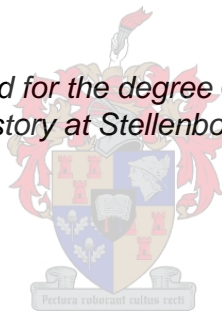


“Had its history been different, South Africa would probably have been one of the most visited places in the world.”¹?

Analysing South African tourism history with special reference to the Western Cape,
1980-2000.

by
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*Dissertation presented for the degree of Master of Arts in the
Faculty of History at Stellenbosch University*



Supervisor: Professor A. M. Grundlingh

December 2022

¹ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 9.

Declaration

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Abstract

During his State of the Nation Address on 13 February 2020, President Cyril Ramaphosa singled out tourism as a key driver for economic growth in the country. He also identified this industry as one of the most noteworthy contributors regarding job creation during the coming years. This is a sentiment which is reflected in a number of academic pieces, specifically those which focussed on the so-called rebirth of the tourism industry in South Africa after 1994. Many believe the tourism industry only received attention when it was realized this industry could be used to promote the so-called ‘new’ South Africa after de Klerk’s surprising announcements of 1990. Even the *White Paper: Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa of 1996* stated that if South Africa’s “history had been different, South Africa would probably have been one of the most visited places in the world.”² This thesis questions this specific statement and the accompanying statements that it was the so-called ‘Mandela-Boom’ that led to South Africa’s thriving tourism industry, which, in 2019, was estimated to be worth R354,9 billion. This study specifically looks at how the tourism industry navigated and adapted with regards to the sanctions of the 1980s, the political changes of the 1990s and the new millennium in 2000.

² Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 9.

Opsomming

Tydens sy Staatsrede op 13 Februarie 2020 het President Cyril Ramaphosa spesifiek verwys na toerisme as a belangrike drywer van ekonomiese groei in die land. Hy het die bedryf ook identifiseer as een wat noemenswaardige bydrae kan lewer tot werksgeleenthede in die komende jare. Dié sentiment word gereflekteer in 'n aantal akademiese werke, spesifiek daardie wat fokus op die sogenaamde wedergeboorte van die toerismebedryf in Suid-Afrika na 1994. Baie het geglo dat die toerismebedryf eers aandag geniet het toe dit besef was dat die industrie benut kon word om die sogenaamde 'nuwe' Suid-Afrika te bevorder, dit na die verrassende aankondigings van de Klerk in 1990. Selfs die *White Paper: Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa of 1996* het verklaar dat as die gesiekedenis van Suid-Afrika anders was, "South Africa would probably have been one of the most visited places in the world."³ Hierdie tesis beoog om dié stelling en soortgelyke stellings te bevraagteken, spesifiek die van die sogenaamde 'Mandela-boom' wat sommige glo bygedra het tot die floreerende toersimebedryf in Suid-Afrika, wat in 2019 beraam was om R354,9 biljoen te beloop. Hierdie studie kyk spesifiek na hoe die toerismebedryf bedryf was en aangepas het rakende die sanksies van die 1980's, die politieke veranderinge van die 1990's en die nuwe millennium in 2000.

³ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 9.

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List of Abbreviations

ANC	African National Congress
BBC	British Broadcasting Corporation
BLS	Botswana, Lesotho & Swaziland
CNBC	Consumer News and Business Channel
CNN	Cable News Network
FIFA	Fédération Internationale de Football Association World Cup
SAA	South African Airways
SABC	South African Broadcasting Corporation
SARU	South African Rugby Union
RIM	Robben Island Museum
RWC	Rugby World Cup
UFTAA	Universal Federation of Travel Agents' Associations
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization
WTO	World Tourism Organization

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Chapter 1 : Introduction

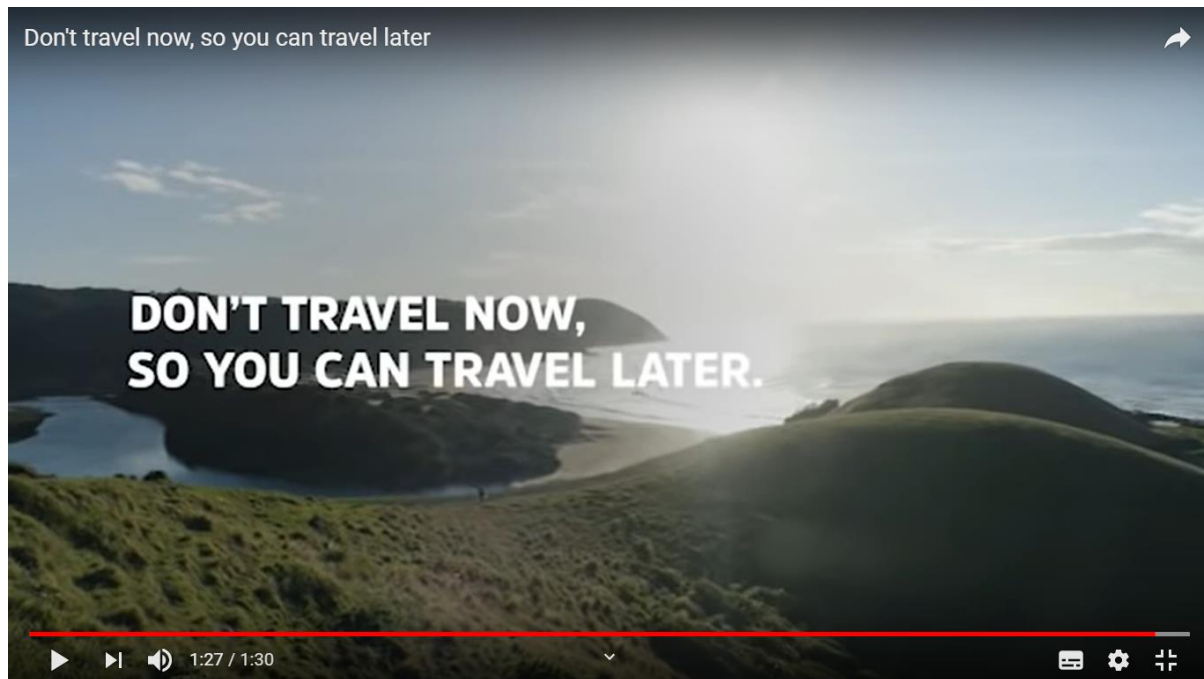


Figure 1. 1: South African Tourism Promotion Video.⁴

1.1 Introduction

During the State of the Nation Address on 13 February 2020, President Cyril Ramaphosa identified tourism as one of the most important drivers of economic growth in South Africa. He went further to identify tourism as one of the most important industries which contributed to the country's economy and an area with numerous possibilities to impact job creation.⁵ In 2019 South African Tourism had offices in the Netherlands, Australia, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Brazil, the United States of America, Nigeria, China, Japan, India, Germany and France.⁶ South Africa has also entered advertisement deals with National Geographic, the *British Broadcasting Corporation* (BBC), the *Cable News Network* (CNN), *Consumer News and Business Channel* (CNBC), Travelstarts, Expedia, Tripadvisor and Lastminute.com to

⁴ South African Tourism. Don't travel now so you can travel later, *YouTube*: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=urnp9YJeDN4> (Accessed 5 April 2020).

⁵ Republic of South Africa, Department: Tourism, *State of Tourism Report 2018/19*: <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/State%20of%20Tourism%20Report%202018-19.pdf> (Accessed 15 September 2021). p. 2.

⁶ *South African Tourism Annual Report 2018/2019*. https://nationalgovernment.co.za/entity_annual/1979/2019-south-african-tourism-annual-report.pdf, (Accessed 27 February 2022). p. 7.

intensify their marketing campaign.⁷ According to the Minister of Tourism, Mmamoloko Kubayi-Ngubanes, “South Africa still has a lot of work to do to grow at the levels of the best performing regions.”⁸ Yet, she still believed the country could reach its goal of 21 million international visitors by 2030.⁹ In no other time in recent history has the vulnerability of tourism been more apparent than in 2020 as the world was caught in a global pandemic which saw flights being cancelled in an unprecedented matter, airplanes being grounded on runways, most nations in the world closing their borders and hotels and tourist destinations forced to close their doors in an effort to curtail the spread of COVID-19. The United Nations World Tourism Organization (UNWTO) estimated that the global tourism industry had lost \$1.3 trillion.¹⁰ South Africa could not be spared from this global pandemic. Just over a month after the State of the Nation Address, a State of Disaster was declared on the night of 15 March 2020, and it would be no surprise that this would influence the R354,9 billion (2019)¹¹ tourism industry in South Africa. This forced South African Tourism to very quickly change their central message of “[l]et’s visit each other and welcome the world” which premiered on 13 February 2020 to “[d]on’t travel now, so you can travel later” by 26 March. This was quite distressing for the tourism market of South Africa as April usually saw a high number of tourists before the winter season (tourist off-season) in South Africa.

Though this was the biggest decline the tourism industry in South Africa had experienced by far, it was by no means the first. June of 2008 saw a decline in global tourism due to the 2008 recession. Similarly, in 2009 there was a decline in tourism numbers due to the H1N1 outbreak.¹² Yet, despite decreases in the numbers, usually by the following year tourism numbers would recover in a way that one would not be aware that anything had been different the previous year. Tourism statistics for South Africa also make this clear. From 2007 to 2008,

⁷ *South African Tourism Annual Report 2018/2019*.

https://nationalgovernment.co.za/entity_annual/1979/2019-south-african-tourism-annual-report.pdf, (Accessed 27 February 2022). p. 56.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 14

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 15.

¹⁰ WESGRO Cape Town & Western Cape Research. *Western Cape Tourism Recovery: 2020/21*.

<https://www.wesgro.co.za/corporate/resources/western-cape-tourism-recovery-2021>, (Accessed 27 February 2022). p. 1.

¹¹ Republic of South Africa, Department: Tourism, *State of Tourism Report 2018/19*:

<https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/State%20of%20Tourism%20Report%202018-19.pdf> (Accessed 15 September 2021). p. 4.

¹² A. Azizi. “Investigating the Aspects of Urban Tourism in Developing countries (With particular reference to Kohgiluyeh and Boyer-Ahmad Province in Iran),” *Journal of American Sciences*, (7), (5), 2011, p. 892.

the country experienced an increase of 3,66% regarding tourist arrivals.¹³ However, from 2008 to 2009, this fell to only 0,03%, but by the end of 2010, this had again risen to 12,66%.¹⁴ It should be noted that some of this increase can also be attributed to the Fédération Internationale de Football Association (FIFA) World Cup which was held in South Africa in 2010. However, South Africa's tourism numbers are believed to be lagging behind that of the rest of the world. Thus, many attribute South Africa's tourism growth, or lack thereof, to the years of Apartheid. It is argued that it was because of the Apartheid policies that South Africa was "black-listed" for a long time as a tourist destination.¹⁵ These restrictions would only be lifted after president F. W. de Klerk proclaimed the political changes that South Africa was to undergo in the 1990s.¹⁶

It is for this reason that it was stated within the *1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (hereafter referred to as the *White Paper on Tourism*) that "[h]ad its history been different, South Africa would probably have been one of the most visited places in the world."¹⁷ It is also stated within this paper that the political changes of the 1990s in South Africa finally opened the country to the world. Yet, in international terms, South Africa is still considered as a minor player in the tourism game.¹⁸ The question then becomes if her history is to blame for the underdevelopment of the tourism industry in South Africa and how much, if at all, this industry changed after the abolishment of Apartheid.

This thesis will question the statement made within the *White Paper on Tourism* that tourism in South Africa was virtually non-existent because of Apartheid. The aim of this study will be to determine if the *White Paper on Tourism* has any ground to stand upon to make such a statement. Leading academics who agree with this statement, including academics C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser; S. Cornelissen and scholars M. Saayman, A. Saayman & J. A. Rhodes will also be challenged. This thesis will also address the tourism statistics of South Africa,

¹³ Statistics South Africa, *Tourism, 2010*. Report No. 03-51-02 (2010), Pretoria, 2011, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-51-02/Report-03-51-022010.pdf>, (Accessed 15 June 2021). Table 1. Number of foreign and South African travellers by year of travel, 1991-2010, p. 16.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ J. Bloom. "A South African Perspective of the effects of crime and violence on the tourism industry" in A. Pizam & Y. Mansfeld (eds). *Tourism, Crime and International Issues*, (Wiley: New York, 1996). p. 91.

¹⁶ S. L. A. Ferreira: "Crime: a threat to tourism in South Africa," *Tourism Geographies*, (1), (3), 2007, p. 314.

¹⁷ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 9.

¹⁸ S. Cornelissen. *The Global Tourism System: Governance, Development and Lessons from South Africa*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). p. 49.

which has its own anomalies that need to be taken into consideration. The specific years which will receive attention regarding newspaper sources is 1980, 1990 and 2000. The year 1980 will be focussed on as an example of South African tourism while the country was still following Apartheid regulations. The year 1990 will be focussed on as much hope for change was placed on the tourism industry after de Klerk's announcements in Parliament. Finally, the year 2000 will be examined as a comparison to 1980 and 1990, as it was argued that by this time there would have been a number of positive changes with the country and the industry.

1.2 Problem Statement

S. Rule, J. Viljoen, S. Zama, J. Struwig, Z. Langa and O. Bouare, authors of a chapter in one of Rogerson and Visser's works, state that it was only after 1996 that the potential of tourism in South Africa was slowly being realized.¹⁹ This can be attributed to the publication in 1996 of the *White Paper on Tourism* which set out the guidelines for a thriving tourism industry in a new democratic South Africa. However, the most problematic statement in this *White Paper on Tourism* reads '[h]ad its history been different, South Africa would probably have been one of the most visited places in the world.'²⁰

Numerous academics, like M. Crick, Rogerson and Visser, and finally Cornelissen, follow the same course as the *White Paper on Tourism* in blaming Apartheid for South Africa's underdeveloped international tourism industry. These academics also state that it is because of Apartheid that South Africa only realized the potential of international tourism during the 1990s, i.e., when this *White Paper on Tourism* was published with guidelines for the tourism industry in the 'new' South Africa. Academic R. George strengthens this claim by stating that tourism was low on the list of priorities for the government of 1948.²¹ This while some parts of the world, according to author M. Peters, had already by the 1950s and 1960s reported tourism as the most important export industry and earner of foreign exchange.²² Peters goes on

¹⁹ S. Rule, J. Viljoen, S. Zama, J. Struwig, Z. Langa & O. Bouare. "Visiting Friends and Relatives: South Africa's most popular form of domestic tourism" in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 79.

²⁰ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 9.

²¹ R. George (ed). *Managing Tourism in South Africa*, p. 29.

²² M. Peters. *International Tourism: The Economics and Development of the International Tourist Trade*, (London: Hutchinson, 1969). p. 22.

to state that the potential of tourism for developing countries was also widely recognized by the 1960s.²³ Rogerson and Visser are of the opinion that “[t]he isolation of the old apartheid system delayed South Africa’s entry on the global stage of tourism, an entry that has seen a spectacular expansion of international tourism arrival.”²⁴ They also directly blame Apartheid for the anti-development of tourism in South Africa. Rogerson and Visser also, very dramatically, state that many of South Africa’s international offices across the world had to close due to the lack of international tourists to South Africa.²⁵ The author Francis agrees that South African tourism was negatively affected by the sanctions which were implemented against South Africa during Apartheid.²⁶ Cornelissen made it clear that tourism is a susceptible sector. This particular point includes virus outbreaks, terrorist attacks and political instability. However, Cornelissen refers directly to South Africa by stating, “[i]ndeed, following the end of apartheid tourism has seen dramatic growth and government has developed a number of initiatives, policies and projects to fully exploit the country’s emergence as a destination of international significance.”²⁷ Saayman, Saayman and Rhodes also argue that the tourism industry in South Africa operated below its potential because of the economic isolations that South Africa suffered during the 1980s and early 1990s.²⁸

Though tourism was allegedly not a priority for the 1948 government, the *Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut* contradicts the statement that it took South Africa until the 1990s to realize the potential of tourism. The content of this report makes it apparent that the tourism industry in South Africa was functional well before 1994. In its report it refers to the founding of the Department of Tourism under a Minister of Tourism already in.²⁹ It should also be noted that, according to George, it was not until the 1970s that the tourists themselves were bothered and actively aware of the apartheid laws in South Africa. He strengthens his point by stating that it was the Soweto incident of 1976 which proved to be the turning point in criticism against South

²³ M. Peters. *International Tourism: The Economics and Development of the International Tourist Trade*, (London: Hutchinson, 1969). p. 22.

²⁴ C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser. “Tourism and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A ten-year review” in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds.): *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 5.

²⁵ *Ibid.* p. 4.

²⁶ C. Francis. “The Tourism System” in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 6.

²⁷ S. Cornelissen. *The Global Tourism System: Governance, Development and Lessons from South Africa*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). p. 2.

²⁸ M. Saayman, A. Saayman & J. A. Rhodes. “Domestic tourist spending and economic development: the case of the North West Province,” *Development Southern Africa*, (18), (4), October 2001, p. 443.

²⁹ Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. *Die Uitbouing van Toerisme*, (Pretoria: Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, 1969). p. 8.

Africa.³⁰ Nevertheless, Rogerson and Visser still described tourism as anti-developmental during the time of Apartheid as it was solely centred around white South Africa.³¹ Though this criticism would not make another 180-degree turn until 1992, tourism statistics were never directly influenced by these criticisms.

Authors, like Booysen, also claims that the reasons for foreigners to visit South Africa had changed after 1994, as they rather wanted to see the culture and visit the townships which were regarded as the “catalyst for social change and healing in South Africa.”³² The *White Paper on Tourism* also stated that South Africa could no longer only depend on their natural beauty to compete in the tourism industry but had to incorporate its cultural diversity.³³ It is in these changes where the belief was rooted that tourism in South Africa could have been one of the best-developed tourism industries in the world.

This thesis then provides an overview of tourism dynamics, by referring to the Western Cape as a case study, and considers the longer Apartheid history of tourism.

1.3 Literature Review

There are numerous factors that explain why South Africa’s tourism industry is not as well developed as other destinations of the world; this includes their geographical placement, misperceptions of the African continent, the international media, etc. It cannot solely be attributed to Apartheid.

It is evident in the literature that tourism had historically not enjoyed the same academic attention as other fields in the social sciences. Peters was of the opinion that the importance of tourism had already been realized in the 1950s and 1960s, even though scholars like Crick believed that it was later.³⁴ This, as the first anthropological study regarding tourism was only undertaken in 1963 and the first conference on tourism was only held in 1974.³⁵ The World

³⁰ R. George (ed). *Managing Tourism in South Africa*, p. 30.

³¹ G. Visser & C. M. Rogerson. “Researching the South African tourism and development nexus,” *GeoJournal*, (60), (3), 2004, p. 201.

³² I. Booysen. “Rethinking township tourism: Towards responsible tourism development in South African townships,” *Development Southern Africa*, (27), (2), 2010, p. 273.

³³ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 7.

³⁴ M. Peters. *International Tourism: The Economics and Development of the International Tourist Trade*, (London: Hutchinson, 1969). p. 22.

³⁵ M. Crick. “Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, (18), (1), 1989, p. 310.

