TOURISM IN THE GLOBAL SOUTH

HERITAGES, IDENTITIES AND DEVELOPMENT

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5.

QUE(E)RYING CAPE TOWN: TOURING AFRICA'S 'GAY CAPITAL' WITH THE *PINK MAP*

Bradley M. Rink

Cape Town is a Gay Friendly City and Cape Town Tourism welcomes you…

Cape Town Tourism, Pink Map 1999 edition

The Pink Map records rather than predicts…it is an archive.

Philip Todres, Publisher of the Pink Map

Representing gay Utopia in the 'Mother City'

Since the end of *apartheid* and the ushering-in of new freedoms under South Africa's democratic dispensation, South Africa's 'Mother City' of Cape Town has gained the reputation—deservedly or not—as a gay Utopia: a city that is as welcoming and gay-friendly as its tourism office suggests. During the early days of democracy in the late 1990s, gay, lesbian, bi-sexual and transgender people in South Africa became more visible (Tucker 2009a) while they began to emerge slowly into mainstream society. As the city of Cape Town began to realise the impact of the tourist industry on the local economy, the city's tourism authority began to actively market Cape Town as a gay-friendly destination. This active and identity-based place promotion is materialised in the form of the *Pink Map*, an

annual publication that since 1999 has attempted to map the city's queerness[1] for gay and lesbian visitors.

More than simply mapping the 'pink' tourist experience, however, my reading of the *Pink Map* is intended to demonstrate how a queer tourist map that depicts the intersection of tourism and sexual identity can also act as an archive of changes on the socio-cultural landscape. In the case of the *Pink Map* the tourist map becomes more than simply a way-finding, tourist promotion tool. In this chapter I intend to demonstrate, like Farías (2011) and Hanna and Del Casino (2003) that tourist maps are '…above all, artifacts entwined with the production and reproduction of social and cultural identities' (Farías 2011: 399). In doing so, I will engage an archive of more than a decade of *Pink Maps* that will illustrate the tension between promotion of Cape Town as a 'gay friendly' destination, the inequalities that continue to complicate the social landscape, and the archival function of the *Map* that illuminates the production and performance of social and cultural identities on the 'pink' landscape that the *Map* represents.

The new-found legal freedom for South Africa's gay, lesbian, bi-sexual and transgender people was not, however, met by an equal dose of acceptance within the pluralistic cultural landscape of the country. As Tucker (2009a, 2009b) demonstrates, *de jure* freedom of sexual identity expression that was granted through South Africa's constitution is far the *de facto* lived experience of many South African queer communities – those communities inclusive of gay, lesbian, bi-sexual, transgender and inter-sex people. In spite of the disconnect between legal rights and cultural acceptance of same-sex desire, tourism officials nonetheless saw the potential in attracting gay tourists and their pink Euros, Dollars, and Pounds to the Mother City. In that endeavour, the *Pink Map* guides tourists on queer quests through the 'ambient heterosexual' (Murray 1995) toward a multitude of queer nodes in and around Cape Town, while it also traces the journey from sexual to consumer citizenship and the commodification of sexual-identity based tourism in Africa's 'gay capital' (Visser 2003b).

Queer tourist quests: seeking the gay village

While Cape Town has a reputation as the preeminent gay city on the African continent, within the city itself an urban enclave called *De Waterkant* (see figure 1) gained an international reputation as the heart of Africa's gay capital (Kirstein 2007, personal comments) due to its dense conglomeration of clubs, bars, and restaurants that catered to queer consumers. Cape Town's reputation as the premier

gay destination in Africa grew in tandem with De Waterkant's development as the locus of those queer quests, and in the process De Waterkant became discursively 'quartered' in the sense that it was shaped as the locus for the symbolic framing of culture (Bell and Jayne 2004) as a gay village.

Representations of queer belonging are a key theme in the *Pink Map*, inviting tourists to feel at home in familiar queer surroundings. The quest that a tourist makes from home to 'destination space' (Farías 2011) is in part guided by the map. As Rossetto (2012) notes, '…maps mediate people's experience of space as spaces mediate people's experience of maps' (Rossetto 2012: 33). Using Rossetto's logic, the queer tourist in Cape Town engages in a conversation between the map and the landscape, reading from the map, inscribing onto the landscape, and forever complicating the otherwise static nature of the printed map on paper.

The *Pink Map* is unabashedly commercial in nature, deriving income from advertisers who in-turn get plotted on the map, which is ultimately intended to result in a visit from a tourist who will hopefully spend money. While the tourist-to-consumer trajectory may be an unsurprising outcome of most tourist maps, the result becomes more complicated when applied to a map intended primarily— although not exclusively – for sexual minority groups. The complication arises through the commodification of gay spaces that 'can be read as an instance of 'the new homonormativity', producing a global repertoire of themed gay villages, as cities throughout the world weave commodified gay space into their promotional campaigns' (Bell and Binnie 2004: 1808). Those using the *Pink Map* are thus simultaneously positioned as tourists and as sexual citizens (Evans 1993), the latter being rooted in the development of sexual politics and utilising 'the idea of citizenship as a space for thinking about sexual identities, desires and practices' (Bell and Binnie 2006: 869). Sexual citizenship is thus inherently geographical, but is nonetheless characterized by conflicts and a struggle for representation when played-out in the real world. Tourist nodes depicted in the *Pink Map* are therefore central to sexual citizenship, particularly as they are also sites of consumption: an idea that is both central to how citizenship is defined, and implicit in the management and disciplining of the self that occurs through the choices that consumers make (Binnie 2004: 167). Modern urban citizenship is incumbent upon how- and where- the citizen-consumer positions their consumptive practices (Binnie 2004). Citizens thus seek and find new conceptions of self and assertions of power (Binnie 1995) through

consumption, and in doing so merge destination space into consumption space.

