71).

*Dance* ethnography recognizes that research is grounded in the body and operates through

bodily experiences rather than through abstractions.  Likewise, *performance* ethnography,

according to Soyini Madison, is "particularly suited to unveil the oft hidden and convoluted

processes of power, discourse, and materiality" because of the presence and performance of

the body in research practices (Madison and Hamera 2000, 347).  In their handbook of

performance studies, Madison and Hamera credit Dwight Conquergood's 1991 essay,

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"Rethinking Ethnography: Towards A Critical Cultural Politics" as a foundational piece for performance ethnography.  Conquergood argues that the performance paradigm in ethnography privileges

> participatory, dynamic, intimate, precarious, embodied experience grounded in historical process contingency, and ideology…performance-centered research takes as both its subject matter and method the experiencing body situated in time, place, and history.  The performance paradigm insists on face-to-face encounters instead of abstractions and reductions.  It situates ethnographers with the delicately negotiated and fragile 'face-work' that is part of the intricate and nuanced dramaturgy of everyday life (Conquerwood 1991, 359).

Because of my involved role in the salsa scene (I will explain this in depth below), I employ an auto-ethnographic technique at various moments in this dissertation. An auto-ethnographic research product is typically written in the first person and features dialogue, emotion, and self-consciousness as relational and institutional stories affected by history, social structure, and culture (Holt 2003). According to Ellis, Adams, and Bochner (2011), auto-ethnography is a methodological approach that describes and analyzes personal experience in order to attempt to understand cultural phenomena.  Auto-ethnographers strive for honest recognition and articulation of the ways that the research process is influenced by the ethnographer's personal experience, subjectivity, and emotionality (Ellis, Adams, and Bochner 2011).  Leon Anderson (2006) outlines what he identifies as the key principles of analytic auto-ethnography.  He argues that an analytic auto-ethnographer is a "full member in the research group or setting" and that this membership is evident and visible in published research texts.  The analytic auto-ethnographer is analytically reflexive, engages with

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informants, and is committed to "improving theoretical understandings of broader social phenomena" (375).

In examining the affective knowledges of performance, Wood and Smith (2004) force us to ponder "what feelings do, how they can be mobilized and lived and what they do *for*, to and *through* people's lives" (540). In order to grasp situated, embodied meanings through the research, the ethnographer must be a co-performer in the everyday lives of research subjects (ibid., Turner 1975). An interdisciplinary collection of scholars use performance auto-ethnography as a way of recognizing their role in the co-performative research field, and writing themselves into this field. In his dissertation, cultural studies scholar, Xavier Livermon uses what he calls *performance auto-ethnography* to interrogate his own performing body within his analytical critique. He says that "because I am a part of the very performances that I theorize, I have inserted myself into the text, as an autoethnographic practice, so that the reader understands that much of my analysis is based on who I am, and how that may have affected how people interacted with me in the research process" (2006, xiv). Dance theorist Anna Scott uses performance auto-ethnography when discussing the ways in which her dancing body is read and responded to while participating in a samba class for research purposes. In this particular samba class, Scott explains how her dark dancing body functioned "as a measure or indicator or even regulator of 'authentic,' 'real,' 'proper'— not 'knowledge,' 'skill,' 'technique.' "I was what the dance was supposed to look like" (Scott 2006, 266). Performance auto-ethnography allows Scott to interrogate issues of race and authenticity as she observes her own interactions and movements in relation to other participants in the samba class.

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Employing Lefebvrian concepts of space as 'actively produced through situated, embodied material practices, and their associated discourses and power relations,' Gillian Hart proposes a *critical* ethnography that places emphasis in examining how objects, events, places, and identities are 'constituted in relation to one another through power-laden practices in the multiple interconnected arenas of everyday life' (22).

I am defining my methodological approach as critical ethnography inspired by dance, performance, and auto-ethnography in which I examine the interconnectedness and spatiality of body, emotion, space, and event while recognizing and narrating my role as an active participant, being influenced by and influencing the situations and people involved in this research project. In order to understand, I must participate in the nightlife practices of my informants and must follow them not only through the city, but also onto the dance floor. Because I will be sharing affective, emotive moments and movement with people in my study, my body becomes an undeniable part of the scene. Throughout my research, I have been practicing critical performance ethnography in addition to interviews, casual conversations, narratives, and archival research as a means of accessing knowledge through a haptic methodology. I have been an active member of the salsa scene in Cape Town from August to January of 2006, and from April 2009 to May 2011. In addition to being an ethnographer conducting fieldwork within the salsa scene in Cape Town, I am also a semi-professional salsa dancer, performer, and salsa event organizer. I have performed with most of the salsa dance companies in Cape Town as well as several of the local salsa musicians. I have taught workshops and private lessons in Cape Town. I directed an all-female salsa dance company and have choreographed routines with prominent dancers in the scene. This

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level of active participation allows me not only to observe the emotional aspects of people and events but to participate fully in them.  People have expressed feelings about actions or events to me in casual conversation on the dance floor that they will not repeat in a recorded interview.  In addition to being expressed verbally, emotions such as frustration, excitement, and disappointment can be read through the body and are often subtly expressed through gestures, eye contact, posture, and in the lead and follow of social dancing.

## ARCHIVAL RESEARCH

From August to January of 2006 and from April 2009 to May 2011, I conducted archival work and gathered data at The University of Cape Town Archives, the Western Cape Provincial Archives, the District Six Museum, and the City of Cape Town.  I had an interesting experience looking for information about the development of the Athlone area. After conducting several internet searches for scholarly documents on the historical development of Athlone, I started my archival search at the District Six Museum.  A woman working at the District Six Museum developed a website dedicated to the history of Athlone, but I noticed that there is not an abundance of information on the site.  She told me that she conducted her search for background information at the Cape Town library, the National Library in Cape Town, as well as at the Athlone library.  She admitted that information on the history of Athlone was difficult to come by and what she found resulted only in a few paragraphs on the website.   I wandered into the City of Cape Town's mapping department and asked about obtaining cartographic representations of the city.  I also asked where I

could get more information about the historical development of the Cape Flats. The woman there handed me a contact list for the Cape Town planning department. I called the regional director in planning for the Cape Flats and was immediately transferred to the Cape Flats Land Use Planning office. The planner I spoke with said he had only been employed in his position for three years, and the person in charge of the data in which I am interested had only been in his position for one year. Because he and his colleague were new, and because the municipal structure has changed resulting in departmental reshuffling, he could not tell me exactly how to find information on the development of Athlone. He did suggest, however, that I visit the Public Relations Office at the City of Cape Town and ask somebody there. At the City of Cape Town, I was bounced around from Public Relations to GIS data analysis and Census data departments, to another department across the hall, all with the same result, until someone suggested that I talk to Jack in the Heritage Department. Jack was described to me as an older man with strong knowledge of the history of Cape Town. Instead of being the ancient Capetonian man of my imagination, Jack, it turns out, is a cheerful American in his late 50s (or perhaps early 60s) who has lived in Cape Town. He admitted that he also did not know where exactly to find the information that I was searching for, but he mentioned that there used to be a great library with a very knowledgeable librarian nearby. He is not sure what happened to that library or where the documents would be now. My early adventures in tracking down information on the development of Athlone gave me interesting insight into the emphasis placed on a forward-looking direction for the City of Cape Town. The ugly past of urban planning, perhaps eager to be forgotten, has been lost in the shuffle.

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# INTERVIEWS

I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with club owners, dance instructors, participants, musicians, and DJs. I have contacted most of the instructors/directors with salsa and jazz dance companies including QuePasa, Sabor Latino, Sued Productions, DanzAfrika, The Salsa Studio, Passion Por La Salsa, Salsa Fusion, Mfusion, African Fiesta, Strictly Jazz, Noelle for Jazz, and Evolution Dance. I interviewed 42 people for this project.  Of these 42, seven are salsa instructors, three are jazz instructors, three are fusion instructors, two are event organizers, 11 are salsa dancers, two are jazz dancers, five dance both jazz and salsa regularly, four are DJs or musicians, two are club owners, and three are historians.  Of these, 31 interviewees are male, and nine are female.  This gender imbalance reflects the male-dominated nature of the salsa scene in Cape Town—the majority of the instructors, organizers, and club owners are male.  I began the interview process by purposefully sampling instructors, DJs, club owners and by recruiting participants on location. I used snowball techniques to reach additional informants. Interestingly, it has been easier to get interviews with male participants in both jazz and salsa, and it has been more difficult to set up interviews with women, primarily because the positions of influence in both scenes are occupied mostly by men—all but one of the salsa DJs, all of the club owners, and all invited instructors of Salsa South Africa are male. There is only one female instructor who has established her own school (a new addition to the salsa scene).  Only two women between March 2009 and May 2011, myself and a South African woman, have attempted to organize

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our own independent events (independent from Salsa South Africa) with similar results (both of us were accused of "breaking the rules" and neither one of us are hosting these events currently).

Of the jazz clubs I visited, only one was owned, in part, by a woman; there was one female instructor with her own school, and all of the DJs and musicians with whom I spoke formally were male. I had several casual conversations with two female jazz artists, but was unable to establish a formal interview with either of them. Casual, friendly relationships were easier to establish with male dancers in the salsa and jazz scenes, because, as a follower, it is easier to strike up a conversation with male leads and to build relationships with them on the dance floor that pave the way for interviews later. As a female dancer, I have had fewer opportunities to strike up casual conversations with women in between dances. Additionally, as was explained to me by several members of the salsa and jazz scenes, both male and female, because of my dance background and my foreign status, I was at risk of being a "threat" and viewed with suspicion by South African dancers. I must admit, that while this was often mentioned to me, I have not been able to confirm with any female dancers that they personally felt this way toward me.

After conducting several interviews, one interviewee stated that my demeanor changes when I interview. He said that I become more formal and professional in my tone and posture. He also mentioned that my note-taking during the interview made him uneasy. Because of these factors, he noticed that he was not expressing his emotional experiences with salsa as much as he would in a more casual, relaxed conversation over beer at the salsa

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club.  After his reflection, I stopped taking notes during the interview, although interviews were still recorded.  I paid particular attention to conversations at events as well.


## PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION


Between April 2009 and January 2010, I attended an average of three salsa and/or jazz events weekly, sometimes as many as five events in one week.  I visited the most popular salsa venues including Buena Vista Social Café, Deluxe, and QuePasa, as well as venues that opened and/or closed during my research period such as Fiesta, VoomVoom, Rose Street Studio, and Fashion TV.  I visited popular jazz venues such as the Westend, Galaxy, G-Spot, the Living Room, and @mospheer, as well as jazz functions held in Grassy Park, Lansdowne and Parrow.  In order to increase my knowledge of dance forms that influenced jazz, I attended ballroom and langarm events on the Cape Flats as well.  I participated in dance classes (either as an instructor or a participant) with The Salsa Studio, Que Pasa, Sabor Latino, Sued Productions, Pasion Por La Salsa, Danz Afrika, Salsa Fusion, and Mfusion.  I performed or taught with four of the salsa schools and three other loosely

organized companies.  To document my experiences, I took photographs and videos at events

and classes[7], and copious field notes when I returned home in the evenings after events.

Before I entered the field to conduct my dissertation research in April 2009, I had

already spent over four months dancing and performing in the Cape Town salsa scene, from

late August 2006 to early January 2007.  Therefore, when I arrived in Cape Town in 2009, I

really knew most of the instructors and many of the dancers in the salsa scene.  I have been

dancing salsa socially and semi-professionally since graduating from The University of

North Carolina in 2000. Since then, I have taught salsa in venues around North Carolina and

performed salsa, samba, mambo, tango, and Afro-Cuban in the United States, Canada, as

well as South Africa.  Because Cape Town's salsa scene is relatively small and still

developing, and because I had developed social and professional relationships with most of

the salsa instructors and schools before arriving in Cape Town, during my field work

between April 2009 and January 2011, I have worked with almost every salsa school and

instructor in some capacity, either through point performances, collaborative choreographies,

or workshops.  Often, I would conduct salsa styling workshops or I would participate in

events in exchange for an interview or for information for my research project.  These

exchanges were more acts of reciprocity than official agreements of compensation. Through

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[7]Taking photographs and video proved a bit difficult because I often did not have a place to put the camera down while dancing.  Leaving equipment unattended in salsa and jazz clubs is not advised because such items can quickly go missing.  Additionally, some instructors are uncomfortable with people filming their classes.

these collaborations, however, I experienced what salsa participants describe as "politics" among salsa stakeholders.  I quickly became keenly aware that many of the salsa schools saw collaboration with me as a way to gain artistic, creative, or instructional advantage over the other schools.  Several schools advertised my international status as a way of attracting clients to their events.  In a salsa scene where half of the instructors have never traveled outside South Africa, international experience is usually equated with expert knowledge.  Even though many South African salsa dancers (erroneously) do not think of the United States as a hub of salsa activity and history (more credence is given to places like Cuba, countries in South America, and European countries, especially London, England), my American accent was just as important as my performance experience in establishing credibility.  Unfortunately, this international status also corresponds with an "outsider" positionality.  Since beginning my deep ethnographic field work in the salsa scene, I have been accused of stealing another dancer's choreography, stealing another dancer's dance partner, and "messing" in other instructors' "territory."  As I will explain below, I have made some missteps during the course of this ethnography research.  Some of these missteps were completely unintentional; others I made knowing that by pleasing some parties, I would irritate others.  It became almost impossible to become involved in the scene yet remain neutral in the world of salsa "politics."  Additionally, I had been warned repeatedly by several salsa and jazz participants very early in the course of my research that I should not trust anybody because people will try to take advantage of me.  It was disheartening to hear this advice so often. There were moments when I did very much feel like a pawn in the maneuverings of salsa instructors.

Perhaps the most significant learning experience was my involvement with the Femme Finesse dance team. Within the first week or two of my arrival in Cape Town, the director of Sabor Latino, one of the salsa schools, mentioned to me that I should start a female salsa dance team in Cape Town to train ladies in styling and to perform choreographies. I thought this sounded like a good idea—I could get to know women in salsa for research and interview purposes, and it seemed like a nice side project. I quickly learned that one of the instructors in Sabor Latino got the impression that this ladies dance team would operate under the banner of his school. The women in the team were concerned; they wanted the team to be independent, neutral, and politics-free. Because Sabor Latino allowed us to use their studio space for free, another school's director got irritated, assuming the new ladies' dance team would be controlled by Sabor Latino. In an exchange between the two instructors, Sabor Latino suggested that the other instructor also allow us to use his studio for free if he was so upset. Backed into a corner somewhat, he grudgingly agreed. A week or two later, the instructor approached me to request that in exchange for the team to train at his studio, we would hold our debut performance at his club (in order for him to gain economic advantage over other schools). Because his was not the only school cooperating with the Femme Finesse team at the time, I told him that I could not promise that because the women on the team were adamant about remaining independent from the politics between the schools. At the time of this conversation, the salsa schools were having separate parties on designated weekends and at separate venues. Of course, another reason we did not want to hold our party at his club was because it already had a reputation—many salsa dancers did not enjoy themselves at those parties. Additionally, the club has bad flooring, no stage area,

dismal lighting for performances, and low quality sound.  The whole team agreed that it did

not seem to be a viable option for a debut party.

After months of practicing, we approached the organizer of Salsa South Africa (also

the owner of the studio where we rehearsed) at the end of July to officially ask for a Saturday

to hold our debut party.  We requested the 5th of September.  The organizer said that he

would raise this request at the next meeting (my requests to attend this meeting were

ignored).  Toward the end of August, we had not heard anything about our date request, so

we went ahead with event planning and arrangements.  In August 2009, the Femme Finesse

team decided to have party at a large local hall with a sizable stage area after negotiating free

rental. The team paid for sound, got the assistance from a couple of DJs, secured the lighting.

As per Salsa South Africa rules, we advertised only a week before the event.  A week before

the event, we realized that the instructor had given our date to another group.  The school that

was given the 5th of September did not mind giving the date to the Femme Finesse team, but

then got angry that we were not having our party at the studio/local salsa club.  He even tried

demanding that I hold the party there.  Several of the instructors with monthly parties called

me to try to persuade me to hold the party at the salsa club as well, arguing that I could make

more money there.  I finally asked one of the instructors what the real issue was.  Surely,

none of the instructors really cared how much money we were going to make; I was trying to

understand what the dispute was really about.  This instructor told me that the owner of the

salsa club would lose a bit of money from the bar, although other instructors did agree that

this would not be enough of a reason to get so irritated.  I tried contacting the instructor

personally to smooth the situation, but he would not return my text messages, emails, or

phone calls until days before the event when he refused to support the debut.  The instructor

who gave us the date decided to send a nasty email about me to the city's salsa instructors.

In spite of the drama immediately preceding the debut party, all of the major schools, with

the exception of the club owner, supported the debut and even taught free classes beforehand.

We had a good turnout for the party and received positive response to the routine.  In late

October, I talked to the instructor, who claimed that the situation was "water under the

bridge" (field notes November 2, 2009).

     The Femme Finesse experience exposed me to the types of arguments and issues that

instructors have had among each other behind closed doors for years.  Most instructors I

interviewed before the Femme Finesse incident alluded to salsa politics but avoided speaking

directly about these issues in the interview.  However, not only did these experiences provide

an interesting counterpoint to the interviews, my disagreement with a couple of instructors

surrounding this event allied me with other instructors who felt comfortable being more open

about their experiences with power and territoriality within the salsa scene.

     In contrast to the salsa scene, my position in the Cape jazz scene was very much more

that of a participant observer.  I attended lessons, clubs, and events for Cape jazz dancing,

and I danced socially.  I did not, however, teach, choreograph, or perform Cape jazz.  I was

therefore, not directly involved with some of the behind-the-scenes politics in the jazz scene

(jazz instructors admit that there are rivalries, but not to reach the same intensity level as

rivalries in the salsa scene.)  Generally, again, once people in the jazz scene heard my

American accent, many were pleased to discover that I was an "outsider" interested in

learning more about Cape jazz dancing.  At the same time, however, I am also a salsa dancer.

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As I will discuss in the dissertation, there is a tension between salsa and Cape jazz dancers. Because it is often the flashy salsa dancers that ask me to dance in jazz clubs, and because I tend to modify a salsa step, it is possible that I might be seen as a show-off or a threat to jazz dancers (I will explain this in more detail in Chapter 5). I sensed this possibility more from women than men in the jazz scene.

I also have a different role in the Cape jazz dancing scene because I was not able to spend as much time on average as I was in the salsa scene. I lived in Tamboerskloof, a neighborhood located in the City Bowl for most of my time in Cape Town. I rented a car for approximately nine months of the 25 months lived in Cape Town. The salsa scene is relatively easy and inexpensive to access from town. Hiring a private taxi for a return trip to most of the salsa venues will cost me anywhere from R50 to R80.[8] Hiring a private taxi for a return trip to the most popular jazz venues will cost me approximately R300. While it was easy to walk or get a lift to salsa clubs, it was nearly impossible to travel to jazz venues without placing a heavy burden on someone. Therefore I conducted the majority of my research in the jazz scene during those months that I had access to my own car.

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[8] When I arrived in end of March 2009, the South African currency, the Rand, equaled approximately R9.75 to one United States dollar. Two months later, in early June 2009, the rand strengthened and hovered around R8 to the dollar. In June and July 2010, during the FIFA World Cup, the Rand averaged R7.5 to the dollar. By May 2010, the dollar weakened to R6.60. For this dissertation, I will use R7.5 to one dollar as an approximate currency conversion over my 2009-2011 fieldwork period.

What does my role and position in these two scenes mean for my findings?  As an actor in the salsa scene, I became entangled in the politics of the scene.  Therefore, like other instructors and event planners, I became subject to the same distrust of which I was warned. Interestingly, I conducted the majority of the interviews with salsa instructors and participants before the Femme Finesse debut party; it would have been difficult to get honest and forth-coming follow-up interview answers after that event.  However, as a result of my position in the salsa scene, I know behind the scenes information about the operations of the salsa scene.  In my experience, what people declare in their interview to be their standard business philosophy is often not what they practice or how they behave when encountering obstacles or unexpected situations and negotiations.  Had I been only a social dancer in the salsa scene, I would have gotten very different data with a more conventional "participant observer" approach.

Another consequence of my ethnographic approach is that I have developed an unbalanced knowledge of the two scenes.  Admittedly I have spent more time in the salsa scene—salsa venues have been easier to access both in terms of my own dance background and skill level as well as in terms of accessibility via transport.  Not only do I have more behind the scene activity in the salsa scene, but also the history of salsa in Cape Town is much shorter and the scope in terms of where and how salsa is practiced is narrower.

# CHAPTER 3

## DISPOSSESSION, MARGINALITY, MEMORY, AND ALL THAT JAZZ

So this jazz thing, when it first came out, we protected that stuff--it was unique to Cape Coloureds, to the Cape Flats. …It was something that belonged to us. …It is a total, total cape flats Coloured thing. … So it was a way of identifying ourselves on the dance floor. Being unique. Being us. We were referred to as being 'whatnots' so the whatnots showed them that we also have a culture. We can also dance. And I wouldn't like jazz to die. That is why we are in this thing to revive this jazz thing. It is a wonderful thing. --Interview, Trevor, 57, Cape jazz dancer and instructor

When asking jazz practitioners about the origin and practice of Cape Jazz dancing, I received answers that were often contradictory to the on-the-ground struggles and debates about the present and future of jazz dancing in Cape Town. These narratives, debates, and contradictions about jazzing point to the nature of embodied memory and to tensions surrounding identity, territory, and place in the post-apartheid experience in Cape Town.  In this chapter, I will first describe Cape Jazz dance as an embodied practice, explore the origins and development of the movements and culture of jazz dancing, and describe the locations of jazz dancing.

I first experienced Cape Jazz dancing in September 2006 when jazz instructors Clyde (41) and his wife Amy[9] (29) took me to the Galaxy in the Rylands/Athlone neighborhood of Cape Town, South Africa. Although we were attending one of the famous Galaxy traditions, the Saturday Sundowner, Clyde and Amy picked me up in the city center long after the sun descended behind Signal Hill and the sky was blushing various shades of purple. Clyde raced down the N2, careened around corners in the back streets of Athlone, and dropped Amy and me at the curb in front of the Galaxy so that we would get past the bouncers in dark suits and through the doors before 7 pm to avoid the R40 (approximately $6) cover charge imposed on patrons at (and after) 7 pm sharp. I followed Amy through an environment of steel and neon until we settled ourselves at high tables between the bar and the dance floor. Clyde found us later and supplied us with some Appletizer, a quintessentially South African non-alcoholic beverage, while we waited for the band to finish setting up. There were not many people in the club—a handful of people sitting in tables around the dance floor or chatting with the bartender—and although recorded music was pumping loudly, preventing polite conversation, no one was dancing. I am not sure how long we sat there with the air conditioner blasting to match the cold décor and the ice clanking in my glass, but it felt as though I sat shivering for about an hour before the club began to fill and one couple felt sufficiently moved by the music to get onto the dance floor. I then got my first taste of Cape

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[9] The names of all interviewees have been changed.

jazz. I was surprised to notice that Cape jazz is not always danced to what I consider to be jazz music. That evening, I heard songs by Stevie Wonder, Nora Jones, and Luther Vandross. I even heard a fast tempo version of the Brazilian classic "Mas Que Nada." I spent most of my time watching that evening, trying to pick up the steps by observation. Cape jazz couples, linked at the hands, twirled, twisted, and dipped their way around the dance floor. The swirling lights ricocheted off the sparkle in sequined blouses and skirts. Some couples executed fast spins and dips, while others have developed a smoother style. I left Galaxy that night intrigued, but a bit confused as to what Cape jazz actually is and what it means to its practitioners.

Since then, I've been asking practitioners how they would describe Cape Jazz. While I received a variety of responses to my questions about Cape Jazz dancing and how it evolved, there is a general consensus that "jazzing" involves a mixture of dance styles that emphasize an embodied response to a *feeling* inspired by the music rather than to structured turn patterns or a specific count. Importantly, jazzing is a form of cultural expression that developed within a self-identified Coloured community on the Cape Flats. Darren, 30, (coloured) from Walmar Estate is a business consultant and jazz instructor who has been dancing and teaching jazz and salsa for 12 years. He describes Cape jazz dancing:

> Jazz doesn't have a structure to it, no line to it, just get on the floor and grab a partner and move....It's a folk dance. ...I learned the basics of jazz steps and moving partners around dance floor, basic turns—you don't use counts in jazz—just listen to the music.... The body goes crazy and you just start hitting the dance floor—when people hear jazz they grab partner's hand and start shifting and they have fun.

The movement of Cape Jazz dancing was inspired in part by Cape Jazz music—these developed together for a time and must be fully understood together. Additionally, Cape Jazz dancing developed within a specific social and political context in Cape Town. Therefore what follows is an exploration of the development of both the music and the dance in the city.

## CAPE JAZZ IN THE EARLY 20TH CENTURY

The contemporary Cape Jazz dance practice forms a rich and complex tapestry that involves the history of Cape Town itself. As previously mentioned, Cape Jazz dancers describe the movement of jazz as a mixture, a blending of Cape Town dances and rhythms dating back to the times of slavery. Several Cape Jazz musicians also point to this blending as integral to the development of Cape Jazz music.  They also point to Cape Town's position as a port city on the Atlantic coast as part of the reason for the rich blending of influences that inspired Cape Jazz music. Musician and scholar Vincent Kolbe agrees that jazz in Cape Town is the result of local musicians blending musical elements common to American jazz, Latin dance music, and urban South African music. He emphasizes the cultural melting pot theory of port cities like Rio de Janeiro and New Orleans and sees Cape Town as no exception (Miller 2007b). Likewise, Willis, 51, (coloured), a Cape Jazz musician whose

family was relocated to Athlone on the Cape Flats when he was nine years old, sees similarities between Cape Town and New Orleans (the birth place of jazz in the United States) as port cities fostering an interesting mixture of cultures. Cape Town, as Steve, (coloured) owner of one of the top Cape Jazz clubs in Cape Town explains, "is the center point of the world"; a "melting pot" for races and cultures since its inception.

Like New Orleans or Rio de Janeiro, the history of slavery in the Cape plays an important role in the designation of Cape Town as a melting pot. Slavery in the Cape Colony was established in the mid-seventeenth century, and slaves were imported from such places as Angola, Mozambique, Malaysia, Indonesia, and Madagascar to service the needs of the new colony. Although abolished in 1838, slavery established social relations and hierarchies that remained intact long after the practice ended. Concepts of race, colour, and status are still embedded in Cape Town's social fabric today. This blending of European, Malaysia, KhoiSan, and others is the foundation of a coloured identity that persists today and is continuously evolving. Although a "set of social values did start to congeal into a rough identity" until the 1900s, liquor, labor, and residential legislation began to distinguish between South Africa's black population and other non-white population groups as early as the mid-1800s. (Layne 1995, 13).

One of these "social values" was performance. The rhythm known as ghoema (also spelled *ghomma*) was central to performance culture during slavery and is still commonly referred to as the heartbeat of Cape Town. The rhythm is named after the ghoema drum (often called gumi). The drum is shaped like a small wine barrel, with springbok skins

stretched over the top end of the drum. The ghoema drum is often accompanied by banjos, walking sticks, bones, or tambourines to create the ghoema rhythm. Originating from the slave tradition in the Cape, one can trace the history of cultural expression in Cape Town by following the thread of ghoema through Malay music, Christmas choirs, *langarm*, *nagtroepe* (night troupes), and *klopse (*Cape minstrels) (Holtzman 2006; Layne 1995; Interview Willis). According to Steve, Cape Town musicians like Robbie Jansen, Abdullah Ibrahim, Mac Mckenzie, and Jonathon Butler infused jazz with ghoema rhythms. "Cape ghoema to me, if I had to explain it to someone: you feel it through your feet" (Interview, Steve).

In the early days of the Cape Colony, a class of semi-professional musicians developed among slaves and free men who cultivated their musical talents to earn money for themselves, or for masters or employers (Coplan 2008). Coloured guitarists played cape-style *tickey draai*, a type of rhythm played for a dance based on the Afrikaans folk dance called the *vastrap*, in which one couple swings in the center of a circle while others dance and clap around the outside. The *vastrap* is a fast-paced couples dance requiring no particular structure in the steps. In fact, during the *vastrap*, couples are not necessarily required to remain in formal partner hold. Comic dance movements called *passies* are performed to entertain groups of people gathered in a circle surrounding the dancers (Holtzman 2006).

Performance culture in the Cape was influenced dramatically by the transfer of political power to the British in 1795. English country dances were popular among white residents of the Cape Colony, while slaves often mimicked these dances with social events

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called "rainbow balls" well into the late 19th century (Coplan 2008). After arriving in Cape

Town from Europe in 1872, Louis Cohen describes a "rainbow ball" he attended:

> The room was full of men and women of various types. Many owned curly locks, whole others had straight hair. It was a mixed breed indeed, and the majority of the girls were quite good looking…some were white, some nearly black, or tan or snuff-Coloured. A few of the European passengers were there…(Worden, Heyningen, Bickford-Smith 1998, 243).

According to Coplan (2008), British influence led to the development of two

traditions of Coloured social dancing in the Cape: a high-status dress ball or "social"; the

second is an Anglo-Afrikaans style of square-dancing, which Coplan suggests is still

performed in Coloured communities in Cape Town today. As musicians performed in

country dances, formal balls, seaside taverns, and dancehalls, Coloured artisans were at the

forefront in creating a popular Western Cape performance culture that would be nurtured

over the next 250 years (Coplan 2008). After they were emancipated, formerly enslaved

musicians formed dance bands that became popular among all segments of 19th century Cape

Town society (Martin, 2000). Dance halls became important aspects of social and political

life in the Cape, and they played an important role in the development of a class of Coloured

musician whose reputation spread with the migration of Coloured laborers throughout the

country (Layne 1995; Coplan 2008). "It was the Coloureds, arriving from the Cape with

traditions of professional musicianship extending back 200 years, who most strongly

influenced early African urban music and dance" (Coplan 2008, 20).

The influence of black American music on Capetonian cultural expression did not

begin (or end) with what is now known as Cape Jazz. Historian Valmont Layne points to the

formation of significant musical, literary, and intellectual trans-Atlantic connections between

black South Africa and black America in the early 20th century. Many scholars trace the

important linkages between South African and African-American musical traditions back to

the 1890 South African tour of the black minstrel troupe Orpheus McAdoo and the Virginia

Jubilee Singers (see Layne 1995; Ballantine 1997; Muller 2004; Ansell 2005; Miller 2007;

Mason 2010). Although white minstrels from the United States toured South Africa before

1890, it was McAdoo's Virginia Jubilee singers with members from Fisk and Hampton

universities that most inspired creative expression among black and Coloured South African

artists in the early 20th Century. McAdoo's singers visited South Africa four times between

1890 and 1898, presenting a specific form of African-American cultural performance that

included a repertoire of spirituals, often sung using a call and response style, or four-part

harmony (Coplan 2008). McAdoo caused civil unrest when he housed his singers at an all-

white hotel—challenging South African racial classifications.

For black and Coloured South Africans, McAdoo's performances symbolized black

achievement and possibility, and set the precedent for transatlantic interconnection. Inspired

by McAdoo and minstrelsy as a form of cultural (and political) expression, thousands of

Cape Coloured working-class men joined performance clubs and organized parades through

the streets where musicians brandished *ghoema* drums, whistles, guitars, banjos and

tambourines. This event, known as the Coon Carnival (often now called the Cape Carnival or

the *kaapse klospe*) has, since its inception, been a source of celebration, creativity, and

cultural pride, as well as class conflict and controversy. It is one of the strongest influences of

the Cape Jazz musical tradition that exists today.

## 1920-1948

According to Coplan, American jazz music has been more influential and more accepted in South Africa than in any other country in the world (2008, 178). Coplan attributes the significance of American jazz in South Africa to the similarities in socio-historical experience of the United States and South Africa: patterns of rural to urban migration, industrialization, racialized oppression, and parallel processes of class formation within American and South African black urban communities.

Profoundly influenced by the overseas success of its black American equivalent, the development of the jazz band tradition in urban South Africa exploded from the 1920s onwards, with Coloured musicians in Cape Town among the first to develop the western-style dance bands that monopolized the dance circuit by the 1930s (Layne 1995; Miller 2007). For this reason, since the 1930s, "dance music was often seen and understood by its contemporary practitioners and audiences as a performance style unique to Coloureds" (Layne 1995, 11). According to Layne, dance music has been featured prominently in the everyday social life of Cape Town's Coloured townships since the 1920s, where amateur bands played important roles in the development of local musical traditions and in the formation of a community identity. Most musicians began their careers performing in the Coon Carnival parades through the streets for the New Year, for Christmas bands, in the Star Bioscope, as well as in dance halls in District Six, the neighborhood that would later be

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bulldozed by the apartheid government, on regular weekends. Bands, Layne argues, formed the cornerstone of activities surrounding the use of community spaces in Coloured communities—although much emphasis is generally placed on the practice of cultural performance traditions, specifically in District Six, both by academics as well as by many musicians and dancers I interviewed, several practitioners thought it important to mention that the role of music and dance in everyday life was important to Coloured communities all over the city.

Important for the development of a cape jazz dancing tradition, American dance band music of the 1920s and 1930s fostered an emerging *langarm* tradition in Cape Town (Layne 1995). In an interview with Collin Miller, the late Robbie Jansen discusses the influence of *langarm* dance music on the Cape Jazz musical tradition: *langarm* "is a caricature by poor people of ballroom as we know it. The dance and the music of ballroom is strict and formal, whereas *langarm* is raggy and lose" (quoted in Miller 2007b, p. ). In his Honor's Thesis on the cultural practice of *langarm*, Glenn Holtman states that *langarm* is a genre associated with the *vastrap* and the "square" dances of 19th century Cape society (2006). As I will discuss later in this chapter, ballroom and Latin dancing enjoy an enthusiastic following in Cape Town, although this is an extremely class-segregated activity. A *langarm* event features five standard ballroom dances including the waltz, quickstep, tango, slow-foxtrot, and swing-waltz.  Versions of jive and samba are also commonly featured at present-day *langarm* events.  These dances were imitations of ballroom dances, and were less formal, less rigid in both posture and codification, and perhaps not as technically precise as the emphasis was on social dancing instead of official competition.   Undoubtedly, Cape Jazz dancing loosely

borrows some of the movement patterns and partner work tradition from ballroom, but takes the relaxed approach associated with *langarm*.

The early formation of a uniquely African jazz style was inextricably linked to the regulation and consumption of alcohol and the restructuring of urban space—a relationship that is still extremely important today. Marabi is a "cocktail" of local and imported musical styles that, when combined, creates a unique sound that became known as African or township jazz. Marabi developed in a particular socioeconomic context—it was dependent on shebeen society in South Africa's townships.

A shebeen is an unlicensed establishment in which liquor is sold. Such an establishment existed as early as 1667 when a Dutch commander in the Cape complained that slaves were selling alcohol out of resident houses. The term *shebeen* was first used in Cape Town in the early 20th century among Irish members of the city's police force (Coplan 2008). Coloured and Xhosa-speaking people brought the term to the Witwatersrand and the Transvaal, where female entrepreneurs developed shebeen into an African way of social life. In the 1920s, professionalism in music developed in cottage liquor and entertainment enterprises in African and Coloured townships, as marabi musicians earned their keep travelling between various township parties. Cape Coloured and Xhosa musicians contributed banjos, guitars, tambourines, and bones to marabi's distinct sound and were expected to market their talents in Johannesburg shebeens and stokvel (social cooperation among women in the beer trade) parties (Layne 1995; Coplan 2008).

Music, dancing, and social drinking developed in tandem as part of a vibrant shebeen culture, and shebeen customers began to crave musical performances that reflected changing urban identities and lived experiences. A class of semi-professional shebeen musicians developed to feed this demand for new forms of entertainment. Coplan points out that musical competitions and innovations were promoted by shebeen owners with the knowledge that "attractive women, lively dancers, and paying customers followed most popular musicians" (2008, 117). According to Coplan, marabi lifestyle emphasized a *carpe diem* approach to pleasure and sexuality and was built around "convivial" neighborhood gatherings. Marabi, as it was danced, reflected this approach to life, placing few bodily "limits on variation and interpretation by individuals or couples" (Coplan 2008, 117). Because of its association with alcohol consumption and unabashed bodily movement, marabi came to symbolize low social status and immorality and was often criminalized by both white authorities and a black elite. It was in the best interest of the black and Coloured bourgeoisie to distance themselves socially from marabi culture; however, marabi music found its place in the hearts of African audiences who would never have attended a marabi party in a shebeen or dance hall (Coplan 2008).

Despite marabi's success as a genre, the South African government's attempts to control urban space and social life led to the destruction of the social and spatial context that fostered marabi as a cultural practice. The Natives Urban Areas Act Number 21 of 1923 stipulated that movement between urban and non-urban areas be strictly controlled; the act regulated the influx of black South Africans into urban areas and removed "surplus" people without permission to work from urban areas (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of

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South Africa Report, Vol 1, 1998). Enforcement of this legislation resulted in the removal of black South Africans from the newly proclaimed "white" inner city and led to the removal of black residents in Johannesburg. The Natives Urban Areas Act made the position of professional musicians a tenuous one. Regulations based on employment only recognized musicians if they belonged to officially registered bands, usually with white sponsorship or management, forcing most musicians into different day jobs. Without proof of regular employment, musicians risked losing the ability to live in urban areas. Additionally, performing at night required special passes, and performers could be arrested if found without a pass during raids on inner-city "native" dance halls (Coplan 2008). The demolition of areas where marabi culture thrived contributed to the decline of marabi by the mid-1930s. Likewise, the Liquor Amendment Act of 1934 excluded blacks from places where liquor was legally sold, removing jazz's most loyal patrons from typical venues (Coplan 2008). Coplan argues that "the authorities' campaign against liquor was in practice also a war against music which played smoke to liquor's fire," and the "death of marabi" was indicative of a "pervasive attack on urban African community and working class culture (2008, 129). By the end of the 1930s, many of the "slumyards" had been razed and, although in the suburbs social conditions continued to foster marabi's celebratory lifestyle, the beer trade (the lifeblood of marabi culture) had been all but eradicated in municipal townships. By 1939, American jazz and swing replaced marabi as the dance music of choice among urban South Africans, although indigenous movements in African popular music also came to the forefront (Layne 1995; Coplan 2008). By the 1940s, the fusion of marabi, American jazz,

swing, and jitterbug – even Latin American rumba and conga – inspired the creation of a jazz style that is uniquely South African.

Because of its origins in the United States, jazz culture carried particular meanings in South Africa. According to Coplan, jazz's roots as a black American form of expression rooted in African heritage that is "modern but not white" inspired the musical articulation of an African urban identity (2008, 158). Likewise, its international status gave jazz a certain prestige, sophistication in its cosmopolitanism. In fact, "jazz became part of struggle against cultural isolation and segregation and expressed aspirations of majority of urban Africans" (Coplan 2008, 17). Therefore, African jazz, rooted in its American counterpart, articulated the complexities and contradictions of an evolving South African lived experience: "home-grown but cosmopolitan, indigenous but not ethnically divisive, black but urban and not impoverished or parochial, rooted in American English but inflected by vernacular rhythm and slang" (Coplan 2008, 177). Increasingly, African artists were inspired to produce music based on indigenous culture that was "detribalized, sophisticated, socially progressive, hard-hitting." (Dhlomo quoted in Coplan 2008, 175).

## 1948-1966

In May 1961, Frank Barton dedicated a four-page spread in *Drum* magazine to the Cape Jazz scene, stating: "In the past years the Cape has taken over as the place for music…" (Rasmussen 2001, 1). In the following sections, the focus is primarily on the Cape Town Jazz

scenes as they developed under the political and social conditions of apartheid. It is important to show, through the development of jazz, the interrelationships and various tensions that occur between the social and the political.

In 1950, the recently established apartheid regime passed the Group Areas Act, which declared that certain urban areas were to be designated for exclusive use of one particular racial group. It became compulsory for people to live in an area designated for their classification (White, Black/African, Coloured, or Indian/Asian), which was imposed from birth by the rigid Population Registration Act of 1950. The Reservation of Separate Amenities Act of 1953 allowed for public facilities and transport to be reserved for particular race groups.