Tourism Organization (WTO) was also only created on 1 November 1974, with South Africa only becoming a member on 12 April 1994.³⁶ Despite this late entry, according to authors G. Allen and F. Brennan, by 2004 the WTO had referred to South Africa as the most outstanding tourist destination on the African continent.³⁷

It was during the 1960s that international tourism, especially from the affluent north to the poor south, was seen as a positive aspect in terms of economic development.³⁸ It was in 1972 that the promotion of travel to minority countries came to the fore as it was believed this would help with their economic inequality in the world.³⁹ However, as authors M. Mowforth and I. Hunt stated, countries and certain locations are rather there for those of the First World to collect “for the list, the kudos and the image.”⁴⁰ Scholars S. C. Goudie, F. Khan and D. Kilian believed that the main reason the Third World was so interested in tourism and the ‘westernization’ of their tourism is because “[t]ourism is often promoted as an economic cure-all in the developing world.”⁴¹ Author C. Cooper states that it is ultimately the economic development of a country that determines their tourism demand, as it is often the poorer south that wants to attract the affluent north.⁴² Thus, there is also the belief that travel takes place to the Third World because it is considered as an inexpensive tourist destination. This had led to a difference in experience regarding tourism between the visitors and the hosts. Thus, tourism development has a reputation of being insensitive to the community, the quality of life of the people who reside there, and the cultural and environmental milieu.⁴³ It was in 1989 that Crick stated, “[w]hereas tourism makes the Third World a ‘Garden of Eden’ for some (as a local newspaper remarked as far back as 1938), for locals, it is a ‘Perverved Hell.’”⁴⁴ This statement of Crick matches with the theories of Mowforth and Hunt that the Third World does not benefit

³⁶ P. H. G. Vrancken. “Chapter 13 – Tourism Organisations and Regulations” in P. H. G. Vrancken (ed). *Tourism and the law in South Africa*, p. 280.

³⁷ G. Allen & F. Brennan. *Tourism in the New South Africa. Social Responsibility and the Tourist Experience*, (London: IB Tauris. 2004). p. 18.

³⁸ M. Crick. “Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, (18). (1), 1989, p. 314.

³⁹ J. Keefe. “Disruption and Displacement: Tourism and land alienation” in P. Burns (ed). *Tourism and Minorities’ Heritage: Impacts and Prospects.* *Papers in Leisure and Tourism Studies* no. 6, p. 41.

⁴⁰ M. Mowforth & I. Hunt. *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World*, (London: Routledge, 1998). p. 103.

⁴¹ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: “Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid,” *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 22.

⁴² C. Cooper. “Tourism Demand Determinants and Forecasting” in C. Cooper, J. Fletcher, A. Fyall, D. Gilbert & S. Wanhill. *Tourism: Principles and Practice*, 4th ed. (England: Pearson Education Limited, 2008). p. 107.

⁴³ K. M. Haywood. “Revising and implementing the marketing concept as it applies to tourism” in C. Ryan & S. Page (eds). *Tourism Management: Towards the New Millennium*, p. 382.

⁴⁴ M. Crick. “Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, (18). (1), 1989, p. 322.

from the tourism economy because it is owned by the First World. It also matches with academics S. Ferreira and G. Visser's statement that these tourist destinations ultimately becomes a playground for the wealthy while excluding the locals. Unfortunately, it is because of this myth that tourism can serve as a solution for a country's economy, by which the industry has gained its popularity.

Thus, it is also noted that most tourism studies are focussed on international tourism. Cooper stated that the main reason countries want international tourists is because it is believed that these tourists can spend more money in the country than the country is spending on travel in other countries, and thus it would be positive economically.⁴⁵ This is because tourism has been identified "as a key strategy that can lead to economic upliftment, community development and poverty relief in the developing world."⁴⁶ This is the theoretical ideal for developing nations, yet, it is often not the reality. Authors G. Shaw and A. M. Williams noted that developing nations could struggle to compete when it comes to these international tourism competitions as tourism is heavily influenced by globalization.⁴⁷

Another general theory that accompanies the study of tourism is what Shaw and Williams coined as 'McDonaldization' and 'McDisneyfication', which refers to the generalization and predictability of mass tourism.⁴⁸ Authors S. Coleman and M. Crang are quoted stating, "[a]t worst, the process is perceived as producing interminable package resorts with thousands of identical hotels, offering private pools and reducing locals to servants."⁴⁹ A significant point which authors A. Fyall and S. Wanhill raise is that tourists travel to destinations to experience something specific.⁵⁰ This ties in with Shaw and Williams' statement that tourists seldomly want authenticity, they instead prefer that which they are expecting from the destination and what they perceive as being authentic.⁵¹ In South Africa's case, tourists are in search for sites that honour Mandela, the Big Five of animals and the indigenous and traditional local population. Studies regarding tourism development in South Africa have made it clear that

⁴⁵ C. Cooper. "Measuring Demand for Tourism" in C. Cooper, J. Fletcher, A. Fyall, D. Gilbert & S. Wanhill. *Tourism: Principles and Practice*, 4th ed. (England: Pearson Education Limited, 2008). p. 73.

⁴⁶ T. Binns & E. Nel: "Tourism as a Local Development Strategy in South Africa," *The Geographical Journal*, (168), (3), 2002, p. 235.

⁴⁷ G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London, Sage Publications, 2004). p.6.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.* p. 124.

⁴⁹ S. Coleman & M. Crang. "Grounded Tourists, Travelling Theory" in S. Coleman & M. Crang (eds). *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, p. 1.

⁵⁰ A. Fyall & S. Wanhill. "Destination" in C. Cooper, J. Fletcher, A. Fyall, D. Gilbert & S. Wanhill. *Tourism: Principles and Practice*, 4th ed. (England: Pearson Education Limited, 2008). p. 475.

⁵¹ G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004). p. 135.

tourists will receive the same standard of mass tourism in their hotels, and they will also be treated to what they sought to see, namely that which represents the struggle narrative. This will even be created for the tourist if need be.

Shaw and Williams have also identified this so-called new tourist who wants to distance himself from the 'McDisneyfied' tourism. These so-called new tourists are believed to be in search of a worthwhile experience.⁵² Thus, tourists are always searching for new places to visit where they will not encounter overcrowding. Cohen stated that these new tourists are in search of something strange yet familiar. In this case, the term 'the real' is often used to sell authenticity to these so-called new tourists. In South Africa, this is specifically seen in township tourism. It is thus that scholar D. MacCannell has stated that tourists become the victim of staged authenticity.⁵³

It has been noted in the literature that the tourists who are interested in culture and heritage tourism are often part of the aforementioned highly desired affluent class of tourists.⁵⁴ It is these tourists whom destinations wish to attract, as it is believed they will bring the most foreign capital with them. Francis stated that a destination must stay aware of the changing needs of tourists, yet they must sustain their cultural identity, as this is what the tourists are in search of.⁵⁵ Thus, cultural tourism then becomes a balancing act between what the tourist wants and maintaining its authenticity. If this balancing act is not successful, tourists might not be satisfied with what they are shown. Thus, it has become clear that any form of cultural tourism is ultimately staged authenticity. Here it is important to consider the theories of staged authenticity and author J. Urry's theory of the tourist gaze. He asks who authorises this tourist gaze and ultimately decides what, and what not, the tourist will see.⁵⁶ Urry stated that it is not about whether the past is preserved but rather what kind of past is preserved.⁵⁷ Author D. Harrison adds his voice by stating that what is deemed as authentic ultimately rests on the perspective of the producer, namely the tour operator, and the buyer, which is the tourist.⁵⁸ In this regard, anything regarding tourism is seen as fair game.⁵⁹

⁵² G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004). p. 119.

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 136.

⁵⁴ B. Holcomb. "Marketing Cities for Tourism" in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 64.

⁵⁵ C. Francis. "The Tourism System" in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 4.

⁵⁶ J. Urry. *The Tourist Gaze: Leisure & Travel in Contemporary Societies*, (London: Sage Publications, 1992). p. 1.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 109.

⁵⁸ D. Harrison. "Tourism to less developed countries: the social consequences" in D. Harrison (ed). *Tourism & the less developed countries*, p. 21.

⁵⁹ P. Burns. "Tourism and Minorities' Heritage: A Context" in P. Burns (ed). *'Tourism and Minorities' Heritage: Impacts and Prospects.* *Papers in Leisure and Tourism Studies* no. 6, p. 7.

Though South Africa had managed to become closer to the rest of the world with the introduction of air travel, they quickly became known as a budget tourist destination. Shaw and Williams identified prices as the most common basis of competition within the industry.⁶⁰ Saayman et al. reiterated that the Rand's decline was inviting for more foreign tourists, as it would have been cheaper for them to have a vacation in South Africa. They were also of the opinion that the decline of the Rand would encourage domestic tourism, as it would be too expensive for South Africans to travel abroad.⁶¹ Though studies on domestic tourism in South Africa are lacking, studies like that of Saayman et al. made it clear that South Africa was very much considered a budget tourist destination. Yet, studies like these failed to point out that the country had tried to rid itself of this image before they had embraced it.

Surveying the literature on South African tourism, it is evident that the literature is divided into two periods, that before 1994 and that after 1994. According to editor G. Richards, prior to 1994, South Africa's selling point for tourism was its scenic beauty, wildlife and climate, but after 1994, South Africa realized that it could use its people and their diversity as a unique selling point.⁶² It was then that the focus shifted to cultural tourism. Author G. Mason is quoted as saying, " 'Culture' is attractively packaged, priced and sold like fast food; for the visiting tourist, the promotional material promises that the world is there for the taking, and providing you with the spending power, it is your right to see whatever you wish."⁶³ Even the *Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut* noted in their memorandum this commodification of culture and packaging the tribal life into bus tours to the homelands which could be sold to tourists.⁶⁴ It is as author E. Jansen van Vuuren stated, there is a need to understand what international tourists want in order to make them profitable.⁶⁵ Scholar M. Sepe directly stated that the development of cultures is usually primarily driven by their economic benefits.⁶⁶ Mowforth and Hunt were of

⁶⁰ G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004). p. 111.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² G. Richards. *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, (New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007). p. 39.

⁶³ G. Mason. 'Cinder Eyes and Chocolate Thighs: Packing the Exotic for Visitor Consumption' in P. Burns (ed). *Tourism and Minorities' Heritage: Impacts and Prospects. Papers in Leisure and Tourism Studies no. 6*, p. 78.

⁶⁴ Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. *Die Uitbouing van Toerisme*, (Pretoria: Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut, 1969). p. 33.

⁶⁵ E. Jansen van Vuuren. "Cultural Village Tourism in South Africa: Capitalising on Indigenous Culture" in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 147.

⁶⁶ M. Sepe. "Urban history and cultural resources in urban regeneration: a case of creative waterfront renewal," *Planning Perspectives*, (28), (4), 2013, p. 599.

the opinion that cultural tourism led to cultural capital.⁶⁷ The author Tlhagale has also noted that in order for tourism to be successful today, destinations can no longer only have hotels, scenery, the best attractions, outstanding services and good transport; they need tourist to consume their tourist products.⁶⁸ Jansen van Vuuren explained it best by stating that “[t]ourism marketing and products are saturated with cultural significance.”⁶⁹

Even in 1969, the *Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut* had realized that the so-called homelands were one of the biggest potential attractions of South Africa for international tourists.⁷⁰ Richards also stated that tourists came in search of an image of the past, but not the actual past.⁷¹ Shaw and Williams have noted that in post-modern tourism it has become popular to merge different time periods by reconstructing the heritage and representing them in the present.⁷² Thus, according to Jansen van Vuuren, in order for cultural villages to be prosperous for tourism, traditional villages needed to be portrayed as they were in the 19th and 20th centuries to give the idea that there were no changes in these villages.⁷³ Thus, these villages are often constructed for tourism and frozen in history, again referring back to the balancing act cultural tourism has to maintain. It is then, as the author Olivier stated, that countries experience cultural conflict, especially if they are entering the tourism market for the first time.⁷⁴ This is because there is a conflict between whose culture to portray, how to portray it, and ultimately what the tourist is in search of. Along with cultural tourism, there was also heritage tourism.

According to author B. Holcomb, “history sells and heritage is hyped.”⁷⁵ Thus, heritage is also packaged for the tourist as an experience, as it is believed it can be sold as a commodity. The issue with heritage in South Africa, as with culture, is whose heritage to portray, package and sell to the tourist. Which heritage does the tourist want to see? Numerous studies have been done on this issue. Scholars L. Gradén and T. O’Dell stated that heritage is not just made

⁶⁷ M. Mowforth & I. Hunt. *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the Third World*, 3rd ed. (London and New York: Routledge, 2009). p. 125.

⁶⁸ M. Tlhagale. “Organisations of the Tourism Industry” in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 172.

⁶⁹ E. Jansen van Vuuren. “Cultural Village Tourism in South Africa: Capitalising on Indigenous Culture” in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 139.

⁷⁰ Die Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut. *Die Uitbouing van Toerisme*, (Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut: Pretoria, 1969). p. 32.

⁷¹ G. Richards. *Cultural Tourism: Global and Local Perspectives*, (New York: The Haworth Hospitality Press, 2007). p. 29.

⁷² G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004). p. 120.

⁷³ E. Jansen van Vuuren. “Cultural Village Tourism in South Africa: Capitalising on Indigenous Culture” in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 140.

⁷⁴ H. Olivier. “The Shape and Direction of Tourism Flow” in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 63.

⁷⁵ B. Holcomb. “Marketing Cities for Tourism” in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 65.

available to the public in its raw form, it is rather packaged and subtly displayed, marketed with sophistication and finally also staged under a combination of entertainment and education.⁷⁶ The question then becomes to whom does one cater for and for who will one change the attraction to please. Author M. K. Smith was of the opinion that ultimately it is the museum curators, site managers and tour directors who decide what the tourists will see and what meanings will be assigned to these objects.⁷⁷ Then it is also important to note that a political leader or the government can also alter what tourists are allowed to see. This can very clearly be seen in the literature, as the South African Government was very particular about the information, which made it beyond the country's borders and the image they wanted to portray. Even with post-apartheid literature on tourism it is clear that South Africa was adamant about changing the image of the country and the methods and people they used, including Mandela, in order to achieve this. Yet, Smith argues that it is ultimately still the government who gets to decide what attractions will be advertised when promoting the country, as the government pays grants to these attractions.⁷⁸

Through this lens, it has been noted that tourism relies on the concept of staged authenticity. Francis explains it best by stating, “[t]his should serve to illustrate that tourism is an independent system and that any destination, be it a country or an attraction within a country, is made up of demand that is created and supply that is managed, that it is linked through transportation and distribution channels, and that it is regulated and affected by environmental elements.”⁷⁹ Scholars C. Ashley and D. Roe strengthened this argument by stating that any dealings with cultural issues are more focussed on creating the kind of cultures tourists want to see rather than protecting the existing ones.⁸⁰ Scholar D. Engerman stated that the host country will guarantee that the tourist finds the authenticity they are looking for, even if that authenticity needs to be created.⁸¹ It is here where MacCannell’s theory of the backstage and the front stage comes to the fore, as the industry was designed to convince the tourist that what he is seeing is

⁷⁶ L. Gradén & T. O’Dell. “Museums and Heritage Collections in the Cultural Economy: The Challenge of Addressing Wider Audiences and Local Communities,” *Museum International*, (68), (271-272), 2016, p. 49.

⁷⁷ M. K. Smith. *Issues in Cultural Tourism Studies*, (London: Routledge, 2003). p. 90.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.* p. 92.

⁷⁹ C. Francis. “The Tourism Systems” in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 3.

⁸⁰ C. Ashley & D. Roe. “Making tourism work for the poor: strategies and challenges in Southern Africa,” *Development Southern Africa*, (19), (1), March 2002, p. 67.

⁸¹ D. Engerman. “Research Agenda for the History of Tourism: Towards an International Social History,” *American Studies*, (32), (2), 1994, p. 11.

authentic. Tourists want to see the so-called real-life in the nations they are visiting.⁸² The issue is that tourists have a pre-conceived idea of what the 'real' is they want to see. Coleman and Crang believe that tourists prepare for this constructed experience but are not even aware of it.⁸³ This is because, as Shaw and Williams state, tourists arrive at a destination with a preconceived idea of the destination.⁸⁴ It is as Harrison states that the issue is also in the way that a country is marketed, which can make for unfavourable racial stereotypes to come to the fore again.⁸⁵ Shaw and Williams are of the opinion that commodification starts with the images that are presented in brochures that are given to tourists.⁸⁶ This goes hand in hand with Crick's statement that tourism is about myths and image-making, which often harms the Third World.⁸⁷ Thus, tour operators often convince tourists that they are seeing the backstage, the so-called 'real', yet this backstage is but a frontstage to the actual backstage. Thus, this 'backstage', which is perceived as the 'real' is also staged. As Francis says, tourism must not only meet but exceed the expectations of their visitors, as they are in search of value for their money.⁸⁸ Shaw and Williams state that this extraordinary element is to be found in cultures.⁸⁹ Thus, MacCannell explains that the tourist ultimately seems oblivious to the inauthentic experiences around him.⁹⁰

Academics J. Fourie and M. Santana-Gallego, just like other academics, list the main reasons for tourism development as always being foreign revenue, job creation, economic growth and development.⁹¹ Visser stated that tourism is considered as one of the main driving forces of economic expansion in South Africa.⁹² A sentiment echoed in the State of the Nation address of President Ramaphosa in 2020. This then further feeds into the myth of economic benefits

⁸² D. MacCannell. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *The American Journal of Sociology*, (79), (1), 1973, p. 592.

⁸³ S. Coleman & M. Crang. "Grounded Tourists, Travelling Theory" in S. Coleman & M. Crang (eds). *Tourism: Between Place and Performance*, p. 5.

⁸⁴ G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004). p. 171.

⁸⁵ D. Harrison. "Tourism to less developed countries: the social consequences" in D. Harrison (ed). *Tourism & the less developed countries*, p. 33.

⁸⁶ G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004). p. 184.

⁸⁷ M. Crick. "Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, (18). (1), 1989, p. 329.

⁸⁸ C. Francis. "The Tourism Systems" in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 7.

⁸⁹ G. Shaw & A. M. Williams. *Tourism and Tourism Spaces*, (London: Sage Publications, 2004). p. 167.

⁹⁰ D. MacCannell. "Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings," *The American Journal of Sociology*, (79), (1), 1973, p. 589.

⁹¹ J. Fourie & M. Santana-Gallego: "The Determinants of African Tourism." *Development Southern Africa*, (30), (3), 2013, p. 348.

⁹² G. Visser. "South African Tourism and its Role in the Perpetuation of an uneven Tourism Space Economy," in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 268.

which comes with tourism. It should be noted that these local residents are often excluded from the decision making of the tourist destination, nor do they benefit from it.⁹³ Some descriptions and experiences of tourism destinations make it seem that the relations between tourists and residents could not be better, though this is not true.⁹⁴ Visser highlighted that because tours are fixed, it is improbable that tourists would spend money on smaller businesses or interact with local people.⁹⁵ Author J. Keefe believed that some local residents were so much shifted to the borders that they could only benefit from tourism by selling their arts and crafts by the curb side.⁹⁶ This is not an unfamiliar sight in South Africa. Nevertheless, tourism still claims that it can produce jobs, especially with rural tourism, but author L. K. Richter stated that it is not doing so.⁹⁷ This failure of job creation within rural tourism has been the focus of numerous studies. Visser listed four key issues which are frequently highlighted. First is the lack of the previously disadvantaged individuals within the tourism industry, second is the limited investors the tourism industry in South Africa receives, third is the highly uneven tourism economy which had settled itself in South Africa, and finally, the slow pace of the transformation of the tourism industry.⁹⁸ These issues dominate the academic literature of tourism in South Africa.