As a destination for tourists and locals alike, De Waterkant serves as a locus of consumption – another step in the struggle for freedom (Posel 2010) and citizenship in post-1994 South Africa. Recent scholarship in gay-related tourism in South Africa (Elder 2004, Visser 2002, 2003a, 2003b) sheds light on the consumptive practices in De Waterkant, while recognising the impact of gay-oriented tourism that the *Pink Map* intends to promote. And in this instance the term 'gay' is more appropriate than 'queer' in that much of the 'pink' tourist infrastructure is focused upon and limited to an elite group of mostly white, mostly gay male clientele. The growth of such globalised gay spaces, as Elder (2004) notes, can create a 'myth of community' while also masking the lives of gay and lesbian people and the material inequalities of globalization' (Elder 2004: 580). Those material inequalities include what Binnie (2004) calls 'the limits and myths of the pink economy discourse.' (2004: 167) As such, queer consumerism must be taken in context of the greater hetero-sexed world—that which is situated in the many silences of the *Map*.

Figure 5.1 De Waterkant and Cape Town
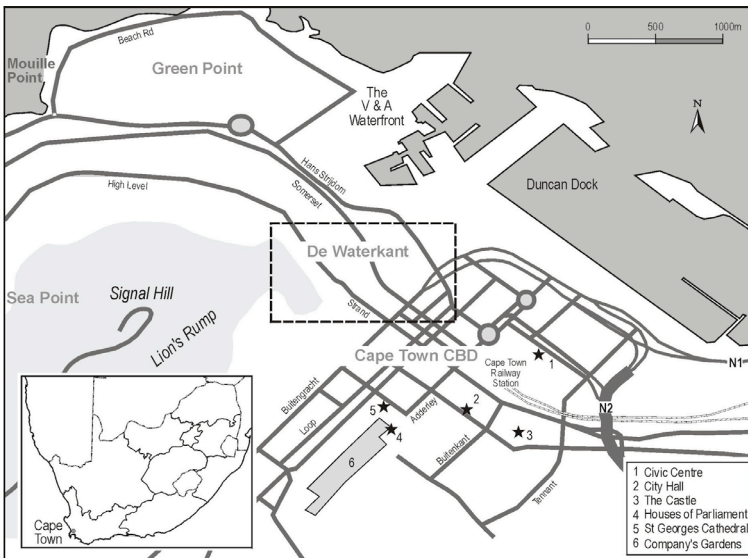
The map as archive

With the goal of interrogating the *Pink Map's* archival function, my analysis of seeks to highlight the representation of social and cultural identities on the 'pink' landscape that the *Map* represents. In doing so I begin by focusing on De Waterkant's in the guise of a 'gay village' within Africa's gay capital. The case study that informs this chapter involved analysing 14 years, or 14 editions (from 1999 to 2012) of the *Pink Map*. The *Map* is symbolic of De Waterkant's image as 'queer destination space' and of the situation of queerness over the spatial and temporal axes of this research. In addition, the *Map* serves as an entry point and a guide for consuming Cape Town as a local or international visitor. I will demonstrate how the *Pink Map* is more than just cartographic advertising. Through my analysis of the *Pink Map* I will demonstrate how it serves as a significant discursive element in shaping Cape Town as Africa's gay capital and quartering De Waterkant as a gay village and ultimately a consumer lifestyle destination—trends that are implicated in the trajectory of social and cultural identities in late-20th Century and early 21st Century South Africa.

The *Pink Map* represents De Waterkant like Visser (2003) suggests as 'consolidated gay territory' (Visser 2003a: 128). De Waterkant presents itself through its many bars, clubs and guest houses as gay village quarter in that it is a site of presumably shared gay identity built upon predominantly white (Tucker 2009a, 2009b) and North American conceptualizations of such spaces (Levine 1979). Visser (2002a, 2002b, 2003) and Elder (2004) have demonstrated that a variety of gay leisure pursuits take place in De Waterkant which lead to such conclusions.

While Cape Town has had a long history of tolerance for some expressions of gay identity, particularly from within the coloured[2] community (Chetty 1994), intolerance and violence still characterise the *de facto* lived experience of many queer Capetonians (Tucker 2009a). In spite of this, Cape Town Tourism presents the city as a queer Utopia, a point that is essentialised by the cover of the 2007 edition of the *Pink Map* that contains an image of a 'pink passport' from 'The Republic of Cape Town'. Such imagery promises to open the borderlands of pink Cape Town to a willing audience while it differentiates gay space and excludes straight space, presumably in order to ensure a pleasant stay by filtering out the gay landscape from all the rest (Elder 2004). The map implicitly assumes for its reader that all space is hetero-sexualised space unless otherwise indicated.

Pink Map out of the closet

The *Pink Map* grew out of publisher Philip Todres' work with special-interest maps. An art collector and dealer by trade, Todres began by publishing a map in 1988 that guided users along an arts and crafts route through the Western Cape. What began as a means of leading patrons to a friend's pottery studio with stops en-route for refreshment and entertainment lead to a publishing company that produces a range of specialised maps including the *Arts & Crafts Map*, the *Antique Map*, the *Food Map*, *Victoria Falls Map*, *B&B Map*, *Rainy Day Map*, *Sports & Leisure Map*, and the *Museum Map* for Johannesburg. Todres' original map led to the name of his publishing company, A&C (Arts and Crafts) Maps.