According to the SAIRR 1984 report, the Separate Amenities Act and Liquor Act are miniature versions of the Group Area Act. The Separate Amenities Act is under the jurisdiction of local authorities. The Central Government enforces the Liquor Act and the Group Areas Act. In 1960, members of Coloured and Asian groups in the Cape were able to buy liquor subject to any conditions imposed by local licensing boards. However, no one in the Union was permitted to sell, supply, or deliver any liquor to an African, nor were Africans allowed to be in the possession of liquor (section 94). Interestingly, exemptions could be granted to non-white individuals if they "attained a living standard equivalent to that of White civilization" (ibid, 3). Until 1961, wide restrictions existed on the sale or supply of liquor to black persons of the various classes. The Liquor Amendment Act of 1961 removed all restrictions on the purchase of alcohol by Coloured people and Asians for off-consumption. Bottle-store licenses stipulated that separate entrances and shopping areas had

to be provided for whites and blacks respectively, and Coloured people would be able to buy liquor for on-consumption in any licensed premises that admitted them. The Amendment Act of 1962 made it possible for Coloured and Asian persons to hold licenses for the sale of liquor from premises in their own racial group's area.  However, while legal to obtain, these liquor licenses granting permission for on-site alcohol consumption were not easily granted, and as I will discuss below, liquor license applications were often rejected by the Cape Town City Council (Horrell 1960).  As I will discuss later in this chapter, a culture of jazz clubs for dancing developed very differently in Group Areas outside of the city centre.

In Cape Town, responses to jazz were initially ambivalent. Jazz was viewed as a moral threat to proper comportment by some of the city's elite of all races.  However, jazz gained ascendancy as it became associated with glamorous American big bands and Hollywood films. Much of the exposure to American jazz music came from the cinema. Movie theaters served as social gathering places and were the only spaces that allowed relative freedom of social (and romantic) interaction for members of the Cape Coloured community in the 1940s and 1950s. Permit-based apartheid legislation regulating cinema clientele was not instituted until 1957, and the policy was not entirely clear even then. It wasn't until 1969 that permits were necessary for "racially-disqualified persons" to attend cinemas in proclaimed group areas (citation). Indian and Coloured persons were prohibited from attending White cinemas if the cinemas existed in Indian or Coloured group areas (South African Institute of Race Relations Report 1984, 58). For working-class communities, a trip to the cinema provided "windows onto the outside world" (Muller 2004). During an interview, jazz practitioner Vincent Kolbe remembers being paid by bandleaders to view the

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newest films and memorize lyrics and music so that the latest American music could be played the following Saturday night at social dances for the Coloured community. Kolbe underscores the importance of leisure time for politically oppressed Coloured working class populations in the postwar period: "I mean all people, no matter what color you are or where you live, you fantasize on the weekend about being a princess for the night" (Muller 2004, 79). With this connection to film and glamorous images, jazz in Cape Town became chic among mainly middle class and professional Coloured audiences interested in the fashion and lifestyle associated with jazz (Layne 1995). In the 1940s, jazz artists attempted to emulate the smooth, elegant, and impeccable style and demeanor of Duke Ellington or Lena Horne, which heightened the status and popularity of jazz musicians (Coplan 2008, 218). Cape Town Jazzathon co-founder and festival director, Carlton, 46, (coloured) was born in District Six but moved to Fairways after his family was forcibly removed one year after his birth. Carlton used to listen to jazz with his mother, and knows from stories told by older friends and family members that musicians used to play in and around District Six at places like the Star Bioscope, a movie house that would be used by the Coloured population as a theatre for entertainment on certain nights.

Music for ballroom and social dancing in postwar Cape Town was also influenced by the musicians who participated in World War II. Muller recounts how these Cape Town musicians went off to war with traditional stringed instruments (fiddles, banjos, ukuleles) and returned with brass instruments after having been introduced to jazz music abroad.

**Figure 2. Unknown army dance band returning from World War II  (source: district six museum)**


District Six is often considered by jazz enthusiasts to be the home of a music and

dance culture that fostered the development of jazz. After the abolition of slavery in 1838,

government   compensation to recently freed slaves was used to build row houses and streets

near the harbor for settlement (Potluri 2004). In addition to former slaves, immigrants

arriving in Cape Town often settled in the area that became known as District Six, creating a

culturally heterogeneous area which later became a "grey zone" that threatened the ideology

of the apartheid state (ibid. 2004, 11). Proclamation 43 of the Group Areas Act declared

District Six a white area, and the first forced removal of residents began in 1968. Between

1968 and 1982, approximately 60,000 people were evicted from District Six and relocated to

the Cape Flats, and the entire area (with the exception of a couple of places of worship) was destroyed (ibid 2004). Many monuments, museums, and memoirs are dedicated to the experience of forced removal from District Six; some argue that the area has become romanticized in collective popular memory. The area is often narrated as a place of "tolerance and mutual respect of difference" or a place "where race was transcended," standing like an oasis in stark contrast to the realities of apartheid South Africa (Ahluwalia and Zegeye 2003, 262). For former residents of District Six, a "deep sense of injustice" resulting from forced removals and a separation from the past drives identity construction (Beyer 2009, 83). The area represents the values of home, family, and community as well as a deep sense of belonging and identity for removees and their descendants (Potluri 2004).
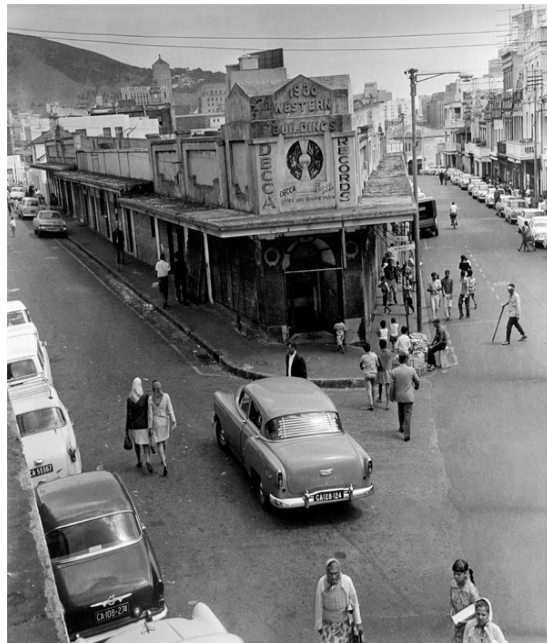


**Figure 2. District Six (Source: District Six Museum)**
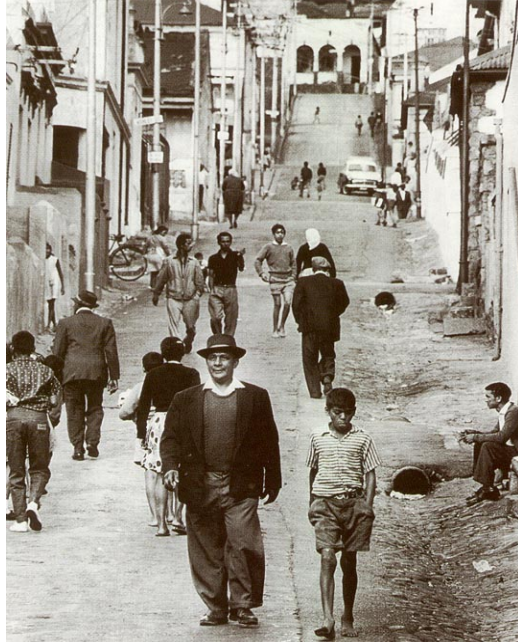
**Figure 3. District Six (Source: District Six Museum)**

District Six exists in popular memory not only as a site of struggle and loss, but, perhaps more forcefully, as an area known for its rich cultural heritage and for the vibrancy of everyday life.   Sayid, a Cape Jazz dancer, describes District Six as "quite a famous piece of ground and also very convenient [to town], very beautiful just next to the mountain."  He claims that in District Six, "you had your melting pot" of different races and religions. Carlton explains that, although he was born there, the only memories of District Six that he has are in the stories that his father told him and in the visits that the family used to make to the area after they had been forcibly removed. The musical history of jazz, he describes, is derived from the minstrels.  Groups would practice in the weeks leading up to New Years, and on January 2nd, all of the groups would gather in colorful outfits playing a variety of different instruments (the ghoema drum being the most important). The klopse troupes would

march a specific route from District Six to the center of town and on to Bo-Kaap with the crowd cheering along the way. Carlton remembers a musical culture that existed not in nightclubs, but in the everyday spaces of people's homes. Jazz musician, Cliffe Moses reminisces about playing at hops or bob parties which, he claims, started on Nile Street in District Six. He describes the dancing that used to take place at these parties: "if kids can only dance today the way those guys used to dance to jazz—on a Friday evening right through to the next morning…dancing to rhythm of the music and portraying rhythm of the music that none of those young people can do today—which saddens me." (Interview with Cliffe Moses By Collin Miller, 6 Oct 1998).

Although many jazz enthusiasts were introduced to new sounds at bob parties (similar to rent parties in Harlem in the 1920s where live bands would play at weekend house parties and an entry price would be charged to help pay for rent and household expenses), jazz clubs were becoming increasingly popular in the 1950s and 1960s. In the mid-1950s in Cape Town, apartheid legislation was less enforced than in other South African urban centers, and jazz still found a few safe havens (Coplan 2008). At its height, the jazz scene was focused around the White city center and areas such as Woodstock, the Foreshore areas, and Castle Bridge. African popular musical performance still had its thriving center in District Six where it existed along side traditional Coloured dance traditions (Layne 1995). The racially diverse neighborhood of Woodstock was the hub of the jazz scene of the 1950s, with the Ambassadors Club attracting large crowds on Sunday evenings (Nixon 1994). Club venues in Woodstock, Salt River, District Six, and Cape Town City Center during the 1950s and 1960s included the Ambassador, the Naaz, the Mermaid, Zambezi, the Catacombs, and the Tombs.

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Bands and audiences here tended to be more mixed, including both white and Coloured participants. At the time in both Woodstock and Cape Town City Center, jazz had an integrating function, challenging apartheid policies by bringing together people of all backgrounds interested in the performance of good music (Miller 2007).

However, while people of different backgrounds were often gathered in the same spaces for jazz appreciation, the nature of musician-audience-government-labor union relationships frequently made interactions power-laden and unequal. For example, the all-white memberships of the Cape Musicians Association lobbied for protective labor rights and received exclusive access to a wealth of cultural resources, reducing access to employment opportunities for Coloured musicians, and excluding black musicians from career-advancing markets almost entirely (Layne 1995). The Coloured Labour Preference Act of 1954 gave Coloured musicians advantages over black musicians; however, only a small number of established Coloured jazz musicians were allowed to work in white venues. In the early 1960s, Coloured jazz bands played mostly in town halls because few opportunities to play in white nightclubs existed (Layne 1995).  A stipulation in the Group Areas Act of 1957 stated that no racially disqualified person was permitted to be a member of, or guest in, any club in a white group area. Photographer Hardy Stockmann recalls staging integrated concerts at Cape Town University, Cape Town City Hall, and at the Hiddingh and Weizmann Halls. These events were often intentionally not well publicized in order to avoid the unwanted attention of local authorities, but the regular jazz crowd knew the exact date and location of these events (Rasmussen 2001).

Despite racially motivated labor restrictions, some musicians and artists of color remember having plenty of work during the apartheid era. When asked whether or not apartheid was damaging to the jazz music scene, jazz vocalist Zelda Benjamin replied: "when I hear musicians bitch about apartheid and rest of it—I say to myself 'why?' you know that in the apartheid era you had so much work you couldn't turn your backside. Because that is what happened to me" (Interview Zelda Benjamin 1998, District Six Museum). In spite of her abundance of employment during the apartheid era, Benjamin recognizes that managers had to acquire permits for non-white performers, which, she claims, they willingly did.

Owned by a former ballroom champion, the Ambassador School of Dancing was situated above a cinema on Sir Lowry Rd in Woodstock. Accessible only by a narrow fire escape, the Ambassador was "…a tatty-but congenial dive where musicians, journalists, photographers and jazz aficionados would gather and metaphorically thumb their collective nose at the apartheid laws of that era." (Dave Galloway 2001, 14). Beginning at midnight, people would pay 25 cents to listen to musicians such as Dollar Brand (Abdullah Ibrahim). According to vocalist Zelda Benjamin, the Ambassador "used to swing" (Interview Zelda Benjamin, 1998, District Six Museum). The Ambassador fell on hard times after some musicians frowned upon its "moral decline into unsavoury activity at the club," including drug dealing and prostitution (Layne 1995, 124).

Opened by Dutchman Vim Verboem in the spring of 1960, the Vortex was a small, Bohemian coffee bar on Long Street. Immediately successful, the Vortex became the most popular spot for jazz, (except on Sundays, when followers preferred the Ambassador)

(Rasmussen 2001). Because of its location in the city center, the Vortex was a whites-only establishment. Although when the music started in the evenings, black and Coloured patrons were allowed to enter, the audience remained predominantly white. Musicians stayed in flats above the café and ate in the backyard. Verboom sold the Vortex to Glyn Spaans, and it was eventually closed by authorities for breaking the apartheid laws for allowing mixed bands and audiences. (Rasmussen 2001, 71).

Abdurahman Hurzuk (Abie) opened the Zambezi, the only multi-racial nightclub in South Africa on Upper Darling Street opposite the post office in District Six in 1958. Known for its delicious Indian food (musicians got a free meal), the Zambezi was a thriving meeting point for the jazz crowd, often smuggling in a clandestine white clientele (Rasmussen 2001; Layne 1995).  The Zambezi closed in the early 1960s and re-opened in 1965 for a short time, but without jazz music it was impossible to recreate the atmosphere (Rasmussen 2001, 109).

The Naaz, a well-known restaurant on Lower Main Road in Woodstock/Salt River, was frequented mostly by middle-class members of the Coloured community, who preferred dining and dancing to listening (Rasmussen 2001, 117). Zelda Benjamin described the Naaz as the "in place" for jazz dancing that was frequented by defiant University of Cape Town students and members of the white population. One night, Benjamin sang spontaneously for a local party, and a visiting reporter gave her such a glowing review that the manager decided to have her sing every Saturday.  Cliffie Moses played at the Three Cellars in Cape Town for almost ten years. He remembers the Three Cellars as a beautiful venue that attracted the "cream of Cape Town" (Interview Cliffie Moses, 1997, District Six Museum Archives).

From the 1950s through the 1960s, jazz music was becoming increasingly popular yet difficult to pursue as an art form, as the racial mixing that occurred among jazz participants became increasingly problematic for the apartheid state. According to influential jazz vocalist Sathima Benjamin, the character of Cape Town changed dramatically for people of color from 1950 to 1962: "It was no longer the Mother City evoking a profound sense of place and home; it was a place of exclusion, fragmentation, transgression, and boundaries" (Muller 2004, 67). State enforcement of the Immorality Act, the Group Areas Act, and the Separate Amenities Act played a critical role in the transformation and destruction of jazz communities. The state suppressed all performances that catered to mixed audiences, and jazz performance became a "dangerous activity, monitored and raided by security forces" (Muller 2004, 102). Pass laws and curfews (implemented by the Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1945) made it difficult for black musicians to perform outside of townships, and they often became targets for the police.

## LANGA AND BLACK TOWNSHIPS

African migration to urban areas accelerated dramatically during the Second World War in response to increased labor demands in the war-time economy (Wilkinson 2000). The rapid in-migration led to the development of informal settlements on the outskirts of Cape Town agitating an already tense and anxious White population regarding the "Native Question" in the years leading up to the National Party's victory in 1948 (ibid). Despite the

strict enforcement of "influx control" in the Western Cape, as well as the implementation of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy in 1954, African migration continued to increase and new townships. Gugulethu and Nyanga, were built in the 1950s and 1960s to house the legal African residents and to separate those with permission to reside in the area from those who were still squatting illegally (ibid). The Native Laws Amendment Act of 1957 declared that no one who was not categorized as Black/African was allowed to enter black townships unless on official government business or with the permission of the government.

The geographical marginalization of the black South African population (one which happened earlier than the forced removals of large segments of the Coloured population under the Group Areas Act) meant that during this time period, much of African traditional and popular music styles developed at a distance from performance culture centers such as District Six. However, Valmont Layne (1995) argues that in the 1940s and 1950s indigenous jazz with links to African nationalism challenged the local ethnic basis of traditional Cape dance performance, creating a lasting impression on popular memory in Cape Town (197). The work of African musicians in the black township of Langa pushed the boundaries of conservatism of Coloured dance band performance, and provided an impetus for the Cape Jazz boom that began in the late 1950s. For example, the Merry Macs, a big band that originated in Langa enjoyed a large following in the 40's and 50's. The Merry Macs promoted two parallel traditions of jazz performance in Cape Town: "on one hand, they played dance music in the American jazz big band tradition and, on the other, they played local jazz, influenced by marabi and kwela, or vastrap and klopse" (Miller 2007b). In spite of bands like the Merry Macs, African jazz did not take root in the Cape with the same

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tenacity as in other parts of South Africa until the 1960s. Layne argues that because of the nature of historical conditions in the Western Cape, jazz had to insert itself into the strong and traditionally Coloured dance cultures of langarm, vastrap, and the waltz (1995, 45).

By 1964, the jazz scene in Cape Town was slowly dying (Rasmussen 2001). According to Chris McGregor, a pianist, composer, and band leader quoted in an unidentified English newspaper in 1965: "We had a nice club scene, with no pressure from the colour bar for two years. Then gradually these places were closed down. The police didn't like them and things got very unpleasant. So we decided to go" (Rasmussen 2001, 51). These practices drove many jazz artists such as Hugh Masekela, Abdullah Ibrahim and Sathima Benjamin into exile. The jazz musicians who remained in the city continued to play, but they witnessed the destruction of their cultural environment, and the music scene was dramatically altered (Coplan 2008; Rasmussen 2001).

### 1966-1980

The culture of Cape Jazz dancing came out of the culture of Cape Jazz music—then split later to develop separately. I will discuss the development of a Cape Jazz music style in order to better understand the development of jazz dancing.

## Development of Cape Jazz Musical Style and Identity

Cape Jazz as a musical style is a descendent of "African-American minstrelsy, old Khoi rhythms and melodies, Moravian and other mission hymnody, 'Malay' Choral music, and Afrikaans Coloured ghoema parade band music" (Coplan 2008, 353). In an interview, Jamal, a Cape Town jazz musician and event producer, attributes the development of Cape Jazz as a distinct style to Dollar Brand (later Abdullah Ibrahim), proclaiming him the pioneer of Cape Jazz music. Jamal claims that Ibrahim's famous composition, "Manenburg," became an anthem for the struggle against apartheid. The rhythm of the song, he adds, is danceable; and "it has an African feel to it" (personal interview).  Perhaps the "African feel" that Jamal discusses is the rhythmic and harmonic influence of marabi and mbaqanga as well as the hymnody of the AME church (Miller 2007b; Coplan 2008). For Jamal, that song marked the beginning of Cape Jazz, a style distinctly different from what was called African jazz developing in Johannesburg because it was based on the Coloured culture of Cape Town. Jamal points to the influence of the marching music of the minstrels and the ghoema drum on a Cape Jazz sound. For him, it is the ghoema beat that is the core difference between African jazz and Cape Jazz styles.  Carlton describes the ways in which what he calls "snoek flavor" infuses American jazz to create a distinct Cape Jazz style:

> Snoek is a fish. That's where we used to coin the term, 'oh there is a snoek flavor coming through.'  Also, you know the vuvuzela?  We used to have—like 30 years ago—a van or a *baakie*, and they would sell snoek on the back of the van. In order for the guys to advertise the snoek off the back of the van, they used to blow what we would term a vuvuzela today but it was a much thinner version of that one over there and it was made of metal. They used to blow it so if people heard that specific sound

then they used to come out. That to me is how the trumpet or the sax used to sound in the clubs—bringing that snoek flavor. When you heard that horn—Robbie Jansen used to play so that it sounded like a snoek horn.
--Carlton, personal interview

Other popular Cape Jazz musicians include Basil Coetzee, Robbie, Jansen, Winston Mankunku, Chris Ngcukana and his sons Duke and Ezra, Hilton and Tony Schilder, and Sathima Bea Benjamin.[10]



**Figure 4. Jazzathon 2007 (Source: JCQ Productions)**

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[10] The following jazz artists died during my field work period (March 2009-March 2011): Robbie Jansen, Ezra Ngcukana, Vincent Kolbe, Tony Schilder, Winston Mankunku, Alex van Heerden, and Jeff Weiner.

A jazz band called The Four Sounds played at the Beverly Lounge for three years before another band came in to replace it. The new sax player was Winston Mankunku. According to Jamal, this new sound opened "a whole new world" through the music of Miles Davis, Johnny Coltrane and Charley Parker. Jamal said that he and his fellow musicians came to appreciate the music as an art beyond just the rhythm and the basics. Jamal (coloured) was born in Black River, Cape Town, approximately 100 meters from Athlone. He started out as a musician in the early 1970s playing the pennywhistle. Eventually he formed a band with Robbie Janson. He became an entertainment manager for several of the top nightclubs in Cape Town. He spent almost a decade working at Club Galaxy beginning in 2001, a couple of years working with the NordSea festival, and spent some time managing a club in Lansdowne before starting his own events production company in 2006.

Importantly, according to Jamal, it was during this period of exploration among jazz musicians that a rift formed between those who played jazz music for listening and those who played jazz music for dancing. When bebop jazz styles began influencing Cape Town musicians, and when musicians began studying the instruments and music theory, jazz music in Cape Town became more sophisticated – to a point where it was removed from the dance music that the public enjoyed. As musicians continued to pursue sophisticated and technically advanced jazz music, live jazz bands became increasing less popular with dancers because, as Jamal claims, jazz bands "were now getting into education more than entertainment" and Cape Jazz dancers just "wanted the thing that they loved": the music that made them dance (Jamal, personal interview). It was this rift that signaled the shift from

Cape Jazz dancing that focused on live Cape Jazz music and Cape Jazz dancing that responded to pop music:

> There are two kinds of jazz music—the dancing and the listening jazz music. This is a long story. The [band] Four Sounds were playing the dancing jazz music—and the market listening to this—they could all bop. Also the ballroom influences, and Latin American influences—which probably came a bit later. All of those influences culminated into what they call cape jazz dancing.—Jamal, personal interview

## Athlone/Cape Flats Development

> *When people moved from District 6, jazz was attached to it. Everybody was forced to move and you get your Bonithuel, Helderveld, Hanover Park, Lavender Hill—all of those people were pushed there. And those people wanted to jazz.*
>
> –Trevor (personal interview)

This section outlines the development of the Cape Flats in relation to a history of segregation, marginalization, and forced removals prior to and during apartheid. I will focus on Athlone as a hub of the jazz dancing scene and cultural performance throughout the apartheid period and into the present.

The Cape Flats is located in a low-lying area of drift-sand and spare vegetation situated between Table Mountain and Hottentot Holland mountain range. For the early part of Cape Town's history, the Cape Flats acted as a formidable geographic barrier to urban expansion (Joint Town Planning Committee of the Cape and Stellenbosch: Outline Development Plan for the Cape Flats 1969, 37). The environmental conditions on the Flats were inhospitable to farming operations because of the shifting sandy topsoil and thin

vegetation. The sand made the area inaccessible for transportation and communications. Seasonal grazing land was leased to transhumance farmers through government contracts (ibid, 38). The early 1800s saw the first attempts on the part of the Forestry Department to stabilize the sandy soils, resulting in the establishment of small farms and a network of local wagon paths which later became Modderdam, Klipfontein, Duinefontein, and Lansdowne roads. The construction of hard roads in the 1840s and the construction of railway lines in the 1860s laid the foundation for the subsequent "radial urban pattern formed by the southern suburbs and northern municipalities" (ibid, 38-39).

The area now referred to as Athlone was once known by other names such as Black River, West London, and Milner. The name Athlone came into usage in the 1920s. The earliest record of land ownership in the area now known as Athlone is of the Cape Freehold of Lot 299 granted to Charles Mackenzie on June 30th,1846 (Dumbrell 1998, 15). In the beginning of the 20th century, "speculative subdivision commenced on a large scale along the northern and western fringes of the cape flats, but the residential development which followed consisted for the most part of shanty towns" (Outline Development Plan for the Cape Flats 1969, 39).

From the 1920s, the Cape Flats experienced intensified urban expansion, a response, in part, to the increase in demand for developable land for low-income population groups relocated from the city center. The "sanitation syndrome" in the decade following an outbreak of the Spanish flu was the primary impetus for the removal of poor residents from slums in the center of Cape Town (Dumbrell 1998, 13). In 1927, there was a series of

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newspaper articles in the *Cape Argus* newspaper decrying the dreadful slum conditions of "natives and Coloured population" in Cape Town's city center (Western Cape Archives, 3/CT 4/1/5/579). An article in the *Cape Times* on August 15, 1927 describes the way in which "an enormous population was huddled in a maze of very fetid slums" in the area near the Parliament buildings (Western Cape Archives, 3/CT 4/1/5/579). The tone of these articles demonstrated more concern for the health risks that these slums posed to the general population than for the residents of these dwellings. The articles attempted to stir an audience to place pressure on local government to act.

In September 1926, the Mayor's office replied to concerns about the health conditions in Cape Town's inner city slums by announcing that the City Council's Housing Policy for Coloured citizens included opening up "healthy" areas like Athlone for residential purposes in order to relieve the "congestion in the slum centre" (Western Cape Archives, 3/CT 4/1/5/579). The Assisted Housing Scheme, the Municipal Housing Scheme, the Municipal Provision of Home Loan, and a Government Housing Loan were all implemented in 1920s, and the residential areas of Jamestown and Gleemoor in present-day Athlone were planned areas and major sites for the Assisted Housing Scheme (Dumbrell 1998, 13). The loans scheme on the Cape Flats under the Housing Act of 1920 was explicitly created to benefit "Non-Europeans" and a representative of the City Council was stationed in Athlone on Sundays to sign up potential residents for the housing scheme (Western Cape Archives 3/CT 4/1/5/579). In the 1920s, people were often evicted from homes declared "unfit for human habitation" and relocated to brick or wood and iron homes constructed by the City Council (Meeting of the Health and Building Regulations Committee and the Housing and Estates

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Committee, Capetown, 28th April, 1924; see also Dumbrell 1998). Gleemoor and Jamestown in present-day Althone were developed as part of the Assisted Housing Scheme run by Cape Town City Council between 1925 and 1930. Hazendal was established in 1924 and Alicedale was built as a rental scheme by the City Council in 1939 (Western Cape Archives; Dumbrell 1998). Because of these housing schemes, the pattern of development transitioned from speculative development to council housing (Dumbrell 1998).

In June 1928, the Executive Committee of the Cape Provincial Administration recommended that the Cape Town City Council should develop Athlone for non-European settlement. The committee felt as though the land in Athlone was suitable for sustainable settlement (better than the land at the proposed new settlement at Maitland); the only concern was the issue of transportation from Athlone to employment opportunities in industrial areas or at the city center, and the committee believed that collaboration with the Railway Administration would solve some of the transportation needs (Western Cape Archives, 3/CT 4/1/5/579).

The forced removal of people from "slum" dwellings in the city center under the stated interest of health conditions continued into the 1940s. During the "*Committee of Inquiry into Condition Existing on the Cape Flats and Similarly Affected Areas in the Cape Province*" in March 1942, Anthony Roche, a building contractor working on the Cape Flats argued for developing housing schemes in the Athlone area by saying "I think you will find that anybody would rather live in a hut on the Flats than live two families in a room in District Six. For health reasons too it would be better" (57). Roche describes the Jamestown

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scheme in Athlone as the first housing scheme provided specifically for the Coloured

population using government housing loans: "I did some work surrounding these houses over

a period of almost 5 years and I have seen some of the lowest urchins of District Six go

there….families have improved out of all recognition." Later in the document, Roche

concedes that much of Athlone flooded after the construction of 120 houses in the Jamestown

area off of Klipfontein Road (Committee of Inquiry into Condition Existing on the Cape

Flats and Similarly Affected Areas in the Cape Province 1942, 63).

Forced removals to the Cape Flats began as early as 1920 and were often presented as

a philanthropic endeavor to promote health and welfare or good neighborliness. Municipal

officials believed that the majority of the Coloured population resided in unsanitary and

overcrowded slum conditions in areas like District Six. They believed these areas should be

cleared in order to improve the city's public health crisis. In addition to the public health

argument, government officials insisted that racial mixing threatened public morality.

Apartheid as a system was presented as a policy of good-neighborliness. In spite of local

government's development of "Coloured" public housing estates on the Cape Flats for lower

income families, and the existence of a few wealthy neighborhoods segregated by class and

prejudice, almost one-third of the Cape Town population continued to live in racially and

culturally mixed areas prior to World War II, making Cape Town the least segregated city in

South Africa (Wilkinson 2000; Martin 1999; Besteman 2008). The Minister of the Interior

introduced the Group Areas bill to Parliament in 1950 by arguing that "If you reduce the

number of points of contact [between people in different racial categories] to the minimum,

you reduce the possibility of friction….the result of putting people of different races together

is to cause racial trouble" (quoted in Trotter 2006, 6). Under the Group Areas Act, between

1957 and 1985, approximately 150,000 people in the Cape Town area were forcibly removed

from their homes in areas such as District Six, Claremont, and Tramway and relocated to

dwellings in declared "Coloured Areas" on the Cape Flats. This process eventually

reorganized Cape Town into the most segregated city in the country (Trotter 2006; Besteman

2008)[11].

The dispossession of land through the Group Areas Act in areas like District Six and

other places around the country not only reclaimed valuable land for the exclusive use of

white citizens of apartheid South Africa, but, perhaps more significantly, forced removals

and the destruction of homes in an attempt to obliterate cosmopolitan urban identities and

experiences among particular non-white population groups.

Because of forced removals, the Cape Provincial Administration, in a regional

planning meeting in 1966, articulated the urgency of the rapid development of the Cape Flats

for low-income displaced populations. The committee reported that, in 1960, 45% of the

Coloured population of Cape Town was living in Cape Flats, but by 1966, many new areas

had been proclaimed "white" by the Group Areas Act, which would rapidly increase the

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[11] This transition occurred as a result of Group Areas forced removals. Spatial re-integration has not
been as successful in Cape Town as it has been in other major South African cities. I speculate that
high property values in historically white neighborhoods in Cape Town have hindered movement
throughout the city.

numbers of Coloured people living on the Flats (*Cape Flats: An Interim Report on the Planning of the Cape Flats as the Hinterland for Expansion of the Metropolitan Area of Cape Town. 1966, p* 9).  In a meeting of the Coloured Management Committee for Athlone/Duinefontein in March 1966, committee member Mr. Moses commented that because of the recent proclamation of District Six as a white area, "the natural inclination of the independent class of Coloured person would be to seek land for housing in the most secure Coloured area, Athlone" (Western Cape Archives, AM20/4/3). He feared that victims of forced removals would be "involved in a scramble for the limited amount of land available with the consequent soaring of prices to unreasonable heights. Buyers of land would have no alternative but to submit to such financial exploitation of the situation by landowners" (ibid).

      According to the *Interim Report on the Planning of the Cape Flats*, the population of Athlone in 1966 was 76,306, representing the most populous Coloured group area in metropolitan Cape Town, followed by Bellville/Goodwood, Grassy Park/Muizenberg, District 6, Kensington, Wynberg, and the Malay Quarter. The committee's projected population numbers for Athlone by 1980 were 183,484 and zero for District 6 in 1980 (see Table 2). The committee specified that new areas of development should be close to existing Coloured areas and should be accessible by public transport since most of the non-white population did not own cars (31). The Technical Sub-Committee of the Joint Town Planning Scheme of Cape Town and Stellenbosch in 1969 assumed that eventually all Coloured people would be housed on the Cape Flats, and that the Flats would eventually operate as an "autonomous Coloured city with the Metropolitan area" providing the "widest range of opportunities in employment, shopping, services, recreation, and cultural activities" for the

Coloured population (*Joint Town Planning Committee of the Cape and Stellenbosch. Outline Development Plan for the Cape Flats 1969*). As a first step toward achieving this goal, a management committee of the Coloured group area of Athlone and Duinefontein was established in 1965. The jurisdiction of this group was later expanded to include Wittebome, Wynberg and Kensington. Bonteheuwel, Welcome Estate, and Newfields were added to its jurisdiction in 1966 (Western Cape Archives, TBK PAA J8 AM20/4/1).

Houses on the Cape Flats were often structurally inadequate, rental costs were expensive, the duration and cost of commuting to town for work increased, and previous communities and social ties were broken. In this context, gangs, crime, and violence on the Cape Flats increased (Potluri 2004). In these newly created areas of racial homogenization and segregation, social status, as a means of differentiating, became associated with physical spaces. Within the Coloured community, certain neighborhoods or geographical areas became markers of class and status (Ruiters 2006; Sayid interview 2010). According to Ruiters, "the reduction of Coloured identity to a physical space created identities that were continually denied a symbolic space and location within society" (2006, 137)**.**
The area now known as Athlone is a working class residential area situated on the Cape Flats, bounded on the north by the Klipfontein Road, and on the east by the residential areas of Alicedale and Jamestown (Dumbrell 1998, 1). In an interview conducted in her home, Millie describes the changes she has witnessed in Athlone in her lifetime:

> I was born in this house [in] Alicedale in Athlone. I'm living here 61 years. It has changed dramatically. Geographically it has changed in the sense that it was very barren at the time when we moved in here—they have planted trees now and put down our grass which they have never done before. We also had a very good bus

service which we don't have anymore—bus services are very minimal in our area at the moment. We used to have a bus riding down Thornton Road very near our house and on top of that, in Thornton road we had the terminus which has been taken away from us. We don't have any buses coming down Thornton Rd anymore, we don't have any taxis or any sort of public transport for anyone. The transport to town we have to take from Klipfontein Road.  In this area and very near access to this area there is nothing --especially for the older people… People lived in council houses owned by the government and a couple of years ago they sold the houses to the people, and people could then own—start renovating their houses and making it bigger inside and outside…Other thing is our roads of course have been upgraded.

–Millie (personal interview)

The development of Cape Jazz music and dancing is a product of forced removal, segregation, marginalization, memory, community (re)building, and the dependent, yet troubled relationship between the city centre and the Cape Flats. According to Sayid:  "We [members of the Coloured population] couldn't mix with the so-called white people. We didn't know what their music was all about, so we created our own stuff."

## MARGINALITY

I offer here a brief background of the roots of differentiation and marginality embedded the formation of a collective coloured identity. The social constructionist view of coloured identity that became prevalent from the 1980s believes in the agency of individuals to form their own complex and multifaceted identities.  They understand identity formation to be an "ongoing, dynamic process" (page).  According to Erasmus and Pieterse, coloured identities are relational, forged in particular social and historical contexts (1997).  Of course, just because scholars recognize the socially constructed nature of colouredness does not

mean that everyone I interviewed spoke in those terms. In his work on identity and District Six, Beyers acknowledges that a conundrum for social constructivists is how to "analyze identity formation without reinscribing 'race' in naturalized social or cultural categories" (2009, 80).

In the following section, I discuss the political and social roots of feelings of collective marginality among members of the coloured population in Cape Town historically. I am in no way suggesting that every person ascribes to this understanding of colouredness— there are countless ways in which people define themselves, remember the past, and envision the future.

Among cape jazz participants I interviewed for this project, cape jazz dancing is tied closely to narratives of colouredness as they have developed in Cape Town. A cape jazz dancer once joked with me that the coloured population originated 9 months after Jan van Riebeeck's expedition arrived in the Cape in 1652. What he meant, of course, is that he associates colouredness with the product of sexual interactions between European settlers and indigenous Khoi and San peoples. In fact, the historical development of coloured identification in the Cape is complex and fascinating and is, of course, shaped by the rich and complicated pattern of social, political, and economic interactions in the Cape and in South Africa more broadly. What I offer here is a brief discussion of the ways in which coloured identity has been, and continues to be conceptualized and contested in order to establish a foundation for the contested meanings and negotiated spaces of cape jazz dancing.

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In colonial Cape Town, society was stratified based on notions of social respectability and status with racial categorization emerging much later (Ruiters 2006, 119). 'Miscegenation' was a component of Cape Town's "special tradition" of "racial mixing" that dates back to the 1600s (Bickford-Smith 1995, 67). It is this "special tradition" of interracial interaction that makes Cape Town's unique social history distinct from the social histories of other South African cities. Between Jan van Riebeeck's arrival in 1652 and the abolition of the slave trade in 1808, approximately 63,000-65,000 slaves were brought to the Cape from Angola, Indonesia, Malaysia, Madagascar, and Mozambique among others (Martin 2000a). In early Cape society, local officials "turned a blind eye" to miscegenation because it allowed their "lower-class" white employees a sexual outlet without the need to import and support European women (Ahluwalia and Zegeye 2003, 258). In fact, records exist of marriages between early Dutch settlers and "christianized Hottentot women" (van den Berghe 1960, 68). However, with creeping color prejudice in the late 1600s, legal marriages between European settlers and the non-white population occurred less frequently. In 1685, marriage between white men and enslaved women was outlawed although white men continued to legally marry free women of colour occasionally, although these unions were becoming increasingly frowned upon (ibid). Non-marital interracial sexual relationships frequently occurred in the form of "institutionalized concubinage" between slave owners and enslaved women, or between white laborers and women of colour working in brothels in town (ibid, 69). Extra-marital sexual relations between white men and women of colour were not only tolerated because the offspring of such unions contributed to the growing labour needs of the Cape, but often such relationships were perceived as the amusing behavior of young boys

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proving their manhood (van den Berghe 1960, Ahluwalia and Zegeye 2003). Interracial sexual activity occurring as master-slave concubinage or casual sexual interactions between white men and women of color implied relationships of white power and were not viewed as threatening to the perceived superior social status of white men.  In contrast, inter*marriage* implied social equality and was therefore condemned (van den Berghe 1960).  However, as late as the early 1900s, it was common for European immigrant laborers to marry women of colour.  Sexual interaction between black men and white women occurred very infrequently (Bickford-Smith 1995).

The abolition of slavery in 1838 created the need to reconfigure the ways in which social position and status were conferred in the Cape.  Likewise, the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly in 1867 and gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 helped spur the development of an "assimilated" identity distinct from the "Bantu-speaking African populations of the interior" who migrated to the Cape Town area as a result of the mineral revolution (Adhakari 2010).  In this case, the proclamation of a separate identity was an attempt to access relative privilege (ibid).  In the beginning of the 1900s, the economic situation in the Cape was dire and competition for jobs was intense.  In 1900, the first exclusively European labor unions in order to protect certain jobs for white workers, and racial discrimination in housing and services intensified (Martin 2000a, 104).  According to Martin, in order to properly defend white jobs and other privileges, the government had to firmly define whiteness and clarify the distinction between white and non-white (ibid).  At first the term coloured was used to refer to all non-Europeans regardless of origin.  By 1904, the Cape Colony census outlined three separate categories for enumeration: White, Bantu, and Coloured which was defined as

"all intermediate shades between the first two" (Martin 2000a).  In 1926, the coloured

category was negatively defined as neither native, nor Asian, nor European (ibid).

In addition to establishing firm racial boundaries to protect employment privileges,

racial delineation established social boundaries necessary for creating race-based hierarchies.

Anti-miscegenation laws were established in order to prevent the racial mixing that would

have undermined the myth of purity of white women (Elder 1998).  The Morality Act of

1902 outlawed "illicit sexual intercourse for the purpose of gain", between white women and

"any aboriginal native" in the Cape Colony (quoted in Bickford-Smith 1995, 66).  In spite of

these law, as Maurice Evans, a visitor from Natal, noticed in 1911, interracial social and

sexual interactions occurred far more frequently in Cape Town's public spaces than in other

South African cities (Bickford-Smith 1995).  In 1927, the Hertzog government passed the

Immorality Act outlawing sexual intercourse between Europeans and Africans.  According to

Erasmus (2001), the economic depression and rapid urbanization that occurred in South

Africa in the 1930s and 1940s contributed to the development of a "poor white problem," and

racial mixing was increasingly represented by Afrikaner Nationalists as "a threat to their

white identity and to the morality of Afrikaner women in particular" (10). "Blood mixing"

was viewed as a "vile and debasing practice" that would result in the "degeneration and loss

of moral values of poor whites in the cities" (van den Berghe 1960, 70; Erasmus 2001, 10.)

According to the Commission on Mixed Marriages in 1939, interracial marriages 'lead […]

to the infiltration of non-European blood into the European population […] [and produce]

risks […] with regard to racial and social heredity' (Report of the Commission on Mixed

Marriages 1939, 33, quoted in Erasmus 2001, 10).  The interracial sexual interactions that

persisted after this period did so in more "clandestine, commercialized, [and] transitory" ways (van den Berghe 1960, 71).

After 1948, it was imperative to the racial and spatial philosophies of the apartheid government and to the enforcement of race-based segregation that the state develop a system for establishing clear, "common sense" boundaries between state-defined racial groups, particularly between coloured and white groups (Ruiters 2006 citing Posel 2004). Under the apartheid system, individuals were not able to self-identify with a particular population group, instead a government official made such determinations based on arbitrary phenotypical tests. For example, a common test to differentiate between the coloured population and the native black population was inserting a pencil into the individual's hair—if the pencil slid out of the hair easily, that person would be deemed coloured (Ruiters 2006). Likewise, in his autobiography, as a young attorney, Nelson Mandela recalls defending a man in court interested in being reclassified from African to coloured. Despite his moral dilemma, Mandela argued that the man was, in fact, Coloured because of the slope of his shoulders (Mandela 1994, 151-152). In 1967, the apartheid government officially listed subgroups of the coloured population as: Cape Coloured, Malay, Griqua, Chinese, Indians, other Asians, other Coloured). Categorization was often also acknowledged on the basis of general recognition (105).