It is thus that Erik Cohen coined the term *Communicative Staging* in which he explained that local populations adapt to suit the tourists that visit them.⁹⁹ Mowforth and Hunt strengthen this argument by stating that tourism is orchestrated in the zones where tourists and hosts come into contact, thus the difference in experiences between tourists and hosts. It is because of this that warnings are often heard that tourism must be careful of the “zooification” of local people for the sake of tourism.¹⁰⁰ MacCannell described it as the natives being kept in quarantine while

⁹³ M. Mowforth & I. Hunt. *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World*, (London: Routledge, 1998). p. 238.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 269.

⁹⁵ G. Visser. “South African Tourism and its Role in the Perpetuation of an uneven Tourism Space Economy,” in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 284.

⁹⁶ J. Keefe. “Disruption and Displacement: Tourism and land alienation” in P. Burns (ed). *Tourism and Minorities’ Heritage: Impacts and Prospects.* *Papers in Leisure and Tourism Studies* no. 6, p. 48.

⁹⁷ L. K. Richter. “Political Instability and Tourism in the Third World” in D. Harrison (ed). *Tourism & the less developed countries*, p. 37.

⁹⁸ G. Visser. “South African Tourism and its Role in the Perpetuation of an uneven Tourism Space Economy,” in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 268.

⁹⁹ M. Mowforth & I. Hunt. *Tourism and Sustainability: New Tourism in the Third World*, (London: Routledge, 1998). p. 271.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 273.

the tourists sight-see them.¹⁰¹ Crick also stated that tourism is a kind of experience that is packaged in a way that prevents any real contact with locals.¹⁰² Author K. M. Haywood took it together nicely by stating: “[l]ocal residents obviously become part of the tourist product attracting tourists through their culture and hospitality, and consequently the resident, as a community member, is affected by tourism in all its positive and negative manifestations.”¹⁰³

According to academic A. M. Grundlingh, in contradiction with many other academics, South Africa had enjoyed a steady growth in their tourism numbers prior to 1976, as apartheid was not yet fully developed as a national and international issue. Grundlingh attributed the decline in tourism numbers in the late 1970s to the events of 16 June 1976 at Soweto, as the media had covered every minute of the violent clash between black pupils and the police.¹⁰⁴ Unlike other authors, Grundlingh’s study of tourism in South Africa started well before the time Apartheid in South Africa was at its height, thus making a point that tourism in the country started well before the 1990s, as some authors have claimed. As South Africa entered the 1990s, tourism became somewhat of a symbol for the old Apartheid ways. Thus, the transformation, or failings thereof, was alleged to be seen in tourism. Goudie, Khan and Kilian stated, “[w]ith the demise of apartheid increasing emphasis has been placed on the role of tourism as a catalyst for social change and healing in South Africa by the state, the private sector, and community organisations.”¹⁰⁵ Therefore, tourism in a post-apartheid South Africa would portray the progress of the nation. This is the ideal, but not the reality.

According to Cornelissen, during Apartheid, the government tried to advertise South Africa as an extension of Europe.¹⁰⁶ They wanted instead to be associated with Europe than the African continent. Rogerson and Visser believe that tourism on the African continent lagged behind even that of the Third World. They also stated that South African tourism was unique only because international boycotts against the Apartheid government directly influenced the

¹⁰¹ D. MacCannell. “Staged Authenticity: Arrangements of Social Space in Tourist Settings,” *The American Journal of Sociology*, (79), (1), 1973, p. 599.

¹⁰² M. Crick. “Representations of International Tourism in the Social Sciences: Sun, Sex, Sights, Savings, and Servility,” *Annual Review of Anthropology*, (18). (1), 1989, p. 308.

¹⁰³ K. M. Haywood. “Responsible and responsive tourism planning in the community” in C. Ryan & S. Page (eds). *Tourism Management: Towards the New Millennium*, p. 168.

¹⁰⁴ A. Grundlingh. “Revisiting the ‘Old’ South Africa: Excursions into South Africa’s Tourist History under Apartheid, 1948-1990,” *South African Historical Journal*, (56), (1), 2006, p. 113.

¹⁰⁵ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: “Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid,” *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 22.

¹⁰⁶ S. Cornelissen. *The Global Tourism System: Governance, Development and Lessons from South Africa*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). p. 43.

tourism economy.¹⁰⁷ Visser and Rogerson stated that the tourism industry was hit the hardest by these economic sanctions.¹⁰⁸ According to Rogerson and Visser, just like the *White Paper on Tourism*, tourism in South Africa was influenced negatively under the Apartheid government.¹⁰⁹ They were also of the opinion that it was only the post-Apartheid government who gave support to the tourism industry.¹¹⁰ An opinion shared by many academics, yet can be proven to be incorrect.

The biggest issue with post-Apartheid tourism is how the traditional cultures are commodified and marketed. According to Goudie, Khan and Kilian, in 1999, there were still struggles to incorporate transformation in tourism and ensure black participation.¹¹¹ The most significant challenge heritage tourism in South Africa faces is the challenge of presenting a painful and separated past in a new and diverse post-apartheid country which is another factor many academics in the social sciences focus on. It is also often stated that heritage came to save history.¹¹² It was Rogerson and Visser who were of the opinion that the tourism economy in South Africa still reflected the Apartheid ways, especially when considering ownership and skills development.¹¹³ Thus, transformation in the tourism sector was considered critical by the government, which means the involvement of the historically disadvantaged communities of South Africa.¹¹⁴ Transformation has also clearly been at the centre of the government support, which can be seen with the Green and White Papers on Tourism. However, it has been noted that it has been difficult for black entrepreneurs to enter this well-established foreign-dominated and white tourism industry.¹¹⁵ Goudie, Khan and Kilian believe that the real aim

¹⁰⁷ C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser. "Tourism and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A ten-year review" in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds.): *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 4.

¹⁰⁸ G. Visser & C. M. Rogerson. "Researching the South African tourism and development nexus," *GeoJournal*, (60), (3), 2004, p. 201.

¹⁰⁹ C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser. 'Tourism Research and Urban Africa: The South African Experience' in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Urban Tourism in the Developing World: The South African Experience*, p. 17.

¹¹⁰ C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser. "International Tourist Flows and Urban Tourism in South Africa" in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Urban Tourism in the Developing World: The South African Experience*, p. 41.

¹¹¹ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid," *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 22.

¹¹² C. Rassool. "The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstruction of History in South Africa," *Kronos*, (26), 2000, p. 3.

¹¹³ C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser. "Tourism and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A ten-year review" in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds.): *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 8.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid," *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 23.

should be on how to promote tourism in black areas, rather than trying to force them into the white tourism industry.¹¹⁶ Which is where township tourism is usually seen as the best option to incorporate previously disadvantaged communities.

Ultimately, the tourism industry was tasked with representing the so-called new South Africa to potential foreign tourists. This went with the presentation of 'A World in One Country.'¹¹⁷ According to Cornelissen, it was only after 1994 that tourism gained attention in South Africa. Cornelissen also stated that South Africa became a popular tourist destination only after Apartheid.¹¹⁸ Both were controversial opinions. The main aim of this thesis is to prove that this simply is not true; South Africa was a popular tourist destination even during Apartheid. Olivier takes a different angle by rather stating that tourists' motivations to travel to South Africa changed after 1994.¹¹⁹ She stated that before democracy people came for the scenic beauty and wildlife, but after democracy they came to see the so-called new South Africa and its cultural attractions.¹²⁰ It has previously been noted in this thesis that the topic of tourism in post-Apartheid South Africa has been focussed on extensively. It should also be noted that it also focuses on one man specifically: Mandela.

Geographers who study tourism in South Africa coined the term 'Mandela Boom' or 'Mandela Magic'.¹²¹ Cornelissen explained this 'Mandela-syndrome' as a curiosity among foreigners to see the changes that have come in South Africa after 1994.¹²² Visser and Rogerson also stated, like many others, that in this time there was a "Mandela-inspired growth in overseas tourism."¹²³ One destination that constructed its entire narrative around this "Mandela Curiosity" is the Robben Island Museum (RIM), where Mandela had been a political prisoner for 18 years.¹²⁴ According to Goudie, Khan and Kilian, RIM is considered as one of the most

¹¹⁶ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid," *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 27.

¹¹⁷ C. Rassool. "The Rise of Heritage and the Reconstruction of History in South Africa," *Kronos*, (26), 2000, p. 6.

¹¹⁸ S. Cornelissen. *The Global Tourism System: Governance, Development and Lessons from South Africa*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). p. 1.

¹¹⁹ H. Olivier. "The Shape and Direction of Tourism Flow" in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 96.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*

¹²¹ C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser. "Tourism and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A ten-year review" in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds.): *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 5.

¹²² S. Cornelissen. *The Global Tourism System: Governance, Development and Lessons from South Africa*, (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005). p. 49.

¹²³ G. Visser & C. M. Rogerson. "Researching the South African tourism and development nexus," *GeoJournal*, (60), (3), 2004, p. 202.

¹²⁴ Contrary to popular belief, Mandela was not incarcerated on Robben Island for 27 years, but only served 18 years of his sentence there.

significant developments in heritage tourism post-1994 in South Africa.¹²⁵ Though Goudie, Khan and Kilian believe that the island's history as a place of banishment for lepers, the mentally ill and political prisoners is incorporated in the tours which are offered today, RIM relies solely on the 'Mandela Magic' and the struggle narrative, while all other layers of its history lie forgotten. By 2003, George had attributed the decline of international tourism numbers to the country to the disappearance of the so-called 'Mandela Magic'.¹²⁶

However, George and others, like scholar S. L. A. Ferreira who focussed on the influence of crime on tourism in South Africa, argued that it was rather crime that kept South Africa from reaching its full tourism potential. George noted that there are three main reasons tourism demand in a destination may decline: first, there is the fear of safety when a destination has a negative image; secondly, tourists may not feel safe to partake in activities outside of their hotel; and finally tourist may not recommend the destination to friends and family depending on their experience.¹²⁷ Political instability is also a deterrent for tourists, especially if violence is involved.¹²⁸ This is also a major deterrent for South African tourism, as prior to 1994, the world did not agree with their political policies, and much violence was also present. Today, violence is still a major deterrent for tourism in South Africa.

Thus, as authors S. S. Fainstein and D. Gladstone state, a tourist destination cannot only rely on something out of the ordinary, like South Africa relies on their cultural tourism, but must also guarantee safety for the tourist.¹²⁹ Safety is a crucial key in the success of tourism development and to guarantee this, the host often needs to create these spaces. As author D. R. Judd states, if the city is not considered safe for tourists, governments will construct spaces within the city that will be safe.¹³⁰ This then leads to what is referred to as the tourist space. Affluent tourists are often focussed in the city centres; thus, this space is heavily patrolled to do away with so-called undesirables and keep these specific tourists safe. This is known as,

¹²⁵ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid," *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 24.

¹²⁶ R. George. "Tourist's perceptions of safety and security while visiting Cape Town," *Tourism Management*, (24), 2003, p. 576.

¹²⁷ R. George. "International tourists' perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa," *South African Journal of Business Management*, 2013, (44), (1), p. 49.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.* p. 50.

¹²⁹ S. S. Fainstein & D. Gladstone. "Evaluating Urban Tourism" in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 22.

¹³⁰ D. R. Judd. "Constructing the Tourist Bubble" in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 37.

what Fainstein and Gladstone refer to, the fortified city.¹³¹ The fortified city is defined as a city that is designed in such a way that it will keep the threat out while keeping the tourists safe.¹³² Thus, it is important to note that the tourist city is restricted. Most cities have a definitive border that separates the tourist space from the rest of the city.¹³³ The issue with this is that the city can decline as long as the tourist space within itself stays up to standard. The fortified city thus becomes unattached from its surroundings and presents a form of staged authenticity.¹³⁴ These destinations often become brand names that can be acquired like a product.¹³⁵ Along with safety, these urban tourist spaces are also in need of an attraction to be successful in the tourism industry.

Finally, it was authors A. Pizam and Y. Mansfeld who stated that the media determines the image of a place.¹³⁶ Thus, South African newspapers will also be included in this research as through these newspapers an idea of what the rest of the world was reading about South Africa can be obtained. In the same manner, what was being reported in South Africa, the opinions of the readers and South African holiday development will also be obtained. *Die Burger* and *The Argus* were the leading newspapers which were consulted. *Die Burger* has served as the most popular Afrikaans newspaper in the Western Cape, and it was found that they were constantly feuding with *The Argus*, specifically in 1980. Thus, the choice was made to use these two newspapers, as one acted as a liberal voice against the Apartheid government, while the other served as a conservative voice trying to explain the government's standpoint. This study works within a 20-year timeframe, specifically focusing on the years 1980, 1990 and 2000. These years will be studied in the newspapers to determine the climate within South Africa and the rest of the world at the time. The newspapers also provide clarity regarding the views of the South African Government on what was being reported of the country abroad and which nations they considered important for diplomatic ties. Prior to 1994, South African tourism was allegedly influenced by the negative image the media portrayed. It has been noted that “place image” is crucial for a destination, as the idea individuals have abroad of another country will

¹³¹ S. S. Fainstein & D. Gladstone. “Evaluating Urban Tourism” in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 26.

¹³² *Ibid.*

¹³³ D. R. Judd. “Constructing the Tourist Bubble” in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 36.

¹³⁴ S. S. Fainstein & D. Gladstone. “Evaluating Urban Tourism” in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 27.

¹³⁵ D. Gilbert. “Marketing Mix Application” in C. Cooper, J. Fletcher, A. Fyall, D. Gilbert & S. Wanhill. *Tourism: Principles and Practice*, 4th ed. p. 616.

¹³⁶ C. M. Hall & V. O’Sullivan. “Tourism, political stability and violence” in A. Pizam & Y. Mansfeld (eds): *Tourism, Crime and International Issues*, p. 107.

influence their decision to visit it. This image has primarily been constructed by the media.¹³⁷ However, the role of the media can also be positive as marketing is also a vital point when it comes to tourism. It was Rogerson who stated that place marketing “is to construct a new image of a place, and to replace either vague or negative images previously held by current or potential future investors.”¹³⁸ This is identified as one of the favourite strategies of the South African tourism industry and will be discussed at length.

The thesis hopes to add to a deeper understanding of the complexities of tourism, especially as far as tourism history is concerned where recent pickings have been rather slim. It builds on existing work, but also seeks to go beyond that.

¹³⁷ L. Kaplan. “Skills Development in tourism: South Africa’s tourism-led development strategy,” *GeoJournal*, (60), (3), 2004, p. 217.

¹³⁸ E. Nel & T. Binns. “Place Marketing, Tourism Promotion, and community-based Local Economic Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Case of Still Bay – The “Bay of Sleeping Beauty”,” *Urban African Affairs*, (38), (3), 2002, p. 188.

Chapter 2 : The South African Government and Tourism

*Governments should create positive economic, social, cultural, environmental, political and technological benefits for their local citizens and tourists.*¹³⁹

The above quote refers to a point discussed before, and by a vast number of authors, that tourism is a fragile industry and needs a favourable environment to flourish. This, the South African Government failed to construct.

As already pointed out, many pinpoint 1994 as the actual birth year of the tourism industry in South Africa. They argue that the tourism industry only received attention from the new South African government from 1994. Examples cited include the minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, who was in charge of tourism matters in the country from 1994.¹⁴⁰ Tourism would not have its own independent Department and Minister until 2009, also the 1996 *White Paper on Tourism*, and the Tourism in GEAR: Tourism Development Strategy of 1998-2000.¹⁴¹ Also cited are the Institutional Guidelines for Public Sector Tourism Development and Promotion in South Africa of 1999. The year 2000 saw the introduction of the Growing Tourism for the 21st Century: A Strategy for Jobs, Rural Development and Poverty Alleviation.¹⁴² In addition, since 1994, provinces have also invested in the development of the tourism industry. It is made clear that it was the responsibility of the new nine provinces to market their destinations for the domestic market while the national government would deal with the international marketing.¹⁴³ Many then argue that if these laws and programs were instated before 1994, South Africa would have been on the same footing as Europe regarding international tourism. In the *White Paper on Tourism*, it is even stated that the political changes of 1994 opened the country to the rest

¹³⁹ M Tlhagale. "Organisations of the Tourism Industry" in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 172.

¹⁴⁰ P. H. G. Vrancken. "Chapter 13 – Tourism Organisations and Regulations" in P. H. G. Vrancken (ed). *Tourism and the law in South Africa*, p. 295.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 297.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 42.

of the world and previously disadvantaged groups¹⁴⁴, without full recognition of what went before.

This chapter will specifically be focussing on the controversial opinion that South Africa's tourism industry was stagnant because of Apartheid. Specific focus will be given to the 1996 *White Paper on Tourism* and the tourism statistics from 1980 to 2000.

2.1 The 1996 White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa

*"Our vision is to develop the tourism sector as a national priority in a sustainable and acceptable manner, so that it will contribute significantly to the improvement of the quality of life of every South African."*¹⁴⁵

The above quote from the *White Paper on Tourism* spoke to what the South African government hoped, and claimed, the tourism industry would accomplish in the country. It was believed that tourism would be the display window through which the government could portray this so-called 'new' South Africa. It was believed that the government could capitalize on the diversity of the country, as according to the *White Paper on Tourism*, this was where the attractiveness of the country lay.¹⁴⁶ Tourism was further portrayed as the "saving grace" of the country regarding their disconnected history and a creator of jobs for the unemployed. It was even stated within the *White Paper on Tourism* that tourism was the largest creator of jobs.¹⁴⁷ It should be noted that the question of the tourism industry regarding job creation is not the main focus of this thesis and thus these statistics are not referred to. It was also believed that tourism would create entrepreneurial opportunities and lead to the development of rural areas. Even Rogerson was of the opinion that the *White Paper on Tourism* was to be used to

¹⁴⁴ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 7.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 24.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 7.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.* p. 19.

empower the previously disadvantaged.¹⁴⁸ All in all, it was believed that tourism presented a significant opportunity for South Africa.¹⁴⁹ Even in 2004, Rogerson and Visser claimed that notions from the 1996 paper were still relevant.¹⁵⁰

In the *White Paper on Tourism*, it was made clear that it was not the lack of tourism potential in the country but rather the government policies that curtailed the development of the industry. It was believed that the *White Paper on Tourism* could be used to help the country realize its full tourism potential and how to utilize it. Its tourism resource base was described as “phenomenal”, with its attractiveness situated in its diversity.¹⁵¹ However, it was acknowledged that South Africa could no longer only rely on its natural beauty but also had to include the man-made attractions of the country. It was acknowledged at this time that tourism is a very competitive business the world over. It was also noted that South Africa was in need of a new kind of tourism to ensure an increase in the economy and to include previously disadvantaged groups. In order to address this, the *White Paper on Tourism* specifically referred to cultural tourism, stating that they could market those cultural aspects that fascinated the outside world, which included the traditions of people and cultures. Here it is important to note that they were adamant that they would give the visitor what he wanted, just as Engerman and MacCannell stated. Other key limitations of the South African tourism industry, according to the *White Paper on Tourism*, included the inadequacy of tourism funding, the short-sighted private sector, the limited integration of local communities, the inadequate tourism education and awareness, the inadequate protection of the environment, the poor service sector, the lack of tourism infrastructure, a lack of transportation to service the tourism sector and finally a lack of cooperation between the national, provincial and local structures.¹⁵² Coupled with this was the growing rate of crime and violence that was committed against foreign visitors.¹⁵³ The issue

¹⁴⁸ C. M. Rogerson. “Black Economic Empowerment in South African Tourism” in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds). *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 327.

¹⁴⁹ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 18.

¹⁵⁰ C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser. “Tourism and Development in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A ten-year review” in C. M. Rogerson & G. Visser (eds.): *Tourism and Development Issues in Contemporary South Africa*, p. 6.

¹⁵¹ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 7.