Eventually, in the post-1994 environment events like the Mother City Queer Projects (MCQP) annual queer costume party and the new constitutional dispensation were allowing gays and lesbians throughout South Africa more visibility and legal—if not actual—freedom to express their sexual citizenship. The MCQP party began in 1994 and each year draws more and more gay and straight revellers to take part in the event. Tourism officials credit the party for putting 'pink Cape Town' on the map while highlighting the city's desire to be seen as a gay-friendly tourist destination (Visser, 2003b). Driven by interest in other routes, connections to segments of the gay community in Cape Town, and an understanding of the emergence of Cape Town on the gay scene, he was inspired to develop a specialized map for gay tourists. As he noted:

> Cape Town was changing very dramatically, and when it came to any gay literature it was always sort of like 'under the counter', kind of sleazy. And, I thought…Let's have a gay map to Cape Town on the condition that it was equivalent in every way to the other maps that we were producing. It had to be as professional; it was well laid-out, designer-oriented. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

The conditions were ripe to bring queer Cape Town out from under the counter, and to lend a design-oriented, respectable face to a queer-oriented publication. The metaphor of the *Pink Map*'s emergence on the scene as a 'coming out' mimics the journey of self-discovery experienced by some gays, lesbians and bi-sexuals. While the *Pink Map* may not be solely responsible for metaphorically bringing queer Cape Town out of the closet, it at least offered broader visibility to the existence of queer spaces within the city.

The *Pink Map* is a free publication that relies on revenue from the advertisers and service providers listed within the map. More than simply a commercial venture, however, the *Map* also provides relevant information to queer communities that it is intended to serve. That includes information such as the gay, lesbian & bisexual helplines, HIV/AIDS support groups, and gay-friendly places of worship. While it maps queerness in Cape Town, Todres doesn't see it as an exclusively gay or lesbian publication. In fact, as the arbiter of content, Philip Todres bristles at the discourse of exclusivity. As he says,

> One of the things that we had concerns about were establishments that claimed to be 'exclusively gay' and I thought that was a very derogatory thing to have on our maps. I still insist that 'exclusively gay' is something that we would not like to have…it's as bad as saying 'exclusively white' or 'exclusively whatever.' Constitutionally it just doesn't sit well with me. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

The distinction that Todres and his *Pink Map* have sought, however, is making visible and—in some sense—mainstreaming queer Cape Town for a broader audience while not symbolically framing gay spaces as unwelcoming to outsiders. The tension of normalising queerness whilst also setting it apart—by mapping it differentially as 'pink'—is something that will over time begin to change the map itself.

As Todres sees it, the *Pink Map* put gay Cape Town *on the map*. And that act of coming out was celebrated by some, as Todres noted:

> It was also supported by Cape Town Tourism who were perfectly happy about having their name associated with it. It was putting gay Cape Town very iconically on the map…It was a very nice, clear, clean, uncomplicated message about Cape Town being regarded as a gay and welcoming city. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

Not everyone was welcoming or appreciative of the *Pink Map*. A local church sent numerous letters to editors of area newspapers, condemning the *Map* and those it was intended to serve. What surprised Todres most was the intolerance exhibited in such negative sentiments in the 'new' South Africa; Acceptance, even tolerance, was a struggle as the *Map* presented Cape Town as a gay-friendly and welcoming city. As Todres reminisced:

> It's interesting to me, because we're talking about post-apartheid democratic South Africa…Despite our constitutional dispensation and all of that, people feel very comfortable about being bigoted in terms of sexual preferences, maybe slightly less so but almost equally in terms of gender, and religion. Any person who writes in a newspaper and says 'God says…' feels it gives him an inalienable right to be as bigoted, or as illogical as they wish to be (Todres 2008, personal comments.)

This evidence of intolerance and bigotry serves as a reminder that the *Pink Map* doesn't exist in a vacuum, and that it does share tenuous borders with the ambient heterosexual world against which it situates itself. The 'pink' in the *Pink Map* suggests otherness more than it does exclusivity. In this sense, Todres' narration of the map describes a queer state of mind perhaps more than it does a gay or lesbian identity. As he noted,

> The interesting thing is that…as a publication it's also picked up by, very specifically, non-gay people seeing it as probably an introduction to the creative side. It's *not* strictly a gay guide. For instance there was a lot of anti-feeling against MCQP becoming too straight, and I think it's a *huge* compliment. Andre went out there to make 'queer' normal; to celebrate a state of mind, to celebrate a whole other universe out there. And the fact that it's been embraced by a non-gay community as well, I think is a huge tribute to that state of freedom, creativity, whatever, and the laissez-faire that exists in Cape Town. (Todres 2008, personal comments)

As an archival tool, the *Pink Map* 'records rather than predicts' what is happening on the ground (Todres 2008, personal comments) while attempting to situate queer destination space in Cape Town for local and international visitors alike.

Situating 'pink' Cape Town

The pink landscape that emerges across the archive of the *Pink Map* is one that is dominated by a number of salient themes: embodied performance of sexuality within the city; an uneven terrain of representation of those very same queer bodies that results in the silencing of certain queer communities including lesbians; the demise of non-commercial information; the de-sexualisation of the map; and a trend from sexual- to consumer citizenship as a means of belonging.

These themes emerge through analysis of the maps that play an active role in the constitution of queer 'destination space' (Farías 2011).