## Social Dancing on the Cape Flats: Scenes and Snack Dances

The precursor to jazz dancing on the Cape Flats was the bob sessions that mirrored those described in District Six . Millie explains that the bob was danced in a style similar to the way in which jazz is danced today: it was a partner dance to Rock 'n Roll music with turn patterns—Millie mentions that she used to wear bobby socks with short white skirts. Born and raised in Athlone, Millie describes her experiences with bob sessions and backyard scenes during her childhood:

There was not much clubs in Athlone at the time and you used to have your bobbing in the houses and they used to call it bob sessions. Ja. From there in the '60s, I was a young girl and we used to belong to a youth club and we used to have scenes at the houses. It wasn't called bob sessions anymore, they called it scenes. The bob sessions was inside your house, the scenes was outside the house.

Trevor describes the ways in which he used to erect canvas tents at his aunt's house to hold backyard scenes. Trevor would DJ and people would dance together in the backyard:

> It was like a nightclub at your house…. We are all there partying because this was our way of enjoying ourselves. We didn't need to go to a white club; we had it in our backyards. And we'd say bring your own [alcohol], because there was no selling of liquor. Sometimes I admit, people would take a chance and they would run a bar at the back and sell liquor but the way we circumvented that was—they'd have a book of tickets. They would sell a book of tickets for R10—or each ticket was R2, and you could get a drink, but you are not passing money over the bar. You say, 'here is a ticket, I want a brandy.' If the cops come…you say 'we are just keeping tabs.' But what could they do? No money is passing over the bar. That's how we used to get away with that."

By the late 1960s, the bob was out of fashion. According to Millie, "people didn't want to do it because it wasn't the in thing." Instead, she describes the *langarm* dances that people attended and continue to attend today:

> You bring your own drinks--your own wine, your own glasses. They will have a band there. It's ballroom but in between they will have jazz and something else. … Then you have a dance where you form a circle. It is typical of a langarm dance. But it is an extremely social event—everybody mixes with everybody. And it is a mature crowd that goes there… From 30 to 80 you will find there. Up 'til today. That has not died and it has not changed. So there you will have a chance to do your bob. Because there everything goes. Every dance. They do have it now, they have it on a Saturday, but it is normally clubs that give it as a fundraising effort. … There is a band called the Strand Combo—there is this crowd that follows them wherever they play. It is a very good band, one of the best bands. Langarm as they call the band in the Western Cape.

Jazz musician Willis remembers his parents going to hops in Athlone, fund-raising dances often organized to gather money for sports clubs, youth groups, or other such organizations. During these social gatherings, according to Willis, people would dance *langarm.* Likewise, Carlton describes his early memories of *langarm* parties at his childhood home:

> Then I realize that's what my parents used to do when they used to go to a langarm joll. It translates to Long Arm—it's as close to ballroom as what you could get. My parents used to do that in this very lounge. I have old pictures of it. I grew up in this house. I was a year when I moved here—this house is 45 years old. So my grandparents used to come and invite 20 friends and play these old LPs—we used to have a gramophone. And they used to dance. I couldn't understand what they were doing—I thought it was very old fashioned at the time…

When he was learning to dance to jazz, Phillip would go with his friends to a snack dance once a month where they played *langarm*. Often held at community centers or school halls, these snack dances still occur in present-day Cape Town. Phillip mentioned that he liked the elegance and formality of snack dances—people would get dressed up, bring their own beverages and snack platters, and dance to live bands such as the Strand Combo. Club Joy in Athlone Central still hosts *langarm* dances on Saturday afternoons.

## SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT OF JAZZ ON THE CAPE FLATS: CLUBS AND DANCING

Trevor, 56, (coloured) is widely credited with developing a popular style of Cape jazz dancing.  Born in Wynberg, Cape Town, Trevor is a building and plumbing contractor during the day, and he runs a dance studio called Danz Afrika at night. Trevor has been on the jazz dancing scene since the early 1970s and has been teaching for the past 35 years, although he considers himself semi-retired. He currently lives in Lansdowne.  He describes the early development of Cape jazz:

> I remember when I was 16, I was an active sportsman. I used to play soccer and baseball. I remember one Saturday afternoon, all the guys on the team decided, let's go party tonight. We all met at a place in Wynberg called the Wynberg Youth Club.  And that night they had a DJ and a band playing. They were playing these jazzy tunes. There were one or two people that were doing this dance. It looked a bit jiving…But it was totally different. And I asked the one guy and he said, no this is something new that the people on the cape flats are trying out. And I liked what I saw and I also wanted to try it out. I have a ballroom background. I did ballroom when I was 8 years old. I took waltz and samba and what. I liked it [jazz], I thought it was fascinating. And then I put my own little steps to it. And before long, the whole soccer club was doing this thing called Cape Flats Jazz. And that was about 40 years ago. And I wanted to dominate the scene. Everywhere we went to, I trained a female, and we wanted to jazz. And at that time there

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were only three guys—one or two or three—who could really jazz. And after six months it was catching on, and after a year, it was creeping all over Cape Town. There were jazz clubs and jazz clubs and jazz clubs.

The link between jazz, nightclubs, and liquor continues to be important for the development of jazzing on the Cape Flats. During apartheid, the regulation of urban residential and social spaces, labor, and liquor all influenced the ways people participated in jazz spaces, imprinting on the meaning of Cape Jazz. In 1965, Proclamation R26 of the Group Areas Act declared that the presence of a member of a "disqualified racial group" in an area for specified purposes and substantial periods of time were violations of the Act— even if that person was a quest invited to a private club (report of the SAIRR 1984, 33). These regulations affected attendance at places of entertainment. Exemptions could have been granted on a case-by-case basis and permits could have been issued in these instances, although this was not often done.

Musicians in reputable bands were not affected by this legislation; however, the working situation was becoming increasingly difficult for non-white musicians, with the Cape Musicians Association (CMA) putting pressure on the Department of Community Development to secure professional opportunities for local white musicians. In 1967-68, the Cape Town Liquor Licensing Board "declined to impose a general condition on all on-consumption licenses which would have put an end to Coloured musicians working at white hotels" (Layne 1995, 87). However, the CMA, armed with a letter from the Department of Community Development confirming that employing Coloured band members to perform for

white audiences in white Group Areas is prohibited, protested to the Department of Labour against the continuing employment of Coloured entertainers at rates lower than those stipulated by white performers. This manipulation on the part of the CMA reduced employment opportunities for Coloured musicians to those gigs "existing within the new liquor-related amateur entertainment establishment" (Layne 1995, 88). Willis describes the experiences of fellow musicians:

> Every decade, apartheid softened more and more. So two decades before I was playing, it was even more hectic. In a venue like this, to get your liquor license, there were certain things you had to abide with. You couldn't have people of mixed races drinking together. If you had a live show in a pub, and liquor was served, you couldn't have a mixed band. You couldn't have a black guy playing with a white group—it was a liquor law. I had a mentor—he was one of my teachers as well—Winston Mankunku—he used to play behind a curtain in the 1960s. A lot of the black people changed their surnames…if you look at the colored population in Cape Town, the pigmentation ranges from black to white…years ago, people would cross the racial barrier. So people like Pat Mathaketha changed his name to Matthews to assume a Coloured person's identity to get more work.

The sale of liquor and tobacco became the foundation for the entertainment industry in Cape Town. Changing liquor laws during the 1960s transformed the jazz and live music industry from an "informal social activity centered around dance halls to a liquor-based industry centered on night clubs" (Layne 1995, 128). Access to the liquor trade and venues for consumption, including bars, restaurants, and hotels, was extended to Coloured small business owners in 1963. Licensed Coloured-owned nightclubs also emerged during this period (Layne 1995, 125). As apartheid legislation relaxed, backyard scenes began to dwindle and an increasing number of nightclubs opened on the Cape Flats. By the end of the 1960s, according to Andy Wichman, the manager of the popular Athlone jazz venue, the

Beverly Lounge, the hotel and lounge industry for Coloureds was booming (Layne 1995).

However, it was possible, though difficult, for Coloured small businessmen to receive liquor

licenses for the operation of clubs and pubs. Therefore, according to Trevor, many of the

most popular Coloured jazz clubs on the Cape Flats were located in hotels with liquor

licenses:

> There wasn't a lot of so-called Coloured clubs. The only other clubs that were if it
> was like a Coloured hotel…they would have a little dance place in the hotel. It was
> the Beverley hotel as well. And they had the Beverley lounge. The Landros had the
> 524. This was a hotel. Basically it was the hotel that had licenses and they could run
> their little pubs/clubs inside the hotel. But for a Coloured to get a liquor license other
> than that, it was very difficult. I mean they weren't going to give Coloureds the liquor
> license left right and center. So the hotels would just use that license for the pubs and
> clubs.

According to Trevor, it was easier for hotels owned by members of the Coloured

population to obtain liquor licenses than for night clubs and bottle stores.   For example, a

1966 City Council memo communicated an objection to providing the Surwell Bottle Store

in Athlone with a liquor license stating "that it is the Council's policy, adopted as far back as

the 31st August, 1939, to oppose in the strongest possible way any attempt to obtain liquor

licenses, either by transfer, removal or the granting of new licenses at Athlone or the

surrounding area in such close proximity to the Council's Housing Schemes as to be

detrimental to such schemes" (Western Cape Archives AM20/4/3).

As people were forcibly removed from areas like District Six, an area that was

considered to be the hub of jazz activity in the 1950s and 1960s, and as liquor laws began to

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change for Coloured Group Areas in the 1960s and 1970s, clubs for jazz dancing began to

proliferate on the Cape Flats.

> Then obviously when people were thrown out of District 6 a lot of the parties were
> held in places like Athlone, which has a big history about it….The reason why
> everything is centered on Athlone is because people were moved out of District Six
> and were moved to places like Athlone, Bridgeton, Silvertown and places like
> that….You'll notice that the Galaxy is also in Athlone. A lot of the entertainment
> industry took place in Athlone with clubs like the Galaxy, the Beverly, the Rio—there
> were so many clubs. Athlone was a very popular area and Kensington was a popular
> area for live music and dancing and music.  –Carlton (personal interview)

Trevor traces the movement/migration of Cape Jazz dancing from places like District

Six to the "townships" (lower-income areas of the Cape Flats such as Hanover Park,

Bontithwuel, and Lavender Hill) where jazzing emerged as a direct result of forced removals

and relocation. According to Trevor, the people forcibly removed to these locations carried

the practice of jazz dancing with them. Trevor then alludes to a diffusion of Cape Jazz

dancing that was not only spatial, but occurred along the lines of social class and status as

well:

> "… that feeling spread to all of the nicer Coloured areas:  …Lansdowne, Wynberg,
> the nicer parts of Athlone…it spread there as well. So it became a Coloured thing and
> not just a township thing. It was nice that the so-called upper-crust people came to do
> it and identified with it so it was not just the poors."—(Trevor, personal interview)

According to Jamal, at this time, "everything was happening in the

townships…because at the time black and Coloured people lived in the townships—that's

where they belonged…. Athlone was the hub of the Cape Flats, so it did play a major role."

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Carlton talks specifically about the development of a jazz nightlife scene along Klipfontein

Road, which links Gugulethu to Athlone. The road, he says, is key:

> Because that road leads from the heart of Gugulethu, goes over the bridge and into Athlone, in that road were several nightclubs like the Beverly and several others. A lot of the guys from Gugulethu used to take a chance and come over that bridge and come play in Athlone purely because they wanted to play jazz. For them it was purely about playing the music and getting the music right. Let's say the black guys wanted to come over to the Coloured side and the Coloured guys wanted to come over to the black side. Purely out of inquisitive-ness and purely because of the music. This is what I heard a lot of people say—that road is the key. For example, Robbie Jansen used to play at a place called the Beverly and Ezra Ngcukana used to be in Gugulethu or Nyanga. They became very good friends purely because they used to try and copy each other's music and styles. I know that was one of the major links—Klipfontein Road…  I know there used to be a lot of road blocks just outside of Gugulethu so that people leaving Gugulethu to come into Athlone on some occasions would be stopped for their passes and at a certain time of night they would be asked where do you come from and who gave you permission to be there, etc, etc…the passes for black people played a very important role. In those days they had to carry their passes with them. From a Coloured perspective I don't think we needed passes, but we were stopped on many occasions wanting to know where we are off to and what are we going to do there.  --Carlton (personal interview)

Of course, curfews imposed on black South Africans during apartheid affected them

not only in their homes and residential areas during the night, but also excluded them from

all amenities during the night. Not only were black South Africans prohibited from attending

jazz sessions in neighboring Coloured communities, but, as Tony explains, white Captonians

would very rarely travel to the Cape Flats at night. And a clause of the General Law

Amendment Act of 1968 enabled the Minister of Justice to prohibit the sale of liquor for on-

site consumption to members of the Coloured and Asian population groups in a white group

area if the Minister was of the opinion that liquor consumption caused "undesirable

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conditions" in the White area concerned, or if the Minister concluded that sufficient provisions existed for the Coloured or Asian persons in their own group areas (SAIRR 1984). Thus, jazz clubs in white areas of the city centre would have had almost no Coloured patrons. Trevor states: "Remember, we couldn't go to white clubs. So we had to have our own clubs where we had to identify with jazz. …Because all the clubs in town were for whites." Therefore, Cape Jazz dancing developed almost exclusively in isolation within the Coloured communities of Cape Town, with the heart of the jazz club scene on the Cape Flats.

In 1973, Proclamation R.228 of the Group Areas Act extended the meaning of "occupation" to apply to any person who is present on any land or premises in the controlled areas or in a group area for a substantial period of time, or for the purpose of attending a place of public entertainment or of enjoying any refreshments as a customer of a licensed restaurant. Permission could be granted to individuals via permit from the Department of Community Development.

In October 1975, Mr. Isaacs, the owner of the Jazz Tomb Social Club located on Belgravia Road in Athlone, applied to the Department of Community Development for a permit to authorize white guests to attend sessions at his club from time to time (Western Cape Archives CDC 385, 32/1/4400/177). Mr. Isaacs wanted to be allowed to have white jazz musicians and critics enter the club to increase exposure for talented jazz bands. In order to advance his request, Mr. Isaacs mentioned that liquor is not permitted on the premises (in order to "discourage undesirable patrons"), and indicated that white attendees would be kept from dancing. He also thought to mention that the members of his Coloured club were "all

decent and respectable citizens." The Department of Community Development rejected the Jazz Tomb's permit on the grounds that Mr. Isaacs was unable to specify precisely which white patrons would be attending and when, further stating that in agreement with the local police department, issuing a permit to "a Coloured social club, specializing in jazz music and with dancing, would not be advisable" (ibid).

During the 1970s, similar permit applications were filed by the Beverly Hotel and the Gold Finger Lounge in Athlone. These permits were granted on the explicit basis that white invitees would not be permitted to dance and, in some cases, that separate toilet facilities were provided (Western Cape Archives KAB CDC 384  32/1/4400/122 and Western Cape Archives KAB  CDC 383 32/1/4400/67). One 1978 permit application for an annual dinner function sponsored by the Panther's Sport club at the Goldfinger Lounge specifically mentioned that no European ladies would be present, indicating recognition that white women in the presence of alcohol and dancing would be unacceptable to a permit review committee.

The Liquor Act of 1977 allowed for all on-consumption licenses to be granted; however, racial mixing in dining, drinking, and accommodation facilities was strictly prohibited. Interestingly, this prohibition did not apply to club liquor licenses. The Minister of Justice could grant "international status" to hotels, restaurants, and other premises with on-consumption liquor licenses. International status enabled these establishments to provide food, alcohol, and accommodation to persons of Colour on the condition that bars were reserved for white guests only, that only guests were allowed to use swimming pools, and

that the establishment would prohibit mixed dancing (SAIRR report 1984, 28). The Liquor Act of 1977 also granted admission to persons of Colour as members of or guests in a club.

In December 1979, the Minister of Community Development announced a new policy for 'one time' exemptions from the legal provision of Proclamation R.228 for admission into covered halls, clubs, and unlicensed cafés and restaurants (86).

## Popular Jazzing Clubs

Club Montreal (also referred to as Montreal Lounge), formerly the Sherwood Lounge, is often credited with being the first club for jazz dancing on the Cape Flats. It was located in Manenburg. According to Carlton, the club was originally called the Sherwood Lounge because it was located in the heart of the Cape Flats in a low-income, gang-infested area. Russell describes the adventure of driving into the area late at night with concerns for safety and fuel. Carlton says that in spite of the "negative issues" in the area, Club Montreal itself was an amazing venue. Trevor remembers heading to Club Montreal for jazz dancing every Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday. Tony Schilder, one the of pioneers of Cape Jazz music, led the band that packed the dance floor on a Sunday night in subtle defiance of laws that prohibited dancing and alcohol consumption on Sundays (Collin Miller 2007b; Sayid personal interview). Carlton talks about the excitement of running into famous members of the community at Club Montreal, such as Chris Barnard, the professor who performed the first heart transplant.

Other popular clubs for jazz dancing on the Cape Flats include The Columbia Club on Beverly Street in Athlone, the Beverly Lounge in Athlone with jazz on Tuesday and Wednesday nights, the Bellmonte in Belleville on Thursdays, Club 524 in Lansdowne, the Jolly Carp in Grassy Park, and the Yellow Door in the black township of Nyanga. Trevor describes traveling between popular jazz clubs during the week:

> …in that time it was those big American saloon cars, like the Valiant, you know, these big cars. We could get about 8 people in the Valiant. And we were a clique—one Valiant, it was probably our friend's father's car. We used to travel in those big saloon cars. And even the Beetle—that time the Beetle was very popular. We used to get 6 people in a Beetle! That's how we used to travel. And trains. And if the function ends quarter to 12, there was a 12 o'clock train to the station—going either way. You don't get that now. You don't get trains running 12 or 1:00 am to the station. I don't think South Africa had that high crime rate as now. At that time we could still walk…nobody would interfere. You can't do that now. But then petrol was cheap. You could put 50 cents in and go far. But I guess you didn't earn much anyway.

Phillip describes going to more than one club in a night:

> Certain nights of week go to one specific club—Saturday afternoon at The Galaxy, Wednesday evening at G-spot, Thursday at the old Cinnamon. People are at Westend/Galaxy until 12 or 1am, then the place quiets down, then can go to swingers. Then party continues until 5am…

Phillip continues:

> "In the old apartheid era, clubs were restrictive—they were open, but the police could walk in at any time and they could close it down. You were allowed to go out but people tended to go home early for fear that the police might just pull you off and lock you up. Also the police would come into a club and just raid the place."

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Sayid describes clubbing during the late 1970s and early 1980s and how

entertainment was often disrupted by the State of Emergency and political turmoil:

> You knew that if you venture out it was going to be trouble. So those times, you
> didn't really go out clubbing because it was so unstable because you couldn't actually
> be out on the road because you would get picked up by the police. But those times
> when it was quiet, people went back to normal, the Galaxy was always there. The
> State of Emergency people didn't really go out because it was a different focus.
> People had other things on their minds... It was quite dangerous out there.

## 1980-1994

By the 1980s, the political situation was shifting and becoming increasingly

tumultuous. The 1976 Soweto uprising awakened a new resistance movement, significantly

influenced by South African youth.

In the meantime, the apartheid government was recognizing the strengthening

severity of an international public relations crisis that they feared would lead to economic,

cultural, and sports embargos in response to the government's apartheid policies.

Additionally, a 1984 report sponsored by the South African Institute of Race Relations stated

that South Africa (SAIRR) suffered "embarrassment" after the mishandling of several

"incidents" involving diplomatic personnel from other parts of the continent as well as black

visitors from overseas who attempted to use amenities in South Africa. This embarrassment,

according to the report, resulted from the conduct of "inept officials and an uninformed

populace in general" (*Committee for the Community relations of the President's Council on*

*Principles 1984, 2)*. The SAIRR report recognized the changing political realities of the

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region; the recent independence of neighboring states such as Zimbabwe, Zambia, Mozambique, and Angola indicated changing attitudes toward and tolerance for white rule in the region. Additionally, the report recognized the role of continued urbanization and the increasing educational and socioeconomic levels of the non-white population in South African cities.  The report warned that the elevated status of non-white persons might encourage people to lay claim to previously separate public amenities because of their status in the community.

> People regardless of colour, who in their own opinion maintain civilized standards are often not prepared to share basic amenities with people who do not…maintain those standards. Their attitudes, which are normally highly emotional, run deep in South African society, and although the Committee is unanimous that colour should not be the decisive criterion in the provision and reservation of amenities, it is nevertheless convinced…that any radical change in existing arrangements would have to take place gradually if friction, conflict and damage to relations are to be prevented…as regards to throwing open of amenities involving social intimacy, there exists in certain population groups a high degree of sensitivity which leads to resistance"
>
> --Committee for the Community relations of the President's Council on Principles 1984, 113).

In December 1979, clubs were allowed to apply for blanket permits to entertain guests of any racial group, and by 1980, the City Council of Cape Town decreed that "all amenities under its control"  should be "thrown open to all races without a permit" (ibid, 80).

A cultural embargo imposed in 1968 limited opportunities for South Africans to perform abroad or to gain exposure to international musicians in South Africa, which increased South Africans' sense of isolation from rest of the world (Coplan 2008). Although the government attempted to censor music and cultural performance with a political message,

resistance and freedom was often most powerfully expressed through music and movement. Jazz was no exception. Cape Jazz and the spaces for participation in Cape Jazz culture became important conduits for the anti-apartheid resistance movement and articulations of freedom. Leaders of the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the African National Congress (ANC), like Trevor Manuel, Pallo Jordan, and Dullah Omar, frequently held clandestine meetings in the Galaxy. According to Jamal, one of the managers of the Galaxy at the time owned a Harley-Davidson, which he reserved as a "getaway bike" for high-ranking political leaders in case of an emergency.

According to Carlton, in the heart of the time of riots and boycotts in South Africa, political awareness communicated through music became very important to him. He was introduced to artists, such as the late Robbie Jansen, during jazz festivals at The University of the Western Cape (UWC) where members of the UDF and the ANC gave anti-apartheid speeches between music sets. In addition to Robbie Jansen, Carlton remembers well-known artists such as Abdullah Ibrahim and Errol Dyers performing at these freedom rallies. It was via these rallies that Ibrahim's song Manenburg became known at the Cape Jazz anthem of the anti-apartheid movement.

Steve indicates that it was the censorship of music with a political message that heightened the significance not only of local live music but also of nightclubs as spaces of musical consumption. "Even in the jazz music—the music didn't even have to have those words but they represented freedom for us."

Carlton and Robert explain how, as DJs, they obtained music during the apartheid era:

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There were stores, specialists that would import vinyl for DJs. There were just a few stores—obviously went through government censorship. Some guys did their own thing and went overseas but they were also tracked. It was very tight at the time. I remember there were certain vinyls at the time where there were songs scratched out—songs of freedom. There was a song 'free Nelson Mandela' which managed to find its way into the country. Just like drugs come into a country, some songs came through. Some songs on an album would be scratched out by the censors so we wouldn't be able to listen to that or play it. Even those that were send to radio stations….some of these songs had lyrics that were too controversial at the time…for the then-government….there were certain songs of Marvin Gaye's at the time that were banned. Somehow we got hold of them. Janis Joplin, Bob Marley—these are songs that for us represented the idea of freedom. -- Carlton, (personal interview)

DJ Robert explains that, as a DJ, he had certain music shops and suppliers that he would rely on for his music. Often these stores or suppliers would/could only bring in five copies of a hit at a time, and if DJ Robert could not acquire one of those five copies, he would have to wait for a month until the supplier could import more copies. Unlike Carlton, DJ Robert felt as though, in spite of government censorship, he basically had the music that he needed, although he recognized that he was limited.

Bernie, a Mozambiquan musician, talks about his experiences in the Johannesburg jazz scene in the late 1980s. Fleeing the civil war in Mozambique, Bernie settled in Swaziland in order to cultivate his skills in and passion for music. His talents as a percussionist were discovered by a well-known Johannesburg record producer who brought Bernie to Johannesburg to play with several of South Africa's most popular music artists. Since the 1970s, the jazz festival scene in Johannesburg suffered from social, organizational, and programming conflicts. According to Coplan, poor arrangements, bad sound systems, cancellations, a lack of accommodation and transport for local musicians and fans, police harassment, and avarice among many event promoters ruined many jazz festivals (Coplan

2008). Bernie explains that, by the late 1980s, it became almost impossible for musicians to participate in jazz festivals in townships outside of Johannesburg because of riots and unrest—he describes the chaos of caspers (armored vehicles), tear gassing, and people hurling objects on stage. Instead of participating in festivals in the townships, Bernie said that, for safety, he and other musicians began to work only in the nightclub scene in central Johannesburg in areas like Hillbrow and Yeoville. While playing in nightclub circuit in the early 1990s, Bernie and his band were spotted by a producer from Cape Town who glorified the history of jazz in Cape Town and convinced them to relocate.

Cape Jazz dancers indicate that dancing, for them, served as an escape from the stress, burden, humiliation, marginalization, and oppression of apartheid. In the nightclub, Calvin remembers:

> You would go and you would be in a world where there are no restrictions; you lost yourself in the music…Some clubs you'd dance from 8pm-1am, but some clubs you'd go in at 8pm and stay right through 'til 6 in the morning. All night long. But it was about the music. And I think people went there to escape from this frustration of not being able to integrate.

Trevor says that "we [members of the Coloured community] danced our way" through the struggles of apartheid. When you dance, you are in your own vibe, your own world—you forget all those things. It was a form of escapism." Clyde explains that for those four or five hours, inside the cocoon of music and behind the closed doors of the windowless club, one could forget about what was happening outside. Trevor also reminisces about the excitement and anticipation that swirled around his presence on the dance floor: "It used to be fun! When I would walk in, with my partner… They used to wait for us. Here we come!

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We would move out on that floor. My ex-girlfriend used to spin like a top. She is the only

woman I know that stopped the band from playing!"


### GALAXY WESTEND


"*If you haven't been to the Galaxy, then you haven't been to Cape Town.*" This

sentiment appears commonly in magazine articles and tourism brochures, as well as by Cape

Jazz enthusiasts like Jamal and Phillip.



**Figure 5. Club Galaxy (Source: http://www.club-galaxy.co.za/photo-gallery.html)**

**Figure 6. Club Galaxy (Source: http://www.club-galaxy.co.za/photo-gallery.html)**

Located in Rylands, an Indian Group Area adjacent to Athlone, the Galaxy is considered by most practitioners of Cape Jazz dancing to be the oldest club in Cape Town. The Galaxy first opened its doors in 1978. Although the Galaxy operated as a disco most nights, the club offered jazz for dancers on Wednesday nights and Saturday afternoons. On Saturday afternoons, the Galaxy would open its doors to jazz dancers at 4:00 pm and the music would continue until 9:00pm, when disco and (later) hip hop, or old school music, would take over, catering to a younger audience. Saturday afternoon jazz is still a significant tradition to the Galaxy's most dedicated patrons. According to Clyde, the Galaxy is a place where "you go to dance yourself silly and they cater for the jazz *dancers.*"  According to Sayid:

> "Going out to the Galaxy (in the 1980s) was an event!  You gotta look the part. Those years it was more the wet look. In those years I had nice loose curls, like a Jerry Curl. I was very religious about my curl. You know, like the Temptations! So the wet look was in and I had my gel. In fact, I had a moustache as well…So you dress to the T.

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You have your button-down shirts and your turn-up pants, your pointed shoes. You gotta look the part…[because] everyone is there…. Fortunately, I don't drink. So I never went there for drinks or drugs or anything. It was merely music, ladies, dancing…that was my drive to get to the Galaxy. You could smell nice and look fantastic."--Sayid, (personal interview)

According to DJ Robert, the Galaxy in the late 1980s catered to two crowds: the jazz crowd and the disco crowd. The Galaxy would host an early evening jazz session featuring live bands playing jazz for an hour. Then the DJ would play the latest disco music. Then, at approximately 11pm, the DJ would play what Sayid calls "the blues," or slow love songs. He fondly reminisces:

"The lights go off in the disco. You get yourself your lady partner and they would play The Whispers, Earth Wind and Fire, and Reasons...You hold on, you bump and grind. Fantastic! I think they should bring back the blues…. a lot of people fell in love to the blues. There is a lot of emotions at stake. You are eying this one woman the whole night and you think, when the blues come on, I've got to be close to her…"--Sayid, (personal interview)

Above the Galaxy, and under the same ownership, was a cinema. In the late 1980s, the owners converted the cinema into a jazz club called Blue Note. The Galaxy downstairs had the atmosphere of a nightclub, and the Blue Note upstairs had "a classy, jazzy, more mature vibe" (personal interview, Tony). In addition to the Galaxy and the Blue Note in Rylands, the Patel Brothers owned a club called the Westend, which was originally located near the Waterfront in Cape Town. Phillip remembers the diverse clientele in the Westend who would come straight to the club from work on a Friday afternoon for sundowner cocktails and jazz. In 1992, the Westend's lease expired and instead of renewing the lease,

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the owners decided to move the Westend to the space above the Galaxy, replacing the Blue Note.  Because they owned the building in Rylands, the owner of the Westend saved rental fees by housing both clubs in one building. With this move, the major clubs for jazz dancing were all located outside of the city center. DJ K had reservations about moving the Westend from the city centre to Athlone/Rylands, claiming that he thought it would be difficult to operate two large venues in the same area.



**Figure 7. Westend jazz club (source: http://superclubs.co.za/)**
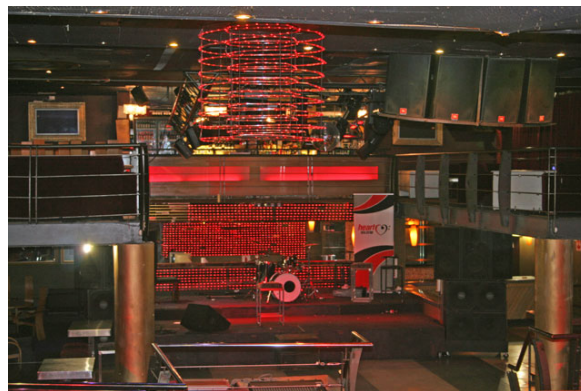


Figure 8. Westend jazz club (source: http://superclubs.co.za/)

Even after renovations, the physical space of the Westend still displays evidence of the club's past life as a local cinema: the stage and black-and-white tiled dance floor are located at the front of the club and the floor slopes upwards toward the back of the club and the bar, with comfortable couches placed on three terraces where one might imagine that cinema seats used to be arranged. The mirrored mosaic DJ booth is elevated, like a shimmering pulpit, above one corner of the dance floor. The walls are padded with black material, creating a cozy atmosphere that stands in sharp contrast to the steely coldness of the Galaxy downstairs.

The interior design of the Westend gives it what Clyde considers to be "an up-market" appeal, compared to another popular late night club that Clyde considers to be "a little bit more like a dump." Clyde's wife Amy claims the fact that patrons are searched before entering the club and are held to strict dress code standards which add to the Westend's up-market appeal, although she admits that such security measures are seldom necessary for Saturday afternoon's older jazz crowd. On Saturday nights, the Galaxy would become the domain of a younger crowd on average, interested in partying to the latest popular music, hip hop, or house while the "mature" crowd would move upstairs to enjoy the classy, relaxed vibe of jazz at the Westend (Trevor, Phillip, Amy). At the end of the month, generally around payday, the Westend hosts a corporate sundowner. Entry is free until 7pm and often people would come directly from work to celebrate the weekend, have a few drinks, socialize with friends, enjoy the live band, and begin to "let their hair down" by taking a spin on the dance floor (personal interview, DJ Robert). Amy sees these corporate sundowners as evidence of the way in which the Westend "gives back to the [jazz]

community"; in this way, the club thanks patrons for their support of the venue with free admission and drink specials.

As a manager at the Galaxy from the mid-1990s to the mid-2000s, Jamal's personal mission was to "salute" local jazz artists by hosting a monthly Sunday event as the Galaxy, in which he would recruit the top jazz artists to perform together in a "summit." These events were so popular that the venue would be filled beyond its 2,000-person capacity with several hundred more hopeful patrons waiting outside the venue. In this way, the Galaxy, through the work of its manager, contributed to the development of local jazz talent.

For the past 30 years, the Galaxy has dominated the club scene on the Cape Flats. The dominance of Westend and the Galaxy existed because the Patel Brothers own the building that houses the two clubs while most other clubs must pay stiff rental fees that eat away at monthly profits.  Smaller or newer nightclubs have often found it difficult to compete against the Galaxy, for this reason, Trevor explains. When other clubs do open and manage to succeed with new business models or fresh entertainment ideas, the Galaxy management would either change their marketing or operational strategies or offer to buy the new nightclub. But as DJ Robert admits, even though new clubs open and attract some of the Galaxy's clientele, those patrons generally return to the Galaxy within months.

**Figure 9. Westend Jazz Club (Source: Tony)**

When talking to current and former patrons of jazz nights at the Galaxy and Westend, a sense of intimacy and family or community is a common theme in their descriptions of the clubs. Interviewees emphasized meeting people, making connections, and forming bonds over time with the regular jazz dancers.  "When you dance with someone," explains Tony, "you are holding their hand, participating in the event, so during that activity, you open up and meet people" (personal interview).

Not only does the physical interior of the Westend create a sense of intimacy with its dark, padded walls, dim lighting, lounge seating, and the absence of windows, the movements of the dance are inspired by a desire for intimacy between partners.  Carlton

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admits, "I thought [jazzing] was to get to know the girl—to get to dance with her closer, you would make an excuse—'can I jazz with you?'" (personal interview). Likewise, Sayid (coloured), a professional cricket player who was born in 1964 in Claremont before his family was forcibly removed to Lansdowne discusses his perception of Cape jazz as a means to establishing intimate contact with female dance partners:

> When I came to the clubs, jazz was there already. So obviously through watching—not taking any class—just watching and thinking "Oh my God, I wanna do that!" Of course if you wanted to take a nice lady for a dance, you had to build up the courage to do that. You start by trial and error, then you build up more confidence and you expose yourself even more. But nobody ever took classes then—it happened naturally. And you can see that all of the good dancers got the nice ladies…so that is your inspiration; that is your reward. So these are all of the kind of things that happened then.

In my own experience, Cape jazz movements do not require the same sensuality as salsa body movement: Cape jazz dancers place less emphasis on shoulder and body rolls and defined hip movement,[12] dancers nevertheless share intimate moments on dance floor. To dance Cape jazz successfully, dance partners share rhythm, have a physical connection, communicate with each other non-verbally, must trust each other through the rapid spins that result in deep dips. Interestingly, the physical environment at the Westend, although it created a sense of intimacy for Westend regulars, as a newcomer, I was often intimidated by

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[12] See Chapter 5 for a more in depth explanation of the differences between salsa and Cape jazz body movement.

the seating because it reminded me that I didn't belong to one of the groups relaxing

comfortably on the couches grouped in small semi-circles, facing the stage and dance floor.

Rather than the physical environments of many nightclubs where limited comfortable seating

reflect the often ephemeral relationships formed in club environments, the seating

arrangement at the Westend highlights the long-lasting personal relationships that regulars

have formed at the Westend. For example, DJ Robert says "Club Galaxy will always have a

special part in my history that I'll always remember. Mainly because of the people. You were

in touch with the people. You knew everybody so you know what song to play…" (DJ

Robert, personal interview). Both Trevor and Phillip describe a "jazz fraternity"[13]. In part

because of this fraternity, Phillip feels "protected and safe" at the clubs. Interviewees also

describe the multigenerational appeal of the Galaxy/Westend, contributing to its position as

an institution in the community/area. Clyde has been dancing at the Galaxy for twenty-seven

years, since he was fourteen years old. He describes it as a "roll over" in the sense that one's

parents and siblings attend the Galaxy, so people in his neighborhood grow up knowing that

they will attend the Galaxy as well. Jamal mentions that children ten or eleven years old

cannot wait until they are old enough to go to the Galaxy—in fact, Jamal claims that many

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[13] The term "jazz fraternity" indicates the male-dominated nature of the cape jazz scene. Most of the musicians, DJs, and club owners are male. There are, however, a higher proportion of female vocalists, club owners, and dance instructors in the cape jazz scene than in Cape Town's salsa scene.

youth enter the club at fourteen or fifteen years of age with false IDs. He remembers a recent

encounter with a patron:

> One night in the galaxy, a guy came up to me and I know him, he is probably my
> age—he said 'you see that guy dancing on the floor—that is my son. He was
> conceived in the parking lot.' That tells the story of the galaxy picnic, it wasn't
> unusual to see grandfather, father, so at the picnic because 30 years in a long time.--
> Jamal, Interview

Susan (coloured) was born and raised in Heigeveld on the Cape Flats, learned to jazz

at the Galaxy in the mid-1980s, and has been dancing ever since. She opened a school for

Cape Jazz instruction called African Fiesta.

> You gotta love music, you gotta feel it. I would say jazz is actually Latin; it comes
> from America or something like that. But what we do here [at the Galaxy] is called
> club jazz—it's a little bit of a salsa step, it's a little bit of jazz, of a quickstep, it's a
> little bit of Latin American ballroom. It's basically your own creation I would say.
> The jazz basic step of jazz is left forward, feet together, then right foot back. So this is
> club jazz, I won't be able to say that it is professional (personal interview).

Susan indicates not only the intense blending of dance styles that make up Cape jazz,

but she also hints at a difference between dance styles across the Cape jazz dancescape; the

Westend has its own jazz style. Amy, 29, (coloured) qualifies these differences. Amy was

born in Ravensmeade in the Northern suburbs, and learned jazz informally by attending

matinees (afternoon jazz dance sessions at local dance halls and clubs). She describes the

style of jazz she learned as "unstructured" compared to jazz at the clubs like the Westend.

Amy met her husband, Clyde, 41, in a cape jazz dance class in 2002. Clyde was born in

Retreat in the Southern suburbs. Even though his mother had polio, there was always jazz

music playing in his childhood home.  Clyde would go out clubbing to dance freestyle, but only started learning jazz in 1996.  Clyde describes Cape jazz as a street dance, "predominantly people from the backstreets, and they're not that affluent, you know?  Working class" (personal interview).  Amy states that in her personal experience, "in the backstreets where we used to live… there's a club called Club Oscars. I was never allowed to go out with my friends…That's where I used to sneak to and that's where I learned to jazz, but…it's a very different style of jazz—a very low class style—" at this point in the interview, Clyde interrupts her, telling her not to refer to jazz on the "backstreets" as "low class," because it is "just a different style" (Clyde and Amy, personal interview).  Amy responds, "yeah, but in our terms, we will call it a very low class style of dance. That is my experience. Then I got introduced to the more reserved style of jazz when I went with my aunt one night to [Sandra, a Cape jazz instructor].  That's…where I learned, I would say, the proper way of jazz" (personal interview).

## 1994-PRESENT (POST-APARTHEID)

In the post-apartheid era, jazz musical performance in Cape Town has flourished thanks, in part, to the city's "new visibility as urban tourist paradise" (Coplan 2008, 352). There are a healthy number of venues sponsoring jazz performances in the metropolitan area, a number of which rely primarily on non-local patrons.  However, according to Jamal, some musicians in the 1970s and 1980s began to abandon popular rock music for the sophisticated

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sounds of jazz artists such as Miles Davis, John Coltrane, and Charley Parker, which exposed Cape Town musicians to a "whole new world" of musical style that was not only about rhythm and the basics of jazz, but that would require hours of study and practice (personal interview, Jamal). It was at this moment, suggests Jamal, that "listening" jazz began to develop on a different level to that of "dancing" jazz. Until the 1970s and 1980s, people were dancing to Cape Jazz music. However, in the early 1980s, jazz musicians in Cape Town began to focus more on improvisation and experimentation with rhythm and melody, a project that caused their music to become too far removed from the danceable beat that the public enjoyed. The music became more about education and less about entertainment. As musicians became more passionate about this particular style of jazz, bands became increasingly less popular with Cape Jazz dancers. Dancers began seeking a style of jazz that resembled Rhythm and Blues or Adult Contemporary. Jamal believes that as bands became less popular with Cape Jazz dancers, the nightclub scene shifted away from live music and leaned more heavily on popular recorded music.

Bernie's first experiences playing jazz with his band in Cape Town attest to this shift in jazz. When he first arrived in Cape Town in 1990, Bernie played with his band called Loading Zone at a club in Kuils River. They began playing the fusion music that made them popular in Johannesburg. Cape Jazz dancers, he quickly learned, wanted to dance to a groove resembling R&B, and although dancers kept requesting jazz, the jazz they wanted him to play was R&B. So the band learned to adapt and quickly gained popularity. Bernie recalls that by the time he was asked to play at the Galaxy on Saturday afternoons with his fusion band, VJR, the audience that attended was familiar with his music and he felt as though he

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had the space to play his music "without being subjected to making the people dance" (Bernie, personal interview).