¹⁵² *Ibid.* p. 10.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*

was not so much the crime that was taking place but rather how it was reported in the foreign media. It was also stated that international marketing was to be the responsibility of the national tourism organization, namely Satour, which was also to be replaced by the South African Tourism Organisation.¹⁵⁴ It will be made clear later in this thesis that Satour had carried the tourism industry since its inception in 1947 and became a solely marketing body in 2000.

Though many issues are identified within the *White Paper on Tourism*, this thesis will focus on one problematic statement. This being that “[t]ourism development in South Africa has largely been a missed opportunity. Had its history been different, South Africa would probably have been one of the most visited places in the world.”¹⁵⁵ It is further stated that the tourism industry in South Africa was “protected”, from international competition, from demand as there was a limited inflow of tourists and also protected from itself as their suppliers only catered for the predictable and privileged.¹⁵⁶ The *White Paper on Tourism*, and many pieces of work after it, worked solely on the assumption that the tourism industry was only ‘constructed’ after 2 February 1990 and only really took off after 1994. As pointed out, by academics C. M. Rogerson and J. M. Rogerson, like many others, had even stated that in their opinion, international tourism in South Africa during Apartheid was underdeveloped because of international boycotts and sanctions.¹⁵⁷

This notion of a ‘lost opportunity’ is attributed to the government focussing on Apartheid policies rather than other industries. The inadequacy of resources and funding is explicitly linked to the belief that the South African Government had not yet realized the potential of the tourism industry and had thus not given it adequate resources.¹⁵⁸ It was believed that there had been limited development due to Apartheid, as it was explicitly stated that Apartheid had strained the development of the industry. The reasoning was that “[w]hile the attractiveness of South Africa as a tourism destination has always been acknowledged, this potential could not effectively be realised due to many tourists not wanting to travel to [the] country in protest to

¹⁵⁴ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 38.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 9.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ C. M. Rogerson & J. M. Rogerson. “Urban Tourism destinations in South Africa: Divergent trajectories 2001-2012,” *Urbani Izziv*, (25), (Supplement), 2014. p. S190.

¹⁵⁸ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 10.

such policies.”¹⁵⁹ The *White Paper on Tourism* also falls into the age-old trap that tourism can help previously disadvantaged communities. This is because the lack of community involvement is also attributed to the Apartheid government. This was also attributed to the lack of market access these local communities had to the tourism market, as it was claimed that visitors were kept within hotels and resorts. If these foreign visitors did venture out from their ‘safe spaces’, they still did not interact with locals.¹⁶⁰ The lack of infrastructure was mainly focussed in rural areas. Regarding the lack of appropriate institutional structures, this was attributed to the fact that tourism shared a portfolio under the Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, and thus the South African Tourism Board, namely Satour, had to fill the missing roles.¹⁶¹ The Ministry of Environmental Affairs and Tourism was instituted from 1994 to 2009, with tourism only receiving its own department in 2009. However, before then, according to the *White Paper on Tourism*, Satour alone had to play the part of a marketing body for South Africa while the situation was not favourable for tourism development.¹⁶² The issue was that by 1996, Satour was associated with Apartheid South Africa. The Tourism Business Council of South Africa was also founded on 1 February 1996 and would be a representative body for the private sector of tourism in the country.¹⁶³ The main idea of adopting responsible tourism was in order to avoid prostitution, seasonality and the leakage of foreign exchange. It was also based on the idea that the government would provide the guidelines, but the private sector would be expected to drive the tourism industry. It was stated to be crucial that for a successful future the responsible guidelines had to be adopted.¹⁶⁴ An action plan based on this paper was to be drafted in collaboration with provincial tourism authorities.¹⁶⁵ The Department also wanted to identify and finish at least five national priority tourism projects by 1998, which was to be endorsed by Mandela himself.¹⁶⁶ Though many ideas were presented, they were not accompanied by implementation guidelines.

Within the *White Paper on Tourism*, the media was also identified as a key player. Tourist awareness programmes were suggested as the best way to curtail the negative media South

¹⁵⁹ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 11.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 13.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 15.

¹⁶² *Ibid.* p. 16.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 57.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 26.

Africa was receiving.¹⁶⁷ It was often stated that it was because of negative international media that the tourism industry in South Africa was not developing to its full potential. It was also advised that the programmes focus on domestic tourism to urge potential visitors to visit specific destinations. The Department wanted a clear link between the local tourism market and the foreign tourism market.¹⁶⁸

It was also advised that tourism become its own ministry, but it was not yet possible in 1996.¹⁶⁹ However, according to Goudie, Khan and Kilian, with 1997 came a new, apparently truly representative South African Tourism Board.¹⁷⁰ This is likely because the *White Paper on Tourism* was published in 1996, and by 1997 some of the guidelines were being implemented. Nevertheless, it is still acknowledged that no matter what is done, tourism will always be led by First World bias.

When referring to the adequacy, or inadequacy, of the tourism industry, one would refer to the tourism statistics of a country.

2.2 South African Tourism Statistics

In 2019, 75% of South Africa's international visitors originated from the African continent and visa waivers had been issued for New Zealand, the United Arab Emirates, Saudi Arabia, Qatar and Cuba.¹⁷¹ So too marketing had been intensified in India, China, the United States, United Kingdom, Germany and Australia.¹⁷² Despite these efforts, South Africa was still behind on their goal of 4 million international tourists by 2021.¹⁷³

Generally, the success of the tourism industry in a country is measured by their statistics, specifically comparing statistics with previous years. However, this thesis will prove that in

¹⁶⁷ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 47.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 9

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 49.

¹⁷⁰ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid," *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 23.

¹⁷¹ *South African Tourism Annual Report 2018/2019*. https://nationalgovernment.co.za/entity_annual/1979/2019-south-african-tourism-annual-report.pdf, (Accessed 27 February 2022). p. 16

¹⁷² *Ibid.*

¹⁷³ *Ibid.* p. 18

the South African context, this is problematic as the title quote from the *White Paper on Tourism* can also be linked directly to the issues with tourism statistics in the country.

The *White Paper on Tourism* had set a target to lure 15% more visitors by 2006. They also wanted to welcome two million tourists from overseas and another four million tourists from the Africa continent by 2000.¹⁷⁴ This the South Africa government did achieve as there was an apparent significant increase from 1990, which saw a total of 1 029 094 visitors, while 2000 saw a total of 6 000 538. Visitors from the African continent made up 4 298 613, and visitors from overseas totalled 1 578 001.¹⁷⁵ This growth in the 1990s within the industry was attributed to the political changes that had taken place in the country.¹⁷⁶ It seemed that the increase in tourism numbers after 1990 was given as proof that Apartheid had curtailed the development of tourism in the country. Author E. Holm-Peterson even stated that the lack of tourism on the African continent was not because of the shortage of potential.¹⁷⁷ In the *White Paper on Tourism*, it was stated that it was expected that the number of overseas¹⁷⁸ tourists was to double by 2000.¹⁷⁹ South Africa had already seen a significant increase from 1990, totalling 493 598 overseas visitors, and 2000 which totalled 1 578 001. Why this is problematic will be discussed later on. This belief of the South African Government was further assisted by the WTO who had stated in their 1995 review regarding tourism and the African continent that South Africa had some of the best tourism potential on the African continent.¹⁸⁰ In 1995 alone, South Africa had welcomed, according to the *White Paper on Tourism*, 4.48 million tourists, 73% originating from the African continent, 15% from the European continent and the remaining 12% from the rest of the world.¹⁸¹ It was further stated that after the 1994 democratic election, South Africa

¹⁷⁴ S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid," *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 26.

¹⁷⁵ Statistics South Africa, *Tourism 2000*. Report No. 03-51-02, Pretoria: 2001, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-51-02/Report-03-51-022000.pdf>, (Accessed 15 June 2021). pp. 5&10.

¹⁷⁶ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 11.

¹⁷⁷ E. Holm-Peterson. "Institutional Support for Tourism Development in Africa" in P. U. C. Dieke (ed). *The Political Economy of Tourism Development in Africa*, p. 206.

¹⁷⁸ Within the statistical reports, overseas tourist refers to tourists from the rest of the world excluding the African continent, these tourists were referred to as regional tourists.

¹⁷⁹ Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 8.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* p. 7.

¹⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 8.

saw a rise in international tourists and it was believed that this number would have doubled by 2000.¹⁸² However, it should be taken into account that South Africa had hosted the Rugby World Cup (RWC) of 1995, and it can thus be expected that there would have been more tourists than would otherwise have been expected. It should also be noted that analysing and comparing the tourism statistics in South Africa comes with a range of issues to keep in mind. These are issues that are not made clear in the *White Paper on Tourism*.

The first issue to be taken into account is those tourists who bore citizenship from South Africa, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. Data regarding tourists with these citizenships who came to South Africa from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland was discontinued from December 1980.¹⁸³ These statistics had been taken into consideration since March 1970.¹⁸⁴ It should be noted that there are still tourist numbers from these three countries, but these numbers are explained as tourists from other countries, either on the African continent or overseas, who came to South Africa, left the country, and then again entered the country from Botswana, Lesotho or Swaziland.¹⁸⁵ The issue then becomes that from October of 1991, tourists with citizenship from South African, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were again included in the tourist statistics of the country.¹⁸⁶ This can specifically be seen in *Tables 1, 2 and 3* at the end of this chapter. Visitor numbers from these countries usually experience an increase of about 1000, but this changed from October 1991. The number of visitors from Botswana, from October 1990 to October 1991, experienced an increase of 13 205, and from September 1991 to October 1991, there was an increase of 6 463 visitors from this country. Lesotho's numbers prove the same, although more dramatic. Visitor numbers from Lesotho, from October 1990 to

¹⁸² Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 8.

¹⁸³ Republic of South Africa Department of Statistics "Tourism and Migration: December 1980." *Statistical News Release*. Pretoria: 11 March 1980, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0351/P0351December1980.pdf> , (Accessed 9 September 2019). p. 1.

¹⁸⁴ Republic of South Africa Department of Statistics "Tourism and Migration: November 1991." *Statistical News Release*. Report No. P0351, Pretoria: 4 March 1992, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0351/P0351November1991.pdf> , (Accessed 22 May 2020). p. 3.

¹⁸⁵ Republic of South Africa "Tourism and Migration: June 1986." *Statistical News Release*. Report No. P0351, Pretoria, Central Statistical Service: 14 August 1986, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0351/P0351June1986.pdf> , (Accessed 22 May 2020). p. 1.

¹⁸⁶ Republic of South Africa Department of Statistics "Tourism and Migration: November 1991." *Statistical News Release*. Report No. P0351, Pretoria: 4 March 1992, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0351/P0351November1991.pdf> , (Accessed 22 May 2020). p. 3.

October 1991, showed an increase of 65 104, while September 1991 to October 1991 presented an increase of 64 661 visitors from Lesotho to South Africa. Finally, visitor numbers from Swaziland presented the same phenomenon. Visitor numbers from Swaziland to South Africa, from October 1990 to October 1991, experienced an increase of 34 727, and from September 1991 to October 1991, there was an increase of 32 033.

This is the reason why the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism stated, “[a]s a result of the changed procedure in the handling of visitors from the BLS countries since October 1991, data in respect of foreign visitors is, from the [...] aforementioned month, no longer comparable with that of previous months. To achieve comparability, it is necessary to omit the visitors from the BLS countries.”¹⁸⁷ Moreover, attention should be given to the data regarding tourism between South Africa and Namibia from 1991 was not comparable with the data from 1990 as complete immigration control between the two countries was only established on 1 January 1991.

It is then that attention should be given to *Figure 1*. This graph illustrates the increase of the official given total statistics of visitors to South Africa from 1980 to 2000. Focussing on *Figure 1*, it does seem that the South African Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism had a valid point in their 1996 *White Paper on Tourism* that the circumstances of South Africa’s history had hindered the potential of the growth of the tourism industry. However, it is important to note precisely where the first escalation took place. The first significant increase took place between 1990 and 1991. Many have attributed this increase to de Klerk’s speech of 2 February 1990.¹⁸⁸ However, the increase can actually be attributed, not to more visitors, but to more visitors being included in the statistics. This is because visitors with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland citizenship were only included in the official statistics again from October 1991. The next significant increase can be seen between 1991 and 1992. The statistics of 1991 only consisted complete visitor statistics from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland for three months, while 1992 consisted of twelve months with these completed statistics.

Figure 2 presents this even better as the differences are compared. Because the full numbers are not available for visitors with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland citizenship before October 1991, they must be deducted in order to compare them with later statistics when these numbers

¹⁸⁷ Republic of South Africa Department of Statistics “Tourism and Migration: January 1992.” *Statistical News Release*. Report No. P0351, Pretoria: 4 June 1992

<http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0351/P0351January1992.pdf>, (Accessed 22 May 2020) p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Authors Crick, Rogerson and Visser, and Cornelissen are among these.

are available. This also applies to visitors from Namibia as the completed numbers were also not yet available until 1991. In *Figure 2*, it is clear that there is no significant difference between the total statistics and the statistics that exclude Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia in December 1980. However, by December 1991, there was a significant difference. In December 1980, visitors from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland together only made up 9.96% of the total number of visitors. In December 1990, visitors from these countries accounted for only 14.95% of the total amount of visitors to South Africa. By December of 1991, this changed dramatically. In December 1991, visitors with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland citizenship were again included in the tourism statistics. Thus, visitors from these countries made up 49.92% of the total amount of visitors. Again, in December of 2000, visitors from these countries accounted for 49.86% of the total number of foreign visitors.

Figure 2 gives a visual representation of these excluded numbers. It is testament to the fact that there was no sudden significant increase in the tourist numbers to South Africa after 1990. Rather, some countries were just added to the total statistics, and, coincidentally, they made up a big part of the tourist numbers of South Africa.

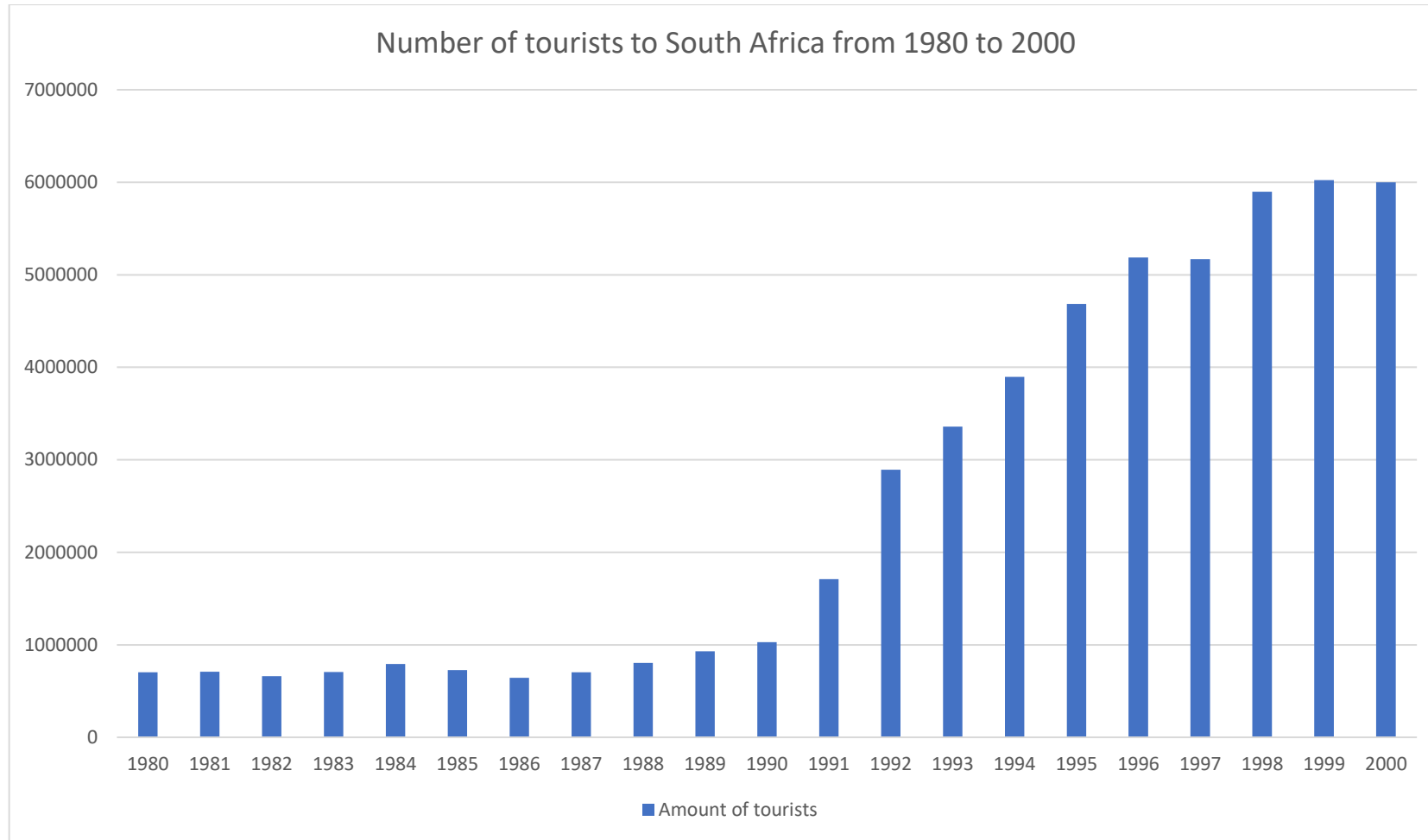


Figure 2.2: South Africa Tourism Statistics, 1980-2000.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁹ Statistics South Africa, *Tourism 2000. Report No. 03-51-02*, Pretoria, 2001, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-51-02/Report-03-51-022000.pdf>, (Accessed 15 June 2021). Table 1.1 Tourism, p. 2.