Embodied performance of space and place

The literature of tourism maps has been previously excluded from tourism studies due to criticisms, as Farías (2011) notes, 'that they are often considered to be mere representations, irrelevant for the analysis of tourists' embodied performances of space and place.' (Farías 2011: 398). The embodied performance of (queer) space and place in Cape Town is represented clearly in early editions of the *Pink Map*; and in particular in the enclave known as De Waterkant. While the *Pink Map* doesn't focus exclusively on De Waterkant, the quarter is represented prominently on the *Map*. The prominence appears as a dense concentration of venues located within De Waterkant's borders

Figure 5.2 De Waterkant as a gay village, 2000

that have been designated as 'pink' through the *Map*. Examining the concentration of venues along Somerset Road or along any of De Waterkant's narrow cobbled streets tells the story. Of all of the map-referenced listings within the *Pink Map* from 1999 through 2008, between 10.4 per cent (the low in 2003) and 22.6 per cent (the high in 2002) of the pink venues are located within the boundaries of De Waterkant--the borders of which were established by the area's civic association and encompass an area of 0.4 square kilometers. The high percentage of venues within its borders also infers a dense geographic concentration. (see figure 2).

In spite of the *Pink Map*'s lack of precise or consistent use of cartographic scale, the visual concentration of venues within De Waterkant is unmistakable. Using the *Pink Map* as your guide, it would be easy to assume De Waterkant as the heart—if not the capital—of 'pink' Cape Town.

Although the notion of De Waterkant as the capital of gay Cape Town may suggest it also has the character of a gay enclave like New York's Greenwich Village, London's Soho or San Franscisco's Castro, the comparison is not supported by evidence (Elder 2004) and the pioneers in Cape Town's self-styled gay village of De Waterkant didn't plan to create a dense conglomeration of gay venues that eventually characterised the area (Shapiro 2007, personal comments). Nor would such an urban structure represent the diversity of South African queer communities for, as Tucker (2009a) demonstrates, the queer visibilities in De Waterkant neglect a large segment of Cape Town's queer communities—namely coloured and black queers.

Nowhere is the prominence of De Waterkant as the heart of queer Cape Town so evident as in the 2001 edition of the *Pink Map* where a portion of De Waterkant is mapped on the body of the cover model (see Plate 1). The image features a white male, seemingly naked, with dark hair and hairy chest and a 'six pack' of abdominal muscles. The cover model is looking 'south'—both literally in a southerly direction on the actual plane of the map and figuratively toward the nether-regions of his own corporeal geography. In this position, most of the model's face is obscured, lending an air of anonymity, while focusing and objectifying the gaze on the contours of his embodied map.

In the midst of his navel gazing, De Waterkant venues are superimposed over the model's upper body – from the top of his abdominal muscles to the area above his pubis. The venues are superimposed as if on a map, with the model's body being the landscape of De Waterkant. The venues are located relative to each

other as they are situated in De Waterkant, with the midline connective tissue of the *rectus abdominus* muscle serving as the cartographic depiction of Somerset Road, the busiest thoroughfare of the area. The eye of the viewer is drawn down the bodily landscape from thorax to pubis and includes map references to the Hothouse (a gay male bathhouse); Bronx (a gay 'action bar' that features dancing); On Broadway (a cabaret); Café Manhattan (a gay-owned restaurant and bar); and a variety of bars/dance clubs including Club 55, Detour, Angels, Bar Soho and Bar Code—a gay bar that caters to leather and fetish aficionados that is, perhaps owing to its geographic location or symbolically due to its transgressive sexuality, situated at the lowest point on the verge of the pubis.

Plate 5.1 Pink Map 2001 edition
– cover image (Used with permission of A&C Maps)
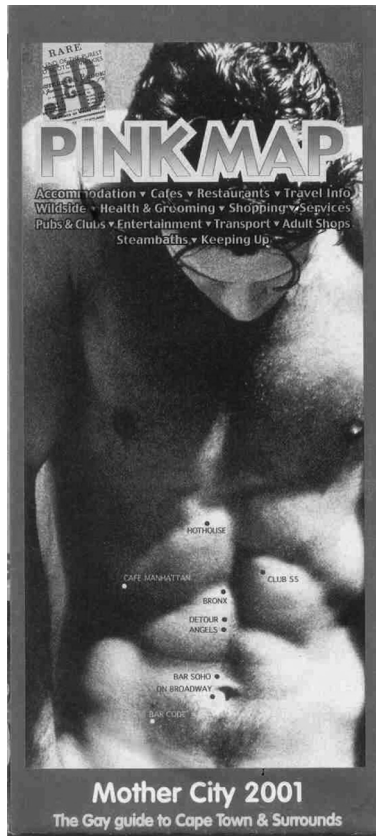
The corporeal cartography that is depicted on the cover of the 2001 edition sexualises the landscape of De Waterkant and compels the viewer to imagine their own path along the map. The contours of the body become the contours of De Waterkant's landscape, and the journey through both is positioned as one in the same.

While embodiment is central to early versions of the *Map*, the care and grooming of queer bodies has been a concern of the *Pink Map* since its inception. The number of 'health & grooming' listings has fluctuated over the years, but the changes are telling. In the 1999 edition, the listings under 'health & grooming' included: two general practitioners; a hair stylist; a pharmacy; and a non-surgical facelift consultant. These services can be characterised as utilitarian bodily regimes – with the exception of facelifts. By contrast in the 2008 edition, the 'health & grooming' listings were augmented by the inclusion of a 'good selection of sex aids and poppers' and a 'large range of designer men's underwear'; a wellness centre that offers 'a wide range of treatments including shiatsu, reiki, reflexology, manicures and more'; a 'grooming station' with treatments from an 'international skincare guru'; and a laser eye centre (*Pink Map* 2008). Like shopping that has become 'therapeutic', health and grooming has also become complicated by sexual function, style, and the assistance of laser technology.