Willis mentions the importance of beats per minute for Cape Jazz dancers. They tend, he explains, to prefer a consistent 5/4 or 6/8 rhythm. Calvin commented that the Cape Town jazz scene "has a bit of a retro feel to it," by which he explains that much of the music for dancing is reminiscent of disco music: "I think we are stuck in a time warp a little bit. A lot of 1970s and 80s music is still current in Cape Town—it works here." When I asked him why this is, he elaborated that musical tastes have been passed down from generation to generation.

In recent years, the style of Cape Jazz danced in clubs has also been evolving. Phillip, (coloured) an employee at the Athlone nuclear treatment plant, has been dancing for 15 years. Born in Athlone, Cape Town (he refuses to reveal his age), Phillip's parents died when he was 7 years old, but before Phillip's mother died, she taught him to dance. Because Phillip was fostered by a Moslem Indian family, his family's cultural and religious practices prohibited drinking, dancing, and clubbing. Phillip was rarely given the opportunity to dance until after he moved out of the house. He has been dancing ever since. He describes the evolution of Cape jazz as follows:

> We've taken a bit of salsa, a bit of Latin, a bit of ballroom steps and we throw   it all together—it became what is known as the Cape Town Jazz. …Old school jazz is a couple's dance but very few turns. We'll move side-to-side but we'll use very few turns. Versuss current jazz—meter by meter in a square you must be able to do all your moves—because there are other couples on the dance floor. Plus there are more turns and

side dips. A move called the chill where girl moves her feet in a shuffle—it's a unique and difficult part of the dance. A lot of people do it but they don't do it right. … But there is a lot of creativity –you can create your own [style] (personal interview).

Tony, 46, (coloured), a an avid jazz and salsa dancer and composer describes the evolution of jazz as follows:

> …Jazz has evolved—initially there were two styles: there was a style—like a side jump. then there was another style where you …embrace the person and walk around. And then you had this style where you had classic back and forward steps—when I looked at jazz, that's where it started. The walking you still see quite a bit—the jumping you don't see much anymore, it faded, and with the walking back and forth—ballroom people coming along to jazz and they would dance—people would watch them and imitate—so ballroom influenced jazz.…Then some people from Latin (Ballroom dance) came in. That is the way jazz has always been—people come and they bring another style into it…and it becomes part of the jazz. Now it is salsa—I mean I don't know how many steps I've incorporated—then other people will see it and they will incorporate—that becomes jazz. That's how jazz has been evolving all the time (personal interview).

Millie, 61, (coloured) born and raised in Athlone, is a former school teacher. She was a frequent participant in the dance scenes in the 1960s and 1970s. In her opinion, jazz has changed in the following ways:

> When we jazzed it wasn't pushing each other—it was together—something similar to the Brazilian salsa. It was in between each other all the time and you turn and you turn. … That's how it was, it was just together. Somebody would come up with something new— like a little step out of your area when you turn—that was acceptable. But that's how it was for a very long time (personal interview).

Dancers often describe the subtle incorporation of body movements from dance styles such as tango, hip hop, and, most significantly, salsa (the relationship between salsa and jazz will be discussed extensively in the following chapters). Several jazz instructors have

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become dedicated participants in Cape Town's salsa scene and many Cape Jazz dancers have admitted in casual conversation to attending salsa venues to "steal with the eye" the intricate turn patterns common to salsa styles practiced in Cape Town. Dancers will then add their own "Cape Town flavor" to the moves. Trevor says that Cape Jazz today looks much like ballroom rumba, jive, and Cuban salsa blended together. Detailed body movement for both Cape Jazz and salsa will be discussed more in Chapter 5.

In addition to the Westend, Generation Leisure Lounge, better known as the G-Spot, located in Epping Industrial area, is another popular club for Cape Jazz dancing in the area. I first attended the G-Spot in 2006, when several salsa dancers decided to drive to the club after a salsa class on a Wednesday night. Although I was unfamiliar with the area, I remember sitting in the back seat as we drove far outside of town and into an isolated industrial area flooded with the eerie orange light of street lamps. Even though we arrived after 10pm, the bouncer, upon hearing several foreign accents, decided to let us enter without paying the R50 cover charge. I remember swirls of warm color glinting off of the portraits of famous jazz musicians hung on brick walls. We sat at the edge of the dance floor and watched couples glide and twirl in front of the band.

**Figure 10. G-Spot (Generations Leisure Lounge) (Source: www.the-gspot.co.za )**
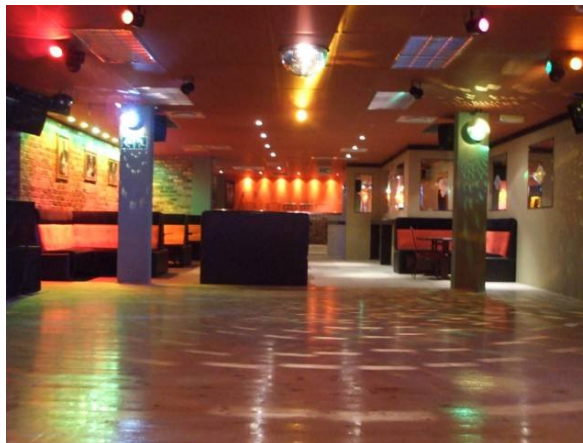


**Figure 11. G-Spot (Generations Leisure Lounge) (Source: www.the-gspot.co.za )**

I actually learned that the G-Spot closed and would soon reopen in a nearby location while conducting background research for my dissertation proposal in North Carolina. I discovered the G-Spot's license plight associated with this move after joining a G-Spot Facebook group. The management of the G-Spot used Facebook as a medium to inform their

customer base that they are petitioning communities in Pineland and Thornton to allow G-Spot to locate in the area. People described the need for a "family home" where one can "go to chill out & relax" and where "the people are not strangers" (Facebook G-Spot group thread written January 2009).

According to Calvin, the G-Spot's owner, in relocating the G-Spot, was trying to find a venue with plenty of parking situated in an industrial area to avoid issues with noise ordinances that would become troublesome in a neighborhood or urban area. Of course, as the Facebook posts suggest, relocating to a different municipal ward proved difficult for the G-Spot: "this ward is more conservative [than the previous ward]. So we got a bit of flack and we had a bit of problem with our license because a lot of people didn't know who we were" (personal interview, Steve). The community of Thornton, a small, historically white neighborhood bordering the Northern and Southern suburbs near Vanguard Drive and the Grand West casino, protested the establishment of the G-Spot across the road in Epping Industrial.  The owners of the G-Spot had to gather signatures and file a petition in order to locate the club in Epping. In addition to community permission, it took the G-Spot over a year and a half to secure all liquor and business licenses.

I first attended the newly opened G-Spot at the end of September 2009. I drove alone through a daunting, abandoned industrial area and passed empty stalls that house colorful fresh fruit markets during the day. Just when I began to think that I had turned into the wrong area, I saw an eerie green glow that turned out to be the G-Spot logo illuminating approximately 50 cars in a parking lot. The inside of the G-Spot looks quite similar to the old

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venue:  a brick and wood base with warm swirls of color and the same portraits of jazz

musicians. Cozy booths line the walls close to the entrance to the main section of the club. A

large, polished dance floor lies in the middle of the club, sandwiched between the live band's

stage and the DJ, booth with a spacious, elevated bar area on the far side of the club.

Wednesdays are the most popular days for jazz in at the G-Spot, and the G-Spot on a

Wednesday is the place to be for jazz dancing. Wednesdays frequently feature a DJ and the

band N2. Since its establishment in 1999, the G-Spot has featured prominent South African

artists including Ernie Smith, Sammy Webber, Alistair Izobell, Allou April, Robbie Jansen,

Errol Dyers, Jimmy Dludlu, Leslie Kleinsmith, Tony Schilder, Dr. Victor, and Garth Taylor

(G-Spot website [www.the-gspot.co.za](www.the-gspot.co.za) , accessed 11-3-09).

The G-Spot prides itself on being a venue that is "not too laid back as to be too sloppy

and not too up market to be too yuppie" (G-Spot website). Calvin, the owner of the G-Spot

describes his clientele as people who own their own homes, cars, businesses, and their own

front teeth[14]. The dress code is relatively relaxed. Men usually wear nice slacks or jeans, a

collared shirt, and nice shoes, although some of the regulars can get away with wearing jeans

and a t-shirt. Women dress in a range of styles: some wear sparkly black cocktail dresses;

others prefer to dress in tight jeans, high-heel shoes and a nice top.  When the venue first

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[14] Steve is referring to a common practice among certain members of the Coloured population in which the
upper front teeth are removed.  While I am not entirely familiar with the reasons behind this practice, I have

opened, G-Spot managers and DJs circulated complimentary passes (also called comp cards) among desirable potential clients. These highly prized comp cards allowed holders in for free until 10 pm; otherwise the cover charge was R50.

## THE DECLINE OF JAZZ

Several of the most dedicated practitioners are concerned about the apparent decline in enthusiasm and support for Cape Jazz dancing. Darren has noticed a significant decrease in number of dancers since 2005. Trevor traces the decline to around the year 2000 and claims that popular trends "from overseas" such as pop music, house, and old school have captivated the clubbing youth and are beginning to squeeze out Cape Jazz and Cape Jazz enthusiasts. Clubbing, as DJ Robert points out, is an activity that tends to be more lucrative when targeting a younger population. As a musician and events promoter, Jamal recognizes the importance of separating his desire to hear jazz music and catering for a larger market with different musical interests. "At the end of the day you must give the people what they want to get the money to pay the rent" (personal interview, Jamal). Even Trevor, who frequently vocalizes his despair at the declining interest in jazz dancing admits that he cannot blame club owners for acting in their best financial interests, and that club owners are afraid

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heard that removing the front teeth has been a long-running fashion trend among teenagers primarily from low-income areas on the Cape Flats. Some claim that the resulting "passion gap" facilitates kissing and oral sex.

to lose money by pursuing jazz music nights instead of hip hop or house music nights. DJ

Robert admits that the "mixed bag" approach to music and audiences that the

Galaxy/Westend has taken has not been working. He believes the Westend has not

appropriately targeted the right niche. The jazz dancing population is aging, and clubbing has

become less important to people:

> Jazz, the fusion of funk that we tend to play here is not as in demand as it used to be a couple of years ago…. A lot of people that were coming to clubs live in Australia, Johannesburg, married, different responsibilities, different demand on their lives. They've gone past it. We haven't found that new generation.-- DJ Robert, (personal interview)

Some DJs believe that the decline of jazz dancing can also be linked to the changing

relationship between the DJ and the audience in terms of access to music. Several DJs and

club owners connect the declining club culture with the ease of access to music since the end

of apartheid. No longer is the DJ the primary mediary (like a priest) between the club-goer

and the audience. As DJ Robert points out, the DJ sought out music from shops and suppliers

and often mixed music for radio stations. For many jazz participants, the club played an

important role in the consumption of music. For many, it was the ideal space to dance to their

favorite hits in a social environment. Currently, with access to international music online,

many people prefer to listen to music at home.

In our first interview in 2009, Trevor told me that "[Cape] jazz [dancing] will never

die." One year later, Trevor was less certain of the eternal nature of Cape Jazz dancing.

Perhaps it is this sense among dancers that the practice of jazz dancing is in decline that ignites the tensions between Cape Jazz dancers and salsa dancers in Cape Town

In this chapter, I outlined the rich history of Cape jazz and the way urban politics in Cape Town has shaped the development of spaces for jazz dancing. I also outlined the relationship between jazz and the history of and responses to marginalization of the coloured population in Cape Town. This chapter, combined with and contrasted to the historical devlopement of salsa in Cape Town sets up a larger discussion of emotional politics of meaning, territory, and belonging in these dancescapes.

| CLUB | LOCATION | 1955-1965 | 1966-1994 | 1995-2011 | Open as of 2011 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Naaz | Woodstock/Salt River | X | | | |
| Ambassadors | Sir Lowry Rd., Woodstock | X | | | |
| Catacombs | City Centre | X | | | |
| Zambezi | Upper Darling St., District 6 | X | | | |
| Mermaid | Woodstock | X | | | |
| Vortex | Long St, City Centre | X | | | |
| Bellemonte | Bellville | | X | | |
| Club Montreal—Sherwood Lounge | Manenberg | | X | | |
| Beverly Lounge | Athlone | | X | | |
| Jolly Carp | Grassy Park | | X | | |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Jazz Warehouse | Hanover Park | | X | | |
| Yellow Door | Gugulethu | | X | X | |
| Images | Athlone Industria | | | X | |
| Club 169 | Long St. City Centre | | | X | |
| Vibe | Landsdowne | | | X | |
| Couch House | Lansdowne | | | X | |
| Curves | Observatory | | | X | |
| Jazz Castle | Ottery | | | X | |
| Galaxy | Rylands, Athlone | | X | X | X |
| Westend | Rylands, Athlone | | X | X | X |
| Swingers | Landsdowne | | | X | X |
| G-Spot | Epping Industrial | | | X | X |
| Mannenburgs | V & A Waterfront | | | X | |
| Living Room | Bellville | | | X | X |

**Figure 12. Jazz Clubs in Cape Town**

# CHAPTER 4

## CONFRONTING COSMOPOLITANISM: SALSA IN THE CITY

The first thing I notice as I climb the old wooden stairs toward the faint sound of trumpets, congas, and clave growing steadily louder is the heat—it emanates from the warm glow of the restaurant's entrance and gently caresses my face, then envelops my body like a warm embrace.  As I turn the corner and enter the restaurant, the vibrations of base and of rhythmic footsteps reverberate up from the wooden dance floor, entering my body through my heels, traveling up my legs to settle in my gut.  I move through the gauntlet of warm smiles, damp hugs, superficial pecks on the cheek, and begin to navigate the precarious dance space of high heel shoes and flailing elbows in search of my first dance partner of the evening. I notice a woman strolling gracefully through the front doors wearing a spicy red dress that might be overdramatic on any other night but seems perfectly appropriate for this setting.  She is carrying with her a lovely satin shoe bag with a draw string tied in a bow which she tugs at with her fingers.  From this bag, she pulls a pair of sparkly gold shoes and straps them on her feet. With a sprinkle of baby powder, like magical fairy dust, she appears ready to dance.  Then smartly-dressed guy in designer jeans and a black t-shirt, smooth and confident, enters the venue.  His eyes find the girl with the magical shoes and his winks at her, approaches her, and extends his hand.  She gracefully accepts his request by taking his arm and leading him onto the dance floor.  They sway together in a close embrace before he leads her to effortlessly execute triple spins, travelling turns, direction changes, and dramatic

dips all with confidence, style, and a slight smile. I watch them briefly, engaged in a flawless performance that seems sensual and intimate, yet tinged with a hint of self-importance.

It is this vibe that most often attracts people to salsa dancing in Cape Town. From a cozy chair in one corner of the restaurant, a casual observer can watch sweaty bodies twist and twirl to an Afro-Caribbean beat. At first glance, this observer might believe that the intensity of this zone of contact holds all of the promise of uninhibited social interaction and movement on the dance floor. In fact, many dancers describe this sense of freedom that salsa allows them. Others say it is the joyous and sensual nature of the dance and the self-expression that salsa allows that inspires them. Mostly, however, people claim to seek a community, a sense of belonging with others in the same space with the same passion for movement and expression and *feeling*. Movements and interactions on the dance floor are driven by emotional responses to other participants and to the dance. Also, many participants in the Cape Town salsa scene are pleased with the multicultural or cosmopolitan nature of the scene and are attracted to the idea that salsa, for them, seems to transcend race. However, a sense of community is cultivated through passion and desire but is not unmarred by *schadenfreude*, jealousy, and the need for recognition. Investigating Cape Town's salsa scene dancescapes reveals emotive processes of space-making in the city—creating networks, flows, and territories. This micro-political maneuverings and negotiations are central to struggles for and articulations of rights to the city and the creation of spaces of belonging in the city and happen within the caldron of broader urban politics in Cape Town. In this chapter, I briefly trace the history of salsa music and dance, focusing on salsa's jazz influences and the emergence of a small but passionate salsa dance scene in Cape Town. I

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then explore salsa's claim to cosmopolitanism as it parallels similar claims made by stakeholders in Cape Town's approach to urban renewal and growth.

## HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SALSA

Salsa's history is complex and hotly contested by salsa's followers[15].  What I offer here is a brief overview of this history.   In this section, I emphasize the role of African-American contributions to the development of salsa as both a musical and dance tradition.  I am highlighting this connection in order to establish the similar influences between Cape jazz and salsa social dancing. Salsa's development and diffusion cannot be separated from a history of migration, first of Cuban and Puerto Rican music and musicians to New York City in the mid-twentieth century, entwining music and dance styles with African-American performance culture that was the product of a South-North migration of its own; and finally of the global circulation of the music that became known as salsa.

According to John Storm Roberts, author of *The Latin Tinge*, Cuban cultural performance has had "the greatest, most varied, and most long lasting" influence on music in

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[15] For nuances of the debate on the origins of salsa or whether or not it is even a genre at all, see Manuel (1994), Boggs (1992), Sanchez-Gonzales (1999), Aparicio (1998), Berrios-Miranda (1999, 2002), and Ascota (2004).

the United States than any other genre of music (1979, 4).  International exposure to Cuban music began during the 1850s and 1860s when Louisiana composer, Louis Moreau Gottschalk made extensive use of Cuban musical elements in his own creations.  From then on, Cuban music became so intertwined in the complex blend of New Orleans' pre-jazz forms of cultural expression that its precise influences are difficult to discern (24).

In addition to entanglements of African-American jazz music and Cuban rhythm in 19th century New Orleans, 20th century New York City became the caldron in which Latin musicians encountered American jazz, and jazz musicians experimented with Latin rhythms to create an art form that eventually evolved into Latin jazz.   Prohibition against alcohol in the United States made Cuba, the pearl of the Caribbean, a popular tourist destination in 1920s.  Associated with glitz, glamour, tropical breezes, and exotic encounters, Cuba became the stomping ground for wealthy Americans and mafia elite who could afford to engage in or profited from drinking, gambling, and prostitution.  These visitors returned to the United States with an enthusiasm for Latin music from Havana's casinos, cafés, and hotel ballrooms (Fletcher 2009).  However, the onset of the Great Depression in 1929 and the repeal of Prohibition in 1933 (25th Amendment) followed by political violence and turmoil in Cuba culminating in the revolution in 1959 meant a significant reduction in American visitors to the island and a dramatic decrease in cultural exchanges between the island and the United States (Fletcher 2009).

In June 1927, 16-year-old clarinetist Mario Bauzá left his native Havana, Cuba for the adventure and promise of New York City.  Inspired by the artistic genius demonstrated by

poets, dancers, musicians, and vocalists in Harlem, as well as by what he perceived to be the relative respect accorded these artists, Bauzá was determined to ensure that Afro-Cuban musical practices receive much-deserved recognition in the New York music scene. Together with his brother-in-law Francisco Grillo, famously known as Machito, Bauzá formed a band called the Afro-Cubans. With Bauzá's suggestion, the orchestra soon "featured the saxophones, trumpets, piano, and bass that were common to jazz music, but also the timbals, bongo, and maracas, that were prevalent in Cuban bands" as well as the conga drums (Fletcher 2009, 19). Chano Pozo also enchanted American audiences in the late 1940s with his version of Afro-Cuban jazz. With a composition entitled "Cubana Be/Cubana Bop," the power with which he incorporated conga drums and West African chanting into his orchestra revolutionized Latin jazz (Fletcher).

The 1920s were a golden era in Harlem with the popularity of jazz clubs like the Apollo and the Savoy for swing dancing and the Lindy Hop. By the mid-1930s, New York City had been suffering through the Great Depression for over five years, yet immigrants from the Caribbean and the Deep South fleeing poverty and racial oppression continued to arrive in Harlem seeking employment in New York's manufacturing sector. As the feeling of despair tightened along with the economic noose, the Lindy Hop at the Savoy began to show signs of decline as Harlem was beginning to lose some of its hip social cachet for non-residents (Fletcher 2009; Hubbard and Monaghan 2009). The intrigue of Cuban *son,* a musical style combining elements of Spanish and African rhythm and instrumentation, inspired a "rumba" craze in the 1930s (Roberts 1979), and there was widespread speculation that Latin dances would replace the Lindy Hop in popularity. In spite of resistance on the part

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of some Lindy Hop dancers, Latin music and dancing remained regular features of programming at the Savoy through the 1940s and 50s (Hubbard and Monaghan 2009).

After World War II, nightclubs were still restricted by New York cabaret laws first implemented during Prohibition in the 1920s, requiring venues that featured dancing to apply for a special license. These licenses were not easily granted by the city and were strictly enforced in midtown clubs, including those on the famous 52$^{nd}$ Street. Such regulations were not as strictly enforced in Harlem. Importantly, a hefty tax was imposed on venues offering acting, singing, and dancing, although instrumental music was exempted from this surcharge (Fletcher 2009). Clubs on 52$^{nd}$ Street began to relax color restrictions first for black jazz musicians working in smaller ensembles then for audience members who came to enjoy new musical creations. In the 1940s, a number of the city's top jazz musicians including Dizzy Gillespie, Stan Kenton, and Charlie Parker were beginning partnerships with Latino musicians to produce a new sound that became known as Latin Jazz. Clubs like Birdland, Cubop City and others on 52$^{nd}$ St. regularly featured jazz artists who had frequently collaborated with the Machito band. And Latin musicians were frequently invited to play at jazz clubs on 52$^{nd}$ Street (Boggs 1992).

The New York mambo, also commonly referred to as salsa "On 2," is experiencing a comeback in terms of instruction, performance, and social dancing in the salsa industry. Mambo is often considered to be the precursor to salsa and is an important result of the blending of African American jazz harmonies and Afro-Cuban rhythms. According to Roberts, the era of New York mambo dates from 1952 when the "home of the mambo," the

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Palladium Ballroom that opened in 1947 began an all-mambo policy that featured the big bands of Tito Puente, Tito Rodriguez, and Machito.

The mambo's rhythm is derived from two Cuban dances both of which combine the European tradition of couple dancing with African polyrhythmic[16] movement and improvisation: the *danzón*[17], typically associated with upper-class members of Cuban society, and the *son*, originally favored by lower and working classes (Hutchinson 2004). Because of its working class roots, the *son* was repudiated by the Cuban upper classes for its "lowly" origins and sexually suggestive body movements (Renta 2004). Both the mambo and the *son* migrated from Cuba to urban centers in the United States in the 20th century where they were influenced by North American jazz and the swing band era, transforming both the music and the dance. According to Yvonne Daniel (2003), the mambo in Cuba was:

> specific in particular gestures and sequences. The foot pattern switches on expectation…to a 'touch step' repetition that alternates from the right to left foot. The toe of the right foot touches the floor momentarily and then the whole right foot takes a step; this pattern is repeated on the left and continues to alternate. Above the hips (really pelvis) the move forward and back with each touch, step on the feet. The hands and arms move alternately forward and back, each arm in opposition to the feet. The feeling and vision of Cuban mambo is bouncy, involving up and down motion of the entire body and occasional shimmering of the shoulders. All sorts of catchy kicking patterns, quick, small turns, and even little jumps added (44).

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[16] rhythm/ movement from multiple centers of the dancer's body in line with the rhythm

[17] The danzon has a basic 1-2-3, 1-2-3, left-right-left, right-left-right step (Renta)

Contemporary New York mambo has borrowed little from Cuban mambo. Instead, according to Renta, the basic mambo "on 2" footwork was derived from ballroom-style rumba popular in the United States since the 1930s. The clave, two wooden sticks used to play a 3-2 or 2-3 rhythmic pattern[18], is the foundational rhythm in most salsa and mambo music and drives the body's polyrhythmic movements. The music of both Antonio Arcaño and Arsenio Rodríguez was inspired in collaboration with dancers (black and working class dancers in Havana in particular) to develop the *contratiempo* (offbeat) demarcation of the beat (Garcia 2009, 169), the foundation of New York mambo danced around the world today.

At the height of its success, the Palladium offered mambo lessons, amateur dance contests, a dance performance, and social dancing to two popular mambo bands, all for $1.75 (Roberts 1979). The electrifying sounds of Machito, Puente, and Rodriguez transformed the mambo, by blending heavy brass sections with complex Afro-Cuban rumba percussion; inspiring dancers to respond to the music by developing flashy, expressive movements. Dancers also began to improvise more complicated turn patterns and solo steps, often distinguishing themselves by developing flamboyant techniques from swing, jazz, rumba,

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[18] The 2-3 clave was more commonly used in mambo of the 1950s than the 3-2 (García 2011, personal communication).

ballroom, bomba, and Broadway to create their own flavor (Renta 2004, 117, 120; Hutchingson 2004, 120). For example, Augie and Margo Rodriguez blended elements of ballet, the dramatic flair of flamenco, and the spectacle of acrobatic ballroom lifts to their mambo, and Luis "Maquina" Flores used a Cuban rumba basic in his mambo steps (Hutchinson 2004, 118). The improvised steps and individual style of Palladium dancers frustrated professional dance teachers who attempted to codify this Latin dance craze. Codification allows instructors to easily package and sell the latest dance crazes to consumers. As with other Latin dances such as the tango, samba, and the rumba (see McMains 2006; Savigliano 1995), the codification process is generally a means by which these dances (and the people who pay to learn them) are distanced from lower-class and black origins by refining hip, shoulder, and torso movements, by straightening the posture, and by removing the element of improvisation (see McMains 2006; 2009). One of the first Palladium mambo dancers who was able to successfully codify and brand his own unique style of dancing is Eddie Torres. The Eddie Torres nightclub technique, danced in time to the *clave* and the *tumbao*, has been codified in an elaborate syllabus of partnered work turn patterns and individual shine routines[19] (Renta 2004). Currently, Torres' mambo On-2

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[19] "Shines" began as a derogatory term for black shoe-shine boys who would dance for spare change (Renta 2004, 150).

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syllabus is widely consulted globally, including in South Africa, where it has become the inspiration for one salsa school's choreographed performances.

During the mambo craze, the Palladium was attracting impressive crowds, motivating popular Harlem venues like the Apollo Theater and Savoy to host regular "Mambo Nights" in order to tap into the success of the mambo (Boggs 1992, 129). The mambo craze hit the Savoy in the 1950s, incorporating Lindy Hop partner work and borrowing heavily from swing (Hubbard and Monaghan 2009). While the Palladium mambo scene was known for its mixture of races and ethnicities, the Savoy's clientele remained mostly black, with the exception of a few white patrons 'in the know.

The Palladium closed its doors in 1966, shortly after losing its liquor license (Boggs 1992). The flight of middle-class clientele to suburbia and the club's mafia-related troubles also contributed the Palladium's demise (Hutchingson 2004, 121). The Palladium closed around the same time that Birdland and other jazz clubs on 52nd Street also shut down, signaling a decline of jazz and mambo music in New York City in the late 1960s (Boggs 1992).

Even after the decline of the mambo scene in New York, mambo and other Latin rhythms influenced black American popular music including rhythm-and-blues and doo-wop (Roberts 1979; Boggs 1992). Likewise, the popularity of music and dance styles like the boogaloo, a combination of Latin and soul music, reflects the significance of 1960s black music for young Latinos. Also, according to Roberts, several rhythm and blues and soul artists incorporated a "Latinized rhythm" into their pieces (1979, 208). This is important for

understanding the development of Cape Jazz dancing because it means that some of the most popular music for jazzing in Cape Town undoubtedly has been influenced by Latin sound as well as Latin movement. (This influence will be discussed further in Chapter 5.)

After the Palladium closed, Eddie Torres worked to codify movements, reportedly insisting: "…we've got to keep this alive. Because the music is dying also, but if the dance dies, it's over and we're going to lose this" (Hutchinson 2004, 124).  After codification in the 1950s, mambo (and later salsa) continued to evolve beyond the steps codified in the studio. Today, dancers creatively incorporate styles such as hip hop, flamenco, belly dancing, tango, Afro-Cuban rumba, Brazilian samba, as well as ballet and contemporary into salsa and mambo social dancing and performances.

Salsa music developed from a cross between American jazz and Cuban music. Salsa's musical ancestors are largely Cuban, featuring the "clave, string quartets, and trumpet-led septets that performed *son* in 1930s; brass and sax orchestra adapted from jazz, played the big Havana hotels, trumpets-and-percussion *conjuntos*, and the flute-and-fiddle *charangas"* (Roberts 1979). Building on the technique and style of mambo and boogaloo dancers, salsa also incorporated moves from the hustle and swing dancing in between rhythmic body isolations to develop a fast, flashy style in the 1970s (Hutchingson 2004; McMains 2009).  According to McMains, the "staccato, rebounding movements of mambo gave way to the continuous rolling body action and weight shifts of salsa" (2009, 306).

The term salsa arguably was invented for commercial reasons, to rebrand the music for a different audience.  Mambo greats, like Tito Puete and Mario Bauza, deny that salsa is

anything new[20].   However, some of these accusations of commercialism were dropped as some of the music became more political in the 1970s (Hutchinson 2004). In the late 1960s, the Cheetah, a club on 52nd Street and 8th Avenue in New York, became an important venue in the boogaloo era when the name *salsa* began replacing name *mambo* or Afro-Cuban jazz. The pivotal role of the music of the Fania All-Stars and the film *Our Latin Thing* ignited the public's desire for the salsa sound. However, by the 1970s the mambo was no longer being danced, and by the 1980s, the public's enthusiasm for salsa and Latin music entertainment was in decline as well (Boggs 1992; Hutchinson 2004).  However, despite salsa's dip in popularity in New York, passion for the music and dance spread from New York to Latin America in the 1970s and to other parts of the world in the 1980s and 1990s (and continues to spread). Waxer (1999) identifies five transnational salsa schools that have strong regional affiliation: New York, Puerto Rico, Venezuela, Colombia, and Cuba. She sees these as the centers of salsa *music* production. In casual conversation, contemporary dancers typically identify several centers for the production of salsa *dance* styles: New York, Los Angeles, Cuba, and Colombia (and Puerto Rico and Miami to a lesser extent).

Increasing interest in Latin music since the late 1990s has resulted in a global salsa dance industry developing since 2000.  Instructional DVDs, special salsa shoes, and dance attire are sold online.  Websites, blogs, and Facebook groups discussing styling pointers, lead

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[20] —"What they call salsa is nothing new.  When Cuban music was really in demand the kids didn't go for it. Now they call it salsa and they think it belongs to them.  It's a good gimmick." (in Roberts 188)].

and follow techniques, the latest bands, and the hottest venues allow for international readership. Video websites like youtube.com have revolutionized the way that salsa is learned in places like South Africa with relatively small and insulated salsa scenes. Salsa congresses featuring styling and turn pattern workshops and exhibitions by top performers are held in almost every major city in the world.

Scholars have examined salsa's global circulation as a Latino, transnational, or multicultural product (Santos Febres 1997; Jonathan Skinner 2007) in London (Román-Velázquez 1999; Urquía 2005), Toronto (Pietrobruno 2006), and Japan (Hosokawa 1999). Waxer (1999, 6) points out that salsa "style and meaning are contingent to local and historical practices" and that the global flows of salsa allow for a variety of performance and consumption practices.

Despite a long history of interest in the African roots of salsa among scholars (see Boggs 1992) and the resurgence of interest in Afro-Cuban body movement among mainstream salsa dancers, the connections between salsa and contemporary African music and dance practices have been largely unexplored. Outside of the United States, Latin music's influence was most keenly felt in Africa (Roberts 1979). Roberts argues that the "creation of an Africa-wide nexus of styles from a largely Latin model is one of the most striking examples of Latin music's effect on the music of large parts of the world: an effect as important in the century (and as underestimated) as the impact of African music in the two that preceded it" (219). In the 1930s and 1940s, copies of recordings of Cuban music were imported from England, which were an important influence on guitarists from Cameroon,

Kenya, and (significantly) the Congo. The influence of Latin music on later African dance

bands has been more varied.  Ghanaian and Nigerian 'high life' groups used local rhythms,

but Ghanaian flutists were inspired by charanga, although other frontline playing was mostly

jazz-oriented (Roberts 1979, 218).  In the 1950s, the foreign elements of dance bands in the

Congo were almost entirely Cuban.  Rumba, as a rhythm rooted on the continent, has

intersected with African pop music.  According to Roberts, the Latin element in African

music has declined since the mid-1960s.  Mozambican jazz artist, Bernie, recalls that the

global "Latin craze" that occurred in the mid-1990s also hit South Africa, and his band was

contracted on numerous occasions to play "tropical" music (personal interview, Bernie).

When the popularity of Latin-inspired rhythms began to wane, his band shifted its focus to

Afro-jazz.

### THE HISTORY AND GEOGRAPHY OF SALSA IN CAPE TOWN

There is evidence of the popularity of Latin music in Cape Town during apartheid:

several jazz musicians mention a Latin influence while playing in the clubs of District Six,

and a salsa dancer mentions being inspired by his father's Celia Cruz records as a child. Cape

Town's salsa dancing scene, however, developed relatively recently, beginning in 2001.

During my preliminary research in the fall 2006, most of the salsa venues were located in the

city center with occasional parties located in Camps Bay, Tygervalley, or Observatory.  In

the almost four years since my initial work in Cape Town, many of the venues for salsa in the

city center have closed, some have reopened, and new locations have experimented with creating a salsa vibe.  This flux is, of course, typical of nightlife entertainment scenes in general.  Although a few salsa instructors and venues have ventured out of the city center in order to host salsa events and classes, the city center is considered the home for salsa.

Most salsa practitioners credit Buena Vista Social Café in Greenpoint with being the first venue to create and sustain a salsa vibe. Seeking sea and sunshine, Costas, the Greek-born owner of Buena Vista, arrived in Cape Town in 2001 from his studies in North America. At the time of his arrival, Cape Town was experiencing a boom in international tourism, thus Costas took advantage of extensive experience in the restaurant business and decided to open Buena Vista.  When he chose to locate his club in Greenpoint, a relatively underdeveloped area. He admits that he took a risk locating Buena Vista in Greenpoint because it was "a dead area."  After the tourism boom in 2001-2002, Costas remembers money being invested in restaurants, bars, and entertainment, causing the area to flourish. Costas opened his restaurant/bar/cigar lounge riding the popularity of the Buena Vista Social Club documentary film about the reunion of  Cuban musicians popular during the pre-Revolution era. Buena Vista was located on the second floor of an old building on Main Road.  As they climb the stairs, patrons were greeted with a Cuban flag, followed by a large photo of Fidel Castro, and a floor-to-ceiling mural depicting the cover of the Buena Vista Social Club documentary.  The brick walls of the restaurant were peppered with framed and faded photographs of Havana street scenes.  Mismatched furniture and old wooden floors created a cozy ambiance, yet a precarious dance floor.  The atmosphere was one of revolutionary nostalgia.  Costas decided to introduce a salsa night in 2004 because, in fitting

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with a Cuban theme, salsa music and dancing is simply "good for the vibe." Because he did not want his restaurant to be defined as a salsa venue, he only offered salsa dancing one night of the week: Sunday. Many dedicated members of Cape Town's salsa scene were first exposed to salsa dancing at Buena Vista. One salsa instructor describes his first encounter with salsa at Buena Vista:

I really had no notion of salsa until I went to Buena Vista Social Café on a Sunday night, and I saw people dancing in a really small space by a lit fire, sweating like crazy but really looking like they were having a lot of fun. My impression right then was that it looked like it was a lot of fun, it looked like something vibey and young and I thought I would meet more like-minded people in the salsa scene.



**Figure 13. Buena Vista Social Café (Source: Kalvin)**

In 2010 Buena Vista moved from its site on Main Road, but, before that move, the club became a scene of interesting salsa encounters. Instead of the fancy swirls or flashes of color common at dance clubs, the lighting mimicked the soft warm glow of candlelight. A corner of the restaurant near the bar was cleared and dedicated to dancers after 9pm; however after about 10pm, the small space could no longer contain enthusiastic dancing bodies, and dancing couples began to spill out into the restaurant space, occupying the crevices in between tables. The best dancers muscled it out for dance space on the periphery, often inspired by the attention of spectators sitting at the tables or on the balcony, as well as for the room to attempt more intricate turn patterns on the dangerous dance floor[21]. "Serious" salsa dancers refused to dance near the bar area in order to avoid careless cigarettes or the spilled beer that can ruin expensive suede-bottomed salsa shoes. To dance at Buena Vista, one must always have been aware of the eminent possibility of bodily harm caused by an ill-placed high heel or elbow. Waiters and waitresses carrying trays of nachos and drink specials were constantly dodging high-speed arms and hips in motion. But what drew both salsa dancers and non-dancers alike to Buena Vista week after week for eight years was the energy of the place—this combination of body heat, rivers of sweat trickling shamelessly down the back, cigar(ette) smoke, nacho smell, clave and conga beat, and non-stop movement that created a

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[21] see Johnson 2011

desirable "vibe."  This vibe/affect was transmitted and circulated among Buena Vista patrons, fueling and being fueled by embodied responses to the Latin beats.  It was this energy, this sexy *vibe*, some patrons say, that defines salsa dancing for them.

In June 2010, just as the first games of the FIFA World Cup were underway, Buena Vista, the most successful and longest running salsa venue in Cape Town shifted its location to a freshly renovated two-story Victorian house across the street from its old location on Sommerset Road in Greenpoint.  The new location is now on the same side of the street and a stone's throw from the new Greenpoint Stadium and closer to the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront development complex. The new Buena Vista has stunning wooden floors, plenty of balcony space, a large courtyard with table and tea lights, and parking behind the venue. Although it took the regular salsa dancers a while to warm up to the new venue, the new and more elegant  Buena Vista eventually managed to create the sought after vibe that regulars crave.

In 2002, after the success of his Cuban-themed restaurant, but before he introduced salsa there, Costas and his business partners opened a Latin music club, Bossa Nova, also in Greenpoint, claiming it as the first salsa dancing venue in Cape Town.  Costas risked investing in a salsa club, in part, because of the history of jazz dancing in Cape Town and the fact that Cape Jazz dance steps are similar to salsa steps.  He hoped that salsa dancing would catch on quickly for this reason.   Interest in salsa dancing did not really explode until Bossa Nova introduced salsa lessons. As many as 120 people at times would take salsa classes at Bossa Nova. Salsa patrons insist that it was the decision to introduce hip hop music that

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caused the eventual demise of Bossa Nova, which closed in 2007.  By the time I returned to

Cape Town in March 2009, the old Bossa Nova had already been converted into a Kentucky

Fried Chicken franchise, much to the dismay of its former loyal patrons.

Two years after the opening of Bossa Nova, Richard Morrison, 33, the venue's

principal salsa instructor, left the club to open his own salsa dance studio in the basement of a

property on Bree Street in town.  Born in South Africa of Scottish and Spanish parentage,

Richard spent much of his childhood in Australia and the United Kingdom before returning

in 2001 to South Africa. Salsa was always very much "a social thing" in his family, but he

noticed that wherever he traveled in the world, he could always find salsa clubs and dancers.

He claims that when he arrived in South Africa in 2001, he could not find a salsa venue or

instructor anywhere.  "And I really searched for it."  The first place that he found playing

salsa music was Buena Vista.  After living everywhere in Cape Town from Brakenfell to

Blouberg to Observatory to Gardens, Richard finally began living in the Central Business

District after opening his salsa studio/club, Que Pasa.  He wanted to locate his salsa studio in

town because people are attracted to town—he claims that Capetonians do not mind driving

into town for an event.  In fact, he suggests that Capetonians would be less likely to attend an

event outside of their residential area unless that event is in town.