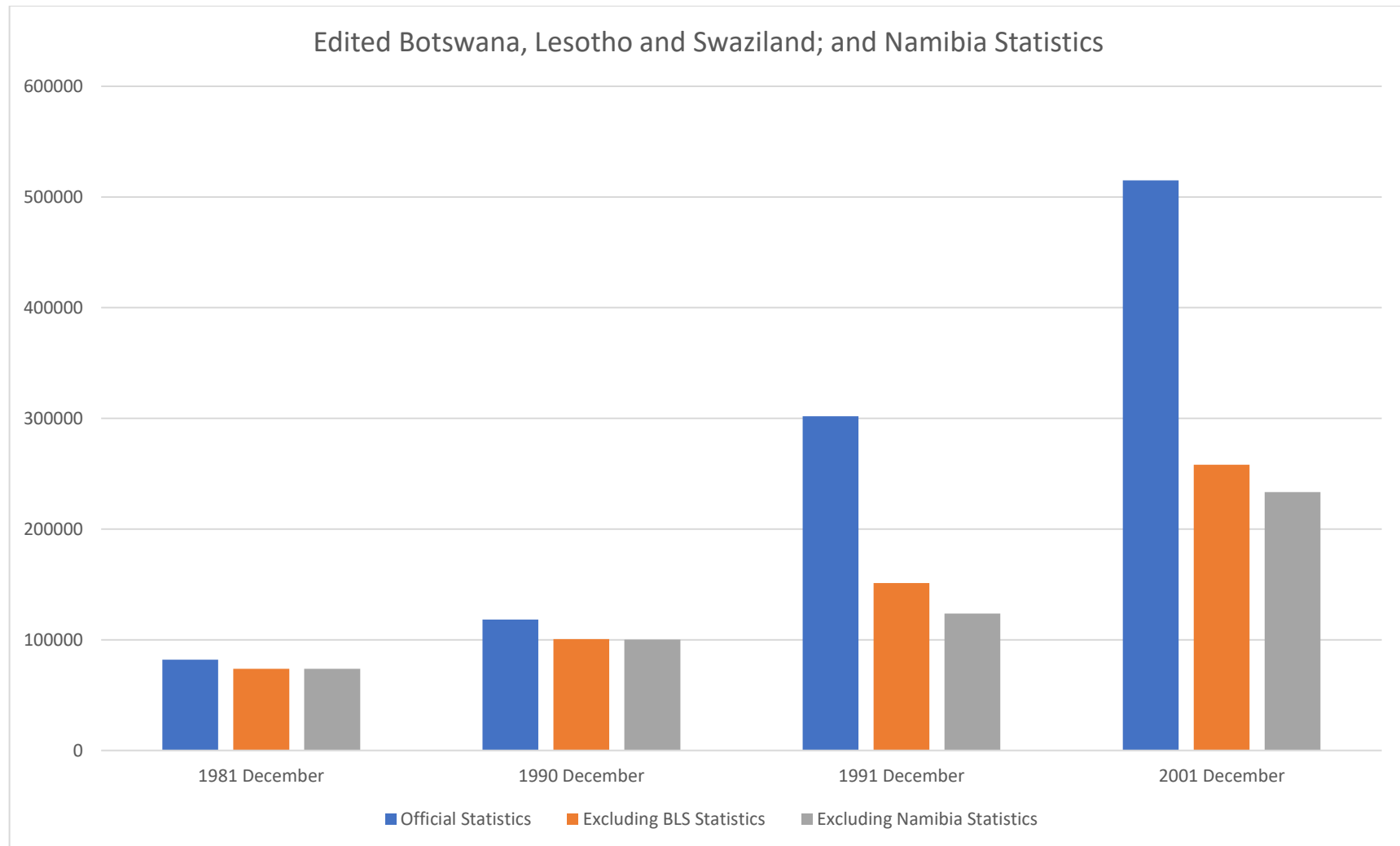


Figure 2.3: Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Namibia tourist numbers to South Africa.¹⁹⁰

¹⁹⁰ Own calculations.

Table 1: Botswana¹⁹¹

	1990	1991
January	5 714	6 833
February	4 718	3 947
March	5 662	6 860
April	6 319	6 068
May	5 619	7 047
June	4 606	4 251
July	7 439	8 528
August	6 378	11 871
September	6 391	12 033
October	5 291	18 496
November	4 506	22 444
December	8 258	26 277

¹⁹¹ See **Statistics** under **Sources** for full list of references of the *Statistical News Release* from January 1991 to December 1991. Table 1.2.1 Arrivals by country of residence and mode of travel.

Table 2: Lesotho¹⁹²

	1990	1991
January	4 126	3 373
February	2 698	2 046
March	3 253	3 687
April	3 013	3 204
May	2 713	3 768
June	3 074	2 719
July	2 814	2 434
August	2 908	4 904
September	2 897	3 564
October	3 121	68 225
November	2 583	72 436
December	3 757	72 715

¹⁹² See **Statistics** under **Sources** for full list of references of the *Statistical News Release* from January 1991 to December 1991. Table 1.2.1 Arrivals by country of residence and mode of travel.

Table 3: Swaziland¹⁹³

	1990	1991
January	7 185	6 560
February	5 331	4 071
March	5 328	6 616
April	6 823	5 830
May	6 853	4 684
June	5 301	2 937
July	6 452	2 529
August	6 398	5 398
September	6 435	7 640
October	4 946	39 673
November	4 789	40 936
December	5 669	51 768

¹⁹³ See **Statistics** under **Sources** for full list of references of the *Statistical News Release* from January 1991 to December 1991. Table 1.2.1 Arrivals by country of residence and mode of travel.

Thus, it is clear that there was no sudden increase in visitors, but rather an inclusion of visitors which made for the seemingly sudden rise in tourism numbers to the country. This is mainly because visitors with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland citizenship were only again included in the statistics from October 1991. It should also be taken into consideration that the South African Government had also put the blame of their poor tourism numbers on the hostile media they were receiving, locally and abroad. This issue will form the focus of the next chapter.

Chapter 3 : The South African Printed Press and Tourism

“Negative perceptions about South Africa are a significant barrier for international tourists. These perceptions are formed through information obtained through the media.”¹⁹⁴

The above quote, found in the *South African Tourism Annual Report 2018/2019*, summarizes the issues South African tourism has had with the media. It is important to note that this was not just a phenomenon in 2019, but had been an issue for years.

Two new South African newspapers will be focussed on in the following chapters. This will mainly be *Die Burger*, a local newspaper mainly catering for the white Afrikaner and often referred to as the mouthpiece for the ruling National Party. The second newspaper will be another local newspaper, namely *The Argus*, which focussed on an English readership, was much more liberal than the *Die Burger* and so too was not afraid to criticise the government.

Mowforth and Hunt remind us that the media had taken it upon themselves to warn the broader international public of the dangers of travelling in the Third World.¹⁹⁵ George also stated that most tourists solely relied on television, radio and the news to make them aware of the crime statistics in certain countries.¹⁹⁶ He also mentioned that the increasing media attention has raised the tourist’s awareness of destinations with crime issues which often leads to the cancellation of travel plans.¹⁹⁷ Thus, *Die Burger* found itself printing advice so vacationers would not become victims of crime. It was believed that this negative publicity could be attributed to the role the media played in creating a label for a destination. George agreed with this statement, as he believed that it was difficult for South Africa to create a new label for

¹⁹⁴ *South African Tourism Annual Report 2018/2019*.
https://nationalgovernment.co.za/entity_annual/1979/2019-south-african-tourism-annual-report.pdf, (Accessed 27 February 2022). p. 43

¹⁹⁵ M. Mowforth & I. Hunt. *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the Third World*, 3rd ed. (London & New York: Routledge, 2009). p.294.

¹⁹⁶ R. George. “International tourists’ perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa,” *South African Journal of Business Management*, 2013, (44), (1), p. 53.

¹⁹⁷ R. George. “Tourist’s perceptions of safety and security while visiting Cape Town,” *Tourism Management*, (24), 2003, p. 577.

themselves, as the country, and the African continent, had always been associated with a negative image.¹⁹⁸

As tourism in the so-called new South Africa grew, so did the crime rates from 1990 to 1996. Ferreira was of the opinion that if the personal safety of tourists were not addressed, the positive marketing of a post-Apartheid South Africa would be fruitless.¹⁹⁹ According to Ferreira, the lack of tourism safety would lead to fewer tourists, and less tourist income. In addition, it was believed that the political unrest and violence could be a deterrent for tourists.²⁰⁰ However, Ferreira maintained that crime in South Africa is no bigger threat to tourists than in any other country. He stated that the problem is rather that most areas that are associated with crime are also popular tourist destinations.²⁰¹ Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, which are big tourist attractions, are also identified as so-called no-go areas. It is highlighted that the sensationalist reporting of crime against tourism negatively affects the tourism industry.²⁰²

The following chapters will focus on the publications of these two newspapers for the years of 1980, 1990 and 2000, the disagreements they had, how they explained the place image the foreign world had created for the country and the impacts of these years on the tourism industry of the country.

3.1 A War of Words: *Die Burger* and *The Argus*

*"We do expect nastiness from Die Burger, Cape Nationalist organ, and its response to The Argus's viewpoint on sport and apartheid was predictable."*²⁰³

The above quote appeared in *The Argus* of 27 October 1980, a time when *Die Burger* and *The Argus* found themselves in a direct battle of words, attacking each other regarding articles that focussed on the Springbok Rugby Tour in South America. *Die Burger* had accused *The Argus* of putting the tour in danger because of an article they had published which had insulted the

¹⁹⁸ R. George. "International tourists' perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa," *South African Journal of Business Management*, 2013, (44), (1), p. 48.

¹⁹⁹ S. L. A. Ferreira: "Crime: a threat to tourism in South Africa," *Tourism Geographies*, (1), (3), 2007, p. 313.

²⁰⁰ *Ibid.* p. 315.

²⁰¹ *Ibid.* p. 316.

²⁰² *Ibid.* p. 320.

²⁰³ Unknown. "Lies about The Argus," *The Argus*, 27 October 1980, p. 16.

military government of Chile by stating that they were one of the countries which had given in to the begging of the Springboks to compete internationally.²⁰⁴ *The Argus* had claimed that the Springboks would go to countries with repressive governments and beg to play rugby there as this was the only way they could compete internationally.²⁰⁵ The issue was that *The Argus* was allegedly circulating in Chile. It was rumoured that the Chilean military leaders had read the article, and because of these claims, they refused to let the Springbok team enter their country.²⁰⁶ The specific article which was referred to was “Cap-in-hand Boks”, which had appeared in *The Argus* on 13 October 1980. *The Argus* made the claim that the general motto of the Springboks was that anything was better than nothing, and they did not stop there.²⁰⁷ *Die Burger* stated that it was not because of Apartheid or the South African government that the Springboks were struggling to get international opponents, but instead placed the blame on *The Argus* and similar newspapers and their negative comments regarding the Springboks.²⁰⁸ *Die Burger* was also adamant about making it clear that the current Springbok team touring South America consisted of both white and coloured players.²⁰⁹ In this article, *Die Burger* also claimed that this instance had not been the first time South African sport had been affected negatively abroad because of the ideologies of local newspapers.²¹⁰ *The Argus* retaliated as they accused *Die Burger* of hypocrisy. In this context *Die Burger* had accused *The Argus* of trying to sabotage the Springbok tour of South America by writing negatively of the countries and their dictators, but when the Springboks were denied access, even at the ‘back doors’ *Die Burger* could not understand how these ‘banana republics’ could act ‘holier-than-thou’ towards the Springboks.²¹¹ The *Cape Times* had echoed the opinion of *The Argus*. *Die Burger* also tried to discredit the *Cape Times* by stating that they often added their own tails to the story between *Die Burger* and *The Argus*.²¹² They further stated that *The Argus* was firmly in the hands of the political opposition.²¹³ Yet, *The Argus* often referred to *Die Burger* as “[...] the Cape’s hysterical Nationalist organ [...]”²¹⁴ This is but one example of the exchanges between these two newspapers.

²⁰⁴ L. van Wyk. “SA blad kelder byna Bok-toer,” *Die Burger*, 22 Oktober 1980, p. 1.

²⁰⁵ Onbekend. “Wie die wind saai,” *Die Burger*, 22 Oktober 1980, p. 8.

²⁰⁶ Unknown. “Circulating in Chile,” *The Argus*, 22 October 1980, p. 24.

²⁰⁷ Unknown. “Cap-in-hand Boks,” *The Argus*, 13 October 1980, p. 8.

²⁰⁸ Onbekend. “Wie die wind saai,” *Die Burger*, 22 Oktober 1980, p. 8.

²⁰⁹ Onbekend. “‘n Treurige Dag,” *Die Burger*, 23 Oktober 1980, p. 12.

²¹⁰ Onbekend. “Wie die wind saai,” *Die Burger*, 22 Oktober 1980, p. 8.

²¹¹ Unknown. “Exposing shame and hypocrisy,” *The Argus*, 29 October 1980, p. 22.

²¹² Onbekend. “Al hoe koddiger,” *Die Burger*, 29 Oktober 1980, p. 18.

²¹³ Onbekend. “‘n Treurige Dag,” *Die Burger*, 23 Oktober 1980, p. 12.

²¹⁴ Unknown. “To laugh or cry?” *The Argus*, 30 October 1980, p. 22.

This passing of the buck continued between *The Argus* and *Die Burger* well into 1980. *Die Burger* reported that *The Argus* thought that the primary goal of *Die Burger* was to put *The Argus* in a bad light. Yet, *Die Burger* took pride in Craven's²¹⁵ statement that they were carrying the interests of the country at heart.²¹⁶

Thus, as *The Argus* continued criticising *Die Burger* and the government, *Die Burger* would hit right back trying to protect the government. Though only one example is given above, this feud continued through the 1980s and 1990s and the two newspapers only really started seeing eye to eye in the 2000s.

It was during this time that sports tourism became important for the country. As authors N. Macfarlane and M. Herd stated, "Rugby union's links with South Africa have [...] been given more column inches in newspapers [...] with the exception of soccer hooliganism."²¹⁷ It seemed that sport, and thus sports tourism, was a means for South Africa to present a positive image abroad.

²¹⁵ Danie Craven, President of the South African Rugby Board.

²¹⁶ Onbekend. "Weerligafleiding," *Die Burger*, 28 Oktober 1980, p. 7.

²¹⁷ N. Macfarlane & M. Herd. *Sport and Politics*, (London: Willow Books, 1986). p. 142.

Chapter 4 : The years of International Protests (1980s)

Many pinpoint 1994 as the birth of South African tourism. However, the following chapter will prove that this is simply not true, as tourism, and specifically sports tourism, was alive and well in the country well long 1994.

Scholar L. Kaplan explained that place image was crucial for a destination, as this would influence the decision of potential tourists to visit a destination.²¹⁸ However, it was stated that this image had mainly been constructed by the media, and for South Africa, this image was rarely positive.²¹⁹

Though South Africa had developed a problematic foreign image during the 1960s and 1970s, they still saw a rise in their tourism numbers in 1980. This was according to the chairman of Satour, G. W. T. Behrens, who had stated that the major tourism markets in South Africa had still seen considerable growth during 1980.²²⁰ Behrens had stated that the numbers from the United States and Europe showed an 11% increase for the first six months of 1980 compared to 1979. It was also stated that South Africa had received fewer tourists from Zimbabwe in the first six months of 1980, compared to the same time in 1979.²²¹ According to the Department of Tourism, as reported in *The Argus* on 29 May 1980, 1979 was the second-best year for foreign tourist numbers South Africa had seen.²²² It was reported that South Africa attracted more ‘quality tourists’, in other words, tourists who made use of the top hotels, coaches and car hire facilities with earnings estimated to have been R402 million.²²³ It was at this time that a vital decision was made at Satour’s annual marketing conference to market South Africa as a tourist destination even during the winter months, thus ensuring an even tourist flow throughout the year.²²⁴ It is significant to note that managers of international offices from sixteen foreign countries, as well as representatives from the Department of Tourism and South African Airways (SAA) had attended this conference.²²⁵

²¹⁸ L. Kaplan. “Skills Development in tourism: South Africa’s tourism-led development strategy,” *GeoJournal*, (60), (3), 2004, p. 217.

²¹⁹ S. L. A. Ferreira: “Crime: a threat to tourism in South Africa,” *Tourism Geographies*, (1), (3), 2007, p. 320.

²²⁰ Argus Correspondent. “Tourists flock to SA in 1980,” *The Argus*, 25 August 1980, p. 16.

²²¹ *Ibid.*

²²² Parliamentary Staff. “682 000 tourists visited Republic,” *The Argus*, 29 May 1980, p. 15.

²²³ *Ibid.*

²²⁴ Argus Correspondent. “Tourists flock to SA in 1980,” *The Argus*, 25 August 1980, p. 16.

²²⁵ *Ibid.*

South Africa was making international headlines in these years, which prompted a visit from the publisher and the executive editor of the *New York Times* to the country in January of 1980.²²⁶ However, what should be noted is that only those approved by the South African government were allowed to receive this first-hand experience and could then write about it. A case in point regarded a group of churchmen and academics who were on route to South Africa by invitation of Bishop Desmond Tutu and discovered this when they had to cancel their trip because they were denied visas.²²⁷ The South African government did not supply the group with a reason for the denial of their visas, but it was speculated that their link with Bishop Tutu had something to do with it.²²⁸ The South African Government wanted to ensure that those who came were not biased towards the country and would leave with only positive things to say. This was because South Africa was shifting its focus to their image in the foreign world and the importance of attracting tourists, yet they did not succeed in controlling the image they wanted to send out.

Already in May of 1980 the Information Service of South Africa had reported that they required funds to adequately respond to the information and disinformation which was reported on the country abroad. Though the general opinion was that the service had succeeded in sending a positive image of South Africa abroad, the fear of an onslaught of negative images regarding South Africa was still looming.²²⁹ Thus, the parliament of South Africa also stated in May 1980 that one of the biggest priorities of the South African foreign policy was to avoid further sanctions and boycotts against the country.²³⁰ They further instructed the Information Services to focus their attention on the United States, Germany, France and Britain.²³¹

Unfortunately, by June 1980, the Information Services were failing as South Africa was not only making headlines in the United States, but the unrests in the country were also dominating the British newspapers. Comments and analyses of the week's unrests were often to be found in their Sunday papers.²³² *The Observer* believed that South Africa was heading for war and believed the world had to be informed of the dangers of travelling to the country while the unrests were ongoing.²³³ *The Sunday Times* had also reported on the unrests in Cape Town.²³⁴

²²⁶ Unknown. "NY Times chiefs end SA visit," *The Argus*, 31 January 1980, p. 3.

²²⁷ Argus Bureau. "No visas for US churchmen, academics," *The Argus*, 30 July 1980, p. 16.

²²⁸ *Ibid.*

²²⁹ Political Staff. "Funds for Information 'needed'," *The Argus*, 20 May 1980, p. 2.

²³⁰ Parliamentary Staff. "SA priority 'to avoid sanctions'," *The Argus*, 21 May 1980, p. 7.

²³¹ *Ibid.*

²³² Kantoor. "Onluste in SA wek ,orkaan' in Britse pers," *Die Burger*, 23 Junie 1980, p. 11.

²³³ *Ibid.*

²³⁴ *Ibid.*

The British Minister of Foreign Affairs at the time, Richard Luce, even went as far as declaring South Africa a ‘fighting camp’ for racial tension.²³⁵ The South African Government were well aware that the image of a war zone would not sell their country to tourists. Nevertheless, in an interview with the BBC, the new South Africa ambassador in Britain, Marais Steyn, stated that there was no need to fear a revolution in South Africa.²³⁶

Despite the issues the country’s tourism industry was experiencing heading into the 1980s, the tourism industry in the Mother City was flourishing. It was reported that in 1980, Cape Town had experienced their best tourism numbers ever during February and March. *Die Burger* reported that February and March are usually the busiest tourism months in South Africa, much busier than that of December.²³⁷ *Die Burger* reported that this increase in tourist numbers to the Mother City continued into April 1980.²³⁸ One of the biggest issues Cape Town was experiencing with its tourism industry was that there was just not enough accommodation for the demand of tourists. It was reported that these tourists from the higher classes preferred hotels rather than other forms of accommodation.²³⁹ Andries Treurnicht, South Africa’s Minister of Tourism at the time, believed that the main issue with tourism in South Africa at this time was that first-class accommodation was always fully booked during the summer, and thus the tourist season. In order to solve this issue, his department was to advertise the South African winter as the perfect time for tourists to book their tours.²⁴⁰ One- and two-star hotels were also to be recommended to tourists in order to address this issue further. From the tourist numbers from 1978 to 1979, it was clear that South Africa had experienced double-figure increases in tourists from most countries. It was also pointed out that for many, South Africa was the obvious choice to escape the winter months in the North. This was especially true for those from the United States, Canada, Britain, West Germany and the Netherlands as Australia was considered too far and South America was considered as too expensive.²⁴¹ In a survey carried out by the Japanese National Tourism Organization, it was found that Cape Town was one of the cheapest cities to visit.²⁴² The survey compared the costs for a tourist in 18 cities. Among them, Cape Town found itself low on the list regarding traveller costs, thus it was

²³⁵ Sapa. “Hoë Brit sê SA vegkamp van rassespanning,” *Die Burger*, 26 Junie 1980, p. 17.