These practices of health and grooming fall within the realm of corporeal self-discipline, in the way that Foucault (1977) suggests that citizens invigilate themselves, their bodies, and their movements through space. The bodily practices range from laser hair removal that tames the wildness from the beast (*Pink Map* 1999) to non-surgical face lift consultants that promise to 'reverse the ravages of time' (*Pink Map* 2001). Changes in the *Pink Map* suggest that health and grooming practices become more than utilitarian regimes. Caring for your body later becomes an issue of 'wellness' that involves crystals, pendulums, and elaborate settings that feel 'like entering a submarine from the newest James Bond movie' (*Pink Map* 2008) – all the while overseen not by a mere medical practitioner, but by an internationally renowned 'guru' of skincare (*Pink Map* 2008). Caring for the body is both a gateway to wellness and a service to be consumed. As the previous examples show, the body serves as a means of entry into De Waterkant, and provides a cartographic example of the quest to be taken. While the general sense of corporeality is central to the *Map*, differences in male or female gendered queerness is also an element that shapes the viewer's understanding of it.

Situating lesbian queerness

The male body is an important component of early *Maps*, and plays a role in situating Cape Town's queerness. The female body, however, is more difficult to situate using the *Pink Map*. Such invisibility is not a new phenomenon. While gay men were forming a visible gay subculture in post-World War II South Africa, the lack of a strong feminist or Bohemian subculture led to lesbian communities being less visible than their male counterparts (Gevisser 1994). When a female image first appeared on the cover of the 2000 edition of the *Map*, it was actually that of a drag queen in a blonde wig striking a pose – an image that suggested the female form, but fell short of representation. Since its inception, the *Pink Map* has been dominated by venues that cater explicitly to a gay male clientele rather than to lesbians, bi-sexuals or other sexualities. Of the listings that appear in the map over years 1999-2008, only eight are from venues, services, or accommodations that specifically serve a lesbian or female clientele.

Women first become visible on the *Pink Map* in 2001 by way of a female-only monthly event called 'Brenda's Bash'. Until that point, lesbians lacked visibility on the *Map* and on the landscape of Cape Town itself. This reflects the contention that lesbian subcultures are less visible than those of gay men due to economic disparity between the sexes, among other reasons (Rothenberg 1995, Wolfe 1997). Brenda's Bash, while fixed in time 'on the first Saturday of each month from nine o'clock until late' (*Pink Map* 2001), represented itself without a fixed space. Whether due to concerns over safety or the challenge of finding monthly venues, its location was listed only as 'in Milnerton', a northern suburb of Cape Town. A telephone number was provided for potential party-goers to locate the venue, along with a reminder that 'cash' is the only means of payment accepted. The example provided by Brenda's Bash demonstrates how lesbian space is marked by fluidity, and is created as lesbian bodies move through rather than remain static in space and time, as Munt (1995) notes:

> Lesbian identity is constructed in the temporal and linguistic mobilization of space, as we move through space we imprint utopian and dystopian moments upon urban life…in an instant, a freeze-frame, a lesbian is occupying space as it occupies her. Space teems with possibilities, positions, intersections, passages, detours, u-turns, dead-ends, and one-way streets; it is never still. (Munt 1995: 125)

Therefore, the rather capricious nature of lesbian visibility is not a fault of the map but rather a reading of the ways which lesbian social spaces are continually created. The nature of those places are also materially different from other queer communities. The desire for lesbians to have a space, whether temporary or not, in which to socialize is echoed in the comments of one De Waterkant business owner when he said:

> [Lesbians] definitely want a venue to go to. They want to have [social functions] totally organised because they do it so seldom. Otherwise they do house parties. They do a lot of house parties. (Shapiro 2007, personal comments)

Lipstick Lounge took lesbian social space outside of the home and into the public realm of the city. The *Lounge* appears in the 2006 *Map,* and then disappears from the map and from the streets. Its fleeting existence for a single imprint of the *Map* is less noteworthy than the fact that it was situated in dedicated premises on the periphery of De Waterkant – the first dedicated lesbian establishment up to that point. Whereas the *Lipstick Lounge* overcame the barrier of fixed location, the *Lounge*, like *Brenda's Bash* and others before it, only accepted cash as payment. The reason for this can be attributed to the transitory nature of lesbian space for such social pursuits. Payment by other means such as credit cards require fixity of location – including physical addresses, telephone lines and sufficient capital to invest in fixed infrastructure of any kind. Given the ephemeral nature of lesbian social space, the need to only accept cash as payment is understandable. *The Lipstick Lounge*, whose name is derived from a lesbian subculture of women who accentuate their hyper-femininity through their appearance, promoted itself as a '*Safe*, upmarket environment exclusively for women' (*Pink Map* 2006 emphasis added). The safety of bodies – particularly women's bodies – is a consideration of lesbian social spaces within the *Pink Map* as well as the wider discourse of lesbian spatiality (Rothenberg 1995: 175).