With the face of Che Guevara guarding the entrance, Que Pasa offered classes on

Tuesdays and Thursdays.  For the first year, Richard struggled to fill his club for Friday and

Saturday night parties although his classes were going well.  In 2008, however, Richard

claims that the last two blocks of lower Bree Street were sold to banks and "flattened" in

order to be developed into accommodations in anticipation of the 2010 World Cup (in my investigation, the building that used to house Que Pasa is still standing). Richard's rent almost doubled as property values increased.  Richard moved out of Que Pasa and began teaching out of other venues until he was able to re-open Que Pasa on Caledon Street in 2009.  The Caledon Street venue is located in the east side of the CBD that Richard describes as an "urban blank" that has recently started to "pick up quite nicely."  Richard chose the venue (a former bank) for the potential he saw in the space: high-ceilings, ground-floor location, the entrance is across from a parking lot.  As a space-making and community building exercise, Richard enlisted the help of some of his more dedicated patrons to paint and decorate the new Que Pasa. Que Pasa does not have the same Cuban presence that Buena Vista has cultivated—other than the fact that the studio's two rooms are painted in the colors of the Cuban/Puerto Rican/United States flags, and Che Guevara's image is hanging on one wall.  Richard specifically mentions that he does not want to brand salsa as Latin so that he can market it to *everybody*—everyone can feel as though they can dance salsa.
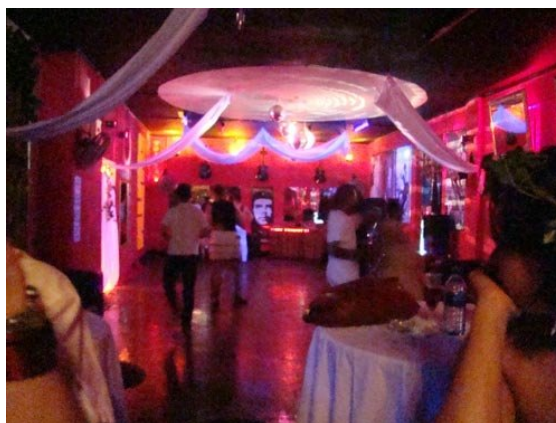
**Figure 13. Que Pasa salsa club (Source: www.quepasa.co.za )**



**Figure 14. Que Pasa salsa club (Source: www.quepasa.co.za )**

Although beginner and intermediate classes offered during the week seem to be successful, Saturday parties at Que Pasa have faltered. The studio's swirling disco lights often make it difficult to execute complicated turn patterns and multiple spins without getting dizzy and falling over, particularly because the venue's pergo dance floor is plagued with lose pieces and cement patches that threaten to trip dancers and damage expensive suede-

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bottom dance shoes. Most importantly, Que Pasa's sound system is not powerful enough to generate strong sounds, and dancers complain that they cannot really *hear* the music much less *feel* the music. If dancers cannot properly hear the instrumentation, then the body cannot fully respond to the complexities of the music. Dancers complain that their dancing feels flat, uninspired, and unenergetic, and they have a difficult time feeding off of the energy of the music and of each other. The original Que Pasa was below ground level, and had a cozy feel but no ventilation. It was like a sauna on the dance floor. People would dance a few songs, sweat profusely, then be driven out to the separate bar area in search of a refreshing beverage. In contrast, the new Que Pasa is on ground level with windows in the front, a door that can be opened on the side, and fans mounted on the walls to circulate the air. The new Que Pasa rarely gets too hot not only because of the improved air flow, but also because the venue is rarely full of people. Many patrons are unimpressed with Que Pasa's vibe, and don't feel the need to support the venue on Saturday nights. Despite cheap drinks and convenient parking, many salsa dancers do not feel a trip to Que Pasa is worth the money.

Despite the unfortunate history of Que Pasa, since 2001, the number of salsa instructors and venues in Cape Town has proliferated. Currently, there are approximately seven companies teaching salsa and promoting salsa events in Camps Bay, Observatory, Woodstock, De Waterkant, Long Street, Century City, Belleville, Kenilworth, and Grassy Park. In the following paragraphs, I highlight some of the most influential salsa instructors and event organizers in the city in order to further trace the diffusion of salsa in Cape Town, as well as to introduce the politics of space and territory that have been an important element affecting salsa's development in the city.

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Armando, the founder of Sabor Latino Dance Company, was born in Cuba and has been living in Cape Town as a professional salsa instructor, choreographer, and performer since 2004. Armando developed a passion for dance in Cuba where he claims that "dance is part of the social—the way we live day by day." Armando was in the entertainment industry in Europe before deciding to settle in Cape Town. Originally he was attracted to Cape Town because he was fascinated by the racial, cultural, linguistic, and political diversity, as well as by the social divisions that he witnessed in the city. He describes South Africa as a "rainbow nation" and sees salsa as one activity that could bring people of different backgrounds together in the city. According to Armando, the salsa level in Cape Town was so low that he was inspired to teach. He began teaching at various venues in Greenpoint, on Long Street in town and held Saturday night parties in Camps Bay. "I keep them inspired—give them things that they can look forward—doing presentations, doing workshops—make a difference in the way they arrive to learn from where they are now." Cuba is seen by many Cape Town dancers as the motherland of salsa dancing. Cuban images and iconography are used in many of the popular salsa venues. Other than Che Guevara's image, it is the Cuba of palm trees, cigars, old cars, rum, faded paint, and charmingly run-down street scenes that are most often visually represented. Part of Armando's repertoire of Cuban cultural performances includes Afro-Cuban rumba. In Cape Town, the idea of Afro-Cuban dancing and its connection to Cape Town, according to Armando, has not taken hold or is not well understood. Armando believes that Cuba is romanticized; locked into very specific image:

> …In South Africa they have this idea of Cuba as a white country. They were colonized by the Spanish so they must be white. Many people do not have the history, they do not know the history of what happened—of the slaves' movement.

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Like myself.  I [was] born in Cuba, but my ancestors come from Nigeria. They were Yoruba.  So the Afro-Cuban style in Cuba comes out of Africa.  So my idea is to bring it back to Africa because it's been lost.  In term of religion, in term of original culture, Afro-Cuban has been lost in the whole Africa.  So that will take many years as we need to go back again to that part—that cultural part.  So people still very mixed with Cuba and Afro-Cuba—even if they love Cuba, it is like something more revolutionary because Cuba fights, Cuba helps Africa fight, like Angola, so it is kinda like revolutionary communist country, but it is more political and not too much culture I would say.  Because they do not know too much about Cuban culture.  But it is only that I think that will come with the time. —Armando, (personal interview)

Addison, 33, (Coloured) founder and director of The Salsa Studio, moved to Cape Town from Durban at the age of 25.  In 2004, Addison began teaching ballroom and Latin at a Fred Astaire dance studio and was there until May of 2005, when he discovered salsa after hearing from his dance students about Buena Vista Social Café in Greenpoint.  This discovery inspired a career change; in March of 2007, Addison quit his day job and started his own dance company, The Salsa Studio, focusing on group classes, private instruction, intensive workshops, lessons in instrumentation, and performances.   Addison began teaching classes in Greenpoint and soon shifted to Long Street.    Long Street, one of Cape Town's oldest streets, runs through the center of the business district, and has become the hub of Cape Town's vibrant, bustling nightlife scene complete with club beats, late-night food vendors, drugs solicitors and drunken tourists. Addison is not alone in his desire to locate his salsa party among the popular Long Street nightlife vibe; several instructors have also made this choice including Junior and Armando.  Like Richard, Addison is adamant about staying in town for his salsa classes and parties, attaching the cosmopolitan glamour of town to his events.

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Sibongile, 36, (Zulu) came to Cape Town from Durban to work with an established dance company in order to develop himself as a dancer. Sibongile has a fluent movement vocabulary in traditional Zulu dancing, penzula, township jazz, contemporary, hip hop and has performed, choreographed, or taught most of these dance styles domestically and internationally. He was introduced to salsa by traveling internationally and watching how people dance socially. He met a Cuban instructor abroad and learned some moves from him. Sibongile has been dancing salsa just over five years and replaced Richard as the regular salsa instructor at Bossa Nova in 2004. He describes his dance style as a combination of Cuban and Los Angeles (L.A.). Because the flowing and interpretation of music is constrained by the need to dance in a slot or in straight lines in L.A. style salsa, Sibongile combines the elegance and flash of L.A. style salsa with the circular movement and flow of Cuban style salsa that he feels allows him more freedom to interpret the music. To this, he adds his own flavor of African dance. Sibongile was teaching at Bossa Nova in 2006 when I arrived. Since 2009, Sibongile has been teaching in the northern suburbs at Living Room, a jazz club in Bellville where he conducted a group lesson before a brief social dancing period. He has been teaching consistently at the Buena Vista restaurant in Tygervalley since 2006. He bounced around a couple of venues in town teaching classes here and there. He taught briefly in 2010 in Clarmont (in the southern suburbs) and at G-spot, a jazz club on the Cape Flats in Epping industrial. Sibongile is not part of the weekly rotation for salsa parties; however, when he does organize events in town, they tend to be well attended by people from the Northern suburbs.

Bertram, 33, (Coloured) is a business and technology consultant during conventional business hours and is a dance instructor and choreographer in the evenings. Born in Port Elizabeth, Bertram moved to Cape Town in 2001, and after living in various different parts of the city, he is currently living in Thornton, located between northern and southern suburbs. Because his parents were avid and active ballroom dancers who attended snack dances regularly, dance was always a part of Bertram's life, although he admits that he rebelled against dance as a teenager and only started dancing in his early 20s. He has been dancing salsa for eight years and was trained in Ballroom and Latin before he found salsa. He found salsa in Cape Town because he did not feel welcomed by the Ballroom community and did not have a ballroom partner. One night he was out partying in Greenpoint and stopped at Bossa Nova. After being exposed to salsa social dancing, he decided to go for salsa lessons and quickly moved from the beginner's class to the advanced level. Three months later, he was performing with the instructor. He found that salsa dancing was a better match for his "flamboyant" personality than the "reserved" ballroom environment. A year and a half after he began dancing salsa, he opened his own school, teaching a high-energy, acrobatics-based cross-body Los Angeles style salsa with the intention of elevating the standard in Cape Town. He teaches classes in Kenilworth in the Southern Suburbs and was the first instructor to teach successful salsa classes outside of the city center. He claims that people go to town to "have fun"; town is "an outing" for many people, but there are people, he argues, that are not necessarily interested in going out to party; but those people still want to learn to dance salsa. "People want to work, socialize and shop where they live. But have the idea that if

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they go 'out' they go to town.  Generally, people who come to the classes are serious about what they are learning and they come back."

Junior, 20, the son of a coloured mother and a white father, lives in Edgemead in the Northern suburbs, started dancing salsa in 2008 after his friend brought him to one of Sibongile's classes in Tygervalley.  Because of his hip hop dance background, he picked up salsa moves and incorporated his hip hop flavor into those moves to create his own flavor. Junior teaches on Sundays at an Angolan, Portuguese and Brazilian restaurant in Canal Walk, the large mall in Century City just outside of Cape Town.  He believes that his salsa students are not at "a high level" compared to some of the other salsa schools in town because of the location of his classes and his constituency: "I think the people on this side of the world are less driven to do the salsa because they're not exposed to the big salsa places—the Buena Vista and those type of places.  So therefore they don't have the hunger or the urge to learn as quickly as those people in town.  Most of the places to dance (salsa) are located in town so you are surrounded by it.  Whereas here, there aren't so many places to learn other than my classes.  So their level is lower than I would like it to be."  He also used to teach classes at the Italian club in Milnerton and at the Cape to Cuba restaurant in the City Centre, but those classes fell away because of problems with the management and with money.

Clyde, 41, (coloured), born in Retreat in the Southern suburbs, and his wife Amy, 29, (coloured), born in Ravensmeade in the Northern suburbs, teach classes both in town and in Grassy Park.  Both Clyde and Amy have a jazz background and teach, compete and perform Cape Jazz dancing.  Clyde was introduced to salsa in 2004, when a friend introduced him to

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classes at Que Pasa with jazz. For his first experience at Que Pasa, Clyde found himself surrounded by "90% white people" whom he found to be disconcerting: "Because of my age, I come out of the Apartheid era—I didn't feel intimidated, but I didn't feel comfortable. One class and I didn't go back." Clyde and Amy then met Sibongile while dancing at the Galaxy jazz club, and they decided to take classes from him for a few months. After a few months with Sibongile, they felt comfortable enough to return to Richard's salsa classes. He explains that many of the white people in Richard's classes around whom he previously felt uncomfortable, were not local South Africans, but foreign exchange students. Clyde enjoyed interacting with new people and admits that "where we come from, there are not a lot of white people, coming from a disadvantaged Coloured community…you are on your guard until you understand that it is totally different now." Clyde and Amy had been teaching a Cape Jazz class on Tuesdays and Thursdays at Jazz Castle (now Café Fusion) in Ottery since 1999. After taking a salsa course at Que Pasa in 2005, they started playing some salsa songs in their jazz class. Eventually, their students requested salsa more often, and Clyde and Amy began incorporating more salsa moves to match the music. They formed their own company called Jazz Fusion, which they eventually changed to Salsa Fusion. Also in 2005, they started offering fusion classes in Square Hill in Retreat, eventually shifting to Grassy Park where they stayed until the venue closed in 2009. Salsa Fusion was one of the first (and one of the few) companies to teach both in the Southern Suburbs and in the city centre, where they taught jazz and salsa classes at bars and restaurants in the Waterkant from 2007 until 2010. Clyde said that he stopped enjoying the business of salsa because the "politics" made it unpleasant to work with many of the schools. Therefore, when Fiesta, the tapas bar where he

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was teaching and DJing closed down in November of 2010, he and Amy decided to "take a break" from salsa instruction in the city centre for a while; they only maintain a class at Cape Peninsula University of Technology and at the G-Spot one night a week each.

Andre, 35, was born in Steenberg in the southern suburbs and moved to Grassy Park at the age of five. He is now living between Plumstead and Observatory. Andre began dancing Cape Jazz at the age of 24 and was dancing for seven years before he stumbled into Bossa Nova one night, witnessed salsa, and thought it was "unbelievable." He was attracted to the sensuality of the music and the ability he believes he has to express the rhythm with individuality. Between 2006 and 2009, Andre adopted the name Andrés (a nickname given to him by a South American musician) and began teaching at Buena Vista in 2010 while studying for a degree in accounting.

Jacques, 30, was born in France and arrived in Cape Town in late 2005, and, in looking for a community of friendly people in a new city; he began dancing salsa at Que Pasa soon after he arrived. After a few months of lessons, Jacques was performing in salsa shows. It was not until after he was dancing for several months that he learned of other venues and instructors offering salsa. In discovering other salsa schools and venues, he also became aware of the politics between teachers. In April 2007, Jacque began to talk to friends about planning salsa events that would break down the barriers between the salsa instructors in order to inspire "one passion, one community." Jacques claims that he created the "salsa buddies" concept "to build a community. I wanted to have different places where people could come and gather to dance salsa. I wanted to attract new people to salsa not just by

teaching them to dance but including them in the vibe of salsa. I wanted to grow salsa by promoting the fun." In April 2008, Jacque and four other members of salsa buddies organized one of the largest and most successful salsa events in Cape Town thus far. They organized an event in a train station that attracted approximately 350 people. According to Jacque, in spite of the success of the party, the organizing committee made "tremendous sacrifices" in terms of time and energy, but no one made any money as a result. No one wanted to do it again.

Richard attributes the popularity of salsa classes to the fact that from Wednesday to Sunday there are possibilities to dance salsa in a social setting. According to Richard, the parties really go hand-in-hand with salsa classes because the parties encourage more people to want to learn to dance. And the more people who learn to dance, the more parties happen. Unfortunately, this explosion of salsa venues and dance companies has led to practices of control, possession, and territoriality indicative of a culture of scarcity, as I will discuss at more length below.

### WHO DANCES SALSA AND WHY?

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The community of salsa dancers is more diverse than other dance communities in Cape Town, attracting predominately (but not only) white and coloured South Africans, African immigrants, a handful of Latin American professionals, and a transitory group of international students and tourists[22]. Most instructors lament the lack of black South African salsa dancers which may speak to the legacy of apartheid-era spatiality and socioeconomic structures. "If I look at an environment like Buena Vista, you will find people from Cameroon and Ghana and only a handful of local [black South Africans]. That needs to be addressed because South Africa is predominantly a black country" (interview Bertram). Salsa classes range in price from R30 to R80 per person for a group lesson. These prices have increased by approximately R5 per year since salsa lessons began in 2002 at Bossa Nova. The most expensive salsa school charges R50 for a group lesson, R250 per person per hour for a private lesson, and R60 for a workshop. Party promoters agree to charge at least R50 or more for salsa socials. The price structure for classes and events is the result of an agreement among participating salsa instructors. Armando, the director of Sabor Latino, recognizes that "not everyone can come forward for the salsa class because of the price.... It's a glamorous, luxury thing to do that unfortunately not everyone can step forward for the

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[22] Bertram claims that his classes in the Southern suburbs are predominantly coloured students with dance backgrounds.

class.  Or …some do not have time because they work so hard to get some money that they don't have time to go and dance."

While relatively ethnically or racially diverse, participants in Cape Town's salsa scene are overwhelmingly middle-class people in their late twenties to mid-thirties, although there are a number of younger participants as well as participants in their forties and fifties. Classes generally have more women than men, but that split has decreased over time. Several instructors believe this is a result of the changing reputation of males in dance in South Africa.  Addison argues that Patrick Swayze's character in the popular movie *Dirty Dancing* helped to make partner dancing attractive to women and cool and masculine for men. Bertram believes that his own robust physical stature encouraged many men to take salsa classes from him: "When people see me, they don't see an effeminate man—they see a big man teaching them.  Men feel a lot more comfortable with learning dancing."  For the majority of salsa's participants, within their lifetimes, the sensual social interactions that often occur on the dance floor would not have been possible under apartheid's legislated spatial and social segregation.

Why does salsa have what its practitioners describe as a "cosmopolitan vibe?"  A couple of the salsa instructors mention that salsa as an art form originated abroad, yet the scene in Cape Town was created by South Africans, uninfluenced by an expatriate Latino group. Salsa is therefore considered a "fresh platform" and has a cosmopolitan vibe.  People feel that salsa in Cape Town does not belong to any one cultural group in the way that kwaito, Cape Jazz, and Sokkie are associated with specific cultural groups:  "salsa belongs to

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everybody." Other instructors have mentioned salsa's global appeal, which connects dancers in Cape Town with people who practice salsa in other parts of the world, particularly when business or leisure travel brings salsa dancers to Cape Town. Dance can unite people despite language differences. As Kathy explains, economic sanctions and the cultural embargo implemented internationally to protest South Africa's apartheid policies left many South Africans of her generation (she is 55 years old) feeling isolated and cut off from the rest of the world. Participating in salsa has enabled her to feel part of an international phenomenon. For many salsa participants who have never left Cape Town, participating in a global art form is an engagement with a cosmopolitan sensibility that is not often accessible for many South Africans who have not yet had the opportunity to travel abroad.

In addition to social reasons, respondents also cite personal reasons for dancing salsa in Cape Town. Several claim that salsa allows them to express a sexy, sensual side of themselves that they do not often have the opportunity to share. Abdul, 26, (he states his ethnicity as other, but Coloured in Cape Town terms) was born in Wynberg in the Southern Suburbs and works at his parents' petrol station and coaches swimming. Abdul describes salsa as "sex on the dance floor." As a Muslim, Abdul acknowledges that Islam forbids intimate partner dancing, and salsa is "wrong already from the beginning" because of the nature of the interaction between males and females during the dance. According to Abdul, in Muslim countries, the separation of the sexes is part of spatiality of everyday life. However, growing up in Cape Town with "western influences," he tries to "find compromises." As an individual, Abdul argues, "you do set your own boundaries. I've made my own choices.

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…At the end of the day I can walk away and feel as though it is a minor problem within my religion.  But everyone has a different kind of conscience."



**Figure 15. Salsa Dancers at Buena Vista Social Café in Greenpoint (Source: Tony)**

Likewise, Aziza (Coloured), a 36-year-old accountant also born in Wynberg, is attracted to the sensual nature of salsa and enjoys expressing that side of herself.  She says that because of her Muslim background, she did not grow up dancing as a child because dance and clubbing "don't fit into Muslim values and priorities.  It is a place for temptation-- so just stay away."   Therefore, she says, "you won't find a lot of Muslim people in salsa.

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It's not something taught in our culture or religion. It's not a form of expression in any way…. It doesn't gel. If you are seriously into your religion, you probably won't be doing [salsa].… But I'm a bit of a black sheep. I wouldn't tell my parents where I'm going because it's disrespectful—but I'm 36 and I don't have to.… My father would just have a heart attack."

Many participants assert that salsa dancing is a "unifier" (Amir); it brings people with a shared passion together in one space where physical differences don't seem to matter. The "beauty of salsa," according to Bertram, is that "it doesn't matter who you are or where you are from… or what clothes you were wearing or how you got there. The people who were there were there to dance. And because you are there to dance means that you were on equal footing to those who were there… if you love the music, that is all that matters…That appeals to me." Salsa, he continues, is "probably the purest form of interaction that South Africa has seen for a long time."

Kathy enjoys salsa spaces because she feels more in touch with people who hold a variety of different perspectives. She also mentioned that salsa is "an expression of joy and energy and life." Andre values the ability to express himself on the dance floor and to be surrounded by people who are experiencing the music with a similar passion and intensity. Junior says that salsa makes him a happier person; he can "go into a complete different world" while dancing, where he feels a sense of freedom and limitlessness. Kalvin mentioned that salsa saved his life:

It has something to do with that release—that desperate need that we have to express ourselves. It is the belief that everything is possible, and the more you get to express yourself the lighter you become, and the lighter you are, the more open you are to different thing out there….You become more modern…in the sense of indifferent. Things that you thought have very large impact in your life that you never questioned, you start to question. Things that you held so dearly are just things of habit, with no rhythm behind it.

Salsa participants often describe what can be explained as an affective force transmitted among dancers sharing dance space—an energy or intensity that inspires movement, generates intense feeling, and creates attachments. Significantly, people who practice salsa regularly see themselves as part of a community: "I've become party of a group or a community or something—I feel like I'm part of something… I'm not the only person who is enjoying this—we are enjoying this together; …the community has given me something" (personal interview, Kalvin).

Overwhelmingly, respondents from both Cape Town and elsewhere inside and outside of South Africa describe Cape Town as a relatively closed society socially where Captonians would rather interact with people they know. Some terms respondents used to describe the social scene in Cape Town include: "cliquish," "territorial," and "unwelcoming" to outsiders (Bertram). Aziza believes that people tend to "stick together" in familiar racial or cultural groups more so than in other major South African cites. Amir explains this social phenomenon on the social stratification that is the persistent legacy of the Group Areas Act.

One important reason that people participate in the salsa scene is that they are seeking a sense of belonging and protection from an unfriendly social environment in the city. Amir

believes that salsa has been great for breaking down barriers.  Bertram says that the salsa community became his family in Cape Town—they were the people he saw every day. This sense of belonging and community arouses emotional attachments to the scene.  The cultivation of a sense of family or community within the salsa scene is a way of establishing spaces of belonging within the city itself.  Perhaps this is why the politics among schools and instructors are often seen as a betrayal of this sense of community by avid salsa participants.

## CAPE TOWN CITY CENTRE—REJUVENATION AND RE-BRANDING

For Achille Mbembe (2004), the end of apartheid raises the urgent question of how to inhabit the city, because for most South Africans, the city has been the dominant site of their exclusion from modernity. The challenge for city planners and stakeholders in the post-apartheid context is to rectify the exclusionary spatial practices of apartheid and strive toward inclusivity in urban space.  According to a report published by the South African Cities Network, an "inclusive city" can be defined as one in which all its residents have access to basic services, public spaces, and employment opportunities, can freely express their cultural rights and heritage, share political freedoms and human rights, and where people feel welcome regardless of background (2008).  Rashid Seedat, Director of the Central Strategy Unit for the City of Johannesburg, reminds us that "the notion of inclusivity is not a static one and that new inclusivities and new exclusivities are emerging all the time" (ibid). Plastered on the façade of a government building towering above the Company gardens in

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Cape Town's city centre is the motto of the Western Cape provincial government: "A Home for All." In Cape Town, considered by scholars to be the most segregated of the major South African cities (Besteman 2008), creating a "home for all" is an essential social and spatial development and act of civil stability. Nahnsen (2003) argues that urban spaces reflect the desire to "make a home in the city" for inhabitants (144). She contends that urban space should be understood as a site and a product of (mostly hidden) struggles over identity and power, in which various coalitions express their sense of self and their desires for the spaces that constitute their 'home'" (145). As we have seen, the cultivation of a salsa community and the search for venues in the salsa scene is a way of understanding the arduous process of creating a home and a sense of belonging in the city.

## Post-apartheid Restructuring—1990s

Since the end of apartheid, it has been a continuous challenge for Cape Town's city planners to simultaneously heighten the city's global competitiveness while addressing the needs of those still living in poverty (Gibb 2007). After the fall of apartheid, Cape Town radically restructured its economy to facilitate re-entry into the global marketplace. To compete with Asian producer nations, South African protective tariff barriers were lowered, triggering a rapid decline in local manufacturing sectors and job losses (Jenkins and Wilkinson 2002). Since the mid-1970s, South Africa's inner-cities have experienced decentralization, divestment, and "white flight," resulting in the physical decay that has

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plagued central business districts until recently (see Beavon, 2005; McDonald, 2008).

However, the depreciation of the South African Rand expanded both export and tourism

opportunities in the 1990s.

At the local level, the City of Cape Town began a process of deracialization of

government structures in the 1990s and full local representation, with local elections held in

1996. During the transition period, there was consensus among stakeholders in Cape Town

that issues of urban integration, environmental sustainability, and urban equality needed

attention (Watson 2003), and a forum established the Urban Development Commission in

1993 to address these issues. In 2000, local municipalities were consolidated into a single

entity: the Cape Town Unicity. Wilkinson (2000) identifies two significant changes to the

local planning process that developed during the transition period in tandem with local

government reorganization. The first of these changes, drafted from that meeting by what

was then the Cape Metropolitan Council (CMC), was the Metropolitan Spatial Development

Framework (MSDF). The MSDF was designed to "guide the form and location of physical

development in the Cape Metropolitan Region on a metropolitan scale" by providing a

master plan for spatial restructuring and social integration (Cape Metropolitan Council 1996,

ix). Since 1996, the MSDF has been much less effective than expected by stakeholders for

several reasons. First, this approach to spatial restructuring viewed Cape Town simplistically

as a "dual city" with a wealthy city center and the poorer Cape Flats periphery (Watson 2003,

57). Additionally, the transition from apartheid to democracy brought radical restructuring

and shifting of power from national to local government agencies. Major reorganization of

Cape Town local government occurred from 1994 to 1996, after 1996, and again after

elections in 2000 (Watson 2003).  This reorganization negatively affected the functioning of local bureaucracies and their ability to be "proactive and consistent" in terms of urban planning.  An entirely new set of  councilors was elected to local government in 1996, many of whom were unfamiliar with the functioning and procedures of local government, had a deep-seeded distrust of the officials and professionals who they were now supposed to lead, and were representing constituents who had never before been represented (ibid).  Finally, the national government shifted its development priorities from the early strategy of state intervention to bring about redistribution, greater equity and integration (reflected in the Reconstruction and Development Programme) to a focus on a neo-liberal macroeconomic policy (the Growth, Employment and Redistribution strategy known as GEAR) in 1996, an agenda that influenced development policies at the local level.  Issues of spatial restructuring to address and correct fragmentation and inequality began to take second place to emphases on economic growth, foreign investment, tourism, and market-friendliness.

The second transitional development that Wilkinson identifies is a new approach called "integrated development planning," which strives to "link planning directly to budgeting and implementation processes and to co-ordinate infrastructure and service provision systematically across the various…departments" (2000, 9).  The City of Cape Town's five-year Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is the principal strategic planning tool that directs management within the administration and that informs all planning and development within the City of Cape Town.  It also dictates the City's contribution to inter-governmental development.  Implementing the IDP relies on external partnerships and

institutional improvements within the City. Attracting international and regional investment through marketing the city is also a key element in the execution of the IDP.

As part of the City's five-year Integrated Development Plan, a Spatial Development Framework (SDF) includes strategies and policies informing the City's vision for the future, including protecting and improving access to natural resources, equitable and sustainable access to economic opportunities and settlement, and the creation of "great people places" (SDF website).  In addition to improving basic services, the City's priorities and direction for the future include making Cape Town a world-class destination and an internationally recognized hub for creative industries including media industries, publishing warehouses, film, architecture, performing arts, fashion, music, visual arts, literary arts, and heritage enterprises. The success of the city's vision for the future requires developing intimate, high value partnerships with both state-owned enterprises and the private sector that will lead to great economic growth, development and investment (SDF website).

Despite the efforts of Cape Town's city planners to design an urban environment "with harmonious, responsible interracial neighbourhoods forming the foundations of a new urban community and of a new growth path for the ailing economy" reflecting the construction of the Rainbow Nation (Robinson 1997, 380), several prominent South African urban scholars have pointed out that inclusive cities are still elusive.  The transition from apartheid exclusivity was perhaps cause for consternation for some residents of the city center: according to Pirie (2007), people began to inhabit public space in the central city informally and "in ways that established interests regarded as unsightly, threatening,

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polluting and contaminating" such as "public sleeping, cooking, feeding, washing, urination and defecation" (128). Steven Robins points out that the legacy of racialized poverty resulting from apartheid-era forced removals continues to plague Cape Town's city planners' visions of creating an integrated, multicultural, post-apartheid city. He argues, instead, that South African cities are increasingly becoming smaller versions of 'Fortress LA' where increasing violence and fear of the 'Other' drives the construction of gated communities and security villages, resulting in the increasing privatization of public space (see Davis 2006). Antje Nahnsen (2003) argues for an "urgent politics of reconciliation" to overcome apartheid's legacy of fear and distrust and the spatial manifestations of these in Cape Town. She argues that although an official politics of integration seeks to dissolve apartheid borders, city management recreates them in the name of creating a 'clean' and 'civilized' city and protecting Cape Town's international image from transgressors.

These conflicts speak to an ideological struggle over how to inhabit the city. Who belongs in particular spaces? How are inequalities to be mitigated? And how is the "ideal" Cape Town imagined? These conflicts also reflect the ambivalence over which growth development model to pursue in order to achieve this ideal city. These questions also play out in the ways in which dance spaces are negotiated and the ways in which dancers relate to each other across the dancescape.

## Global/World City Status and Urban Rejuvenation

In recent years, there has been a clear intent on the part of city planners and local government to orient Cape Town toward "global" or "world" city status. Jenny Robinson argues that academics have unproblematically presented global city status to planners and local government officials as a desirable direction for economic growth. Yet, Saskia Sassen (1991) warns that while the intensity of financial activity between global cities has increased, the level of inequality pertaining to the location of and access to resources has also increased. Global cities continue to amass corporate power. Likewise, within cities, capital, skilled labor, and investments tend to be funneled to financial centers while low-income sections of cities are increasingly neglected (ibid). In order to develop their local economies, cities must now compete globally; therefore local governments must be innovative and entrepreneurial in their development plans to attract capital, often opting to establish "public–private partnerships" to fund and manage renewal and service delivery (Jenkins and Wilkinson 2002). Jenkins and Wilkinson argue that criteria for competition in a global market place includes an efficient infrastructure for transport and telecommunications, reliable energy and water supplies, means of supplying basic products and consumer goods, functioning labour and property markets, and high end shopping centers, convention facilities and office parks, hotels, and entertainment opportunities. Finally, a beautiful natural environment and a "stimulating cultural milieu" are helpful attributes in global economic positioning (38). Cape Town is an example of a city that, through policy and re-branding, is striving to be recognized as an important player in global financial and cultural economies.

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Cape Town's Central Business District accounts for less than 1 per cent of the metropolitan land area (only 4 square k²) and a small percentage of the metropolitan population (Visser and Kotze 2008).   A period of urban decay in the 1980s and 1990s and the pressure on municipal budgets and resources raised questions and concerns about how to maintain adequate levels of service provision in city centers (Jenkins and Wilkinson 2002). This concern led to the establishment of The Cape Town Partnership (CTP), a non-profit urban renewal and management agency, that was formed in mid-1999 to mitigate some of these issues in the central city district and to represent the interests of the City Council, the Cape Metro Council, the South African Property Owners Association, plus a multitude of private businesses and corporations.  Political economists would argue that such public–private ventures have been the key to attracting capital and generating urban renewal (Lepofsky and Fraser 2003).  City improvement districts create urban zones that receive extra, privately funded public services and that have additional means with which to regulate the use of public space. Local policies encourage privatization and offer incentives for businesses to locate in urban centres. The Cape Town Partnership sponsored both the Central City Improvement District (CCID) and the Central City Development Strategy (CCDS) to focus on urban management strategies and on security to attract investment with the aim of branding Cape Town as a global product.  The CTP's goal was to oversee the regeneration of Cape Town's central city and to promote it as a clean, safe destination for global business and creative industries.  (Pirie 2007; Visser and Kotze 2008; Central City Development Strategy website). In 2001, almost three-quarters of the CCID's R14.6 million budget was devoted to security (49%) and cleansing (22.5%) (Pirie 2007; Visser and Kotze 2008; Central

City Development Strategy website).   According Gibb, in 2002 and 2003, investor

confidence in the partnership has increased and "negative popular perceptions" about the

central business district (CBD) began to shift.  Commercial and residential vacancy rates

declined and employment numbers increased.  By 2008, over R15 billion (US$2 billion) of

foreign and local investment has been funneled into the CBD redevelopment as a result of

strides made by the CTP (Visser and Kotze 2008)[23].  Property values have skyrocketed as

young professionals move into chic flats in newly renovated historic buildings in the heart of

the business district.  These exploding property prices have made plans for a "mixed-use,

mixed income, socially inclusive central city" unattainable (Visser and Kotze 2008).

A major focus of the CCDS is residential densification (with a goal of increasing the

population of the central city to 55,000 residents),  resulting in an increase in service-sector

employment, a rejuvenation of the up-market real estate industry, a broader consumer and

taxpayer base, and the cultivation of an urban vibe driving the retail, restaurant, and

entertainment industries.  Likewise, a number of clubs and hotspots have boosted the area's

night-time economy by attracting people to the city centre at night and changing the way

people feel about being in the city at night.  However, critics are skeptical of the CCDS

because densification approaches tend to exclude the majority of day laborers who cannot

afford to live downtown (Pirie 2007). According to Frank Miraftab, in striving for the ideal

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[23] Although financial and resource investment in strategic nodes outside of the city centre does outweigh those
in the CBD (Pirie 2007).

of a global city designation, the Central City Improvement District restructures urban space

to the detriment of social and spatial integration, often emphasizing class instead of race as

the basis for exclusion (2007). Additionally, Miraftab critiques the CTP because it allows the

local government to operate "through many increasingly undistinguishable actors and

through flexible technologies of control to facilitate and stabilize certain socio-spatial

relations for capital accumulation–thus exemplifying neoliberal governance" (2007, 618).

Jenkins and Wilkinson (2002) argue that social and spatial development in Cape Town while

re-integrating into the global economy is very similar to the patterns of development

established under apartheid. They suggest that urban renewal in Cape Town is "driven

primarily by efforts to promote growth rather than the need to radically re-distribute

opportunity within the city," an emphasis that has entrenched geographies of privilege,

opportunity, and disadvantage (40). Although municipal governments have drafted strategies

to tackle the issue of crippling poverty in Cape Town, scholars argue that funding for these

initiatives are insignificant compared to investments in rejuvenation projects in the city

center designed to boost the city's global image and status (Gibb 2007; see also Pieterse

2004, and Robins 2002).

Robins eloquently and succinctly states the currently socio-spatial context in Cape

Town:

> Despite the many well-intentioned interventions by the city authorities, the socio-
> spatial logics of the apartheid city persist. Investors and businesses continue to
> gravitate towards the well-policed, historically white, middle spaces of the city. These
> parts of Cape Town have indeed been incorporated into a representation of Cape
> Town as a globally competitive, multicultural city driven by the tourism industry and
> the IT and financial service sectors. There are, however, at least two other sides to

Cape Town. One side is the `fortress city' of middle class neighbourhoods characterised by gated communities, neighbourhood watches, vigilantes, private security companies, surveillance cameras, high walls and barbed-wire fences. The other is the urban ghettos of the Cape Flats, characterised by racialised poverty, crime and violence (2002, 684—quoted in Gibb 2007, 546).

For Wilkinson, Cape Town's reintegration into the global economy allowed Cape Town to achieve 'world class' city status (2000). But what does this mean? According to Gibb, world class cities are following global trends in order to access foreign markets, establish international networks and secure investments necessary to improve employment levels and the standard of living.

In his book on neoliberalism and inequality in Cape Town, David McDonald (2008) argues that Cape Town is, in fact, a world city (a term he prefers to global city although he recognizes that these terms are often used interchangeably) because it possesses the particular socioeconomic and urban characteristics portrayed in the literature. McDonald argues that Cape Town is a world city because it represents "an outward-focused service economy, the creation of tightly networked business hubs connected to other world cities via high-tech transportation and telecommunication systems, and the development of world-class facilities to cater to a transnational elite" (2). He uses Sassen's framework first to outline what a global/world city is, then to demonstrate the ways in which Cape Town conforms to these definitions. According to Sassen (1991), there are specific features (hypotheses) of global cities: spatial concentration of economic activities, a producer/service economy catering to the needs of globalized manufacturing corporations, agglomeration economies,

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informalization of economies, trend toward homogenization, interdependence and connectivity among global cities yet regional and national disconnectivity, spatial and socioeconomic polarization, rising economic inequality, gentrification and rising property values, and finally, the privatization of public space and services. In his declaration of Cape Town as a world city (following Sassen), McDonald points to Cape Town's service-oriented economy, the city's unusually insulated Central Business District (resulting from a legacy of race and class segregation) as the center of its economy, the city's dominance in the region stripping resources from its hinterland, and finally, its vast internal economic inequality (2008).

Marketing the city's high-retail centers, spaces of leisure and luxury, and its commitment to arts and entertainment has intensified Cape Town's global cosmopolitan image, encouraging a flood of foreign and domestic investment in real estate and hospitality industries, inspiring Cape Town's foray into creative and design industries. In order to increase leisure and business tourism, Cape Town Tourism (a city agency) and Cape Town Routes Unlimited (a provincial agency) combined with private tourism stakeholders in order to market the city as a global destination. Additionally, the hosting the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup has given the City the impetus and necessary public and private sector investment and international media to be able to market the "history, natural beauty and vibrant culture" of Cape Town to the rest of the world (IDP).

Additionally, in order to compete on a global scale, cities attempt to "brand" themselves in order to distinguish themselves as unique and memorable cultural centers

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(Leslie 2005). According to Greenberg, however, the branding process commercializes urban landscapes, reducing urban imaginaries to top-down, "monolithic and consumer-oriented" images of the city (Greenberg, 2000: 229), often privileging order and control over the ground level "messiness" of public space (Leslie 2005).

Gibb admits that while Cape Town is not a key site of global financial or operational "command and control," it possesses similar characteristics of other global economies and cultures, including privileging neoliberal policies, public-private partnerships, and place branding (2007, 548). According to Gibb, Cape Town's global city status "rests largely on the investment-led strategies it under-takes, the image that it is able to project at an international level, and the superior built environment that it has constructed" (549). As I will discuss below, the road to achieving global city status does not come without bumps and costs.

One of the ways in which the City of Cape Town attempts to achieve world class city status is by strengthening its reputation as a hub for creative industries. Since the turn of this century, the Western Cape provincial government has directed much energy toward the development of creative and design oriented industries as fundamental drivers of the provincial economy (ECDI Proposal). In April 2002, *Newsweek* magazine rated Cape Town one of the top eight creative cities in the world. Scholar Richard Florida is best credited with developing much of the framework for outlining creative cities and the creative class.

Following the premises that human capital drives local economic growth, Florida contends that culture and creativity have substantial economic benefits (Leslie 2005).

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Florida argues that creative centers tend to be "economic winners," thus in order to stimulate economic growth, cities must be able to attract the creative class (Florida 2003).  Florida's creative class consists of relatively young, highly educated people working in "science and engineering, architecture and design, education, arts, music, and entertainment, whose economic function is to create new ideas, new technology and/or new creative content" (Florida 2002, 8).  The creative class is interested in diverse, inclusive communities with thick, clustered labor markets where one can become easily integrated into a variety of activities that affirm creative identities.  In order to attract creatives, cities must possess the "3Ts of economic development":  technology, talent, and tolerance (Florida 2003).  Craving "multidimensional experiences," the creative class is attracted to a particular lifestyle and community: "street-level culture": sidewalk performers, cafés, local restaurants and bars, art galleries, and boutiques. For Florida, successful cities are those that can initiate economic growth by effectively attracting the creative class (McCann 2008).  For Landry (1995), the creative city is replacing location, natural resources, and market access as fundamental key to urban economic growth and development.

In Cape Town, urban planners and public/private partnerships have been inspired by the literature on creative cities.  An information brochure printed by Creative Cape Town points out that making Cape Town into a "leading centre for knowledge, innovation, creativity, and culture in Africa and the South" is a goal of the  Central City Development Strategy (CCDS) for the next decade (Brochure—Creative Cape Town 2010, 2009, 1).  In order to achieve this goal, the Cape Town Partnership began Creative Cape Town, an entity working with local government, private businesses, and academic institutions to promote the

development of creative and cultural industries including communication and advertising agencies, fashion, film, visual arts and performance industries, architectural firms, graphic design, publishing, music and live music venues, galleries, museums, educational institutions, libraries and archives, and software and IT companies. According to Creative Cape Town, the city's approximately 950 creative industries are "under-valued and under-recognized," by local government, susceptible to the whims of a volatile economic climate, and not fully integrated into the city's economic landscape (Creative Cape Town Brochure).