²³⁶ Kantoer. “SA hoef nie revolusie te vrees: Steyn,” *Die Burger*, 20 Oktober 1980, p. 11.

²³⁷ Stadsverslaggewer. “Toerismebedryf in die Kaap floreer,” *Die Burger*, 19 Maart 1980, p. 2.

²³⁸ Onbekend. “Meer besoek Kaapstad nou as verlede jaar,” *Die Burger*, 24 April 1980, p. 1B.

²³⁹ Stadsverslaggewer. “Toerismebedryf in die Kaap floreer,” *Die Burger*, 19 Maart 1980, p. 2.

²⁴⁰ Onbekend. “SA se winter nou verkoop,” *Die Burger*, 10 Mei 1980, p. 5.

²⁴¹ Stadsverslaggewer. “Toerismebedryf in die Kaap floreer,” *Die Burger*, 19 Maart 1980, p. 2.

²⁴² Unknown. “Tourism costs: City low of list,” *The Argus*, 22 May 1980, p. 2.

believed that tourists would have been flooding the city. With this increase in tourists, it is understandable that Cape Town would need a marketing body.

Captour, one of the leading marketing bodies of the city, was formed in 1978.²⁴³ It was by 1980 that Captour could boast with a variety of tours. It was also stated that during the peak season, they easily received 600 people who visited the office in a day.²⁴⁴ Despite the criticism regarding the Cape Town Festival, *The Argus* had reported on 11 April 1980 that “Cape Town’s record-breaking summer tourist season shows no sign of slacking off, the Cape Tourism Authority has reported.”²⁴⁵ It was reported that in this tourist season, there was no single room available in the Cape Peninsula, especially in 4-and 5-star hotels, while smaller establishments struggled to cope with the influx of tourists. It was also reported that there was a boost in April with the Cape and Transvaal school holidays as flights to Cape Town on SAA were fully booked for the first week of the school holidays in 1980.²⁴⁶ In addition, the Table Mountain Cableway broke its record of the number of passengers who were taken up to the summit, a record which had stood since 1975.²⁴⁷ By these accounts, the tourism industry in the Mother City had little to long for.

It was also in 1980 that reports surfaced that South Africa and Taiwan reached an agreement to set up tourism offices in each other’s countries to make it easier for travellers to go between the two.²⁴⁸ The new South African consulate in Taipei, the capital of Taiwan, was officially opened on 13 November 1980 by the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Dr Frederik Tsjien.²⁴⁹ The mayor of Cape Town, Louis Kreiner, had previously been in Taiwan and used that opportunity to market Cape Town as a tourist destination. Kreiner and his touring party had offered an audio-visual tour of Cape Town in Chinese and also handed out pamphlets with information about the city in Chinese.²⁵⁰

Though marketing for Cape Town seemed to be up to standard, the same could not be said for the marketing of the tourism industry in the Western Cape. D. J. M Jordaan, chair of the Western Cape Regional Association for the Promotion of Tourism, stated in November 1980 that the constitution for this association was out of date and urgently needed to be updated. He

²⁴³ Unknown. “Captour man joins travel agency,” *The Argus*, 9 June 1980, p. 2.

²⁴⁴ Onbekend. “Dié vroue het vir alles raad,” *Die Burger*, 13 Mei 1980, p. 12.

²⁴⁵ Unknown. “No slack in tourists to city,” *The Argus*, 11 April 1980, p. 5.

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁸ Onbekend. “Ooreenkoms oor Toerisme, Gulle ontvangs in Taiwan,” *Die Burger*, 14 Oktober 1980, p. 1.

²⁴⁹ Sapa-CAN. “Tapei – kanselary geopen,” *Die Burger*, 14 November 1980, p. 5.

²⁵⁰ Municipal Reporter. “Taiwan link to benefit city, says mayor,” *The Argus*, 22 October 1980, p. 27.

was also of the opinion that a new and updated tourism brochure for the Western Cape had to be made available and ready to distribute by February 1981. Jordaan specifically asked advertising associations to encourage local industries by giving attention to the tourist resorts in the Western Cape and the progress the province had made regarding tourism.²⁵¹

As noted by many and discussed earlier in this chapter, South Africa's biggest issue was the image of violence in the country which was highlighted in international media. Despite this, according to *Die Burger*, the tourist numbers to South Africa remained on the rise. In the first quarter of 1980, South Africa reported 18% more tourists from Europe than during the same time period in 1979.²⁵² According to Treurnicht, the tourist numbers from Europe and the United States were all increasing exceptionally well.²⁵³ The numbers from Argentina, though, decreased by 23%, as there were no special flights to South Africa from Buenos Aires.²⁵⁴

Though South African sport may have claimed that they were desegregated, social life in South Africa was not. One example that did harm to the South African image was the first notice board tourists saw when visiting the Congo Caves, declaring that the first parking lot was only for non-whites.²⁵⁵ Blumer was of the opinion that this sign resonated very negatively with the international tourists. Another issue Blumer pointed out was that it had been blatantly stated within the brochures that non-whites were to be taken on a separate tour, the issue was that all tourists saw these brochures.²⁵⁶ *The Argus* also reported on this issue, stating that the Congo Caves was one of South Africa's most remarkable tourist assets and marketed abroad as a natural wonder.²⁵⁷ Though the Congo Caves are a national monument, visitors were expected to use separate entrances, go on separate tours, park in separate areas, eat in separate restaurants and also use separate facilities. *The Argus* stated that this must have sent a negative image to foreign tourists, especially if the South African Information Officers had told them that the country was busy and willing to wipe out racial discrimination.²⁵⁸ It did not seem that the Municipality of Oudtshoorn would have desegregated the Congo Caves any time soon in 1980.²⁵⁹ In contrast to this was another area in the Western Cape province, Matjiesfontein. It was reported that this town, which consisted of a hotel, a train station, a post office, a 'location'

²⁵¹ Korrespondent. "Toerisme-leier pleit vir tuisnywerhede," *Die Burger*, 8 November 1980, p. 2.

²⁵² Sapa. "Meer van Europa besoek SA," *Die Burger*, 19 Junie 1980, p. 15.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁵ A. Blumer. "Bordjie Bring Ergernis," *Die Burger*, 19 Januarie 1980, p. 12.

²⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁷ Unknown. "Apartheid in the caves," *The Argus*, 11 April 1980, p. 14.

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

and a school of no more than a hundred pupils, only had two apartheid signs.²⁶⁰ Both signs were to be found at the train station, but it was reported that passengers in passing trains could not even see them.²⁶¹ “But the Lord Milner Hotel – ‘the hotel is the village, and the village the hotel,’ one source said – officially remains a ‘white only’ establishment.”²⁶²

South Africa’s image in America also remained largely negative at this time. The editor of *Beeld*²⁶³, went on travels in New York, Washington, Boston and Atlanta in June/July 1980 and reported that the American opinion against South Africa was lukewarm at best at the time.²⁶⁴ However, Pik Botha, South Africa’s Foreign Minister at the time, had stated that the American press and Department of Foreign Affairs were still very negative with regards to South Africa.²⁶⁵ Nevertheless, in 1980 South Africa opened a new consulate in Beverly Hills, Los Angeles, much to the disgust of black council members and newspapers.²⁶⁶ The Los Angeles City council had decided, per proposal by some black members, to approach USA President Carter, the Department of Foreign Affairs, the Congress and the city council of Beverley Hills not to allow this consulate. *The Los Angeles Times* attacked the city council for interfering in foreign policy matters, *The Register* took the same route.²⁶⁷ According to Mowforth and Hunt, it was the responsibility of the government to ensure favourable relations with overseas nation-states to ensure tourism.²⁶⁸

It was also at this time that South Africa played host to a number of fact-finding missions from Europe. In January 1980 they welcomed a delegation of eight French parliament members and six sports officials who would spend ten days in South Africa to investigate their sports integration.²⁶⁹ The following week a British delegation under Jeeps were also to be welcomed in Johannesburg.²⁷⁰ Even a delegation of the Olympic Games Committee was to visit South Africa to inspect the race integration South Africa was promoting.²⁷¹ The Jeeps mission had found that at least five sports in South Africa fulfilled the requirements set out by the mission

²⁶⁰ Unknown. “Matjiesfontein has only two apartheid signs,” *The Argus*, 15 April 1980, p. 2.

²⁶¹ *Ibid.*

²⁶² *Ibid.*

²⁶³ Another Afrikaans South African Newspaper.

²⁶⁴ Onbekend. “Eie probleme laat Yank-drif oor SA bedaar,” *Die Burger*, 1 Julie 1980, p. 13.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁶ P. Greyling. “Twis in Los Angeles, Omstrede missie van SA geopen,” *Die Burger*, 21 Oktober 1980, p. 11.

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

²⁶⁸ M. Mowforth & I. Hunt. *Tourism and Sustainability: Development, globalisation and new tourism in the Third World*, 3rd ed. (Routledge: London & New York, 2009). p. 293.

²⁶⁹ Korrespondent. “Ondersoek na Sport: Franse sending vandag na SA,” *Die Burger*, 9 Januarie 1980, p. 4.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁷¹ Unknown. “SA sport under spotlight,” *The Argus*, 8 January 1980, p. 2.

for the country's re-introduction to international sport. However, they had found that rugby in South Africa still had a long way to go to fulfil these requirements. Thus, the Jeeps Commission was still of the opinion that the British Lions Tour of 1980 to South Africa should not continue.²⁷²

The French had also sent a fact-finding mission to South Africa. The French Commission had already stated during a press conference that it was clear to them that the political problems of the country would interfere with their sport. Albert Ferrasse, president of the French Rugby Federation, also formed part of this commission. They were to collaborate with the Jeeps Commission to publish a joint report on the situation in South African sport.²⁷³ Thus the importance of these fact-finding missions, as these reports of their first-hand experience in the country would be published, and highly regarded, in Europe. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) and FIFA were also to study the reports of the British and French factfinding missions regarding integration in South African sports.²⁷⁴ They believed that the changes that had been seen in South African sport were purely cosmetic.²⁷⁵ Unfortunately, it seemed that Jeeps had also already made up his mind regarding white South Africa and that he had no intentions of understanding the situation in the country.²⁷⁶

In Australia, on the other hand, matters were also improving for South Africa. What is of interest here is that *The Australian* and *The Age* had been giving their main articles to news from South Africa.²⁷⁷ However, by late November of 1980, a political storm broke out in Canberra as it was reported that the Australian Government had allowed the South African Government to open a consulate in Sydney on 2 January 1981.²⁷⁸ *The Australian* had this story as their main article.²⁷⁹ The Australian Labour Party quickly made it known that they were not in favour of this expansion, while a spokesperson for the Department of Foreign Affairs stated that there was no reason to deny South Africa this expansion of their consulates in Australia. Australia also had a consulate in South Africa, and on mutual ground, they could not expect the South African government to allow them a consulate if they were denied one in Australia.

²⁷² Kantoor. "SA rugby nog ver pad, hoor Britte," *Die Burger*, 11 Maart 1980, p. 11.

²⁷³ Unknown. "French aim to be objective, 'No wish to intrude'," *The Argus*, 14 January 1980, p. 11.

²⁷⁴ Unknown. "IOC, FIFA to study SA reports," *The Argus*, 30 January 1980, p. 28.

²⁷⁵ Unknown. "Cut all SA Tours: Labour Calls," *The Argus*, 12 January 1980, p. 6.

²⁷⁶ Unknown. "Howa, Jeeps clash on sport," *The Argus*, 17 January 1980, p. 3.

²⁷⁷ Korrespondent. "Fraser gedruk om Botha aan te moedig," *Die Burger*, 21 Maart 1980, p. 15.

²⁷⁸ Korrespondent. "Storm bars oor SA Missie," *Die Burger*, 3 Desember 1980, p. 12.

²⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

South Africa also had another ally in Europe who helped them in the Danish market, namely Erhard Jacobsen. Jacobsen was a member of the Danish and European Parliament and on return from a visit to South Africa, he believed that Denmark, and the whole of the Western World, needed to change their perspective regarding Apartheid in South Africa.²⁸⁰ Jacobsen even stated that there was rarely, or never, as many lies written about a country as in the case of South Africa. It should be noted that Jacobsen was not sure who had paid for his travels and accommodation, but after receiving an invitation from the South African consul general, he believed the Department of Foreign Affairs and Information paid for his trip.²⁸¹ It was also in this year that the Minister of Tourism, Treurnicht, announced that his Department was to bring in foreign travel operators and travel agents to South Africa from March until September in an effort to sell the South African winter as a tourist season abroad.²⁸² There was no lack of trying from the South African tourism industry during 1980.

Surprisingly, many tourists to South Africa also originated from Argentina, so much so that *Aerolines Argentinas* had to make use of a bigger carrier on their route to South Africa for the festive season.²⁸³ Unfortunately, South Africa was not fully utilizing this tourism market. Argentine tour guides had warned that these numbers would wane if South Africa did not react to the issues these tourists were reporting.²⁸⁴ In an effort to address these issues, the chair of the Cape Hotel Association, Peter Muller, set up a meeting with these tour agents in order to draw up an official report. One of the main issues pointed out was the shortage of space on flights between these two countries.²⁸⁵ Another issue was the shortage of accommodation in some of the top hotels in the country.²⁸⁶ In addition, it was also pointed out that the rates for flights and hotels were ever-increasing, which served as a deterrent for potential tourists. The tourism industry in South Africa suffered another blow that year when *Aerolines Argentinas* announced that they would be offering fewer flights to South Africa from March 1980 as there was a decline in ticket sales and an increase in petrol prices.²⁸⁷

West Germany was also becoming a country from which South Africa could obtain more tourists. South Africa's ambassador in Bonn, Kurt von Schinding, thought that the best way to

²⁸⁰ Sapa-AP. "Terug van Besoek, Anti-linkse Deen wil werk vir SA," *Die Burger*, 13 Oktober 1980, p. 3.

²⁸¹ *Ibid.*

²⁸² Onbekend. "SA se winter nou verkoop," *Die Burger*, 10 Mei 1980, p. 5.

²⁸³ Stadsverslaggewer. "Toerismebedryf in die Kaap floreer," *Die Burger*, 19 Maart 1980, p. 2.

²⁸⁴ Onbekend. "Klagte oor Geriewe: Argentyne stroom vol geld na SA," *Die Burger*, 1 Mei 1980, p. 12.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁸⁷ Sapa - AP. "Minder vlugte van Argentinië na SA," *Die Burger*, 25 Februarie 1980, p. 3.

market South Africa as a tourist destination to the West Germans was by making it easier for them to travel to South Africa.²⁸⁸ It was stated that most West Germans who returned from South Africa had a very positive image of the country and also a better understanding of their circumstances. The main issue was that most West Germans could not afford to travel to South Africa; thus, it was believed the tourism industry had to address this issue. South Africa also had to address their place image as it was also reported that the television and radio sections regarding South Africa in West Germany were very negative. This had apparently reached a low point with the 1976 Soweto uprisings, but it was believed this had improved from 1979 to 1980 as Grundlingh discussed in his 2006 article.²⁸⁹

The country's sport, however, was not as fortunate. Alan Robinson reported from *The Argus* London Bureau, "[e]ven if all barriers in South African sport were abolished, isolation from international sport within the Commonwealth would probably continue[.]"²⁹⁰ He believed that even total integration in South African sport would not break the agreement which the Commonwealth signed in 1977. Robinson further stated that it was because this agreement did not only address sport in South Africa, but the Apartheid policy as a whole, thus the isolation from international sport would continue despite the integration of the country's sport. He was of the opinion that the total abolishment of Apartheid was the only way South Africa would return to international sport.²⁹¹

Nevertheless, it was stated that the upcoming British Lions tour had given South African Rugby hope.²⁹² As stated above, South Africa believed, that even without the abolishment of Apartheid, they would have a chance to positively change their image and also work on marketing to bolster their tourism industry. Yet, in order to understand the importance of this tour, one first needs to understand sports tourism.

²⁸⁸ Spesiale Verteenwoordiger. "Begrip vir SA in Wes-Duitsland," *Die Burger*, 15 Junie 1980, p. 13.

²⁸⁹ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁰ A. Robinson. "Long way in from the cold," *The Argus*, 11 January 1980, p. 8.

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*

²⁹² A. C. Parker. "Tours issue is vital – Craven," *The Argus*, 10 March 1980, p. 14.

4.1 Sport Tourism

*“Cultural, historical and social themes attract high percentages of domestic tourists, while only major events tend to attract international tourists.”*²⁹³

The above quote by Saayman et al. highlights the reason why a destination would bid for a major event, despite the economic gamble: it is believed that these major events will attract international tourists, and with this foreign capital. However, as these countries bid for major events, some hurdles cannot be foreseen. For example, 2020 saw the closure of borders, states of emergencies and a whole world in crisis, with many international sporting events being cancelled or postponed. Most notably, the 2020 Tokyo Olympic Games. Nevertheless, South Africa had issues regarding bidding for international events well before 2020.

In 1980 “[t]he Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport, better known as the Gleneagles Agreement, was issued by Heads of Government from the Retreat held at Gleneagles in Scotland during their London meeting in June 1977.”²⁹⁴ Heads of Government had reaffirmed, at a meeting in London, that apartheid in sport did not comply with the Declaration of Commonwealth Principles, which was agreed upon in Singapore in 1971. The fear was that countries that had sporting ties with South Africa would appear as if they were condoning apartheid policies. It should be noted that this agreement left it to each government to decide how they would implement these requirements.²⁹⁵ It was acknowledged that national sport organizations had to work with their governments for this agreement to succeed. “Heads of Government specially welcomed the belief, unanimously expressed at their Meeting, that in the light of their consultations and accord, there were unlikely to be future sporting contacts of any significance between Commonwealth countries or their nationals and South Africa while that country continues to pursue the detestable policy of apartheid.”²⁹⁶

Most articles that focussed on sports tourism placed all their focus on the economic benefits, especially those of mega-events. The introduction of air transport was also important for sports tourism, though expensive at first; by the 1960s, packaged tourism was introduced and

²⁹³ M. Saayman, A. Saayman & J. A. Rhodes. “Domestic tourist spending and economic development: the case of the North West Province,” *Development Southern Africa*, (18), (4), October 2001, p. 451.

²⁹⁴ Commonwealth Secretariat. The Commonwealth Statement on Apartheid in Sport (The Gleneagles Agreement), London 1977.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

international sport was flourishing.²⁹⁷ As a result spectators could travel to see their national teams compete in other countries. With increased media attention, governments started realizing the benefits of sport tourism.²⁹⁸ Many governments believed that sports tourism could enhance tourism in deprived communities, but academics were wearier and more warned of the expenditure on infrastructure that came with these events.²⁹⁹ Sports tourism had also grown in importance for South Africa. George stated that the hosting of mega-events in South Africa, such as the 1995 RWC, the 2003 Cricket World Cup and the 2010 FIFA World Cup, had led to the growth of this sector of tourism in South Africa.³⁰⁰

It has been realized that events like these allow tourists to plan their holiday solely around sport spectating.³⁰¹ Another perceived positive effect of mega-events is that they provide a post-tourism boost. It is believed that the people will stay longer, as this may be the only time they are able to visit the destination. It has also been identified by authors M. Weed and C. Bull that just bidding for the Olympic Games alone will attract media attention and investments.³⁰² This is because in this bidding, only the best of the country is advertised. What is also essential regarding sports tourism is to encourage return visits.³⁰³ Moreover, the Olympic Games is described as the ultimate prize for tourist marketing. However, it must be noted that just bidding for the Olympic Games is also often a financial gamble for a city.³⁰⁴ Authors J. Standeven and P. De Knop express it best by stating that maintaining sport as part of tourism is no cheap feat.³⁰⁵

There also exists this myth that a major sporting event can do wonders for the morale of a destination. In the South African context, academics often refer to the 1995 RWC. Many

²⁹⁷ M. Weed & C. Bull. *Sports Tourism: Participants, policy and providers*, (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004). p. 11.