Fixity and safety characterise the discourse around *Beaulah Bar* that opened on the periphery of De Waterkant in 2007. *Beaulah Bar* was created by Myrna Andrews, a key actor in the development of lesbian leisure space on Cape Town's landscape. Myrna opened *Beaulah Bar* after a successful run with her 'Lush Parties' for lesbians. As she put it:

> [In 1999] I started doing parties for lesbians [the Lush Parties]. It was never about making money, or anything like that. It was

purely that there was a need for something for women only, not that I particularly wanted a women only space, but some of the girls are a quite strange in that way, and feel a need to be away from the guys... (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

The Lush Parties, which began as 'Events for women who love womyn [sic]' (*Pink Map* 2007), first appeared on the *Pink Map* in 2007, with an ambiguous geographical location consistent with readings of lesbian social spaces (Rothenberg 1995). The Lush Parties continued to defy fixity as Andrews reminisced:

My brother owned a straight club called Fat Boys, and he offered it to me on a Thursday night, and that's how we got started. And basically what I did was that when that closed down I moved to a venue called 'Valve', then I moved to Chilli and Lime, which was a straight club also upstairs. Then I moved to Sliver upstairs and then they shut down I moved to Junction Café. And it was always a case of I would take the door and pay the bouncers and the DJ, and the club would take the barmen, so it was never about making money. It was about giving a space to lesbians. (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

Contrary to what many patrons believe to be the case, Myrna didn't open Beaulah as an exclusively lesbian venue—even though many see it in those terms. She rather saw it as an opportunity to open a place for gay men as well as lesbians; but importantly a place where lesbians could feel 'safe'. She notes:

It *isn't* a lesbian space, but it is certainly a space where lesbians feel safe and comfortable. But that they need to know that should anybody make them feel *remotely* uncomfortable—be it by too long a look or any kind of physical approach, all they have to do is to tell me and I will have them removed. We have a right of admission. And I think it's important that they have a space where they feel safe. (Andrews 2007, personal comments)

Beaulah Bar becomes visible on the ground and in the *Pink Map* in 2008, where, consistent with Myrna's narrative, it describes itself as 'a bar, with a lounge, and a dance floor that caters for the entire gay community.' (*Pink Map* 2008) With that, lesbian space becomes located, while also being assimilated into a more inclusive queer space of gays, lesbians, bi-sexuals, among others.

The demise of information

By way of its 'Keeping Up' section, the *Pink Map* serves locals and visitors alike by providing free access to information on health and other services to its readers. In addition to providing websites of additional resources, the section also includes useful contact numbers for churches, organizations or services that provide support, community outreach, and HIV counselling. Changes in the profile of those services, and the clients they serve are evident over the period examined here. In the first year of the *Map*, useful information was comprised by a gay, lesbian & bi-sexual helpline; three agencies that provide HIV/AIDS training, counseling and support; two gay- or gay-supportive church organizations; a gay film festival; and a gay sporting group (*Pink Map* 1999). By 2007, among the gay and lesbian organisations there were two helplines; one library; a legal support project; a men's alcoholic support group; four organizations that provide HIV/AIDS training, counseling and support; an HIV-positive support group; and four religious-affiliated gay organizations including *The Inner Circle*, a queer Muslim Organization (*Pink Map* 2007). The appearance of *The Inner Circle* in the *Map* signals an expanding notion of queer possibilities as well as the growing voices of marginalised queer communities in Cape Town. Soon thereafter, their visibility on the Map is followed by visibility on the streets as was the case in the 2008 Cape Town Pride parade.

In 2006 the number of listings under 'Keeping up' was at its peak, with twenty-three entries encompassing services and organisations as diverse as *Alcoholics Anonymous for Gay Men*, *Triangle Project* (an NGO serving the needs of GLBT communities throughout South Africa), *Good Hope Metropolitan Community Church*, *Gay & Lesbian Film Festival*, and *Wolanani* (an HIV/AIDS service agency). With constraints on space that drive the publishing of each issue, there are competing interests between space for *pro-bono* 'useful' information and paying advertisers. In the 2008 edition of the *Pink Map*, these useful numbers are eliminated. This signals a recognition of the expanded readership of the *Map* to include heterosexuals, as well as the perception that support services are no longer a central need of Cape Town's queer communities.

De-sexing the Map

The sexualised imagery of the 2001 edition lent an air of seduction and transgression to the cityscape. Looking at the *Maps*

over time, however, one can see a gradual neutering of this sexual discourse. The *Pink Map* category known as the 'Wildside' serves as one example of these changes. By 2006 this category has dwindled to two entries relegated to a sidebar without map references, no longer lending this aspect to the pink cityscape. In 2007 and 2008, the wildness is nearly gone completely from the map, as the one remaining listing gains its map reference once again, as it stands alone in its transgression on the periphery of the pink landscape— located furthest from the notion of the 'good gay' (Richardson, 2004), a self-policing notion of heteronormativity which limits expression within the boundaries of queer.

Plate 5.2 Pink Map 2008 edition
– cover image (Used with permission of A&C Maps)
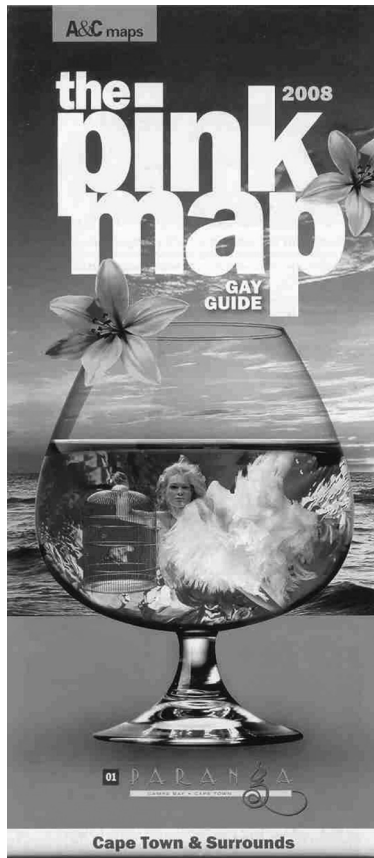
The images and iconography used both on the cover and within the *Maps* indicate further changes. After the drag queen on the cover of 2000 edition, and the corporeal cartography of the 2001 edition, the *Maps* to follow feature increasingly less-provocative, non-corporeal imagery and artwork. In 2007, for example, the icons that point to the map reference numbers change from the iconic pink triangles, a recognizable symbol for many gays and lesbians around the world, but perhaps not as universally understood or identifiable to the broader audience to whom the *Map* may appeal, to simple squares. The unambiguously queer symbolism and iconography that helped to frame sexual citizenship make way in later editions for graphics that appeal to a broader audience of both heterosexual and homosexual readers.