While planners and policy makers are convinced that a world city status via creative cities is an ideal direction for urban development (see Robinson 2006), critics question the benefits of catering to the creative class. Florida admits that there may be a correlation, even a causal relationship, between the creative city index and inequality (Florida 2004 [2002]: xv quoted in McCann). The desire on the part of local government and city planners to rebrand Cape Town as a global or world class city and as a center for creative and design industries has created a tension between neoliberal policies of privatization and market-driven decision-making on the one hand and the agenda of inclusivity on the other. Visser and Kotze (2008) argue that appealing to the creative class would require uneven local, national, and international public and private resource investment in the city centre, sacrificing resource allocation for Cape Town's low income and poor populations. Studies by McDonald (2008), Turok (2001), and Pirie (2007) and have shown that post-apartheid neoliberal restructuring has not only increasingly transferred control over the logic of public space to the private sector, but has perpetuated spatial inequalities associated with apartheid engineering. According to Frank Miraftab, in striving for the ideal of a global city designation, urban

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space is often restructured in a way that hinders social and spatial integration. Class, instead of race, becomes the basis for exclusion (2007). Inner-city decline, rather than gentrification, has been the reality of South Africa's inner cities since the 1980s, and the subject of urban decay has driven scholarly and policy discussions. However, Visser and Kotze (2008) contend that the changing face of gentrification is a common by-product of the influential role of neo-liberal local governance since 2000. New conceptualizations of gentrification recognize "pre-emptive" exclusionary processes in which urban renewal efforts create economic conditions in which it is almost impossible for anyone but middle-and upper middle-class residents to live in city centers and benefit from an urban lifestyle.

Despite the rhetoric of creative city designation and development, Minty argues that neither the City of Cape Town nor the Western Cape Provincial government have fully (and financially) embraced the idea of cultural expression as a contributor of social and economic development (2008). Unfortunately, as Minty points out, the matters of culture and memory are the responsibility of government departments that have "weak capacity and leadership, insufficient resources and low profiles" such as the Department of Arts and Culture (DAC); Education, Trade and Industry; and Environmental Affairs and Tourism at the national level and Department of Cultural Affairs and Sports; Department of Economic Development and Tourism at the provincial level.

## NIGHTLIFE IN CAPE TOWN

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For cities in the United Kingdom and the United States with approaches to urban rejuvenation through the development of creative industries that are similar to Cape Town's, the night-time economy is often viewed as an important component of urban renewal (see Chatterton and Holland, Talbot, etc).  Florida suggests that the creative class is interested in relocating to cities that offer a variety of unique, grassroots, "authentic" nightlife experiences from art galleries to performance spaces to nightclubs.   In addition to attracting creatives, nighttime economies also create opportunities for cities to 'brand' themselves nationally and globally (see Chatterton and Holland 2003).  In her description of the expansion of the night-time entertainment industry in the UK, Marion Roberts (2006) described structural and legislative changes that allowed for a rapid expansion of nightlife, such as loosening liquor licensing laws and granting venues special permission to open after 11pm.  Large numbers of young people were once again attracted to downtown areas suffering from the decline of manufacturing in the 1980s, transforming deserted streets into spaces of alcohol consumption—pubs, bars, and clubs.

As a result of extensive financial and resource investment in security, the Cape Town CBD is no longer a space to be avoided after dark. Gibb (2007) predicts that Cape Town city centre is rapidly becoming a "24-hour city" in which increased residential occupation enable a more vibrant evening and nightlife culture.  Tourism, he suggests, has also flourished in these revitalized city spaces as visitors are attracted to cafés, boutique shops, fine dining establishments, and nightclubs. Although Cape Town has once been listed with Ibiza and Bali as one of the "top eight" global nightlife destinations for British clubbers (Malbon 1999), club owners and club DJs generally agree that nightlife in Cape Town is currently in

decline.  A popular DJ at the Westend thinks that clubs all over Cape Town are struggling,

more so than in the rest of South Africa.  Some industry stakeholders attribute this decline to

cultural changes in the nature of clubbing in the city.  Richard claims that the rise in underage

nightclubs in Cape Town has discouraged older, money-spending club-goers uninterested in

partying with youngsters to find other locations of entertainment.  Richard also believes that

the shift from backyard scenes popular in the apartheid era (see Chapter 3) meant an increase

of black and coloured South African club patrons resulting in the demise of some clubs.

Richard argues that black and coloured South Africans used to a shebeen culture:

> don't necessarily understand how the clubs work in the sense that you pay at the door
> and then you buy drinks…A lot of the time the guys are drinking outside of the club,
> then go in.  The problem with that is that the club needs to make money off of
> someone in order to stay open.  A lot of the black clubs stay open for a couple of
> months and then they die.  Because I think culturally they haven't understood how
> clubs work.

Richard believes that Bossa Nova's shift to hip hop and its subsequent attraction of a

"darker" clientele ultimately caused the club to close its doors because patrons were

consuming alcohol *before* entering the club. If other nightclub owners or event producers

share Richard's opinions, they may believe it to be in the best economic interest of the venue

NOT to specifically target black or coloured patrons through music genres such as kwaito or

cape jazz, creating zones of cultural exclusion.

In addition to arguments about cultural shifts, others blame the global economic

downturn for the fading nightlife scene.  Costas suggests that club life has gotten too

expensive for many Capetonians; that once people have paid their rent or mortgages, their car

payments, their grocery and utility bills, they do not have money for entertainment to spare. He has noticed that people are not going out as often, or they tend to go to venues they can afford. Nightclubs are finding it difficult to charge R80 or R100 cover; therefore, successful clubs rely on patrons who will buy three to five drinks minimum per evening. As a result, Costas has noticed a decline in quality of the venues that have survived the global economic crisis.

In addition to cultural and economic changes, club owners discuss structural changes, such as market saturation, crime and security, and governmental regulations that they feel have contributed to nightlife decline. Costas remembers that after the bombing of a night club in Bali in 2002, Cape Town surpassed Bali as the top destination in the world for tourism. Cape Town witnessed an increase in both public and private investment in tourism infrastructure, and, according to Costas, investors and entrepreneurs inexperienced in the tourism industry opened businesses. In some cases, the market became saturated and businesses collapsed. In other cases, misguided business decisions caused venues to close. According to Costas, approximately 250 bars, clubs, and restaurants closed down in 2008.

Both Richard and Costas mention crime and security when discussing Cape Town's troubled nightlife scene. In March of 2011, Cyril Beeka was shot and killed in his BMW by assassins on motorbikes as he was being driven out of Cape Town on the N1. Other than being a businessman and former *Umkhonto we Sizwe* (Spear of the Nation, the militant arm of the ANC) cadre, Beeka was probably best known for his involvement as a "kingpin" in Cape Town's nightlife "underworld" in the 1990s, when he allegedly controlled 90 percent of the

city centre's nightclub security operations through "stiff-arm" tactics and was assumed to have been entangled in a number of illegal activities including murder, drug running, and extortion (Dolley and Nicholson 2011; personal interviews 2011).  Apparently, Beeka owned Pro Security companies and controlled its affiliate companies, and according to club owners and managers, if they did not agree to hire Beeka's security services to protect their venues, they were threatened with violence.   According to sources that would rather remain nameless, Beeka was also known for sending his gang, the Moroccans, to wreak havoc on new clubs. Then Beeka would come forward with Pro Security to protect those clubs. Beeka's Pro Security company operated in Cape Town city center only, not in the city's suburbs.  Rumor has it that while attempting to extend his operations into the southern suburbs, Beeka encountered established and powerful gangs on the Cape Flats.  Instead of expanding into the Cape Flats, Beeka left Cape Town entirely[24].  Richard explained the subsequent succession of cartels that controlled nightclub scenes in Cape Town; he believes that these security operations do not attempt to extort money from him because his salsa club doubles as a dance studio.  Although Richard of Que Pasa attributes the decline in nightlife in part to a surge in gang activity attempting to pressure club owners into paying for security, Costas has had the opposite experience:  "Here, you don't pay nothing to nobody" (personal interview).   It was difficult to get club owners to discuss the current gang situation openly.

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[24] Although some speculate that Beeka left Cape Town for Johannesburg in order to avoid investigation by the Scorpions.

In addition to the presence of organized crime operating behind the scenes, nightlife venues also contend with petty crime perpetrated by club patrons. An article in the *Cape Times* (February 27, 2009) features Robbie Roberts, manager of eight police stations within the Cape Town Cluster, including Cape Town Central, Kensington, Woodstock, Maitland, Camps Bay, Sea Point, Pinelands and Table Bay Harbour. Roberts claims that police are beginning to target the 200 nightclubs in these areas in response to complaints from local residents regarding assaults (over 100 reported assault cases at the time) that occur in and around the clubs (Jones 2009). Although he believes that crime in Cape Town has improved over the past several years resulting from increased security on the streets, Costas admitted that the night before my interview with him, a woman's purse was stolen at Buena Vista.

Not only do stakeholders in Cape Town's night-time economy believe that the club scene is in decline, many club owners, DJs, and musicians believe that legislation initiated by local and provincial government is intentionally designed to discourage nightlife. There is a general sense among club administrators that the local and provincial governments are becoming more forceful about regulating nightlife through tighter smoking regulations, noise ordinances, liquor regulations, and police presence. Amendments to the Tobacco Law, passed in August 2009, prohibit smoking in "partially enclosed" public places. In a conversation, a marketer of tobacco products indicated that clubs and restaurants are now obligated to designate a fully enclosed area for smokers, otherwise smoking will be prohibited in these venues. Many clubs, the marketer suggested, are unwilling to spend the money to create such an area. Likewise, the fines for smoking in non-smoking areas

increased to R50,000 for establishment owners and R500 for individual transgressors of the new law.

The city also is enforcing stricter noise ordinances for venues located near residential areas. Buena Vista is located near residential flats, therefore Costas is familiar with the ways in which the enforcement of nightlife noise is changing: "…in the old days if someone complains about the noise, the cops come maybe once a year. Now if you are going to call the city about noise, they [cops] *have* to come. They're getting a little more stricter" (personal interview). DJ Robert claims that, although it is not situated in the City Centre, the Galaxy/Westend is located in the neighborhood of Rylands and therefore must be vigilant about noise.

The most contentious debates center on the recent regulation of liquor sales and consumption. Both the City of Cape Town and the Western Cape Provincial government have also implemented tighter regulations on alcohol consumption, legislation that has inspired vociferous debate among Captonians. Says a popular jazz club DJ: "the politics of clubbing at the moment, there is a lot of outside interference—legislation is being done. The city is clamping down on the market....Alcohol seems to be the City of Cape town's major target—using whatever they can to taper that down."

In 2003, the South African National Liquor Act (No.50) transferred the responsibility of regulating liquor micro-manufacturing and licensing to the nine provinces. Under this new Act, which replaced the Liquor Act of 1989, the provincial government not only made liquor licenses more difficult to acquire, but also began a crackdown on illegal shebeens operating

in the city's townships by excluding many shebeen owners from regulatory frameworks. The Western Cape Liquor Act sought to alleviate the health and social costs of heavy alcohol consumption by regulating what the government concluded was a major source of abuse and criminal activity: nightlife. According to the official website of the South African Police Service in March of 2009, Cape Town law enforcement officers "placed a squeeze" on local nightclubs and bars, strongly suggesting to managers and owners that they adhere to the Western Cape Liquor Act. Richard of Que Pasa states that, to operate his salsa studio/club, he needs a business license, an entertainment license, and a liquor license. Because all of these licenses require approval from the municipality, the magistrate, and the police department, receiving these licenses require time, experience, patience, and money. Richard claims that "technically, members of SAPD [South Africa Police Department] can walk into your establishment at any time and demand to see these licenses and they should be readily available" (personal interview).

Following the provincial government's attempts to limit the consumption of alcohol through the Western Cape Liquor Act, the City of Cape Town is also tightening liquor regulations. Perhaps the most controversial legislation, particularly among participants in my research project is the City of Cape Town's Liquor Trading Days and Hours By-Law. Proposed to take effect in January 2011, the by-law prohibits bars and restaurants in commercial areas from selling alcohol after 2am while establishments in residential areas are forced to stop serving alcohol at 11pm. Supporters of the by-law hope that the legislation will address the city's rampant alcoholism. There was much confusion and outrage weeks before the implementation of the by-law, which would have enforced these closing times on

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New Year's Eve, the longest party night of the year. Some business operators were not sure whether they were going to have to close their establishments entirely at 2am or if people were allowed to continued drinking beverages they purchased at 1:50am. Councillor Taki Amira, chairman of the Liquor Policy Task Team for the City of Cape Town and author of the by-law, could not clarify this issue before the implementation date. Others were not sure if they were located in a commercial or residential zone. Restaurant, bar, and club owners complained that this by-law will not only threaten their businesses, but will also put a damper on Cape Town's emergent nightlife culture. Members of the newly formed (2010) Club, Restaurant, and Bar Association claim that enforcing the by-law will cost the city 150,000 jobs in the night-time economy, a number challenged by the authors of the by-law (Davis 2011).

Legislators and enforcers of these new regulations perceive nightclubs as spaces of vice and danger; nightlife brings people to the city center and gives criminals an opportunity to steal, extort, or traffic. Liquor regulations specifically target alcohol-related deaths and injuries including drunk driving casualties and alcohol-induced violence. The logic behind the by-law argues that reducing nightclubs will reduce opportunities for crime and vice (Joubert 2009).

How are political tensions over the social and economic role of nightlife reflected in the salsa scene? Rising rent prices in the Cape Town City Centre, a dip in tourism as a result of a global economic recession, as well as the increased regulation of liquor by-laws and noise and smoking ordinances has created a reduction in nightlife participation in Cape

Town, according to club and restaurant owners.  To mitigate this downturn, some restaurant and club owners have tried attracting patrons by sponsoring salsa parties.  However, creating a salsa venue takes time.  Many salsa dancers do spend a lot of money on alcohol, thus the profit from salsa events at restaurants and bars is derived from patrons who come to enjoy the vibe that salsa creates instead of from those dedicated to dancing.  It takes time to generate a buzz around a new salsa venue outside of the salsa community, and often venue owners do not have the patience.  Salsa has often been the last resort for struggling venues desperate to attract clientele.  During my two years of field work, nine salsa venues closed in Cape Town (see Figure 16).  This high turnover for salsa venues contributes to what Kathy describes as a "culture of scarcity" among salsa instructors and event planners (this will be discussed further in Chapter 5).  As the venues willing to host salsa parties dwindle, scrambles for club venues for parties ensue among competing instructors and schools, leading to territorial practices and politics that I discuss in more depth in the following chapters.

The increased tension between club owners impatient to see financial returns on salsa events and salsa instructors has caused several instructors to abandon nightclubs as hosts for parties and classes. In April 2011, Addison expressed his desire to move his classes and salsa socials out of Deluxe after three years to a small dance studio on Wale Street in the City Centre.  He claims that rent at Deluxe is too high, squeezing his profits from his classes, and he is tired of the management pressing him to produce alcohol drinkers.  The constant opening and closing of salsa venues is one reason that Cape Town salsa participants struggle to form a sense of community; it is often difficult to form memories and emotional attachments to unstable spaces, particularly those that only remain open for months or even

only weeks.  Salsa regulars stop coming to poorly attended venues, and there is no time to attract the necessary salsa spectators who tend to spend more time and money at the bar.  In this way, the emotive struggles for belonging and territory within the salsa community are not unaffected by the broader urban politics in contemporary Cape Town.

In the following chapters, I will analyze and interrogate the tensions between the contemporary salsa and cape jazz dancing scenes.  These tensions are indicative of overarching struggles over meaning, memory, mobility, territory, and belonging in the city.

| CLUB | LOCATION | 2001-2006 | 2007-2011 | Open as of 2011 |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Bossa nova | Greenpoint | X | | |
| Buena Vista-- Greenpoint | Greenpoint | X | X | |
| Que Pasa— | City Centre | X | | |
| Buena Vista-- Tygervalley | Bellville | X | X | X |
| Tonic | City Centre | X | | |
| Buddha Bar | Greenpoint | X | | |
| Buena Vista-- Waterfront | Greenpoint/Waterfront | | X | X |
| | | | | |
| Fiesta | Greenpoint | | X | |
| Fashion TV | Greenpoint | | X | |
| Miam Miam | City Centre | | X | |
| Deluxe | City Centre | | X | X |
| Ivy League | City Centre | | X | |
| Voom Voom | City Centre | | X | |
| Rose St. Studio | Bo-Kaap | | X | |
| Doppio Zero | City Centre | | X | |
| Braza | Century City | | X | |
| Bar Mooda | Observatory | | X | |
| Que Pasa— | East City | | X | X |
| Summerville | Camps Bay | | X | |
| Kink | Tamboerskloof | | X | |

**Figure 16. Salsa Clubs in Cape Town**

# CHAPTER 5

## TENSION, AFFECT, ENCOUNTER, AND RIGHTS TO THE CITY

Despite the rhetoric among participants of social dance as a unifier and a facilitator of collective identity formation and belonging, tensions exist both within and between salsa and Cape jazz communities. These tensions are less over the specific movement vocabularies of each dance, but are instead indicative of overarching struggles over meaning, memory, mobility, territory, and belonging, as well as the ways in which these concepts tie into a wider urban politics in contemporary Cape Town. As discussed in the previous chapter, city planning policy in Cape Town has had difficulty reconciling growth and development agendas that both allocate adequate resources to lower income and historically disadvantaged communities located primarily on the Cape Flats, *and* follow a "global city" growth model focused on attracting international attention and investment primarily to the city center as the hub of economic, cultural, and creative activity. In this chapter, I first discuss the roots of these urban policy tensions between cape jazz and salsa scenes. I then discuss the ways in which analyzing the tensions, contestations, and negotiations that occur in spaces of encounter elucidate how the rights to the city are expressed. I accomplish this by establishing salsa and cape jazz venues as affective spaces of encounter that are imbued with emotive interactions. I analyze the salsa scene's internal conflicts in depth to explore the

ways in which emotive interactions and attachments reveal struggles over the right to create (and create *in*) urban spaces.

Much of the tension between salsa and cape jazz practitioners stems from the ways that these two forms of cultural expression developed differently in the city. Nightclubs featuring Cape Jazz dancing are typically located in the suburbs, particularly those areas that are historically working class and professional coloured areas. The clubs that dancers most often discuss are concentrated in Athlone, Lansdowne, and Epping Industrial, although smaller jazz clubs exist all over the northern and southern suburbs, and in the Cape Flats. In contrast, the salsa scene is more heavily focused in the city centre. While several instructors teach classes in other parts of the city, the largest salsa schools, most of the performances, and the successful regular socials occur in town. The community of salsa dancers is relatively ethnically or racially diverse compared to other dance scenes in Cape Town, although, as I will discuss in more depth in this chapter, many participants mention a shortage of black South African salsa dancers in the scene. Participants in Cape Town's salsa scene are overwhelmingly middle-class people in their mid-twenties to mid-thirties with a heavy proportion of college students and professionals associated with the corporate world or academia.

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|---|---|
| 🔴 | Salsa clubs in Cape Town, 2001-2011 |
| 🔵 | Jazz clubs in Cape Town, 1955-2005 |
| 🟣 | Jazz clubs in Cape Town, 2006-2011 |
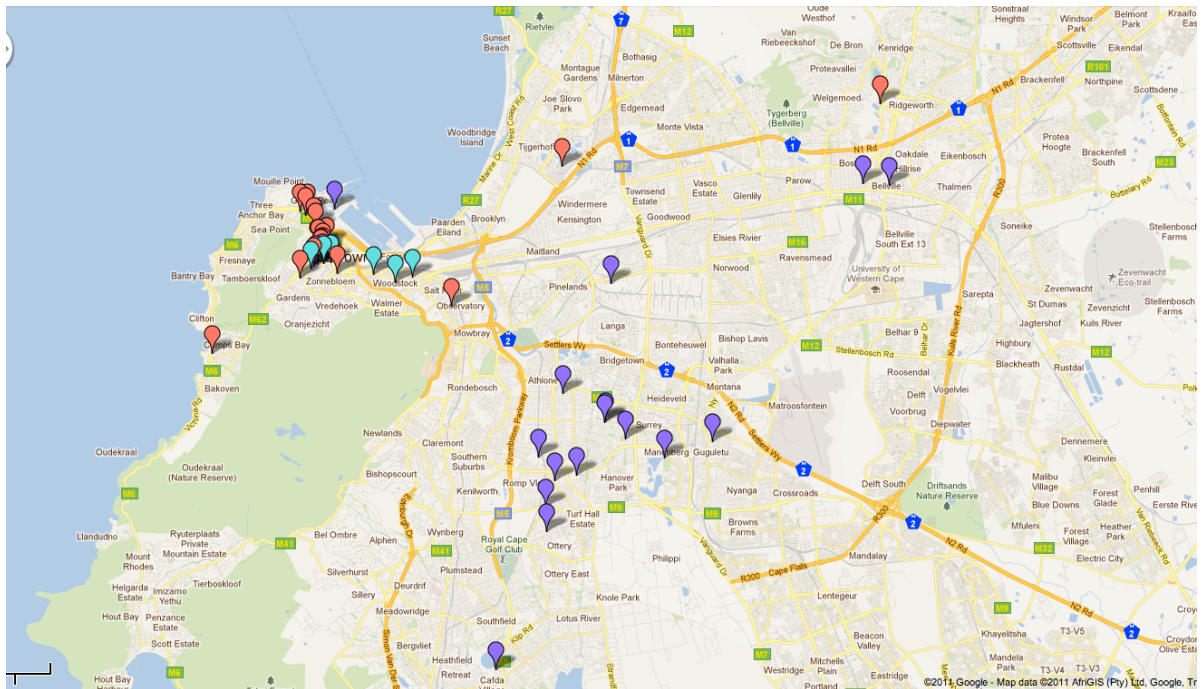
**Figure 17. Jazz and salsa clubs in Cape Town**
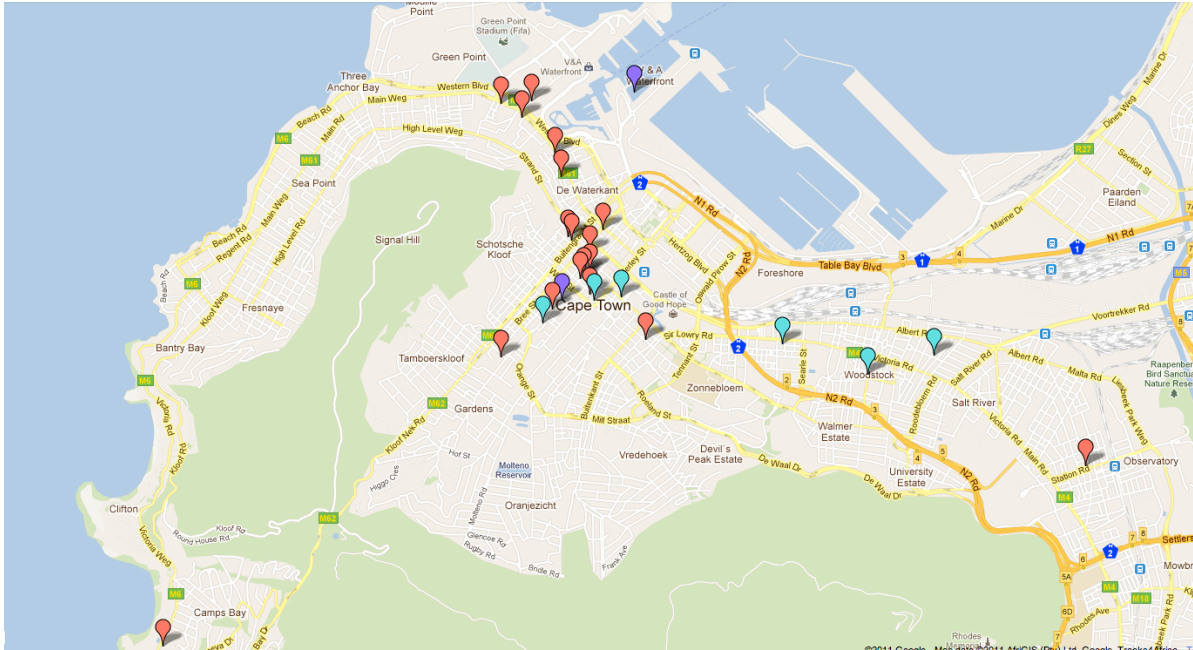
**Figure 18. Jazz and salsa clubs in Cape Town**

As I elaborated in chapters three and four, the histories of both cape jazz and salsa movement have similar connections to swing and ballroom dance traditions. Cape jazz dancers emphasize the important influences that dance styles such as *langarm*, the bob (similar in movement and flow to swing), and Ballroom and Latin have had on jazzing movements. Likewise, some of salsa's movements have been inspired by swing and the Lindy Hop transferred via mambo dancing in Harlem's hottest nightclubs, Ballroom and Latin, the hustle, and Afro-Caribbean body movement and the traditional dances of Cuba. Cape jazz and salsa dances in Cape Town are similar in movement, but with the following important distinctions. According to several instructors of both jazz and salsa, the basic steps are similar, but the music is used differently. The cape jazz basic step is described by Trevor,

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the founder of Danz Afrika, as a continuous forward and backward movement that is similar to rhythmic walking. This basic step does not necessarily occur on a specific count in the music as salsa does, and also does not adhere strictly to a slot or circle floor pattern. Dancers maintain contact at the hands and rarely use standard dance hold. Salsa dancing, in contrast, often begins in dance hold, and steps and turn patterns align more strictly with the eight-counts of music. A woman dancing salsa (if she is following) takes her first step back with her right foot, then shifts her weight forward, and steps forward on her right foot for the third beat of the music. She then steps forward with her left foot on the fifth beat, shifts her weight back, then steps backward with her left foot on the seventh beat of the music. Jazz dancers do not pause in the basic step as salsa dancers do (in Chapter 4 I explained that salsa On1 as it is most often danced in Cape Town has a pause on the 4th and the 8th beats). This pause in movement often gives the salsa follower (usually the female dance partner) time to style or to embellish her basic step with shoulder rolls, arm flares, and hip rotations. As a salsa dancer, I have noticed that, in order to follow a cape jazz lead, I have to keep perpetual tension in my arms because I am not sure when my partner is going to lead the turns. Likewise, I have noticed that jazz followers generally keep their legs straighter—the knees are less bent and the hips do not move as much as in salsa. There is also very little emphasis on shoulder shimmies and rolls as well as chest and torso isolations as with salsa. Turns in jazz dancing can be executed at any point in the music, whereas in salsa, certain turns are only led on specific counts. One jazz instructor explained that, when dancing with me, he recognized my salsa background because the tension in my body slacks in the middle of my basic step (I usually do a modified salsa basic to jazz music—I try to keep my legs straighter and to keep

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more tension in my arms—also, because my legs are stiffer, I tend to shuffle my feet more during jazz, whereas I have been trained to accentuate my foot steps and placement in a salsa basic). Because I relax my body, this instructor mentioned that if he had wanted to do a move in that pause, he could not have because I relaxed the muscle for a beat. The tension in a jazz follower's frame is always present.

Additionally, jazz practitioners explain that cape jazz dancing is more about "feeling the music" than stepping to particular counts within the music. In the Mfusion and Danz Afrika cape jazz courses that I observed, emphasis was not placed on counting the beats while teaching steps or movement sequences. In all of the salsa classes, however, the basic steps and intricate turn patterns are taught to a count, often first without music. Clyde explains the difficulty in merging these two approaches to interpreting music through movement:

If you dance salsa and I will do a double-turn out of the blue with you…when you finish off, you're not on 1, you're on another count. So I have to do something else to stop you or play with you to make you go back to the count. In jazz—we don't do that because we are not dancing on a count, we are dancing on the beat. And that is why there are a lot of double turns in jazz because we are not listening to the count, we are feeling the music.

However, as Bertram notes, the borders between cape jazz and salsa dances in Cape Town have become very blurred where they were once very distinct. Several instructors are trying to fuse elements of cape jazz and salsa to reach a wider audience. Interestingly, the two companies focused on this endeavor are among three companies that are currently (and

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have been consistently) teaching in both the city centre and in the suburbs/on the Cape Flats. In order to make salsa movement more accessible to jazz dancers, Darren of Mfusion subtly mixes the two forms in his classes, often without his students realizing that he is blending approaches to dancing from both styles. Clyde mentions that, because many dancers learn by watching other dancers, dance moves will be traded back and forth across the dance floor either through observation or direct connection and communication between bodies. According to an observant jazz musician, both styles appear to be mutating in Cape Town. The director of Danz Afrika noted that when dancing with me, we mix the two styles because of my salsa background.

In spite--or perhaps because--of the similarities between jazz and salsa dance forms, a tense rivalry has developed between the two forms. Darren, one of the jazz instructors who teaches a fusion of jazz and salsa, claims that he has been dancing at salsa venues and has had salsa dancers tell him that salsa is better than jazz. Trevor believes that some salsa dancers "look down on us jazz people," protesting that "jazzing is our roots!" Amy of Salsa Fusion (formerly Jazz Fusion) is frustrated by what she describes as the "high and mighty" attitude of some salsa instructors who are intent on replacing jazz: "They keep saying they will make jazz die down. They can't do that because it is a culture and they don't understand that." A couple that teaches jazz in Wynberg wanted to explore salsa classes, but felt unwelcome in classes led by two separate instructors. In both cases, they felt that salsa dancers were "stand-offish." In order to illustrate his negative perceptions of salsa dancers, Trevor recounts the events of a small cape jazz and salsa competition held in May 2010 at an event sponsored by one of the jazz schools. Because the competition was posted on

facebook, two salsa schools attended the event.  Of the eight couples participating, two were dancing cape jazz and six were dancing salsa.  Of the eight couples, the top three couples, in no specific order, were chosen to progress to the next round of the competition.  After the competition, one of the three couples, instructors of one of the larger salsa schools in town, proclaimed themselves the winners of the competition on facebook, claiming proof that salsa is superior to jazz (the couple does not deny proclaiming themselves the winners of this competition, but argues that the way that they used 'winner' in this context does not exclude the fact that other couples were also winners.  However, the instructor has expressed his distaste for jazz in the past).  In telling his version of this story, Trevor expresses his dismay and disappointment at this behavior, insisting that "it is almost like these salsa people have this opinion that they are superior to anybody else…The salsa community frowns upon the jazz dancing….This is our culture!  Don't take away our culture!"  Trevor claims that it is this behavior that gives the salsa community a negative reputation in the eyes of many cape jazz dancers.  Trevor attributes these perceived attitudes on the part of salsa instructors toward jazz as jealousy because good jazz dancers, he claims, outshine salsa dancers.  Darren claims that ego is to blame.

Bertram argues that the "in between world" of the coloured jazz community feels threatened by salsa as "something new to come into their environment."  Not only is salsa a relatively new dance style in Cape Town, it has also been imbued with certain meanings and value systems that position it in opposition to cape jazz: it has been described as foreign, "high class," and even white.  One salsa instructor claims that people in jazz clubs would say to him:  "don't bring your white dance here" even though the salsa instructor tried to explain

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that the roots of salsa are not white.  This salsa instructor, himself a member of "the group deemed as coloured in South Africa," acknowledges that historically, members of the coloured community have "had to fight for everything that they wanted."   He mentions his own father's experiences of forced removal following the Group Areas Act.  He also recognizes that jazz is part of a "tradition" within the coloured community, but he is unimpressed by the reluctance to adapt to new dynamics and to adopt new influences. Darren explains that "salsa is international, cape jazz is local.  When something [like Cape Jazz] is close to home, it doesn't easily adapt to what comes in from outside.  So salsa comes in and nudges against jazz and if something nudges against you, you have a reaction back toward it."  Darren laments that instead of each community being open to and curious about the other one, the resulting tension has created an unnecessary and unpleasant conflict over meaning and belonging.

The tensions that have emerged between jazz and salsa practitioners reflect meanings that have been attached to these dances and encounters with different visions and approaches to their urban experiences in Cape Town.  Participation in these dance scenes can elucidate ways in which memories and networks are created through dance and the ways in which spaces are defended and protected.  Negotiating and confronting difference is part and parcel of the rights to the city.

# MARGINALITY

In conducting this research, a common origin story emerged, linking the development of jazzing to the experience of forced removal and marginalization. This narrative of marginalization is key to understanding the significance of attachment practitioners have to cape jazz.

Scholars of the development of coloured identity discuss the ambiguous and ambivalent positioning of colouredness during apartheid where it operated very much within the legal ideological confines of the system. Conceptualizations of coloured politics were often perceived as complacent or even complicit with the state's apartheid policies (see Martin 2000a; Erasmus 2001). The coloured population was granted certain "privileges" and escaped certain regulations to which the black population was subjected. The coloured population did not have to carry passbooks, often had better access to housing and education, and were not held to the same strict liquor licensing laws. Likewise, Coloured Labour Preference legislation protected coloured jobs in relation to African workers effecting not only socioeconomic status of coloured workers, but influenced migration and residential patterns as well. Also, until the early 1960s, members of the coloured population were allowed to live in cities in order to be closer to factories, unlike black laborers (Ruiters 2006). Several scholars argue that the trauma of forced removal and segregation spurred the development of a more cohesive sense of a collective and cohesive coloured identity (see Adhikari 2010; Trotter 2006). An instrumentalist approach to coloured identity suggests that the apartheid government threw a few bones to the coloured population to instill a sense of

relative privilege, but still required people to recognize and internalize an inferior status compared to whiteness. "By cutting off all escape [to whiteness] for the Coloured middle class, the Nationalists hoped to promote the development of that class" (Goldin 1987, 79—quoted in Ruiters 2006, 125).

In describing her formative experiences and her own path to self-discovery, Erasmus discusses the sentiments of respectability and shame that are closely linked to her middle-class coloured experience (2001). According to Erasmus, in her youth she was taught to understand that as a coloured person, she was *"less than white"* but *"better than black"* (emphasis in original, 2). She recalls that "the humiliation of being 'less than white' made being 'better than black' a very fragile position to occupy" (2). Because colouredness was associated with miscegenation, Erasmus admits that implicated in this identity were concepts of impurity, illegitimacy, immorality, and untrustworthiness all of which lead to feelings of shame (Erasmus citing Wicomb 1998). Martin (2000a) suggests that it was not uncommon for members of the white community to view the coloured population as "objects of an absolute scorn expressed… [in] insults and stereotypes" (106). According to Erasmus, the struggle for respectability caused her significant anxiety and discomfort. Apartheid labels and ruling class mentality have labeled colouredness as inferior and in-between, making it difficult to recognize coloured on its own terms (Erasmus). However, Erasmus recognized that a segment of the coloured population was complicit in constructing a privileged status in relation to black Africans—often participating in the exclusion and "disassociation from all things African" (8). Cape jazz, as cultural expression, serves as a counter-narrative to the

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shame that Erasmus describes. Participants describe jazz as a validation of colouredness. Although the dance floor is also a site in which narratives of colouredness are shaped.

Feelings of marginalization among members of the coloured population stem not only from spatial and social isolation, but political as well. In the apartheid era, assimilationists played an important role in shaping politics within the coloured population (Ruiters 2006), cooperating in the establishment of the Department of Coloured Affairs in 1958. In 1968, the apartheid regime established the Coloured People's Representative Council with 40 elected and 20 state-nominated members from the coloured community, and was thereby able to control coloured access to politics (Ruiters 2006). In 1984, a Tricameral parliament featuring the House of Delegates for the Indian population and the House of Representatives for the coloured population, in addition to the dominant and whites only House of Assembly were established by the apartheid government in order to placate those groups after years of exclusion and disenfranchisement (Ruiters 2006). According to Erasmus and Peiterse (1997), coloured participation in the Tricameral system was incentivized by the apartheid government in the form of welfare packages and essential services (11).

Emerging in the 1970s in opposition to assimilationist thinking and practice, and in line with the instrumentalist view of coloured identity, the Black Consciousness Movement expressed the political philosophy of Steve Biko. Although black consciousness defined blackness inclusively, and sought to elucidate the collective experiences of oppression of non-white populations in order to reveal the functioning of white power and privilege. Following this line of thinking, the Black Consciousness Movement implied the rejection of

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coloured identity in favor of a unified identification with blackness. The movement, however, underestimated the importance of peoples' attachment to aspects of a collective coloured experience rooted in a particular history and geography, and inadvertently neglected to recognize the contributions of coloured activists in particular (Erasmus 2001). Black consciousness also laid the groundwork for establishing "an 'authentic' Black identity that would emerge in the post-apartheid period" that often excludes those once classified as coloured (Ruiters 2006, 154).

In 1983, the non-racialist United Democratic Front (UDF) was established as a multi-racial political organization in Mitchell's Plain, a coloured township on the outskirts of Cape Town. Like Black Consciousness, members of the UDF saw the recognition of a distinct coloured classification as partaking in the 'divide and rule' strategy of apartheid.[25] The political philosophy of the UDF was reminiscent of the 1930s coloured political organization the National Liberation League which became the Non-European Unity Movement (NEUM) in 1935. NEUM disavowed recognition of a separate coloured identity and instead favored cultivating a class-based identity to unite the proletariat against the apartheid regime. Much like black consciousness, the non-racial philosophy of the UDF meant that the articulation of a separate coloured identity was discouraged as divisive. However, Ruiters argues that while

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[25] Many academics argue that, in the post-apartheid era, because of the adoption of a black or non-racial political identities during the struggle against apartheid, the contributions of many coloured activists and the 'authenticity' of coloured cultural claims were invisible or unrecognized. See Adhikari 2005 for his description of the ways in which people snubbed his studies of colouredness and even accused him of racism.

a policy of non-racialism was adopted in the public/political sphere, many people maintained a sense of a collective coloured identity in their private lives. Eventually, political divisions occurred between black consciousness activists and those who viewed coloured self-identification itself as a means of recognition and opposition (ibid). In fact, some members in the Western Cape considered UDF to be a coloured organization because it was officially launched in Mitchell's Plain, a coloured area by coloured activists. While the UDF was aligned with the ANC, the nature of this political relationship between the two organizations was not entirely apparent, which caused problems for the ANC in the 1994 elections (ibid).

During the run-up to the first democratic elections in 1994, the National Party (NNP) was accused of manipulating the Western Cape coloured population's fears of being marginalized. Meanwhile, the ANC concentrated their election efforts on black African townships and perhaps underestimated the conservatism of working class communities (Erasmus 2001; Ruiters 2006). As a result, over half of coloured voters (the majority of registered voters in the Western Cape), voted for the National Party in 1994 (Martin 2000a, 114; Adhikari 2010), and the (working class) coloured population overwhelmingly elected the Democratic Alliance (a product of the short-lived unification of the Democratic Party and the New National Party) in the local elections of 2000. Erasmus argues that "for many South Africans, this meant that coloured people did not vote as 'black' and/or 'African' and thus cannot be considered as such" (14). Political and social backlash against and ridicule of the "coloured" vote increased a sense of alienation from mainstream political life of the post-apartheid era (Ruiters 2006, 192).

According to Erasmus (2001), the two dominant national identity-building projects in the post-apartheid context, rainbow nationalism and the African renaissance, both "limit the possibilities for including coloured identities in a positive way"(14).  A message of unity through diversity espoused in the images and rhetoric of the Rainbow Nation (Desmond Tutu's 'Rainbow People of God') was first proposed by the Mandela administration (1994-1999) as a way of maintaining control over a wounded and severely divided population—to promote stability by preventing violence and an exodus of nationals (and the economic capital that would leave with them).  One aspiration of the Rainbow Nation philosophy was to build on the utopian idea that all South Africans can move beyond the recent painful history and work together to construct a harmonious society.  Signs on city street corners, billboards visible from overpasses, and advertisements in shop windows selling everything from beer to banks frequently depict a multicultural utopia[26].  Rooted in multiculturalist discourse[27], the rainbow metaphor has been critiqued for constructing difference simplistically, neglecting to acknowledge the complex power dynamics and exclusionary practices that operate in society, masking important debates over class, gender, and cultural issues. Likewise, many cultural critics have pointed out that multiculturalism tends to become a homogenizing strategy that defines and demarcates the limits within which

[26] See Sarah Nuttall's work (2008) on advertisements and race in Johannesburg's youth culture.

[27] For key arguments for multiculturalism, see Bennett 1998 and  Will Kymlicka 1995

difference is permitted. Erasmus argues that "by insisting, simplistically, that we should be blind to 'race', it makes it more difficult to name and recognize the importance of articulating and working through antagonisms and conflict" (15).