²⁹⁸ J. Standeven & P. De Knop. *Sports Tourism*, (USA: Human Kinetics, 1999). p. 4.

²⁹⁹ J. Briedenhann. "Economic and Tourism Expectations of the 2010 FIFA World Cup," *Journal of Sport & Tourism*, (16), (1), February 2011, p. 5.

³⁰⁰ R. George. "International tourists' perceptions of crime-risk and their future travel intentions during the 2010 FIFA World Cup in South Africa," *South African Journal of Business Management*, 2013, (44), (1), p. 47.

³⁰¹ M. Weed & C. Bull. *Sports Tourism: Participants, policy and providers*, (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004). p. 21.

³⁰² *Ibid.* p. 29.

³⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 141.

³⁰⁴ B. Holcomb. "Marketing Cities for Tourism" in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 60.

³⁰⁵ J. Standeven & P. De Knop. *Sports Tourism*, (USA: Human Kinetics, 1999). p. 66.

considered this an event of nation-building for the new South Africa who had rid themselves of Apartheid.³⁰⁶

4.1.1 South Africa and Rugby

In order to understand the importance of rugby in South Africa, one only needs to turn to the work of author M. Bose in which he writes that there is a story Mandela told regarding his first visit with de Klerk. De Klerk told him that they would only be able to change the system if the African National Congress (ANC) could manage to get the All Blacks to play in South Africa again.³⁰⁷ Bose stated that “[t]here is something in the white South Africans that make them almost religiously fanatical about their devotion to rugby.”³⁰⁸

By the 1960s and 1970s that rugby administrations worldwide were under so much political pressure that many of them cancelled scheduled tours against the Springboks.³⁰⁹ During the 1970s and 1980s, nine tours that included the Springboks were cancelled.³¹⁰ Tours that did continue had to be played in secret due to the fears of violent protests.³¹¹

Grundlingh stated that “[a]s black protests started to mount in the 1980s and South Africa moved into the spotlight of world media attention, it became increasingly difficult for the Springboks to compete internationally.”³¹² The demonstrations against South Africa started in Britain in 1969/70 and ended with the tour of New Zealand and the United States in 1981.³¹³ After this, South African Rugby was finally cut off from the formal international competition. Nevertheless, rebel teams still toured South Africa for international tests. The Pumas from Argentina toured to South Africa in both 1982 and 1984 as the Jaguars who supposedly

³⁰⁶ M. Weed & C. Bull. *Sports Tourism: Participants, policy and providers*, (Oxford: Elsevier Butterworth-Heinemann, 2004). p. 31.

³⁰⁷ M. Bose. *Sporting Colours: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, (Great Britain: Robson Books, 1994). p. 10.

³⁰⁸ *Ibid.* p. 13.

³⁰⁹ Q. van Rooyen. “Demonstrators, Isolation, Success and Disappointments 1969-1981” in P. Dobson. *Rugby in South Africa: A History 1861-1988*, (South Africa: The South African Rugby Board 1989, 1989). p. 129.

³¹⁰ A. M. Grundlingh. “Responses to Isolation” in A. Grundlingh, A. Odendaal & B. Spies. *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1995). p. 90.

³¹¹ Q. van Rooyen. “Demonstrators, Isolation, Success and Disappointments 1969-1981” in P. Dobson. *Rugby in South Africa: A History 1861-1988*, (South Africa: The South African Rugby Board 1989, 1989). p. 130

³¹² A. M. Grundlingh. “Responses to Isolation” in A. Grundlingh, A. Odendaal & B. Spies. *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1995). p. 96.

³¹³ Q. van Rooyen. “Demonstrators, Isolation, Success and Disappointments 1969-1981” in P. Dobson. *Rugby in South Africa: A History 1861-1988*, (South Africa: The South African Rugby Board 1989, 1989). p. 129.

represented South America.³¹⁴ The biggest outcry came with the New Zealand rebel tour as the Cavaliers in 1986, after the cancellation of the 1985 controversial tour.³¹⁵

It was in 1977 that South African Rugby felt the most pressure from isolation, and this was also finally the year that South African Rugby became non-racial in its constitution. However, it was only in 1980 that Errol Tobias became the first coloured player that formed part of the Springbok team. South African Rugby had proven that if they could not travel for international competition, they would invite the international competition to come to them. In 1980 the question was again posed if South Africa would be allowed to compete internationally. It turned out to be one of the busiest years for the Springboks, as nine tests were played that year.³¹⁶

In 1981 isolation became worse than it had ever been and it was clear that South African Rugby would not be travelling to New Zealand again any time soon. As there were fears regarding safety as the Springboks were touring New Zealand, special police, known as ‘the red and blue squads’, were tasked with protecting the Springboks while they were travelling New Zealand.³¹⁷ After this, Wales had cancelled their tour to South Africa that would have taken place in 1982.³¹⁸ Though official country teams no longer came to tour South Africa, club teams and rebel teams still visited South Africa.³¹⁹ The year 1983 also saw no test rugby for the Springboks as the French also cancelled their tour. South Africa saw test rugby again in 1984 when England toured South Africa, followed by the Jaguars. This test against England would be the last International Rugby Board tour for South Africa in the 1980s. The Jaguars also visited South Africa in 1984, but this was because Craven had invited the club, as Argentina and other South American countries were severing their ties with South Africa.³²⁰ The All Blacks also cancelled their tour of South Africa in 1985. This was very difficult for South African Rugby as New Zealand Rugby had always gone out of their way to play in South Africa. This tour was actually no different as the New Zealand Rugby and Football Union still wanted to go forth with this tour, and although the government could not deny them passports, it was rather two lawyers that stopped the tour by claiming that the match was not in the best

³¹⁴ A. M. Grundlingh. “Responses to Isolation” in A. Grundlingh, A. Odendaal & B. Spies. *Beyond the Tryline: Rugby and South African Society*, (Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1995). p. 96.

³¹⁵ *Ibid.*

³¹⁶ Q. van Rooyen. “Demonstrators, Isolation, Success and Disappointments 1969-1981” in P. Dobson. *Rugby in South Africa: A History 1861-1988*, (South Africa: The South African Rugby Board 1989, 1989). p. 139.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 142.

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 144.

³¹⁹ P. Dobson. “The Best of Years, The Worst of Years, 1982-1988” in P. Dobson. *Rugby in South Africa: A History 1861-1988*, (South Africa: The South African Rugby Board 1989, 1989). p. 146.

³²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 151.

interest of the country.³²¹ Thus, South Africa struggled with the development of sports tourism in the country during the 1980s.

It would not only be the New Zealand tour that made headlines, but also the tour of the British Lions.

4.1.2 The 1980 British Lions Tour of South Africa

The beginning of 1980 saw the British Lions tour to South Africa dominating the news media. *Die Burger* reported on 7 January 1980 that the British Lions had ‘opened the door for the Springboks.’³²² It was believed this tour could even lead to more international tours in the future, like the All Blacks in 1981, and may even rekindle some tours, like that of the French which had been cancelled in 1979.³²³

The South African government spent a lot on advertisements in western newspapers to inform the world that their sport included to laws of apartheid.³²⁴ South Africa made sure this would be clear as the British Lions were scheduled to also play against the coloured South African Rugby Federation and the black South African Rugby Association.³²⁵ They attempted to make sure the reports from the country focussed on the positive sports image and not the negative political image. There was no shortage of differences in opinions regarding the British Lions Tour to South Africa. Despite British newspapers reporting that they believed that black sports leaders would be against the tour, it seemed that coloured sports leaders were in support of the tour as they believed everyone could benefit from it, this according to *Die Burger*.³²⁶ Probably more surprising than South African sports bodies supporting the British Lions tour were London inhabitants supporting the tour. A poll discovered that more than 69% of Londoners were in support of the British Lions Tour to South Africa.³²⁷ Even *The Argus* reported that most Britons supported the Lions tour as they wanted to see South Africa’s return to the international rugby stage and the Olympic Games.³²⁸ However, Prime Minister Thatcher disagreed and had

³²¹ P. Dobson. “The Best of Years, The Worst of Years, 1982-1988” in P. Dobson. *Rugby in South Africa: A History 1861-1988*, (South Africa: The South African Rugby Board 1989, 1989). p. 154.

³²² Onbekend. “Leeus maak deur oop vir Bokke – Dok,” *Die Burger*, 7 Januarie 1980, p. 1.

³²³ *Ibid.*

³²⁴ M. Bose. *Sporting Colours: Sport and Politics in South Africa*, (Great Britain: Robson Books, 1994). p. 31.

³²⁵ Onbekend. “Leeus maak deur oop vir Bokke – Dok,” *Die Burger*, 7 Januarie 1980, p. 1.

³²⁶ Korrespondent. “„Almal kan baat vind’ – Bruin sportbase vir Leeutoer,” *Die Burger*, 16 Januarie 1980, p. 2.

³²⁷ Onbekend. “Londenaars sê ja vir Leeu-toer in SA,” *Die Burger*, 16 Januarie 1980, p. 2.

³²⁸ Unknown. “Londoners lend support, Release the Lions-Britons,” *The Argus*, 16 January 1980, p. 13.

told the House of Commons that sport in South Africa was not yet integrated enough for the reconsideration of the Gleneagles Agreement.³²⁹ On the other hand, the Welsh, Scottish and Irish rugby unions supported this tour to South Africa.³³⁰ It should be noted that the British Government could not stop individuals from taking part in international sport; thus they could only condemn the British Lions tour to South Africa but could not stop it.³³¹

This tour would also prove to be a chance for South Africa to give the international community a first-hand experience of the changes which had taken place in the country. A number of media representatives were touring with the British Lions and would not only be reporting about the sport but also the stance of race policies in South Africa.³³² South Africa was preparing itself for minimal reporting on the rugby and a lot more focus on the politics of the country. In the past, representatives of the *Sunday Mirror*, *Sunday People* and *News of the World* had often accompanied touring teams. In this specific article, *Die Burger* was trying to bring into question the credibility of *The Sun* and the *Daily Star*, who had not been kind to South Africa in their reporting and were also to be represented at the tour. Other newspapers which were set to be represented during the tour included the *Western Mail* of Scotland, *The Sunday Telegraph*, *The Daily Telegraph*, *The Guardian* and *The Sunday Times*.³³³ The BBC was also set to send representatives, but had to wait for clarification of talks between the South African Rugby Union (SARU) and the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).³³⁴ *The Argus* also stated that it was critical that no racial incidents occur during this tour as this tour would have been crucial for the image of South Africa and its sport.³³⁵

The first reports were not what the South African government had hoped for. It was reported that the supposed positive image South Africa had been sending to the western world was quickly fading as the school unrests and the death of two coloured pupils attracted all the media attention.³³⁶ The news of these two coloured schoolboys being shot dead by the police made front-page news on the *International Tribune*, which was distributed in America, Britain and Europe.³³⁷ It was also acknowledged that South Africa's image in the foreign world would be

³²⁹ Argus Bureau. "I never favoured Lions tour – Dolly," *The Argus*, 4 June 1980, p. 13.

³³⁰ Unknown. "British touring team due in May, Lions rugby test for Cape Town," *The Argus*, 5 January 1980, p. 1.

³³¹ Onbekend. "Britse Minister Boikot Toer," *Die Burger*, 8 Mei 1980, p. 1.

³³² Kantoor. "Agttien Koerante dek Toer: SA politiek weer onder vergrootglas," *Die Burger*, 23 April 1980, p. 3.

³³³ *Ibid.*

³³⁴ *Ibid.*

³³⁵ Unknown. "Out of the cold?" *The Argus*, 7 January 1980, p. 6.

³³⁶ Kantoor. "Onrus skaad SA beeld in Buiteland," *Die Burger*, 3 Junie 1980, p. 9.

³³⁷ *Ibid.*

dependent on how the situation was handled.³³⁸ *The Times* reported that the riots were not lightening the tension the British Lions felt as they were in a foreign country, so too the armed police at their hotel was also a constant reminder of the conflicts in South Africa.³³⁹ *The Guardian*, which *Die Burger* had labelled as one of South Africa's greatest enemies, was reporting daily on the political side of the tour. Nevertheless, it was stated that most newspapers were optimistic about the British Lions team and the first test, which was to take place on 31 May 1980.³⁴⁰

Die Burger also reported that it was difficult to determine who was telling the true story as the British and South African media had very contradictory accounts.³⁴¹ The issue was that the unrests and the reportage of the unrests were feared to have a negative influence on the country's tourism industry. However, city hoteliers believed that the unrests did not directly influence tourism to Cape Town at that time, but they feared that it would have frightened off potential international tourists.³⁴² The General Manager of the Heerengracht Hotel, Otto Stenlik, stated that he had received a call from tour operators in Germany, Britain and Argentina, enquiring if it was safe to send a tour group to the city as South Africa was again making headlines, or these unrests found themselves among the reports of the British Lions Tour. He also stated that it had direct short term effects to promote Cape Town abroad, but they were sending sales staff abroad and were confident that their efforts would not further be negatively affected. The Senior Information Assistant for Captour stated that she had been unaware of any cancellations because of the unrests.³⁴³ In July of 1980, Cape Town was also preparing for the domestic tourists from Natal, Transvaal and the Free State who were on their way for the school holidays. Bus companies reported that their bus tours were still going strong and that much of their business came from those who were in the country for the British Lions Tour. Despite these positive reports, hotel managers in Cape Town reported that July, the South African winter, was usually a quiet time of the year, and 1980 was no exception.³⁴⁴

The chair of the French Rugby Federation, Ferrasse, was set to meet with Craven to discuss a Springbok tour to France. Ferrasse had made clear his willingness to send a French team to

³³⁸ Kantoor. "Onrus skaad SA beeld in Buiteland," *Die Burger*, 3 Junie 1980, p. 9.

³³⁹ Kantoor. "Skole-onrus slaan deur in Leeu-berigte," *Die Burger*, 30 Mei 1980, p. 11.

³⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁴¹ Onbekend. "Dis te gek vir woorde," *Die Burger*, 24 Junie 1980, p. 16.

³⁴² Unknown. "Impact of unrest on tourism in balance," *The Argus*, 2 July 1980, p. 11.

³⁴³ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

tour South Africa in November of 1980.³⁴⁵ It was by October of 1980 that French papers, like *L'Humanite*, were attacking Ferrasse for not taking the political reality in South Africa into consideration.³⁴⁶ The French sports page, *L'Equipe*, criticized Ferrasse for sending an inexperienced team to South Africa.³⁴⁷ The French media believed that the government should have stepped in to stop this tour, their argument being based on the fact that this tour was being arranged a year after the French Minister of Foreign Affairs denied the Springboks to tour France.³⁴⁸ Yet, two French Ministers quickly reacted, making it seem that there was nothing the government could do to stop the tour.³⁴⁹ The government's official stance was that they did not support Apartheid, but they could not stop private plans made by sports bodies.³⁵⁰

Despite the supposed success of the tour, it should be noted that the tour itself was not without its issues. Travel plans for the British Lions team were regularly changed at the last minute to avoid feared strikes. South Africa, and SARU, came under heavy criticism after the BBC played a video of police officers shooting at black people.³⁵¹ The rugby writer for *The Sun*, Ian Todd, directly criticised Craven, stating that the British Lions tour was a chance for South Africa to prove that the regulations of the Gleneagles Agreement were outdated, but they did not successfully seize the opportunity. He further blamed Craven for misleading the British Lions, making them believe that more changes had occurred in South Africa than was the case.³⁵² South Africa had a defender in John Reed, who wrote in *The Sunday Express* that the stories doing the rounds that the British Lions were misled by the Springboks, claiming that they had accepted multi-racialism and that half the team of the British Lions were unhappy and wanted to return home, never setting foot again in South Africa, was pure ludicrous.³⁵³ However, other British newspapers reported a contrasting view. The touring British Lions team wanted to remove the politics from the games, as it was the rugby they were interested in, not the policies of the country. This was stated in *The Observer*, yet *The Sunday Times* reported that some players had stated that had they known the true nature of the situation in South Africa, they never would have joined the tour.³⁵⁴

³⁴⁵ Onbekend. "Craven het hoop vir toer in Frankryk," *Die Burger*, 27 Junie 1980, p. 1.

³⁴⁶ Korrespondent. " 'Vindingryke' Hane kom SA toer," *Die Burger*, 16 Oktober 1980, p. 11.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁴⁹ Korrespondent. "Franse sal toer nie keer," *Die Burger*, 17 Oktober 1980, p. 1.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

³⁵¹ Korrespondent. "SA onder skoot oor Britse TV," *Die Burger*, 25 Junie 1980, p. 13.

³⁵² *Ibid.*

³⁵³ Kantoor. "Leeu-heimwee ,volslae onsin'," *Die Burger*, 30 Junie 1980, p. 1.

³⁵⁴ Kantoor. "Leeus ,stel nie in politiek belang'," *Die Burger*, 23 Junie 1980, p. 11.

Michael Shafto of *The Argus* even found it necessary to put together a piece regarding the facts and fables of the British Lions tour to South Africa. He reported that many rumours were doing the rounds, most concerned with what the British Lions team saw and felt.³⁵⁵ Shafto also referred to the rumours that the British Lions were dissatisfied with South Africa and wanted to return home. He reacted by stating that there were a lot more issues with the tour of 1974, but nothing was reported about that. He further stated that “we South Africans have our pride. We don’t like outsiders telling us what to do.”³⁵⁶ He was also adamant that South Africa did not need disinforming foreign articles telling them when to protest against injustices.³⁵⁷ British newspapers had been publishing articles of the British Lions under politics, but by May of 1980, they migrated back to the sports pages.³⁵⁸ Shafto further criticised the foreign press, stating that nothing like these reports were to be found in New Zealand newspapers during their tour of 1976 when the events of 16 June that year were still fresh in the public’s minds.³⁵⁹

Despite the negative publicity, the Springboks managed to secure a tour of New Zealand in 1981. British circles applauded this decision of the New Zealand Rugby Council.³⁶⁰ However, anti-apartheid supporters had also made their opinion of the tour known. The oppositional Labour Leader in New Zealand, Bill Rowling, had stated that the rugby union had gone directly against parliament and acted selfishly.³⁶¹ This would turn out to be one of the most infamous tours between the Springboks and the All Blacks.

4.2 The end of 1980

When 1980 ended, it was believed by some that the international attitude towards South Africa had changed. René de Villiers, reporting from Canada, explained that the interest in the Apartheid system had turned into boredom.³⁶² Yet, it was further stated that cosmetic changes would no longer fool the international world and that they were now convinced that everything done in South Africa was done within the framework of Apartheid.³⁶³ Therefore, it was clear that South Africa needed to focus on bringing change to their country. Thus, rebel tours became

³⁵⁵ M. Shafto. “The Tour: Fact and fable,” *The Argus*, 25 June 1980, p. 22.

³⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁵⁸ A. Robinson. “Kremlin to SA’s rescue,” *The Argus*, 6 May 1980, p. 12.

³⁵⁹ M. Shafto. “The Tour: Fact and fable,” *The Argus*, 25 June 1980, p. 22.

³⁶⁰ Argus Bureau. “Decision on Bok tour applauded,” *The Argus*, 12 September 1980, p. 3.

³⁶¹ *Ibid.*

³⁶² R. de Villiers. “SA – as others see us,” *The Argus*, 24 November 1980, p. 16.