The cover of 2008 edition signals a further mainstreaming of the *Map's* imagery. The cover features an image of a woman submerged in a cocktail glass adorned with a pink lily on the rim (see Plate 2). The woman is holding her breath, and holding a bird cage in her right hand with a pink 'goldfish' inside. Although she appears to be wearing very little, if no clothing, the woman's body is obscured, covered by a wispy underwater sea of white feathers. The glass is set on a pink surface with the image of a sunset (over the exclusive seaside suburb of Camps Bay—perhaps owing to the sponsor, *Paranga* restaurant which is located in Camps Bay) in the background. There is a lack of overtly gay or lesbian iconography or symbolism in the 2008 edition. The image is one that conveys a sense of luxury and exclusivity without directing suggesting that a gay or lesbian identity is connected to those notions or spaces.

The 2008 version stands in stark contrast to the sexually-embodied cartographic image of the 2001 versions. These changes are as much about changes in the way the publisher saw his role as they point to transitions taking place in Cape Town and in South African society. These transitions include a broader acceptance of gays and lesbians in society as a whole and an increasingly mixed (gay and straight) following in the city's clubs, bars and restaurants. Previous covers of the *Pink Map* brought criticism and praise to its publisher. As sentiments changed, and the pink market expanded, however, the publisher looked for something completely different. So, when a high-profile Cape Town restaurant with an upmarket clientele wanted to sponsor the cover, the *Pink Map* opened itself up to new possibilities. For Todres, it was a signal of the recognition of the value of the pink constituency, and a sign that Cape Town had become more liberated. It could also be understood as a symbol of the increased focus on the consumer aspect of citizenship rather than sexuality within the *Pink Map's* expanding constituency.

From sexual to consumer citizenship

Shifts in consumption patterns, and the nature of the citizen-consumer can be seen through changes in listings that are present in the *Map*. What was once a map that appealed to readers through shared notions of sexual citizenship, has become one where the common pursuit of consumption is the overarching focus. In that regard, the *Map's* readership appears to be eating more, and transgressing less. Among the trends is a growth in restaurant listings: from nine listings in 1999 to twenty-seven listings in 2008; and a decline in shopping that is labelled specifically pink. Consumerism itself has changed its name, and perhaps its role in society: from the utilitarian yet descriptive 'shopping' from 1999 through 2005 it was elevated to 'retail therapy' from 2006 onward. This gives the sense that being a consumer-citizen is more than just buying your daily bread, or rather your Diesel footwear 'for successful living' (*Pink Map* 2000), but actually engaging in an act of healing and self-preservation. The act of shopping gains a level of respect and importance in one's daily life that is implicitly necessary for well-being and identity formation.

Consuming pink Cape Town, however, means more than just shoes and clubs. It also means consuming for the body, and of the body in the form of food and sex. Some of the changes that can be traced through the *Pink Map* are evident in how consumers are apparently intended to consume both food and sex. Not only has the imagery changed. So too have the venues themselves, the services they offer, and how those services are presented. Take the example of *Execpartners*, a male escort service for male clientele: *Execpartners* moved from a 'Service' in 2002—alongside a laundry, attorney, estate agency and hairstylist—to the 'Wildside' (as *EP Executive Partners*) in 2006.

While the Wildside and Steambaths may be waning in their presence on the map, sex is still alive and well in the form of food: Col'Cacchio, a local chain of pizzerias, goes from one small listing in 2005, where it is described as 'A funky vibey restaurant that is often quoted as 'making the best pizza, pasta and salads in the world'' (*Pink Map* 2005). In the 2008 edition, however, the line between restaurants and the wildside becomes blurred as they note:

> It's not only *size*, but the combination of taste and flavour sensations that makes Col'Cacchio Pizzeria stand out in the crowd. *Hunky* pizzas, *satisfying* pastas and *sexy* salads plus great locations and friendly service add up to a fun and relaxed good food experience. (*Pink Map* 2008 emphasis added)

Sexual innuendos demonstrate that how the *Map* situates desire has clearly changed. *hot*, *friendly*, *diverse*, *pleasure*, and 'licensed for wine and malt' describe Knights M2M (male-to-male) massage in the 1999 edition; while *hunky*, *size*, *satisfying*, and *sexy* describe Col'Cacchio Pizzeria in the 2008 edition. One might be forgiven for mistaking the words that described culinary for corporeal desire. The overall effect however is to sexualise the entire landscape, even the culinary one, through the use deliberate double-entendres. One desire may not replace the other, but they both drive the consumer to reinforce their citizenship in the pursuit of corporeal fulfilment. In the most recent editions of the *Map* from 2009 until 2012 the visitor is draw-in by promotion of the aforementioned MCQP Party, where the 2012 theme 'Made in China' symbolizes a new era of consumer citizenship, Africa's recent commercial connections to the East, and the promise of an unforgettable queer night on the streets of Cape Town.