In contrast to rainbow nationalism, the Mbeki administration (1999-2008) focused on the notion of an African Renaissance in order to underscore shared sentiments and experiences rooted in history and geography. However, many coloured individuals have often retained their understanding of African to mean black African, a category in which they do not always feel (or want to feel) included, heightening feelings of marginalization (Erasmus 2001; Ruiters 2006). According to Erasmus, African Renaissance discourse often gets rearticulated as African essentialism where Africanness is associated with blackness and has authority over authenticity and resistance, whereas whiteness is linked to Europe, domination, and oppression (2001). African essentialism is critiqued for neglecting to acknowledge the hybridity and multiplicity of African experiences leaving "little space for conceptualizing coloured identities and experiences as valid" and contributes to an increasing alienation from the ruling African National Congress (ANC) (ibid 15). In the post-apartheid context, members of the coloured population voice a concern of continued race-based discrimination on the part of the new government headed by the ANC. Not only is this concern highlighted in academic literature,[28] but it is a sentiment often expressed in minibus

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[28] See Adhikari's 2005 book, Not White Enough, Not Black Enough.

taxis, university coffee shops, and dance clubs.  According to Erasmus, "negative

characterizations and denials have contributed to the marginalization and trivialisation of

coloured identities in relation to processes of building a national identity in post-apartheid

South Africa" (2001, 7).  In a 1998 interview with District Six jazz vocalist, Zelda Benjamin,

she claimed that during apartheid, she had plenty of gigs as a jazz singer.  In the post-

apartheid era, she does not have much work because she feels as though she is not the right

colour."  She somewhat bitterly expresses:  "Maybe I'm not doing the right songs for now—

maybe if I did a couple of freedom songs or hopped around on stage—toyi-toyied[29] a bit

around the microphone—maybe I would get more work because it's sad for me."  She thinks

perhaps employers are "looking for a black face" (District Six Museum Archives).

In trying to escape colonial- and apartheid-imposed identification labels, many

members of the coloured population in South Africa are seeking alternative terminology to

describe themselves collectively as a cultural group.  Even in my interviews, more often than

not, people would describe themselves as "so-called" coloured, or "the population group

deemed as 'coloured' in South Africa," or "other".  While these terms and coinciding air

quotes may indicate a critique of apartheid era labels, these forms of self-identification do not

necessarily operate outside of apartheid constructs.  Alternatively, people are experimenting

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[29] Toyi-toyi (also spelled toi-toi) can be described as a rhythmic movement or stomping of the feet while chanting or singing in protest.  South Africans famously toyi-toyied by the thousands in protest against the apartheid regime.  People still toyi-toyi today to demonstrate against unpopular government policies and pratices.

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with new ways of collective description.  For example, some people have adopted the term

"bryn" (Afrikaans for brown) to signify a "global category [with the] capacity for adaptation,

creativity, freedom, vitality, informal conviviality, [with an] awareness of belonging, which

generates pride…and solidarity" (Martin 2000a, 112).  As Ruiters recognizes, self-

identifying with African-ness and excavating family histories rooted in slavery can be a

painful process for people who have denied this aspect of their backgrounds (2006).  Ruiters

points out that those who decide to identify with histories and cultures that were once hidden

or ignored in the coloured community (such as KhioSan or slave histories) often face

marginalization from their own families and communities.


            There is a collective feeling and memory of marginality embedded in the history of

the coloured community.  Cultural expression continues to be a way of navigating the feeling

of marginality; cultural expression is a method of asserting presence, demanding recognition,

resisting invisibility, and defining oneself. Cultural expression is also often a complicated

battleground of emotion, meaning, and status. Cape jazz inserts itself into this cultural sphere

of self-fashioning.  The overwhelming consensus on the part of cape jazz practitioners is that

cape jazz dancing is unique to the coloured community in Cape Town.  As a dance form,

cape jazz emerged in the context of apartheid, segregation, forced removal, and marginality.

Jamal emphasizes the significance of the apartheid context to the development of cape jazz:

            Coloureds and blacks were also separated.  They had separate townships; separate

boxes…So when you talk about the development of cape jazz music and dancing—it was

really in that little box.  …So when the city of Cape Town opened when freedom came and

the boxes were taken away, that culture was still there…

Likewise, Trevor succinctly explains the important of memory, belonging, and

collective affective space:

> Many times I used to be humiliated.  It was frustrating in the sense that it's your
> country and you are not free in your own country.  So this jazz thing, when it first
> came out, we protected that stuff--it was unique to Cape Coloureds, to the Cape
> Flats….It was something that belonged to us.  It is a total, total Cape Flats coloured
> thing.…  So it was a way of identifying ourselves on the dance floor.  Being unique.
> Being *us*.  We were referred to as being 'whatnots' so the whatnots showed them that
> we also have a culture.  We can also dance. …'this is ours' and this is what the whites
> can't take away from us—our dance, our originality, this is what we do….So I say
> that apartheid had a lot to do with the origination of jazz.

## MEMORY

The cultivation of collective memory is important to the development of cape jazz not only

as an expression of feelings of marginality but also of resilience.  The experience of forced

removal and subsequent segregation, while not limited to former District Six residents[30], and

while not shared by everyone living in neighborhoods in and around the Cape Flats, did

create a dominant narrative of marginalization and survival among members of the coloured

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[30] District Six, as I mentioned earlier, holds an important place in the memory and imagination of many I
interviewed, even if they never lived there.  It seems to be an important place in the story of jazz and of the
history of Cape Town.

population. Cape jazz dancing began to develop during this experience of displacement, resettlement, and reconstruction of new homes, communities, networks and lives. During these embodied exchanges, a narrative is produced and re-produced: a commemorative narrative about a collective coloured experience and "appropriate" identity asserting distinctiveness and resistance to marginality.

In Cape Town, the scars of apartheid are not only still visible on the urban built landscape and in socio-spatial patterns of movement, but are also concealed in the memories of many of the city's inhabitants as well. Emotive experiences with the past are revealed and relived in the actions and embodied practices of the present. Through social dance practices, shifting entanglements with conceptualizations of global and local are worked out in everyday encounters on the dance floor. These encounters speak to the broader emotional politics of social transformation and reinvention in Cape Town. This chapter examines the emotional politics of embodied collective memory as expressed through shifting attachments to notions of global and local in Cape jazz practices.

In order to understand Cape jazz dancing as it is defined and practiced in Cape Town today, one must examine the role of memory in the interactions and narratives of Cape jazz dancers. Memories are formed as "bodily experiences of being in and moving through space" just as places shape and become repositories for memories (Johnson and Pratt 2009). Memory is therefore intrinsically spatial. French sociologist Pierre Nora (1989) claims that sites of memory (lieux de me´moires) such as archives, monuments, parades, and ceremonies to celebrate anniversaries of events are "spatially constituted" and can be both material and

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non-material locations (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). In his seminal work, Maurice Halbwachs (1992 [1941]) highlights the significant role that space plays in the formation of *collective memory*, for memory is both spatial and social. Collective memory is "an expression and active binding force of group identity" (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). According to Halbwachs, groups of believers construct places of meaning and memorial significance, grounding feelings and memories that would otherwise be transient (Allen and Brown 2011). This process of collective commemoration builds symbolic significance around particular material forms (such as statues, shrines, or monuments, street names) and activities (rituals, performances, and parades) that can "immobilize" and preserve common recollections of past events for a certain group of people (Allen and Brown 2011; Wachtel 1986).

South Africa's re-entry into a global financial and cultural economy post-apartheid, and the current context of shifting political, social, and spatial transformation, and nation-building creates a sense of urgency to the process of remembering (and forgetting) the past. The emotional politics of collective memory raises the important questions: what should be remembered? How are events, people, and places commemorated? What is allowed to be forgotten? Who decides? The formation of collective memory is often constructed or heavily influenced by the agendas of powerful or dominant members of the group, thus collective memory is never fixed and predictable but is often contested (Hoelscher and Alderman 2004). The link between collective memory and historical accuracy is tenuous because memory is haunted by forgetting and is therefore subject to manipulation and coercion, but also to resistance, negotiation, and counter-memory. The process of shaping

collective memory is, therefore, a political one.  I argue that it is the affective and affective

and emotional ties that make the politics of memory so salient.  It is the emotional politics of

collective memory that is behind intense struggles over territory, intellectual property, and

spaces of belonging.  As I demonstrate with Cape jazz, often it is agitation from outside the

realm of the familiar that inspires the creation, protection, and re-articulation of collective

memory, and the shifting attachments to concepts of global and local.

In his research on dispossession and memory among former residents of District Six,

Henry Trotter (2009) found that the deeply emotional and shared experiences of forced

removals united people; these affective ties initiated a desire for people to narrate their

common experiences.  Narrating memory, Trotter argues, provides emotional, archival,

aesthetic, social, and political resources for survivors of traumatic experiences.  In

reconceptualizing individual identities and social networks, both of which were damaged and

disoriented post-displacement, the forcibly removed found solace in reminiscing about their

pasts.  Trotter reminds us that, through nostalgic story-telling, people establish an agreement

on what is socially acceptable or inappropriate to remember about this past.  According to

Trotter, the Group Areas Act helped to consolidate a sense of collective coloured identity by

creating, through the Population Registration Act of 1950, a bounded social, political, and

spatial category through which commonality was expressed.  As Trotter illustrates,

community identity is often forged through shaping and sharing memories of a common

(traumatic) experience.  Cape jazz dancing is an embodied expression of affections that

emerged in and flow from a particular moment in space and time (i.e. working class and

professional coloured/Cape Flats/Apartheid).  The common experience of forced removal

and segregation has created a dominant narrative of marginalization and resilience among members of the coloured population. These narratives passed down through generations. People like Carlton and Abdul know of their friends' and family's experiences with forced removal, just as they learned how to jazz from friends and relatives. Cape jazz dancing has become part of the fabric of the Cape Town experience, and meanings attached to jazz, although they change, are carried and communicated through the body.

The body, as the most personal geography, is also a site of memory and meaning shaped through affective rendering. Curti argues that memory, emotion and affect are inextricably inter-related forces operating through the body and they must be analyzed and understood together (2008). As I discussed in Chapter 2, emotions are recognized, expressed, or represented forces working within and upon a body. Affect is not confined within the body, it relies upon a circulation among and interactions with other bodies. The body is "a force which actively re-creates remembering and forgetting through its capacity to affect and be affected" (8). Because memory subsists throughout the body (Parr 2008 via Curti), memory and emotion always work *together* to define experience. For Curti, the mutually reflexive nature of emotion and memory within the body contributes to the formation of individual identity. The *transmission* of emotion and memory through affective registers allows for the formation of *collective* memory. Cape jazz dancing is movement and memory and emotion generated through the body and transmitted to other bodies along lines of affect. In interactions between jazzing bodies, experiences are shared and memories are reproduced in many ways--in the way the enjoyment of a certain song is felt through a dancer's embrace, in the familiar twist of a signature move, in an exchanged smile or a knowing wink among

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old friends, or in a quick conversation about 'that one time when…". The body, Massumi contends, is defined primarily by its capacity to move and its capacity to feel (2002, 1). Memory works through the body in conjunction with affect and emotion to inspire action or movement. I argue that it is also possible that movement works through the body to inspire emotion. Dance, as an emotive, intimate interaction between bodies enables the transmission of affective energy that inspires shared movements. For a particular segment of the population, these emotive, intimate spaces of cape jazz dancing have generated a sense of community and a space of belonging –forming an 'inside' for protection and escape from an 'outside' sense of uncertainty and marginality both during apartheid and in the post-apartheid era.

Movement, according to Deleuze, does not just change a body's position from one point to another; movement *transforms* bodies through time, producing new becomings (Colebrook 2002, 44). If a body is defined by movement and feeling, and the body's perpetual variation of these produces transformation, then bodies (and identities) are in a constant state of becoming. Drawing on Deleuzian understandings of memory, affect, and the body, Giorgio Curti argues that we should think beyond memory as an association with the past, and instead recognize the persistence of memory in the present. Curti points out that Owain Jones (2005) contends that memory "is always a fresh, new creation where memories are retrieved into the conscious realm and something new is created" (208—quoted in Curti 2008, 5). Curti argues, however, that memories do not simply become active only once retrieved into consciousness—they are instead "always present…in and of the body" and are continuously "shared, produced, and given meaning" through the body (page). Curti reminds

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us that Henri Bergson (1988), believed that memory is "a continually embodied process working towards a future" (quoted in Curti 2008, 8).  Memory is an important aspect of *becoming*, a constantly and continuously evolving process with no final destination.

There are a variety of schools now teaching cape jazz dancing classes, and competition among them has been the impetus for defining and loosely codifying specific cape jazz moves.  Particularly with the threat from salsa, jazz instructors and avid dancers are quick to point out those new movements that are not jazz.  Among some, there is a resistance to incorporating moves from other dance styles (particularly salsa).  Therefore, cape jazz as a dance is movement, yet it seems to be not only trapped in place as jazz clubs are only located in certain parts of Cape Town, but also trapped, through pressure and codification, in certain patterns of bodily movements. Yet, this resistance to incorporation is an effort in futility because, like the changes in club locations and success, the style of cape jazz continues to evolve.

While there is a clear origin story that emerges for cape jazz dancers, I do not want to present an over-simplified view of social interactions and zones of exclusion that operate within the jazz scene.   Understandings of "inside" within jazz clubs are carefully constructed by core participants such as jazz dance instructors, venue managers, and frequent dancers.  Entrance to jazz clubs is policed and internal spaces are organized in ways that carve out a steady community with similar identifiable experiences and shape spaces of belonging for most participants.  For example, Trevor described the elaborate security measures he took at the Jazz Warehouse, located in an industrial area of Hanover Park in the early 1990s: he

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employed 20 security guards with Rottweiler guard dogs and shotguns stationed at the

entrance of the warehouse, he contracted the commander and twelve uniformed moonlighting

members of the Mitchell's Plain police department to patrol inside the club, and men

working the front door whom he referred to as "crowd sorter-outers"—men who knew who

the neighborhood "trouble-makers" were and could refuse those trouble-makers entry into

the club. According to Trevor, the Jazz Warehouse was "like a fortress" because of this level

of security. Even though the venue remained open until 4 or 5 o'clock in the morning,

Trevor recalls that not one incident of theft or violence plagued the club. He claims that the

security made people feel comfortable and "free to be themselves." With the security

measures, he wanted to ensure that only the "right kind of people" entered the venue; that the

Jazz Warehouse was "for the jazz lovers, not for gangsters" (personal interview). The steps

that Trevor took to secure his club indicate a desire to create a space where certain people are

unwelcome, i.e. those people who are affiliated with gangsterism and crime. For Trevor, the

categories of gangster and jazz lover are mutually exclusive, although images of dissertation

video by Cholé Buire of a prominent gang member jazzing with his wife in their home in

Heideveld on the Cape Flats suggest otherwise[31]. Likewise, markers of class are used as

determining factors in subtly articulating who belongs within certain clubs. Additionally, one

Saturday, I attended a birthday party with Clyde and Amy for one of their dancers in the

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[31] Video presented by Cholé Buire at a 2010 Ph.D. seminar hosted by the African Centre for Cities at The University of Cape Town. See: http://echogeo.revues.org/11939

Westend's VIP section, an exclusive loft space above the stage where special guests or those willing to pay extra to sit in this elevated section can look down onto the dance floor. Clyde pointed to a group of people sitting in booths on the other side of the VIP section, and described them as "proud of themselves" people and "coconuts," a term describing black or coloured people who "act white" (Stadler 2008). Clyde's disdain for the people in the VIP section is an articulation of his attempt to discursively construct "inside" space within the club; people he suspected of looking down on him are not welcome in his space familiarity and belonging. The purpose of the origin story narrating cape jazz as a cultural practice rooted in forced removal and marginalization, articulating the resilience of a working class coloured population is inspired by a desire to construct collective affective space. The practice of attaching these meanings to cape jazz dancing glosses over individual experiences, homogenizes differences, and obscures inconsistencies.

## SALSA: INTERROGATIONS OF COSMOPOLITANISM AND INCLUSIVITY

Participation in the salsa scene tells a contrasting story in relation to jazz of creating and navigating urban spaces and senses of self in Cape Town. Cape jazz dancing is narrated as a working class, coloured form of cultural expression that developed, thrived, and for the most part, has remained on the Cape Flats and in the suburbs outside of Cape Town's city centre. Jazzing expresses a rejection of certain apartheid era labels, stereotypes, and marginality while embracing a sense of collective identity and embodied memory. While

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the cape jazz dance scene is associated with memory and experience rooted on the Cape Flats and surrounding suburbs, the salsa scene is primarily based around the city centre, and is narrated as cosmopolitan, overwhelmingly middle-class, and is considered to be an activity that transcends racial difference, and is thus is thought to embody the ideals of the post-apartheid "Rainbow Nation." One could argue that, as a form of artistic expression, salsa reflects city policies that strive toward inclusivity and a cosmopolitan reality. However, much like the city itself, the salsa scene in Cape Town is not always the convivial space that it is narrated to be—it is subject to its own contestations, exclusions, and politics. It is within the context of Cape Town's approach to urban rejuvenation, restructuring, and re-branding that I examine movements, actions, interactions, and sentiments that salsa inspires.

Cape Town salsa dancers use the term "cosmopolitan" to describe what they like about the salsa scene (a term that is also often used to describe what they like about living in Cape Town). They also often mention salsa's ability to bring people from different backgrounds together. Salsa dancers suggest that it is the harmonious inclusivity of salsa that makes it a relatively unique social dancing scene in the city. Yet, what do people *mean* by the terms "cosmopolitan" and "inclusive"? Both in formal interviews and in casual conversations with participants, the discourse of cosmopolitanism is closely linked to class and lifestyle. Notions of cosmopolitanism are associated with an urban, middle to upper class, international or globally-minded crowd, (a characteristic that seems even more important than a racially or ethnically diverse group of South Africans), and linked specifically to the city centre. Members of the salsa scene imply harmonious interactions among participants with different backgrounds.

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Interestingly, as I mentioned in Chapter 4, narratives of inclusivity and harmony within the salsa community often ignore the fact that certain segments of the population are all but absent. Particularly, black South Africans, as one instructor recognizes, are "sorely lacking" in the salsa scene. Most instructors lament the lack of black South African salsa dancers which may speak to the legacy of apartheid-era spatiality and socioeconomic structures. Mobility at night is difficult and expensive, and, as a legacy of apartheid, the majority of the black population still lives outside the city.

I am not suggesting that salsa instructors and organizers are intentionally *excluding* black South Africans in particular from salsa spaces; rather I contend that steps are generally not taken to ensure their *inclusion*. Both in casual conversations and in interviews, the language of cosmopolitanism does not necessitate the presence of black South Africans. Instead, casual definitions of cosmopolitanism and descriptions of inclusivity tend to ignore the absence of black South Africans. Essentially, very few seem to mind if black South Africans are NOT present. Several salsa instructors have mentioned that instructors should venture out into the townships to teach salsa to people who might not be able to afford to travel to town for class; however, no one has committed to teaching classes to low income communities in townships or on the Cape Flats. Interestingly, Richard did recognize that if he has black dancers and instructors in his company, it is easier to get funding from Black Economic Empowerment programs. He expressed his irritation with a rival salsa company that "snagged" one of his only black dancers complaining that the loss of this dancer jeopardized this funding. In this case, multicultural cosmopolitanism within the salsa scene may be commendable or even desirable in the eyes of salsa participants, however,

multicultural cosmopolitanism only actively pursued when it is considered to be economically or commercially valuable.  Critics of multiculturalism have similar critiques. For example, Watson (1996) suggests that multiculturalism is generally regarded as benign by Anglo-Australians as long as the exotic 'Other' can be packaged and transformed into folkloric spectacle and tourist dollars.

Much like the sentiments expressed about the salsa scene by its participants, a language of inclusivity is used to describe Cape Town's goals for growth and development. In a report published by the South African Cities Network in 2008, an "inclusive city" is defined as one in which all people have access to basic services, employment opportunities, as well as public spaces and amenities that allow them to express cultural rights, heritage, and creative expression.  Additionally, an inclusive city respects human rights and political freedom, and is "socially cohesive and spatially integrated" so that all people feel welcome regardless of background (7).

However, as outlined in Chapter 4, critics of the direction in which local and provincial leaders have chosen to steer the city, argue that neoliberal policies of privatization and attracting foreign investment have resulted in the creation of exclusionary spaces for some, thus Cape Town is not truly "a home for all"[32].  Subtle yet sinister class-based

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[32] Motto of Western Cape Provincial Government

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exclusionary practices performed by the private sector (or public-private partnerships) and condoned by the public sector contribute to the preferred invisibility of certain members of Cape Town's population in the city centre: low income, non-white residents. Skyrocketing residential and commercial property values limits the availability of safe, affordable spaces for homes or small businesses for residents in lower income brackets. Likewise, several city policies have created zones of exclusion for local traders as well as for homeless populations. For example, in February 2004, the City of Cape Town passed a bylaw preventing informal traders (street vendors) from operating in the city centre. According to the mayor, Dan Plato, the bylaw was necessary because street trading began to block walkways in the CBD (Media Global). Additionally, during the 2010 FIFA World Cup, the City of Cape Town received local and international attention for the removal of squatters and homeless people from around the city to an "emergency housing" complex of uniform corrugated iron one-room shacks called "Blikkiesdorp" located 20 miles outside of the city. Built in 2008 to provide temporary shelter for roughly 650 of the approximately 300,000 Captonians awaiting government housing, those resettled in Blikkiesdorp have protested that the area is remote, crime-ridden, and gang-infested. Residents complain of police brutality and night curfews, some claiming that they were forced to move to Blikkiesdorp against their will. News organizations such as National Public Radio in the United States, Skype News and the Guardian in the United Kingdom, and various social justice websites reported that residents believed their relocation to Blikkiesdorp to be a direct result of efforts on the part of local officials to hide evidence of poverty and homelessness from international visitor's during the event, although Cape Town officials and City Improvement District board members refute

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the contention that anyone has been moved to Blikkiesdorp against their will (npr.org).  The

implication of such urban policies is that visible poverty is evidence of chaos, messiness,

disorder, and inequality which are not elements of a "world class" city.  The actions taken by

the city appear to represent a desire to emulate specific notions of cosmopolitanism tied to

Western aesthetics and concepts of order.

Discourse on the basis of exclusion in Cape Town has shifted from race to class in the

post-apartheid era.  This shift in exclusion is often discussed in academic work (see Pirie),

yet has not generated the same societal governmental concern or moral outrage as race-based

exclusionary practices generate. However, because the spatial and economic structures in

Cape Town have not shifted much since the end of apartheid, economics-based exclusionary

practices often conceal de facto race-based exclusionary practices.  The re-branding and

rejuvenation of Cape Town's city center is moving toward a parallel conditional

cosmopolitanism that creates spaces of conviviality for some, while certain undesirable or

threatening bodies are excluded from such spaces.

The tensions that emerge between salsa and jazz highlight a complex, persistent

relationship between the Cape Town City Centre and the Cape Flats that developed before

apartheid.  Mapped onto concepts of cosmopolitanism and inclusivity in the City Centre are

particular values that recognize the presence of certain people and activities and

forgive/ignore the absence of others.  Some Capetonians feel as if they do not belong in the

city centre because they are subtly told that they do not belong in town. For example,

although apartheid era restrictions on mobility have been overturned, jazz and salsa dancers

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based on the Cape Flats or in the suburbs outside of the city centre explain that economic and symbolic factors continue to affect mobility and the ways in which people participate in nightlife dance scenes in Cape Town. Based on numerous conversations with both jazz dancers and with salsa dancers living far outside the city centre, mobility is dependent on the affordability of transportation. Getting around Cape Town safely at night often means having access to private transportation—minibus taxis, buses, and trains usually stop running after dark. Because a cab fare from the Cape Flats to town can cost anywhere from R300 to R400 round trip, people tend to rely on their own private cars or lifts from friends to carry them out at night. With the price of petrol increasing, and with a desire to consume alcohol, many people opt to attend clubs close to their neighborhoods so that they do not have to travel far from home. Steve, as the owner of a popular jazz club on the Cape Flats, speculates that the person who goes out clubbing in town generally has more access to disposable income than the person who stays in the suburbs to club.

At the same time, several dancers who were interested in taking salsa classes or in attending salsa social in the city centre admit to not feeling welcome or accepted in the salsa scene. One dancer claimed that a salsa instructor gruffly told him that he was not moving his feet properly and that he needed to take classes. The dancer felt patronized and rarely attends salsa parties in town as a result of that encounter. Instead, he prefers to dance his salsa step at jazz clubs like the Westend and the G-Spot where I met him.

In a way, the cape jazz clubs solve the mobility issue because they are located within the communities of most of their patrons. For this reason, participants do not have to contend

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with cash flow problems before pay day in order to attend these clubs.  They also are less

likely to encounter police road blocks on the way home from local clubs.  In these ways,

problems of immobility and feeling out of place can be disguised behind proximity.

Likewise, patrons can use their lack of cash as an excuse to "stay local" in order to conceal

their fear of feeling out of place in city centre clubs.

Through particular notions of cosmopolitanism, the City Centre becomes associated

with globalism, the "high life," and the event of "going out."  The Cape Flats often remains

associated with marginality, memory, and resilience, as well as comfort and familiarity for

some.  Of course, while these categories can be fluid and porous, meaning can often

momentarily become stuck.  However, as I outline in the next section, because these

meanings are constantly evolving and changing, the confrontation, negotiation, contestation

of these meanings and spaces describe acts of participation, struggles for belonging and the

rights to the city.


## SPACES OF ENCOUNTER


The following section of analysis examines the ways in which collective affective

spaces are created and navigated through contestation, negotiation, and collaboration in

everyday practices and encounters in the city.  The micro-politics of everyday spaces in the

city are "as much lived in the body as [they are] written in law" (Tonkiss 2005, 59).  It is

therefore imperative that we examine embodied practices in the city as a way of

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understanding these micro-political processes and encounters with difference. Dance scenes are ideal spaces for examinations of everyday embodied encounters with difference, and for investigations of the creation of urban spaces of belonging. As I mentioned in previous chapters, much of the discussion about urban encounters and the right to the city focuses on interactions in and struggles over public space (see Amin 2002; Jacobs 1996; Watson 2006; Valentine 2008; Mitchell 2003).

Tonkiss (2005) outlines three categories of public spaces. First, he discusses the square, a space provided and protected by the state for collective belonging. Ideally, access to the square is free and open to all inhabitants of the city equally. As a public space, the square is "premised on the notion of the public as a political community and a claim to spaces as a simple expression of citizenship," thus "common spatial rights are an everyday aspect of social and political belonging" (p67).

Second, Tonkiss describes the café as a category of public space that may, in fact, be privately owned and regulated, but provides patrons with the feeling of being out in public. For Tonkiss, cafés are sites of social exchange, and he refers to Habermas' discussion of the role that 18th century European coffee-houses (as well as the expansion of newspapers, postal services, and popular literature) played in the development of bourgeoisie public sphere. Habermas envisioned cafés as sites where participants discuss each other's political needs, desires, and concerns in order to arrive at rational consensus through debate (Healy 2006, 52). Descriptions of the public spaces as sites that inspire the gathering of citizens in order to openly discuss and debate the public issues and policies on the one hand, and as a site of

social encounter and communication on the other, are perhaps the most dominant scholarly

understandings of public space (Pachenkov Voronkova 2010; see also Hannah Arendt,

Richard Sennett, Ervin Goffman, Clifford Geertz).  Tonkiss claims, of course, that today's

cafés have not lost the "bourgeois sentimentality" of their 18th century counterparts in terms

of which "public" these spaces serve—he points out that the "liberal latte" is a caricature

conjured by conservative or right-wing elements to attach elitist images to certain political

ideologies.   The café model of public space represents an "unsteady boundary between

public and private space" where access and inclusion is usually attached to economic

consumption—most cafés assume that purchasing a cup of coffee or a snack item earns one

the privilege to sit and enjoy the venue (72).

Finally, Tonkiss identifies the street as the third form of public space.  Sophie Watson

argues that, contrary to Habermas's conceptualization, the public sphere "is not just about

'talk;' it concerns bodies and their micro-movements" (2006, 6). Public space is often

discussed as space where people gather and stay for some time (Pachenkov and Voronkova

2010).  In contrast, the street, for Tonkiss, is a site of informal, "marginal" encounters and

minimal interaction among strangers.   In order to describe these informal interactions among

strangers in public space, Tonkiss refers to Jane Jacobs's work on the "ballet of the streets"

in which people navigate, often non-verbally, the presence and movement of other bodies in

close proximity as they move through urban pathways.   Likewise, Tonkiss discusses Elijah

Anderson's notion of "streetwise" behavior to navigate informal encounters and perceptions

of race and class among strangers on the streets of Philadelphia.  Anderson discusses the

significant role that the subtleness of eye contact, body posture, and "civil inattention" plays in negotiating the street.

Of course, the notion of public space is premised upon the ideal of free and equal access, yet in reality, public spaces are often subject to exclusionary practices where undesirable or transgressive elements are subtly or explicitly prohibited or removed (see Cresswell 2006, Sibly 1995, Mitchell 2003). Likewise, cities all over the world are rapidly adopting neoliberal policies in order to achieve world city status in a competitive globalizing economy. Residents and scholars are becoming increasingly concerned with the erosion of traditional urban public spaces in privatizing cities (see Davis 1992). South Africa is no different. Studies by McDonald (2008), Turok (2001), and Pirie (2007) have demonstrated that post-apartheid neoliberal restructuring has not only increasingly transferred control over the logic of public space to the private sector, but has perpetuated spatial inequalities associated with apartheid engineering. According to Frank Miraftab, in striving for the ideal of a global city designation, urban space is often restructured to the detriment of social and spatial integration, often emphasizing class instead of race as the basis for exclusion (2007).

In reflecting on the inclusivity of salsa and cape jazz dance scenes in the city, the lines between public and private spaces in terms of intimacy and access become blurred. Julia Hornberger discusses the transformation of the Johannesburg urban landscape at night. She argues that one can get the mistaken impression that nightlife in Johannesburg takes place "within closed and inside spaces". She asserts, however, that "the illumination of streets and the light of bars and music pouring out onto the pavement dissolve the boundaries

between the inside and the outside of a street and create inner spaces contrasting in light and life with the rest of the city" (290).

While Hornberger's assessment may be true, while music and light may escape the club and contribute to the vibe of the street at night, most of the excitement, the energy, and the activity that occur inside clubs' space are often out of reach of passersby, and the rights of admission are reserved. When selecting a venue to host salsa events, salsa instructors are primarily concerned with decent floor space and texture for dancing, a strong sound system, and a central, convenient location. Other benefits include such characteristics as classy décor and lighting, an inexpensive bar, and a lounge area. Interestingly, one salsa instructor and events planner stated that preferred salsa venues would have access to the street in popular nightlife spots around town so that they would attract non-salsa dancers to the venue to drink, to participate in the creation of a vibe/spectacle, and to (with any luck) sign up for salsa lessons with one of the instructors. However, the majority of salsa venues between 2006 and 2011 (specifically those open between 2009 and 2011) were located in popular nightlife districts (Long Street, in Greenpoint, and on Camps Bay beach front), but were situated on the second floor of buildings. Most of these venues are disconnected from an exchange with street culture and passing pedestrian traffic. While several venues have balconies or windows enabling participants on the inside to look out and down onto the street life below, upstairs windows provide little possibility for the engagement of passers-by. The sound of the music, in contrast, does travel to the streets below. However, just because people on the street can hear the music, does not mean that they are welcome to engage with the music and share experiences with dancers inside the club. For example, I was sitting at the bottom of

the staircase in the foyer of one of the weekday salsa venues off of Long Street one night

waiting for a friend when a man entered from the street.  He told the bouncer that he heard

the music and was moved by it.  He wanted permission to quickly go upstairs and ask the DJ

more about the music and where he could buy it.  The bouncer told the man he would have to

pay R30 before entering the club, and the man left without paying to participate and without

furthering his salsa experience at that club.  Other salsa clubs located at street level often

have entrances and windows that gaze out onto empty sidewalks or lonely parking lots

(Doppio Zero, Que Pasa).

In contrast to the salsa clubs, the most popular cape jazz nightclubs have no windows

enabling patrons to look out onto city streets or to allow passers-by to look in at the activity

on the dance floor.  The lack of windows contributes to an inside cozy, cocoon-like feeling

for participants and facilitates the sense of escape that cape jazz dancers emphasized, was so

important during apartheid.  Perhaps not being able to look out onto the outside world allows

patrons to momentarily forget or let go of the worries and stresses of everyday life.  Because

the Westend is in a neighborhood, there is not the same sense of geographical isolation that

clubs like the G-Spot (located in an industrial area) and the Living Room (located in a

commercial area) have.  Yet all are removed from the high energy nightlife environment of

Long Street, Greenpoint, and other active areas in the city centre.

Additionally, cape jazz dancing clubs tend to be venues away from town that have

been dedicated to jazz or jazz nights for years, or even decades as with the Westend.  Popular

salsa venues (except for Que Pasa, which advertises itself as a salsa club) are generally

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located in restaurants and bars in town.  With the exception of Buena Vista, which hosts the longest-standing salsa evening in Cape Town, salsa schools or instructors have negotiated special nights for salsa with venue managers.  This agreement is usually contingent upon the ability of salsa to increase the visibility and the profits of the venue, although, as I will discuss in more detail below, these endeavors do not often succeed and can be very short-lived.

Salsa and jazz nightclubs are semi-public spaces that emphasize emotive, embodied social interactions.  Like the café, the nightclub is usually privately owned and managed, yet gives patrons a sense of being "out in public."  Although it does not hold the same bourgeois/elite reputation as the café, the nightclub as a semi-public form of collective space is often more rigorously policed than cafés in the form of dress codes and cover charges. Bouncers enforce appropriate and acceptable codes of appearance and etiquette.  Nightclubs are often the staging grounds for intimate moments of encounter with difference.  Within nightclubs, some interactions seem marginal and ephemeral, much like the encounters on the street that Tonkiss describes.  Other embodied interactions are intimate and intense, if for only a moment.  Participants navigate the club space (often without speaking)—they often silently communicate interest to desired potential dance partners while skillfully avoiding others. Desire or disinterest among dancers is often also communicated through bodily expression before it is verbally expressed. The fluid and codependent categories of dancers and spectators frequently engage in mutually beneficial exchange of energy in the space. The amalgamation of individual nightclubs across space and time form a dancescape.  Within

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a dancescape, new spaces for dancing are constantly opening and closing for a variety of reasons; venues and music styles come into and fall out of favor.

## AFFECT, TERRITORY, & EMBODIED NEGOTIATIONS IN THE CITY

In the cape jazz and salsa dance scenes, the establishment of networks, memories, and territory are all part of the transformation of mundane urban spaces through emotion and memory into spaces of belonging and attachment. Cameron Duff (2010) offers an alternative approach to understanding the development of private spaces of belonging. Duff does not explicitly define private spaces in terms of a category of legal or official property ownership; instead she implies that these spaces are transformed through "affective labor" into spaces of intimacy and belonging in which ownership is acquired through personal attachment to place. She explains the ways in which youth in Vancouver territorialize public spaces like parks, malls, beaches, and cafés in order to carve out private spaces for themselves. In this section, I explore the role of memory, emotion, and struggle in establishing "private" spaces of belonging in Cape Town's salsa and jazz nightclubs.

Dance is a body moving, feeling, and responding to rhythmic sounds, frequency, and energy. It is the flow of energy and the transmission of affect among bodies that creates a particular *vibe* in a space. Bodies, according to Spinoza, are more than just human bodies, but can be objects or places as well. This affective confluence of bodies in motion, energy (generated, in part, by attitudes and movement), sound, and light creates vibrations, a vibe

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that attaches sentiment to place.  It is the process of attaching sentiments and memories to places that creates spaces of belonging in cities.

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, using Edward Casey's concept of "thick" and "thin" places, Duff examines the ways in which youth transform indistinctive "thin" places into meaningful, "thick" places imbued with memory, identity, and attachment.  According to Duff, the "affective rendering of place also involves a memorialisation in and of place--an implacement of memory, feeling, and capacities" (892). It is through affect, she argues, that "fragments of subjectivity, memory, and purpose are deposited in place," creating "thick" places of meaning, attachment, and belonging (892).

During the apartheid era, there were few official sites (memorials, monuments, and museums) for commemorative memory of times and places that existed before forced removals; commemorative memories remained oral until the end of apartheid (Trotter 2006). Jazz clubs, for many, became unofficial sites for commemorative memory.  Embodied narratives are told through the movement and interaction of cape jazz dancing.  In such sites, a collective identity narrative is created about the history, survival, and resilience of a certain segment of the coloured population.  Because cape jazz clubs and dancing developed within a specific historical and social context on the Cape Flats, jazz clubs in these areas became "thick places" through affective rendering; sites of meaning, memory, identity, and solidarity for jazz practitioners.  The Westend, for example, has been a gathering place for generations of dancers.

In addition, according to participant's anecdotes as well as my own experiences, the contemporary cape jazz dancing scene is located not only in nightclubs, but is also practiced in living rooms during family events, at evening parties held at local primary schools, at countless hole-in-the wall bars and clubs, and at large open-air jazz events featuring local artists, all of which are common and important practices in terms of forming a sense of collective identity and memory. However, I am focusing on clubs as sites of encounter with a broader urban politics of difference that does not happen in the same way at home. Jazz club dancers negotiate urban policies of licensing, liquor regulations, and law enforcement. They encounter different attitudes and movements (salsa dancers, for example) that threaten encroachment and force jazz dancers to defend jazz spaces and movements, and to position themselves in relation to an Other. Nevertheless, the cultivation of collective memory and attachment to place transform jazz clubs like the Westend and G-Spot into "thick" public spaces of belonging; collective affective spaces, that like the jazz dancing, are to be defended from hostile encroachment.

The salsa dancing scene is also defined by the transformation of restaurants and studios into thick spaces of emotional attachment. In contrast to the jazz scene, the more recently developed and diverse salsa scene is shaped less by collective memory formed through past experiences and protection, but rather it has been defined by intense emotive battles for territory and belonging in the city centre. Within the past year, several schools and event producers have attempted to create venues for salsa, however many of these events have been short-lived because they fail to create thick spaces of belonging; spaces to which people are emotionally drawn. The intimacy of community within these private spaces is

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also illusive.  Territorial maneuvers on the part of salsa instructors and event organizers make it difficult for new independent dancers and instructors to emerge and collaborate with existing instructors.  Yet, there is an important difference between the ways in which salsa participants describe a salsa community and the ways in which people articulate a sense of belonging.  The salsa *community* in Cape Town, as participants use the term, describes a core group of dancers and participants who are at most of the salsa events, take (or used to take) salsa courses, and communicate about salsa events and issues via blogs and facebook. A sense of *belonging*, in contrast, describes an emotional connection, a feeling of comfort, home, or family within the salsa scene.  For many salsa dancers, this sense of belonging is elusive because some dancers feel as though their contributions to the salsa community over time are not appreciated outside of an economic context.  The economic policies, processes of venue selection, and the territorial maneuverings of instructors and event organizers also work to ensure that the salsa community is not as inclusive as it is narrated.  Likewise, the seemingly petty conflicts and contestations over territory among the salsa elite disrupt the possibility of cosmopolitanism that the practice of salsa proposes.

## SALSA POLITICS

Politics are social relations involving intrigue to gain authority or power or control. The creation, negotiation, and contestation of urban space, even for something so seemingly benign as dance space can elucidate understandings of how people experience the city. The salsa dancing scene is a window into the ways that people navigate, create, and territorialize

spaces and networks, driven by feelings such as passion, envy, and pride, as well as the need for recognition and belonging.

In many casual conversations, members of the salsa community lament a sinister political element surrounding contestations over space and students on the part of salsa instructors that undermines a sense of community. Kathy describes the behavior on the part of instructors as a "culture of scarcity." She claims that the perception that there is not enough space or not enough students for each instructor to make a satisfactory profit results in highly competitive behavior. Clyde conjectures that, because the community of salsa dancers is not that big numerically, instructors are pulling and tugging over the existing paying clients. Instructors are constantly bickering over party venues, class schedules, and students. Bertram argues that it is the insistence on focusing salsa in the City Centre that causes most of the battles over territory and control. He claims that there are more than enough people in the Cape Town metropolitan area for every instructor to have 100 people in each of their classes if instructors could learn to cooperate.

This relates directly to the geography of the dance. I taught in Mitchell's Plain, and there are people who want to learn salsa. They can't afford to come to town and some can't even afford to come to class. There are people in Khayalitcha and Kuils Rivier who want to learn. If you look at the bigger picture of that kind of growth, we can develop a strong network and a strong community.… And maybe that will put us out there more prominently. It's sad that there will be a salsa club and there will be 20 people there on a Saturday night. We need to look at that aspect and figure out how the long term of salsa will be developed.

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A language of possession and protection is so candid and pervasive among instructors that the notion of 'poaching' students, staff, and performers is explicitly written into and warned against in the Salsa South Africa code of conduct, a document that outlines appropriate behavior for members of the Salsa South Africa alliance. In other words, salsa instructors accuse their colleagues of cajoling students away to join classes elsewhere. Students are territorialized: often treated by instructors as objects without agency—as means to fulfill economic ends. Addison admits that collaboration among teachers is difficult yet necessary economically because it is important for all of the salsa instructors to encourage their students to attend salsa events, thereby simultaneously raising the profile and the profits of salsa in Cape Town. Profits from parties mean that salsa schools can afford to market classes and events thereby growing the salsa scene by being able to afford better venues and provide better performances. Addison claims that these profits are "all about lifting the face of salsa." The directors of two of the most prominent salsa schools staunchly support charging participants for salsa socials and are vehemently opposed to free venues (such as bars and restaurants that provide DJ music and a space for dancing for free in order to create a "vibe") for salsa dancing. Addison asserts that these venues do "nothing to help salsa grow—we may get a few students from it, but the real winners are the venue owners and management." Although he dances at Buena Vista, he argues that Buena Vista is "making money off the back of salsa and not giving anything back." Addison insists that in order to raise the standard of salsa dancing in Cape Town, then "people have to see [salsa] as something of [monetary] value." Addison believes that unless people pay for salsa services (parties, classes, performances), the salsa community will never respect the value of salsa in

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their lives.  In fact, following the grand opening of the new Buena Vista near the Waterfront, Addison lamented in a Facebook post about the lack of space on the new dance floor, claiming that if salsa dancers want to dance with plenty of space to move, they "need to pay for it," encouraging the viewers of this Facebook post to attend his parties at Deluxe in order "to slot, shine, and style" (for R30). One of the salsa regulars replied to his comment that she believed that Addison should "lighten up" and accuses him of having "forgotten what it's like to just have fun at/with salsa".

Richard believes that salsa social events should be controlled by salsa schools, "the people who care about their students." In his interview, Richard implies that salsa schools look after the best interests of their students instead of being driven only by financial gain. He cites one of his reasons for opening Que Pasa is his belief that businesses not dedicated to dancing exploit dancers for monetary gain.  Not all salsa instructors share this point of view. Brandon, another instructor with one of the major salsa schools, wishes that dedicated salsa clubs could generate the same vibe and excitement that Buena Vista generates, but he believes that Buena Vista positively contributes to the growth and development of the salsa scene: "That place is an institution and I think it's gonna last for salsa … a lot of people that want to start dancing go and check it out there.  I know a lot of people whose first time ever salsa-ing was at BV."

When Fiesta's salsa Fridays ceased after the restaurant closed in 2010, it left a vacuum in the salsa scene.  Salsa schools that recently made their salsa socials free began charging entrance again.  A few months after Fiesta closed, several salsa stakeholders attempted to revive a salsa Friday night.  All of these endeavors failed for economic reasons:

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not enough members of the salsa crowd showed up and of those who attended the parties, not enough people spent money at the bar.   Increasingly, there are few establishments interested in supporting salsa parties because venue managers do not feel as though they will make enough money from salsa.  Many salsa dancers do not spend enough money on food and alcohol for the venue to recover the costs of hiring a salsa DJ and sound equipment.  Most dancers find it uncomfortable to dance on a full stomach, and drinking makes intricate turn patterns and multiple turns difficult to execute without getting dizzy.  According to Bertram, venues do not support salsa parties because "salsa is not supporting the venue."

Amy, who teaches a style of salsa blended with cape jazz, says that as a member of the jazz community she feels as though she always got something back from jazz venues, whether it was discounted drink specials, free entrance, or organized outings. Salsa instructors, she believes, seem to "just want, want, want."  Clyde, who teaches salsa both in town and in Grassy Park, criticizes the salsa schools in town for charging R50 for salsa events because his suburbs-based students have to pay for petrol on top of drinks at the bar, making it expensive to attend these salsa events.  Junior, who teaches in the Northern suburbs, claims that some of his fellow instructors "are teaching for the money—money is the root of all evil. Nothing good can come from that." Despite the general perception among instructors of the economic benefits of collaboration, salsa events are approached with cold cooperation at best and deliberate sabotage at worst, resulting in poorly attended, lack-luster events. Interestingly, it is the instructors based in the city center who insist upon for-profit events over free venues, and it is the city center-based instructors who quarrel most fiercely over venues, students, class times, and parties.  Bertram is concerned with the inner workings

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of salsa and the image that salsa presents to those outside the community. "On the surface, everything is all friendly and nice, but everyone is trying to get ahead ….The internal mechanisms in play right now is something that is making other people see that 'these guys aren't serious'—that is doing the most damage." Many instructors explain to me that these tiffs result from perceptions of a saturated salsa market, a sentiment that echoes the culture of scarcity argument that Kathy suggests. However, I argue that these economic arguments conceal deeper emotional politics of territory, pride, and *shadenfreude*—all tied to power, recognition, and control.

In October 2006, Richard organized and hosted a three-day salsa festival in order to introduce salsa (and, of course, Que Pasa) to a wider Cape Town audience as well as to inspire existing salsa students from all studios by providing workshops, live music, and social dancing opportunities in public spaces, like the amphitheater on the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront. The festival was considered successful by participants, but since that event, there has been little incentive on the part of instructors to collaborate on the creation of additional festivals. Kathy, a dedicated Que Pasa student, in order to legislate collaboration among instructors, proposed establishing an organization which would work toward "encouraging exchanges of information and being accountable to the salsa community" (Salsa South Africa website). Kathy's motivation for facilitating the formation of Salsa South Africa is to alleviate problematic competition among instructors that inhibits the growth of the salsa community. She asserts that "the salsa community does not grow since I've been here—I think because of this culture of scarcity." She suggests that salsa schools do not collaborate to sponsor larger salsa events because of a suspicion that one school will

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make more money than the others.  Therefore instructors withhold support or sabotage the events of other schools.

The Salsa South Africa initiative produced an alliance among Cape Town salsa instructors to avoid the double-booking of classes and events that has resulted in financial strain on the salsa community.  The idea behind the alliance was to "bring scattered efforts together" to benefit all salsa schools. Salsa instructors agreed that the responsibility of hosting Saturday salsa parties would be rotated among the three largest salsa schools.  This alliance of existing salsa instructors, however, is also a product of territorial processes designed to exclude new initiatives and to protect existing instructors as the salsa elite.  Even within the alliance, there is a general mistrust of intentions among instructors that makes collaboration disingenuous at best.  Richard describes his distrust of the other instructors: "I'd like to say that salsa will come together…, but it's based around the teachers and every teacher has got…agendas, and agendas are never transparent as much as you might want them to be."

Salsa event coordinator Jacque explains the fragile nature of communication and cooperation among salsa instructors and the tendency to get mired in petty infighting over boundaries and possession of students, staff, and spaces.  As an unwelcome member of the salsa alliance, Jacque wrote a letter to other salsa school directors and alliance members in July of 2009 stating:

> I feel soon there will be growing pressure coming from other great people within the community to organise their own events, I believe we don't want them to feel

excluded and branching out and start double booking evenings and all the shit we have just managed to calm down…I believe we should really talk about how will we have an organisation flexible enough to allow … Tamara and her girls, and others guys all tempted by the experience of bringing their own vision of social salsa.

Jacque warned me that, as an ethnographer, as well as a semi-professional salsa dancer, performer, and event organizer, I had officially entered the salsa environment, and my "words, actions and decision will have impacts." He then strongly advised me to work with other alliance teachers to "build a salsa community" (personal communication, 2009). However, until July of 2010, my requests for access to the Salsa South Africa instructor meetings had been denied as well as access to the minutes of the proceedings of these meetings. When I requested a Saturday to host an event for the debut of an all-female salsa dance company, my request was ignored by the alliance of instructors. After negotiating with one of the salsa schools for their Saturday, this debut performance party was shunned by a different salsa school because we chose not to have the party at its studio. On a different occasion, a former Latin Dance champion wanted to host a salsa charity event benefiting an orphanage in the Cape Flats. He was warned by one of the salsa schools that he was not allowed to host such an event without requesting permission from the salsa alliance. Jacque was perhaps most upset about issues of jealously he faced when operating in the scene. Other instructors, he claimed, did not like anyone to be more successful within the salsa scene than they were. Even after he made it clear to the instructors that he did not want to teach, and therefore was not competing as a teacher, Jacque felt as though the salsa instructors were working to exclude him and to prevent him from succeeding. He eventually

gave up trying to organize a salsa community, claiming that—"it can't be a community because the main people don't want to be a community….In the end the challenges were bigger than the rewards. It was not worth it."

As a new salsa instructor, Junior said of the alliance of instructors:

At first glance when you come into salsa—everything is warm, everything is fun, everything is happy, everyone is on a nice vibe, everyone doesn't have anything with anyone.  But once you get into the salsa community…behind closed doors, you start to see…lot of politics.  People… think they can control things…they get wrapped up in this whole thing of they are the best and everyone must listen to them.  Basically, if you don't pose a threat to anyone, you are more than likely to get along with everyone and everyone will be fine with you.  As soon as you start to pose a threat to someone, as if you are better than them, or you are doing something differently, or you are attracting more people to your classes, me specifically as an instructor, people start to push themselves away from you, or draw you closer…and try to control you by doing that.  Give you a sense of family, sense of security by doing that.  Almost like a gang….So they pull you in to what they are doing so that they kind of limit your potential, because they are scared of what you are doing, so they would rather take you in then leave you out there.  So if they see that you are not going to be easily fooled, they tend to do things to spite you….I wouldn't say that I've got alliances with anyone.  I do my own thing.

The Salsa South Africa alliance was intended to create spaces of inclusion and collaboration among salsa schools and participants; however, in its eventual corrupted form, members of Salsa South Africa created suspicion among instructors and zones of exclusion. This alliance was one element in a process of delineating and protecting territory.

## TERRITORIALITY

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In her essay on territoriology (the science of territory), sociologist Andrea Mubi Brighenti defines territory as a practice rather than a physical space; it defines spaces through patterns of relationships of power among people (2010). Territoriology is an analytical tool to describe a social sphere or a social process. Brighenti argues that it is the imagined nature of territory that enables distinction and recognition, and, while the act of boundary-drawing is often invisible, it is implicated in the creation of ordered social relations. Therefore it is significant to interrogate who is drawing the boundary, how and why this boundary is being constructed, and what kind of drawing is being made. In the process of territorialization, inclusion and exclusion are not rigid categories, yet they define the formation of social groups and networks. Importantly, territories are affective; they facilitate the spread of "moods, attitudes, desires, [and] beliefs" (58). Brighenti points out that "reorganizing and gathering together correspond, respectively, to the extensive and the intensive dimension of territories. While the extensive dimension creates distancing and distances, the intensive dimension creates affections and affects" (64). Respect plays an important role in territorial relationships because its expressive-affective nature organizes the intensive aspect of territory while also maintaining the distance extensively. The emotional practices and processes of territoriality are illustrated in the Cape Town salsa scene.

I suggest that actions that may be explained in economic terms are often about more than economics. Following Brighenti's conceptualization of territory, territories in the Cape Town salsa scene are drawn through relationships of power and struggles over respect, recognition, and control. Instructors and producers are passionately defending their positions as the salsa elite. Frequently, emotive responses like envy, pride, and *schadenfreunde* drive

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actions such as slander, sabotage, and secrecy.  These emotions are often manifested as territorial processes of boundary-drawing either to protect (i.e. venues, spaces, students, staff, events, moves, and other ideas) or to exclude (i.e. new talent that cannot be incorporated or made to conform to the alliance's code of conduct).

Salsa dancers often territorialize dance floor space through micro-practices and subtle maneuvers in order to communicate legitimacy and to position themselves against other dancer/dance schools.   I have noticed, for example, cross-body instructors who roll their eyes dramatically or perform exaggerated gestures of irritation when they are bumped by other dancers on the floor.  This posturing is intended to demonstrate that the other dancer does not practice "proper floor craft."  The dance floor and dancers are territorialized in other ways as well.  For example, Junior and I were dance partners briefly.  In our short partnership, he became increasingly concerned that I not dance with certain people for fear that, through me, these other dancers will steal Junior's moves.   For a while, I had to skillfully maneuver on the dance floor, carefully avoiding the eyes and bodies of certain dancers so as not to offend my partner.  Junior would avoid certain places where he believed people were prone to "biting" or stealing moves without crediting him.

In December 2009, Mario, the owner of Doppio Zero, a trendy restaurant in the city centre, approached me to assist him in hosting a Latin music event at his venue on Saturday nights in order to create a vibe similar to popular free salsa venues like Buena Vista and Fiesta. Danny's restaurant is located in Mandela Rhodes Place, the R1 billion renovation project at the top of St George's Mall in the CBD (Pirie 2007).  According to Mario, his establishment receives sufficient daytime traffic from office workers but is relatively quiet in

the evenings and on weekends after business hours.  Located two blocks from popular

nightlife spots on Long Street, St. George's Mall and Mandela Rhodes Place are not known

for late night restaurants and bars.  Inspired by his dancing experiences at Fiesta and Buena

Vista, Mario articulated his interest in not only creating a celebratory atmosphere, an intimate

feeling, and a positive dining experience at his restaurant, but also elevating his brand name

and attracting paying customers to Doppio Zero on the weekends.

I proposed the idea of a free, once-a-month, performance-based salsa event to a small

group of DJs, performers, and non-allied instructors who began to help me organize the

event.  The goal of this endeavor was to create a politics-free platform for salsa-related

performance.   Because the regular salsa parties had stagnated, the organizing committee

wanted to stimulate the scene in terms of community-building, energetic, inspirational, and

fun Saturday night events.   I was warned by several of the organizers that we should not

reveal any of the details of the party to the salsa alliance until all of the details were in place.

Mario negotiated corporate sponsorship for the performance events through a well-known

alcoholic beverage supplier.  Originally, I suggested that the events be held on a monthly

basis; however, it was in the economic interests of both restaurant, the corporate sponsor

(who wanted Doppio Zero to sell 36 cases of Bacardi per month), and the DJ to hold free

Latin music events every Saturday.  The organizers of these events (myself included) were

admonished by the salsa alliance for "messing in their territory" and for not seeking their

permission before organizing the first party.  After the success of the first event, Mario was

approached by different instructors who proposed either different music events on the same

night or salsa events on different nights.  When he explained that he was committed to the

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Saturday night salsa event, he was shunned by one of the instructors with whom he was taking classes at the time. After they heard that the parties would be happening weekly, instructors argued that a free party would put their R50 parties out of business. One instructor suggested that free salsa parties will cause him to lose some paying clients, but he put more emphasis on his concern that he will "lose face" among his party patrons if his parties loose clients. As a last resort, the Saturday performance event was slandered by alliance members and its organizers became the subjects of personal attacks. The event lasted for only three months.

Salsa South Africa instructors insist that the organization of 'outsider' events threaten the economic viability of salsa schools, and competitive behavior is often justified as "just business" as schools protect their economic interests. Likewise, instructors mention that the behavior behind accusations of stealing venues and poaching students can be excused as economic competition. The economic argument is a relatively painless position to defend— conflicts among various salsa schools and instructors are explained in terms of an established, pre-defined, bounded concept of economic struggle. Therefore, the notion of difference that is created in the salsa scene becomes homogenized along a pre-set economic category such that valid critiques that may surface or differences that may emerge in the scene are negated or subverted by this economic rationalization for actions taken. While economic arguments are often made to explain and justify territorial behavior, I hypothesize that there is a deeper emotional motivation behind such maneuvering, particularly because instructors often act in ways that are counter to their economic interests to hinder the success of other schools. Instructors discuss the behavior of other salsa schools in terms of

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"betrayal" and "back-stabbing"—words that are often reserved for deep emotional sentiments. More than people's economic livelihoods are at stake--pride, prestige, status, and recognition are entangled with salsa.  What is at stake in these interactions is beyond economics; it is the power to create, influence and control space.

These practices of territorialization on the part of instructors generate general disgust among salsa participants, affecting the ways that people sense a salsa community.  Yet the desire for attachment or belonging, the sense of satisfaction and pride that comes from performing, disgust that salsa politics generate, the envy of another dancer's abilities, all drive movement, participation, and creation in the city.

## PARTICIPATION AND THE RIGHT TO THE CITY

Not only are the individual clubs sites of encounter, but several clubs highlighting the same dance style (salsa, for example) combine to form a dance scene.  Several dance scenes combine to form a dancescape, both of which are also sites of encounter with difference. Often personal relationships (either friendly, economically advantageous, or acrimoniously competitive), movements, networks, and meanings are formed across and attached to dance scenes and dancescapes as well as dance clubs.  It is the affective process of generating through movement and *participation*, collective emotional experiences, memories, and meanings and conferring these upon clubs, scenes, and dancescapes that creates "thick" spaces of belonging in the city.  I argue that both cape jazz and salsa dance clubs in Cape

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Town are spaces of encounter in the city where people with different backgrounds, values, agendas, memories of the past and visions for the future come into close, intimate contact. Though not always fully resolved, these differences are confronted, discussed, and negotiated. Conflicts frequently arise, agreements are reached, alliances are formed and broken and new negotiations begin. These interactions are intensified by the embodied, intimate, and creative nature of social dancing, as well as though the affective rendering of spaces, relationships, and movements. The memories and significance attached to dance spaces and practices are powerful motivators for passionate participation in and protection of dance territories, movements, and meanings. These conflicts, struggles, negotiations, and maneuverings are all part and parcel of the right to the city.

As outlined in Chapter 2, Henri Lefebvre believed that the "right to the city" refers not only to the right to urban services but also the right to inhabit and transform urban space and thus to become a creator of the city. For Lefebvre, the city should be explored as a work of art constantly created and recreated in the everyday rituals and interactions of urban residents (Fenster 2005b). Lefebvre identifies participation and appropriation as important components of the right to the city (1996, 174). The right to participation ensures that city dwellers can become involved in decision-making processes that regulate, create, and maintain urban space (Lefebvre 1968 in Kofman and Lebas 1996: 174). The right of appropriation entitles the city's inhabitants to "physically access, occupy, and use urban space" (Purcell 2002).

Examining dancescapes reveals the ways in which people participate in the creation of urban social spaces. The tension that I have described between the jazz and salsa dance scenes are also expressions of collective memory and lived experiences; about whose matter and how these should be represented. Within the salsa scene, emotive and territorial maneuverings are often not only about economics, but also about recognition, belonging, and the power to create and control space and interactions. This process of contestation, collaboration, and negotiation, of space, bodies, and meaning describes acts of participation in the shaping of urban space; the rights to the city.

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the rights to the city are constrained by actions taken by public and private sectors to, intentionally or inadvertently, create zones that exclude large sections of Cape Town's population. Ideally, the right of appropriation challenges exclusionary spaces in the city. Participants in jazz and salsa scenes appropriate spaces in the city for themselves. However, in both of the scenes I mention, these spaces of appropriation do not often operate outside the regulatory framework of Cape Town's urban policies. For example, Cape Town's salsa venues are privately owned semi-public spaces, and when these venues become scarce or difficult to maintain, the salsa community does not appropriate public spaces such as parks, beaches, sidewalks to dance (the possibility of this has been discussed as a marketing strategy, but not practiced as an organic or grassroots expression of creativity, community, or a *need* to dance.) As outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, dance venues and scenes are influenced by economic trends and urban regulation such as shifts in tourism hotspots, elevated property values, increases in surveillance and security, as well as changes in licensing policy, zoning, and ordinances. The major salsa venues seem to operate within

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these. In contrast, during apartheid, many jazz clubs often bent or subverted urban policies governing liquor licensing and racial segregation. Currently, however, the most popular jazz venues, like salsa venues, do not challenge policy frameworks as radically. Like salsa dancers, jazz dancers do not seem interested in appropriating space in the city centre for jazz. When the Jazzathon, the only free large-scale jazz event in Cape Town was cancelled for lack of funding in January of 2010 after 14 years of operation, there was no major outcry from fans. There was no push to appropriate space in the city centre (or anywhere else) for similar free concerts. The ways in which policy is negotiated (or ignored—in which case risk is negotiated), meaning is attached to movement, and difference is accepted or contested are all aspects of the rights to the city.

Don Mitchell argues that cities are made and remade through struggles with difference, and that the right to the city relies upon access to public space. I argue that these struggles are also not only struggles over public space, but, importantly are struggles over the ability to create and access "thick spaces" of belonging in the city—space imbued with meaning and memory for inhabitants. Examining affect and emotion in these spaces allows us to better understand motivations that guide actions and interactions. If we neglect affect and emotion, we miss an important aspect of the creation and negotiation that drives the right to the city.

Territorial maneuvers, network construction, the fixing of memory and meaning to movement and place, and the negotiation of tensions between salsa and jazz describe the processes of reclaiming, re-inventing, and re-creating urban space. These interactions are

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intense yet subtle struggles for belonging in Cape Town.  Encounters in these "thick" spaces might not always lead to resolutions, tolerance, mutual respect, or utopia, but these emotive encounters through dance represent a process in creating and imagining city spaces. In this chapter, I have presented participant narratives of both cape jazz and salsa dance scenes and the meanings attached to these dance practices as they have developed in the Cape Town context.  Cape jazz dancing is embedded in specific experiences of the past:  collective memories of forced removal and marginality, and associations of colouredness.   Cape jazz is often associated with the peripheries of the city, familiarity, and notions of permanence and reluctance to change.  In reality however, cape jazz movements are constantly evolving.  In contrast, in the eyes of its practitioners and spectators, salsa represents Cape Town's present: 'rainbow nation' multiculturalism (however problematic), cosmopolitanism, and middle-class lifestyles.  Salsa represents urbanity because it is city-focused.  Yet in reality, the salsa dancing scene in Cape Town is fraught with conflict, exclusionary practices, and competition. Imaginings of an ideal future for Cape Town must confront and reconcile these differences; recognizing and incorporating both aspects of the city's painful past and its troubled present into a complex vision for Cape Town's future.  Peter Marcuse (2009) reminds readers that Lefebvre's idea of the right to the city does not describe the present city, but instead envisions a future city.  My focus in this analysis is on the rights to the city as a *process;* a continuous movement constantly re-creating and redefining what it means to *live* and *belong* in the city

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# CHAPTER 6

## TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF EMOTIVE CREATION THE RIGHTS TO THE CITY

This dissertation has examined cape jazz and salsa social dance practices in Cape Town, South Africa in an effort to answer three research questions. In the following section, I revisit each of these questions to explore the ways in which the data from this project address each question

*How does examining social dance encounters expand our understanding of participation in the creation of urban space?*

Dance allows us to examine urban participation beyond conventional notions of governance and civic responsibility such as voting activity, involvement in policy-making, and grassroots community organizing. This project investigates the notion of participation as shaping spaces for interaction, creativity, and expression in the city.

Social dance is bodies moving through space, thus these practices necessitate the creation of venues to host dance classes and events. For some participants in Cape Town, these spaces are purely economic: salsa venues provide opportunities for salsa instructors, event organizers, and venue owners to market themselves and earn money. For others, these

venues provide opportunities for people to establish communities of like-minded individuals, to develop new dance skills or demonstrate mastery of dance steps. For example, jazz dancers describe a familial bond with the generations of dancers that have flocked to the Galaxy over the past 30 years.  Salsa dancers discuss the sense of family they feel with other dedicated members of the salsa scene. For many, social dance venues offer escape from discrimination and the stresses of everyday life.  This finding is especially prevalent in the cape jazz community, where jazz clubs served as places where participants could escape the humiliation of apartheid policies by getting lost in rhythm for the night.  Therefore, creating venues to host social dance events is also about creating spaces of belonging in cities. Participation is not merely economic, but is also a social and micro-political activity. The ways that dancers negotiate, contest, collaborate in the creation of such spaces describes *participatory* actions. These actions are important aspects of participation and everyday life in cities because participation is relational with the goal of creating, shaping, and transforming spaces of belonging in the city.

The ensuing tensions and disputes that occur between individuals both within and across salsa and jazz dance scenes are struggles over the right to *create* spaces, movements, networks, identities, and memories.  The tensions between jazz and salsa represent opposing imaginaries of Cape Town.  Importantly, these intense struggles reflect battles for the power to make these memories, movements, and identities *matter;* to validate and protect one's

presence in and experiences of the city. Salsa and cape jazz social dance practices enable encounters with difference which may challenge firmly held values and beliefs about bodies, meanings, and experiences that shape world views and memories. Encounters with difference often result in challenges to these beliefs, thus contestations over different dance styles and movements are also often over something else entirely: over how to remember the past, experience the present, and shape and imagine the future. Although encounters with difference are not necessarily harmonious, this does not mean these interactions are not transformative and constantly evolving.

According to David Harvey (2008), "the freedom to make and remake our cities and ourselves is … one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (23). Harvey (2008) conceptualizes Lefebvre's creation more as a political platform and an inspiring slogan than a legally codified practice: The right to the city is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city. Therefore, participation in the conflicts and negotiations that I highlight throughout this dissertation are struggles over the right and the power to create not just spaces of economic empowerment, or even of belonging, but also to explore and shape the *self*.

*What is the role of affect, emotion, and encounter in the ways in which urban spaces are created, claimed, and contested?*

Salsa and jazz social dancing requires intimacy (because it involves close, often sensual contact), connection, and creativity.  Dance is creation, invention, and becoming. Creative, emotive energy is produced, exchanged, and channeled on the dance floor. Processes of territory-making can often stifle creativity and movement; however, dance spaces are constantly challenged, often inspiring new patterns of movement and new emotional attachments.

The emotive qualities of dance and dance scenes are often what make dance participation so politically charged.  Emotions are responses to and drivers of movement, memories, and territorialization.  The transmission of affect and emotion facilitates the cultivation of a collective experience. The processes of territory-making in the salsa scene are not only about control of a social sphere and networks, it is also about the control of bodily movement, both on the dance floor and through the spaces and networks of the larger salsa scene.  It is also about control of creativity—the right to make and remake space. Intense emotional involvement manifests itself in the politics of salsa and jazz dance scenes as instructors and dancers struggle for recognition and status.  Therefore, emotional

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involvement influences behavior, shapes attachments, and inspires navigations and uses of urban space.

Likewise, affect is a precognitive, unarticulated, unstructured experience of intensity transmitted between bodies. Through affective rendering and attachment, participants in Cape Town's salsa and cape jazz scenes negotiate and create spaces of belonging through dance. Dance clubs as spaces of belonging are about feeling comfortable, free, safe, accepted, and even sexy, beautiful, desirable. Ironically, in protecting these spaces of belonging, participants also create places where certain people feel excluded, unwelcome, and out of place.

As Brenda Dixon Gottschild author of *Black Dancing Body* suggests, dance is the purest form of artistic expression. The body is both the canvas and the instrument, thus the art of creative expression through dance is intensely personal and intimate. Through dance, one has the power to define and shape the image of oneself. The practice of self-discovery and communication through dance participation is linked to the desire to share, to connect, to be understood. Because the body facilitates the direct transmission of affect, energy, emotion, and desire through bodily contact, this connection can facilitate the creation of communities and spaces of belonging for people who understand because of shared experiences/beliefs. However, because of the intimate relationship between the body and the means of creative expression (dance), styles of creative expression, when attacked or

threatened, can also be fiercely defended or protected as a means of self-preservation. This is played out in my research in the tension between cape jazz and salsa as styles of creative expression (both individual and collective expression). When cape jazz movement is condemned by salsa dancers, jazz dancers react harshly because, for them, cape jazz has come to symbolize a collective history and memory of resilience among practitioners. Likewise, salsa instructors fiercely defend venues, movements, and students as territory because these are actions taken to protect the pride, power, and recognition that comes from these.

*How are these social spaces and activities affected and regulated by South African national and local government policies, as well as by micro scale practices and attachments?*

As I have outlined in Chapters 3 and 4, national and local policies and urban planning established a context for the development of both the cape jazz and the salsa dance scenes. The apartheid policies such as the Group Areas Act, the Immorality Act, the Separate Amenities Act, and the Liquor Act had a direct impact on the cape jazz dancing scene. These policies determined who could celebrate when, where, how, and with whom. As a result of the Group Areas Act, existing jazz scenes in and around District Six were dispersed to the Cape Flats and the surrounding suburbs. These policies of racial segregation ensured that the practice of cape jazz dancing developed in relative isolation, as travel between coloured areas and neighboring black townships and white neighborhoods was prohibited. Likewise, even

when occasional permission to circumvent the Group Areas Act was granted by the Department of Community Development, interracial dancing was explicitly forbidden, indicating that the intimate, emotive connection that social dancing inspires was especially dangerous to the social ideals of apartheid. The factors of racial segregation in addition to the historical discrimination suffered by members of the coloured population prior to and during forced removal arguably induced a sense of marginality for the majority of jazz practitioners. This sense of marginality produced a need for escape, for solidarity, and for the development of a collective, commemorative memory that celebrates resistance and resilience. Jazz dancers argue for cape jazz as a valid form of cultural expression. For many, participation in cape jazz practices legitimates a cultural identity that is self-generated, not inscribed by the state or denied through the policies of apartheid.

The fall of apartheid and the restructuring of city spaces under new legislative policies did not necessarily change the geography of jazz clubs. The major clubs for jazz dancing are still located in the Cape Flats or in the suburbs. The opening of city spaces post-apartheid did create the opportunity for the emergence of a relatively diverse salsa scene as it exists currently. A dance style linked to international cache, salsa has become associated with desirable middle-class cosmopolitanism in the post-apartheid context. However, both dance scenes are entangled in the urban politics of neoliberal policies, privatizing spaces, gentrification, and urban renewal, all of which create spaces of exclusion.

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Since the Mandela administration, the South African national government shifted its development priorities from a state intervention program designed to achieve greater equity, to a focus on a neo-liberal policies that influenced development policies at the local level. Issues of urban spatial restructuring to address and correct fragmentation and inequality began to take second place to emphases on economic growth, foreign investment, tourism, and market-friendliness. Since the end of apartheid, it has been a continuous challenge for Cape Town's city planners to simultaneously heighten the city's global competitiveness while addressing the needs of those still living in poverty.

In spite of the city's desire to build its international reputation as a city of cosmopolitan and creative nightlife culture, club owners and event organizers argue that local policies and economic trends, such as tobacco and liquor licensing and regulation policies, noise ordinances, increased policing of nightlife venues, and increasing property values in the city centre, negatively affect nightlife turnout and profit potential. These policies influence micro-scale practices of salsa and jazz social dance practices, and contribute to a perceived "culture of scarcity," particularly among competing salsa instructors, school, and event planners whose competition for club venues for parties leads to territorial practices and politics of power, control, and exclusion. These politics hinder the ways in which participants form memories and emotional attachments to unstable spaces; therefore the

emotive struggles for belonging and territory within the salsa community are not unaffected by the broader urban politics in contemporary Cape Town .

The politics and practices of the cape jazz and salsa dance scenes parallel and intersect with a larger urban politics of contestation and negotiation over rights to urban spaces, memory, and imagination—aspects of the city that are currently undergoing a dramatic process of transformation and radical reinvention in Cape Town.  Salsa politics demonstrate that the emotive spaces of belonging in the city are constantly navigated and contested, often using seemingly unlikely methods of negotiation.

In my dissertation, I explored participant narratives of and meanings attached to both the cape jazz and salsa dance scenes and practices as they have developed in the Cape Town context.  In the eyes of its practitioners and spectators, salsa represents urbanity, cosmopolitanism, and a brand of rainbow nationalism that has been aggressively proposed by the South African state, media, and markets.  Of course, in reality, the salsa dancing scene in Cape Town is fraught with conflict, exclusionary practices, and competition.  In contrast, cape jazz dancing is embedded in specific experiences of heritage, collective memories of forced removal and marginality, and associations of colouredness.  Cape jazz is often associated with the peripheries of the city, familiarity, and notions of permanence and reluctance to change.  In reality, however, cape jazz movements are constantly evolving.  The categories created by the meanings that become attached to salsa and cape jazz dance styles

are often represented as binary opposites: cape jazz as memory, heritage, cultural isolation and marginality versus salsa as the forward- and outward-looking cosmopolitan future. However, these concepts should not be represented as binaries, but instead should be integrated to explore experiences in everyday life in Cape Town—to understand multifaceted ways in which the city's global past continues to influence and encounter its complex and often contradictory present experiences with memory, heritage, identity, and a sense of place in the world.

## FUTURE RESEARCH:  TOWARD AFFECTIVE CITIZENSHIP

All research leads to more research; the act of doing research provokes additional questions and anomalies. One of the major ideas that I discovered not within the scope of this dissertation was the relationships between collective affective spaces such as dancescapes and the state; my future research could build on the theoretical directions and the empirical data to investigate this phenomenon.  Future research would combine explorations of everyday encounters with the material and ideological apparatuses of the state, with work in the emerging subfield of affectivo-emotive geographies by examining the affective relationship between the state and the citizen-subject in urban space and what might these relationships reveal about changing notions of urban citizenship.

New geographies of citizenship still overwhelmingly view citizenship as a condition of direct and deliberate political participation, contestation, and engagement. While the category of citizenship often relies on the ability to fix or stabilize identities, the notion of citizenship itself is shifting and fluid, as is the relationship between citizen and the state. Instead of analyzing states as established entities, scholars are increasingly investigating the relationship between citizen-subjects and the state as produced through banal everyday practices and performances (Sharma and Gupta 2006; Secor 2007). I am proposing a conceptualization of citizenship that does not view the State as a stable, static, pre-existent entity—therefore the relationship between citizen-subject and the state indicates a continual process of becoming, reflecting a movement away from citizenship as a static category with a stable, definitive relation to the state. In this way, I would explore participation, belonging, and affective relationships between people, urban space, *and* the state.

The discipline of geography has been "almost silent" about the role of affect and emotion in theorizations of the relationship between the State and social life (Woodward 2007, 161). In the section of his dissertation entitled "Affect, State Theory, and the Politics of Confusion," Keith Woodward (2007) examines the role affect and emotion in the relationship between the state and social life. The political location of affect and emotion contribute to what can be confusing experiences in the relationship between people and the state (or rather more likely: through the performances of agents of the state). Woodward

builds on recent scholarship in geography that locates the *materiality* of the state in the repetitious and embodied practices of its citizens, while the *idea* of the State itself remains an abstract entity. Woodward points out that an individual's confusion is "a productive and affective experience that helps to make up the political relation to the state: an embodied not knowing" (164). Woodward asserts that examinations of confrontations with the state should allow for analyses that fall between traditional binary understandings of the state's coercive apparatuses on the one hand, and its ideological apparatuses on the other. He proposes that the role of affect and emotion (as categorical abstractions) can be used to theorize first, "the complex, emotional maintenance of the State at the local level" and, second, "the embodied not-knowing, or politics of confusion, that accompanies the unpredictability of the capacities that State agents have to randomly and extra-legally affect those whom they encounter" (193). I am particularly interested in the ways in which Woodward (see also Secor 2004; 2007) frames affective/emotional encounters with the state not as a type of nationalism, but instead as tense, contradictory, confused, and ambivalent. This is how I see relationships with the state in contemporary South Africa.

A future research project might explore the possibility that everyday interactions with and negotiations of urban space (as an extension of state space) reveal encounters with the material and ideological apparatuses of the state and are embodied acceptances or rejections of state ideologies and embodiments. The choice to participate and the affective investment

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and engagement in urban life can be an intentional or an unintentional political action.  Just as transgression (according to Cresswell 1996) is not necessarily an intentional act (distinguishing it from resistance), citizenship does not always reflect an intentional, direct engagement with the state.  Future projects will work toward theorizing a notion of affective citizenship that goes beyond traditional conceptualizations of citizenship as political (or even social or cultural). Instead, I will think through an understanding of citizenship that involves movement of bodies in and the creation of space—as participation, contestation, negotiation, becoming which are the struggles inherent in claiming and defending citizenship.

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**Personal Interviews**

(1) Bertram (salsa instructor, director of Evolution Dance Company)
   July 6, 2009
   Coffee Shop in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(2) Sandra (cape jazz instructor)
   April 11, 2011
   Headquarters for The Future Factory, College of Cape Town, Wynberg, Cape Town

(3) Sibongile (Salsa instructor , choreographer, and director of SUEDE Dance Company)
   July 27, 2010
   Juice Bar in Seapoint, Cape Town

(4) Steve (co-owner, DJ at G-Spot Leisure Lounge)
   July 27, 2010; April 11, 2011
   G-Spot Leisure Lounge, Epping, Cape Town

(5) Andre (Salsa instructor at Buena Vista Social Café, co-founder of Salsa Buddies)
   July 3, 2009
   Restaurant in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(6) Bob (ballroom dancer and casual salsa and Cape jazz dancer)
   November 1, 2009
   University of Cape Town campus

(7) Carlton (co-producer of the annual Cape Town jazzathon)
   July 14, 2010; July 20, 2010
   His home in Fairways, Cape Town

(8) Kathy (Salsa dancer and co-founder of Salsa South Africa)
   August 21, 2009
   Coffee shop in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(9) DJ Robert (Cape jazz DJ at the Westend jazz club)

June 29, 2010
Westend in Rylands, Cape Town

(10) Clyde (salsa and cape jazz instruction and co-director of Salsa Fusion)
   May 9, 2009
   Restaurant in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(11) Amy (salsa and cape jazz instruction and co-director of Salsa Fusion)
   May 9, 2009
   Restaurant in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(12) Mille (life-long resident of Athlone and participant in various dance scenes in Athlone)
   November 7, 2009Her home in  Athlone

(13) Sayid (cape jazz and salsa dancer)
   July 2010
   My house in Camps Bay

(14) Bernie (jazz musician)
   July 26, 2010
   Mugg & Bean in Constantia, Cape Town

(15) Willis (jazz musician)
   August 3, 2010
   Café on Long St., Cape Town

(16) Sipho (salsa dancer currently instructing bachata in Norway)
   April 10, 2009
   Café at the Waterfront, Cape Town

(17) Costas (owner of Buena Vista Social Café)
   July 13, 2009
   Buena Vista Social Café in Greenpoint, Cape Town

(18) Junior (salsa instructor and director of Pasion Por La Salsa Dance Company)
   April 17, 2010
   At his home in Edgemead, Cape Town

(19) Sherman (jazz musician and tour guide at the District Six Museum)
   October 1, 2006

(20) Abdul (salsa dancer)
   20 august, 2009

My Apartment in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(21) Richard (salsa instructor and owner of Que Pasa salsa club)
    May 1, 2009
    Wembley Square in Gardens, Cape Town

    July 8, 2009
    At Dias Tavern and Que Pasa, East City, Cape Town

(22) Joshua (ballroom dance champion, salsa and jazz dancer)
    Nov 7, 2009
    In his home in Athlone, Cape Town

(23) Jamal (jazz musician, manager of several jazz clubs, and musical events producer)
    July 2, 2010
    Café in the city centre, Cape Town

(24) Kalvin (salsa dancer)
    June 28, 2009
    Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(25) Larry (jazz and salsa dancer)
    August 20, 2009
    Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(26) Thelma (visual artist and salsa dancer)
    May 26, 2010
    Her home in Seapoint, Cape Town

(27) Armando (salsa dancer and former director of Sabor Latino dance company)
    April 9, 2009
    Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(28) Louise (former resident of District Six, employee at the District Six Museum)
    July 28, 2010
    District Six Museum, Cape Town

(29) Sam (salsa dancer, co-founder of Salsa Buddies)
    May 31, 2009
    My Flat in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(30) Susan (cape jazz instructor)
    May 30, 2009
    Westend in Rylands, Cape Town

(31) Darren (salsa dancer and cape jazz instructor, director of Mfusion dance company)
   November 4, 2009
   Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(32) Marvin (salsa dancer)
   June 3, 2009
   His home in Camps Bay, Cape Town

   June 6, 2009
   Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(33) Amber (salsa dancer)
   July 23, 2010
   Café in Gardens, Cape Town

(34) Phillip (jazz dancer)
   May 21, 2009
   Restaurant in Mobray, Cape Town

(35) Addison (salsa dancer and director of The Salsa Studio
   July 2, 2009; July, 6, 2009
   Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(36) Amir (salsa dancer)
   4 may, 2010
   His office at The University of Cape Town

(37) Tony (cape jazz and salsa dancer)
   May 25,2009
   Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(38) Aziza (salsa dancer)
   July 27, 2009
   Café in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(39) Tania (member of First Nation cultural society
   November 6, 2006
   Café in Claremont, Cape Town

(40) Trevor (cape jazz dancer and founder of Danz Afrika)
   June 13, 2010
   His home in Lansdowne
   March 30, 2011

His home in Muizenburg, Cape Town

(41) Brandon (salsa dancer, instructor with The Salsa Studio)
   July 5, 2009
   My flat in Tamboerskloof, Cape Town

(42) Jacque (salsa dancer, co-founder of Salsa Buddies, event organizer)
   August 1, 2010
   Restaurant in Seapoint, Cape Town

Websites
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www.capetownpartnership.co.za

City of Cape Town
www.capetown.gov.za

Central City Development Strategy website
http://ctp.wwc.co.za/programmes/centralcitydevelopmentstrategy.html?PHPSESSID=3de09e
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Correspondent: Colin Miller 2007b
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http://superclubs.co.za/

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www.quepasa.co.za/

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http://www.club-galaxy.co.za/photo-gallery.html

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Interview with Cliffe Moses
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Disc 1 of 2

Interview with Zelda Benjamin
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