Plate 5.3 Pink Map 2012 edition
– cover image (Used with permission of A&C Maps)
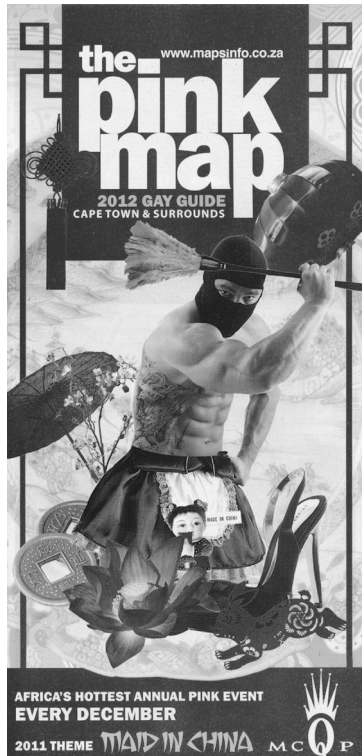
The map as discursive archive

Although much of the *Pink Map* is unapologetically commercial, it maintains a tongue-in-cheek, playful attitude, and is intended to be a practical and welcoming guide for local and international tourists. Although the implication is that the *Pink Map* archives all that is queer in Cape Town, it clearly cannot. Queerness and same-sex desire finds fulfilment in the extraordinary as well as the mundane spaces of Cape Town as Leap (2002) has demonstrated. So, although it does not tell the entire story, the *Pink Map* narrates one part of it and thus provides a discursive archive of a small fragment of Cape Town's queer destination space.

That discursive archive is part of the cartographic tradition. Cartographers seek to 'ground truth' their data by ensuring that the story told through the map—as displayed by symbols, landmarks and physical features – is reflected in the reality on the ground. In a similar way, the narrative of the *Pink Map* demonstrates the socio-cultural trends that are happening within the city and might thus guide visitors accordingly. The *Map* revealed that consumption is increasingly depicted as a necessary pathway to citizenship and wellness. It also demonstrates that queerness has become normalised both in the sense that gays and lesbians have achieved greater acceptance in the ambient heterosexual world with a new generation of gays and lesbians seeing no need to codify exclusionary queer spaces.

Lesbian-coded spaces and events continue to be difficult to find, and much of what the Map depicts as pink is no longer solely intended for a gay male audience of consumers. Non-commercial listings that are meant to guide users to support and queer community information have disappeared, perhaps owing to the proliferation of information on websites, and in the broader media, or perhaps because the *Map* targets a new clientele who don't need such support. The 'pink identity' as expressed in the map has changed from the consumption of same-sex desire to the consumption of goods and services that transcend sexual citizenship in favor of consumer citizenship. The changes could have been generational, editorial and perhaps driven by limits imposed by advertisers who might not want to be associated with alternative sexualities. Likely a combination of all of the above, the changes demonstrate a variety of shifts taking place in society that have bearing on both sexual and consumer citizenship which ultimately conspire to shape the promtion of the tourist experience.

In spite of the inherent ground truth of the *Pink Map*, the notion of locating pink space in the highly mobile urban environment is at best complicated, and at worst a denial of same-sex desire on broader geographical and socio-economical scales. As Polchin (1997) reminds us, 'Queer space cannot be located within a particular place because it does not necessarily represent defined boundaries, but rather exists through a presentation of queer bodies and desires' (Polchin 1997: 386). Despite the *Map*'s attempts to outline those shifting boundaries, queerness is still located within the *Pink Map* in the sense that it guides, disciplines, and frames Cape Town for its user while it also outlines narratives of sexuality, the body, gender, and consumer trends. Likewise, the ephemeral sites of queerness in the city remain invisible, and the informal sector of the economy that contributes to the uniqueness of Cape Town as a destination does not feature at all. Although it may not provide its user with a full accounting of sexuality or consumption within the queer destination space of Cape Town, I argue that the *Pink Map* demonstrates some of the major issues that inscribe sexual and consumer citizenship in the Mother City and with a particular emphasis on De Waterkant.

The *Pink Map* serves as a queer entry point for visitors to Cape Town, and by doing so it provides a unique but limited way of understanding Cape Town. The *Map* positioned De Waterkant within the city of Cape Town as an urban quarter under the guise of a gay village by discursively framing destination space through particular cultural symbols of gay life and identity. The *Pink Map* brought to the fore pink elements of the landscape to the exclusion of all others, and demonstrated material examples of identity performance and leisure/consumptive pursuits that are constituent of gay urban quarters in other parts of the world. The *Pink Map* is clearly not the only way of understanding Cape Town or its destination space, but it provides a point of departure for seeing the myriad narratives that continue to shape the city, its citizens and its visitors who are always in a state of becoming.

Notes

1. It should be noted that use of the often-politicised term 'queer' is intended to be inclusive of multiple sexual identities including gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender. In spite of this, gay enclaves are, following Levine (1979), often ascribed to a limited cross-section of gay men. My use of the term 'queer' follows Tucker's (2009) recognition that same-sex-attracted communities and individuals in Cape Town know/practise their own type of subversion. To be

queer is to abrade sexual identity classification and to challenge the 'facts' of heteronormativity. Nevertheless, as Browne (2006) reminds us, queer has been used as shorthand for an increasing list of sexual and gender diversity and potentially limits the possibilities of queer (Browne 2006: 885). In this chapter I employ the term 'queer' beyond a shorthand for sexual dissidents with reference to the ephemeral and fluid nature of space and place, leading to an understanding of tourism destination spaces that lack fixity in the sense that they are highly mobile. In this way my examination of the *Pink Map* and De Waterkant demonstrates shifting practice, shifting space, and the complicated ways expressed in both the discursive and material creation of place and the tourist experience.

2. One of the many apartheid legacies is the use of racial designations. There were four racial designations that were used under apartheid-era laws: Black (of African racial origin); Coloured (of mixed racial origin); Indian (of Asian racial origin); and White (of European racial origin). The terms are still in wide use today to reflect one's racial background, and their use within this research should not be taken as derogatory.

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