³⁶³ *Ibid.*

the norm of the rest of the 1980s.³⁶⁴ However, it should be noted that with these international tours, South Africa believed that they were making progress with their image abroad.³⁶⁵

As mentioned above, it is noted that although South African sport was to be cut off from the international sphere for the rest of the 1980s, it did not seem that these circumstances, or the adverse reporting, did much to dampen the tourism industry of South Africa at this time. Reading through the newspapers of the 1980s, South African sport had much to long for, but it does not seem like the same held true for the South African tourism industry. The following section will evaluate if this phenomenon continued into the 1990s.

³⁶⁴ N. Macfarlane & M. Herd. *Sport and Politics*, (London: Willow Books, 1986). p. 150.

³⁶⁵ Onbekend. "Tekens van vordering," *Die Burger*, 21 Oktober 1980, p. 12.

Chapter 5 : The Years of Change (1990s) and Tourism

5.1 The 'F. W. Factor'

People in the tourism industry cannot seem to tell enough of the dramatic effect the imaginative reform steps taken by president de Klerk had on the South African tourism industry.^{366 367}

The above quote, found in *Die Burger*, 27 March 1990, explains where the South African tourism industry apparently found itself heading into the 1990s. It was at the mercy of President F. W. de Klerk and the outcome of his reform plans.

Die Burger had reported that de Klerk's political initiatives had made tourism numbers to South Africa skyrocket.³⁶⁸ One travel agency even stated that South Africa had the potential to become the most popular tourist destination in the Southern Hemisphere if de Klerk continued with his reforms. South Africa also expected a record-breaking number of overseas tourists in 1990. In *Die Burger*, it was stated that de Klerk had managed to do for the South African tourism industry what publicity associations could only dream of achieving for the promotion of tourism in South Africa.³⁶⁹ Fritz Joubert called this the FW-factor.³⁷⁰

Prime Minister Thatcher was the first to extend an invitation to de Klerk to discuss the encouraging developments which took place in South Africa; Britain was also the first to abandon their cultural boycott of South Africa.³⁷¹ Thatcher even stated that these announcements were a historical landmark for the country on their road to a new South Africa and also stated that Mandela would be a key player in the forming of this new South Africa.³⁷² In this statement, it is clear that Thatcher also fell into the euphoric belief of 'Mandela Magic', coined by Rogerson and Visser, like many others, that the release of Mandela would mean the end of all of South Africa's issues. Also crucial for the bigger picture of this thesis is that

³⁶⁶ Author's own translation. "Mense in die toeristebedryf kan steeds nie uitgepraat raak oor die dramatiese uitwerking wat pres. De Klerk se verbeeldingryke hervormingstappe op die Suid-Afrikaanse toerismebedryf gehad het nie".

³⁶⁷ Hoofverslaggewer. "SP gee toerisme groot stoot," *Die Burger*, 27 Maart 1990, p. 3.

³⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁰ F. Joubert. "'FW-faktor' laat SA nuwe era oorsees betree," *Die Burger*, 2 April 1990, p. 11.

³⁷¹ Kantoor. "Lof stroom in vir pres. F. W. de Klerk se inisiatiewe, SA en wêreld jubel, Thatcher wil SP gou sien," *Die Burger*, 3 Februarie 1990, p. 1.

³⁷² *Ibid.*

Thatcher stated her government would now no longer be discouraging their people from travelling to South Africa. Nevertheless, it should be noted that it was believed that Britain stood isolated, as the rest of the European Union was not on the same page as them regarding South Africa. It was also made clear that some restrictions were voluntary, like the prohibition on new investments in South Africa and also the promotion of South African tourism, but the British government made it clear that they would no longer discourage investments in South Africa and they would also encourage Britons to travel to South Africa.³⁷³ Britain would also be encouraging the other eleven countries of the European Union to do the same.³⁷⁴ Unfortunately, it was made clear that the lifting of sanctions against South Africa was not up to every individual European country but rather the European Community as a whole.³⁷⁵

Captour, the marketing body of tourism in Cape Town, also expected a rise in the number of Britons to double as Britain had lifted its ban on the tourism development in South Africa. The managing director of Captour, John Robért, had stated that there was an apparent decline in British tourist numbers to South Africa in 1985, but especially in 1986 when British tour companies had to remove South Africa from their brochures.³⁷⁶ This was difficult for the South African tourism industry as most tourists to South Africa originated from Britain.³⁷⁷

As soon as de Klerk's announcements were made, South African diplomats abroad were tasked with getting this image of the 'new' South Africa out to the foreign world. It was by the end of February 1990 that the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Pik Botha, was opening a week-long briefing with fifty of South Africa's ambassadors, where he urged them to convey to foreign governments South Africa's commitment to reaching an agreement which would suit all in South Africa.³⁷⁸ They were urged to make it clear to foreign governments that South Africa would never be the same. Pik Botha also announced that his Department would be instating black diplomats for the missions abroad, in line with their promise to work out all forms of Apartheid.³⁷⁹ Minister Pik Botha wanted to convey to these diplomats how best to win support for South Africa in the foreign world, thus they were also addressed by President de Klerk.³⁸⁰

³⁷³ Kantoor. "Brittanje wil EG op vergadering druk oor sanksies," *Die Burger*, 19 Februarie 1990, p. 3.

³⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁵ P. Fabricius & A. Dunn. "Europe to let SA in from the cold," *The Argus*, 11 May 1990, p. 4.

³⁷⁶ Onbekend. "Britse toeriste kan verdubbel, sê Captour," *Die Burger*, 26 Februarie 1990, p. 5.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁷⁸ M. Morris. "Pik briefs top SA diplomats on new image," *The Argus*, 26 February 1990, p. 3.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁰ Unknown. "SA's 'Foreign Legion' Senior diplomats in Cape Town for week-long briefing, 'Vital opportunity to win support for SA'," *The Argus*, 2 March 1990, p. 17.

Not long after de Klerk's announcements, *The Argus* reported that Pik Botha was off on a mystery tour of the African continent.³⁸¹ Though his Department did not clarify which countries he would be travelling to, it was important to note that many African countries had been opening their borders to South Africa. However, it was known that de Klerk was to fly to Goma in the Congo to have talks with President Mobutu Sese Seko, with other leaders expected to be present from Rwanda, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Gabon, Togo and the Congo. In addition, the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs had also visited three other African countries.³⁸² These visits are relevant, as it is evident in the statistics discussed in this thesis that the vast amount of South Africa's foreign tourists originated from the African continent.

By the end of 1990, it seemed that Australia and South Africa were not on the same. As Australia refused to recognize the changes implemented by de Klerk, they decided to cut their diplomatic ties in Sydney and Canberra.³⁸³ South Africa planned to close their Sydney Consulate and would also reduce their staff at the Canberra Consulate.³⁸⁴ In retaliation, Australia reduced their diplomatic staff in Pretoria. However, by the end of 1990, South Africa received a surprise as the Australian Government stated that they would end their twenty-year isolation against South Africa.³⁸⁵

Also in 1990, De Klerk and Pik Botha were off on a European tour to strengthen their relations. On their list was France, Britain, West Germany, Switzerland, Belgium, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain. During this time, South Africa received no shortage of international media coverage, especially in Europe. The international media started presenting a more welcoming attitude towards South Africa, which was believed to be an indication of the changing perspective of the general public.³⁸⁶ French newspapers, like *Le Quotidien* in Paris, were headlining that de Klerk's visits marked the end of South Africa's diplomatic apartheid.³⁸⁷ *The Times* in London portrayed these visits as de Klerk's victory lap around Europe.³⁸⁸ British newspapers, who had always been South Africa's biggest critic, had begun reporting more positively on South Africa since de Klerk's announcements. De Klerk and Pik Botha also met with newspaper editors and

³⁸¹ Political Staff. "Pik off on mystery trip," *The Argus*, 21 February 1990, p. 1.

³⁸² *Ibid.*

³⁸³ Political Staff. "Aussie-SA clash," *The Argus*, 13 November 1990, p. 1.

³⁸⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁸⁵ Argus Foreign Service. "Australian easing 20-year hardline policy on SA," *The Argus*, 24 December 1990, p. 5.

³⁸⁶ Onbekend. "Dit lyk ál beter vir SA," *Die Burger*, 21 Mei 1990, p. 8.

³⁸⁷ Onbekend. "Ook Nederland gaan pres. De Klerk nooi, SA weer erken in statery – SP," *Die Burger*, 9 Mei 1990, p. 1.

³⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

senior journalists to discuss the situation in South Africa, and what stood out in this meeting, according to *Die Burger*, was that there were no aggressive questions asked regarding South Africa.³⁸⁹ *Die Burger* also specifically reported on this shift in the British media which coincided with de Klerk's visit.³⁹⁰ Changes in opinions were apparent in foreign newspapers. *The Guardian* had become very critical of the anti-apartheid movement and had also reported that the policy on South Africa could no longer only consist of sanctions and isolation. Similarly, *The Independent* ran an article with the headline "Encourage Mr de Klerk", in which they reported on how his successful visits in Paris, Athens and Lisbon were evidence of the successful political changes in South Africa regarding reducing international isolation.³⁹¹ The French newspaper, *Le Monde*, was reporting that South Africa now found itself in the waiting room of Europe due to the initiatives of de Klerk.³⁹² Scholars A. Reis and A. Rossouw were of the opinion that this was evidence of the positive shift of the French media towards South Africa.³⁹³ The biggest daily newspaper in France, *Le Figaro*, even went as far as reporting that de Klerk's visit made a breakthrough in the relations between the two countries.³⁹⁴ In Europe, it was believed that de Klerk's European tour would play a vital role in the European Union's decision to continue with sanctions against South Africa or not. De Klerk also again it made clear that he was not going to Europe 'cap-in-hand', and if the issue of sanctions came up, he would state that they were no longer serving their purpose.³⁹⁵ De Klerk had to defend himself against the 'cap-in-hand' reports as Craven had to resort to with the Springboks in 1980. They were not fond of the image of them begging at the doorstep of other countries. Pik Botha also thought it wise to again clarify that he and de Klerk were not in Europe to beg for favours.³⁹⁶ However, it is noted that de Klerk's welcome in Europe relied heavily on the success of talks between the South African Government and the ANC.³⁹⁷

Just as de Klerk and Pik Botha were preparing to leave South Africa, they also received an invitation from the Dutch Government.³⁹⁸ In the Netherlands, it was reported that the initiatives of change of de Klerk had caught the country off guard, this according to the *NRC*

³⁸⁹ A. Reis. "Atmosfeer gunstig vir SP, Thatcher se gesprek," *Die Burger*, 19 Mei 1990, p. 9.

³⁹⁰ Kantoer. "Kentering in Britse pers jeens Suid-Afrika," *Die Burger*, 19 Mei 1990, p. 9.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*

³⁹² A. Reis en A. Rossouw. "SP lei SA 'op paaie van hoop'," *Die Burger*, 11 Mei 1990, p. 19.

³⁹³ *Ibid.*

³⁹⁴ A. Reis en A. Rossouw. "SP se besoek 'n deurbraak – Le Figaro," *Die Burger*, 11 Mei 1990, p. 19.

³⁹⁵ T. Wentzel. "FW off to the White House," *The Argus*, 21 September 1990, p. 11.

³⁹⁶ A. Dunn & P. Fabricius. "FW could 'go like goose to his doom'," *The Argus*, 17 May 1990, p. 4.

³⁹⁷ Political Staff. "FW-Mitterrand talk seen as breakthrough," *The Argus*, 8 May 1990, p. 4.

³⁹⁸ Onbekend. "Ook Nederland gaan pres. De Klerk nooi, SA weer erken in statery – SP," *Die Burger*, 9 Mei 1990, p. 1.

Handelsblad.³⁹⁹ Relations between the two countries were good during the fifties, until the events at Sharpeville in 1960.⁴⁰⁰ In November of 1990, a group of ten Dutch mayors and their spouses arrived in Cape Town as guests of the ‘Stigting tot Herstel van die Kulturele Betrekkinge tussen Nederland en Suid Afrika.’⁴⁰¹ It was then that the mayor of Ysselham, Lyn Vellekoop-Tanis, stated how astonished she was by how different the country was than the negative images the Dutch media had painted.⁴⁰²

During November of 1990, Soviet journalist, Kipras Majeika, and cameraman, Leonid Sokolnikov, were in South Africa filming a documentary on the political and economic situation in the country, with a focus on the culture, industry and tourism. This film was to be called *South Africa Today*.⁴⁰³ This was Majeika’s first time in South Africa, and soon after his arrival, he was accosted by a gang of five, who robbed him of his watch, money and air tickets in central Pretoria, yet, he had stated that this incident had not soured his perspective of South Africa. Majeika had also stated that although he had done his research before he came to South Africa, he had quickly discovered that his perception of the country was incorrect and incomplete. He attributed this to the fact that most foreign coverage of South Africa only focussed on the violence.⁴⁰⁴

Though de Klerk’s European tour was deemed as important, more important was Mandela’s visits which were to follow closely. The Anti-Apartheid Movement was not about to make this tour easy for de Klerk. Motivated by a call from Mandela, they vowed to campaign against de Klerk’s European tour.⁴⁰⁵ The Anti-Apartheid Movement also threatened to discourage tourism to South Africa further.⁴⁰⁶ It was also believed that there would be no changes in the European policy if Mandela did not approve them.⁴⁰⁷

South Africa’s situation in the United States was not as favourable as on the European continent. It was not only President Bush from the United States who was sceptical of these announcements by de Klerk. President Bush later made it clear that he would not be considering any changes to his sanction policy regarding South Africa until de Klerk and Mandela met to

³⁹⁹ Onbekend. “Den Haag verleë, want SA haal hom links in,” *Die Burger*, 17 Mei 1990, p. 17.

⁴⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰¹ Politieke Redaksie. “Nederlandse hoë in Kaapstad,” *Die Burger*, 6 November 1990, p. 2.

⁴⁰² *Ibid.*

⁴⁰³ S. Sorour. “Film-man likes what he’s seen through the lens,” *The Argus*, 1 November 1990, p. 12.

⁴⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁵ The Argus Foreign Service. “Anti-Apartheid body’s pledge to oppose De Klerk tour,” *The Argus*, 2 May 1990, p. 15.

⁴⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰⁷ Political Staff. “De Klerk tour crucial for SA,” *The Argus*, 9 May 1990, p. 9.

continue with deliberations.⁴⁰⁸ This was because the American Congress was bound by law to uphold the sanctions against South Africa until they complied with all the regulations.⁴⁰⁹ On 8 June 1990, *Die Burger* reported that Britain and the United States welcomed de Klerk's announcement of 7 June 1990 in which he stated that he would be lifting the State of Emergency in some parts of the country.⁴¹⁰ This announcement of de Klerk was broadcasted over British television and was also labelled as the most important international news in the United States on 7 June 1990.⁴¹¹ The climate in the United States was also very positive, as it was reported that de Klerk had been receiving very positive publicity in the American media since his momentous announcements.⁴¹² *The Argus* believed that the American public was still very ill-informed regarding the situation in South Africa.⁴¹³ Pictures of de Klerk's visit to the United States made the front pages of all the important American newspapers.⁴¹⁴ The *New York Times* reported that there was much praise in the United States for the changes in South Africa, but the end of all sanctions was not yet in sight.⁴¹⁵ While in Washington, de Klerk was set to meet with senior United States media editors and columnists, and also address the National Press Club, which was to be televised.⁴¹⁶ It was also believed that de Klerk would continuously be asked about the violence in the country when facing the media. It was also believed that he would be able to not only improve the image of South Africa, but that of Southern Africa and the African continent too.⁴¹⁷

Even countries on the African continent wanted to resume their ties with South Africa. Despite the attempts of the ANC, many African countries had again strengthened their ties with South Africa and ended their sanctions. De Klerk had been welcomed in Morocco, the Ivory Coast, Mozambique, Zaire, Zambia and Madagascar.⁴¹⁸ The opinion was that this new South Africa first had to be accepted by the African continent before the rest of the world would accept them. The African continent would also be important for South Africa's tourism numbers going

⁴⁰⁸ Sapa. "VSA-sanksies tot gesprekke plaasvind," *Die Burger*, 15 Februarie 1990, p. 11.

⁴⁰⁹ Kantoer "Kongres steun De Klerk én sanksies," *Die Burger*, 23 Februarie 1990, p. 17.

⁴¹⁰ Onbekend. "Brittanje en VSA verwelkom opheffing," *Die Burger*, 8 Junie 1990, p. 1.

⁴¹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴¹² F. Swart. "Wit Huis sê vandag oor SP se besoek," *Die Burger*, 7 September 1990, p. 1.

⁴¹³ Unknown. "FW and the ghosts of the past," *The Argus*, 16 May 1990, p. 10.

⁴¹⁴ Kantoer. "Besoek haal Amerika se voorblaaie," *Die Burger*, 25 September 1990, p. 2.

⁴¹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴¹⁶ D. Braun. "FW's best chance yet to put his case," *The Argus*, 21 September 1990, p. 2.

⁴¹⁷ T. Wentzel. "FW off to the White House," *The Argus*, 21 September 1990, p. 11.

⁴¹⁸ G. L'ange. "Into Africa on FW's reform," *The Argus*, 22 October 1990, p. 11.

forward. In 1989, according to *Die Burger*, South Africa had received a record number of overseas tourists equalling 930 000, of which 454 818 were from the African continent.⁴¹⁹

However, South Africans were also warned not to get too euphoric, as there were also many calls not to end the sanctions against South Africa.⁴²⁰ Mandela had visited Australia in October of 1990, where he was welcomed warmly. The *Herald Sun* reported that this so-called ‘Mandela Magic’ was influencing people who were always thought to think rationally.⁴²¹ This same newspaper also warned the Australian Government to look past the publicity this visit from Mandela was bringing, as his real agenda was to gain support from nations to not stop with their sanctions against South Africa until Apartheid was eradicated entirely.⁴²² As a polar opposite, Hennie de Klerk, the South African ambassador in Canada, believed that the time had come for the international community to break down this “Berlin Wall”, which was separating South Africa from the West.⁴²³ He compared this “wall” not to a physical one like the Berlin Wall, but rather more like the Iron Curtain, which was made up of economic sanctions, cultural boycotts and a lack of constructive political dialogue.⁴²⁴

The Japanese Government had also welcomed the release of Mandela, but they made it clear that they were not to follow Britain in immediately putting a stop to their sanctions against South Africa, for they believed, like the Dutch, that there were more steps that needed to be taken before sanctions against South Africa could be lifted.⁴²⁵ However, this Japanese delegation did admit that the perception of South Africa in their country was very different from the reality they had seen, and they hoped that this was to change soon.⁴²⁶

Mandela also took a tour of Europe and North America. Esmare van der Merwe was the only South African reporter who accompanied Mandela on his European tour and her observations were captured in *The Argus*. She was of the opinion that the success of his European tour had elevated his status as one of the most influential statesmen in the world.⁴²⁷ Mandela had visited fourteen countries in only six weeks, with the primary purpose of advocating for the continuation of sanctions and securing funds for the ANC. His European tour was described as

⁴¹⁹ Hoofverslaggewer. “Toeriste-stroom na SA ‘n rekord,” *Die Burger*, 7 Junie 1990, p. 3.

⁴²⁰ Onbekend. “Waar SA internasionaal staan,” *Die Burger*, 5 Februarie 1990, p. 8.

⁴²¹ Sapa-Reuter. “Mandela te moeg om armes te besoek,” *Die Burger*, 27 Oktober 1990, p. 11.

⁴²² *Ibid.*

⁴²³ Kantoor. “‘Skandmuur’ in SA moet weg – gesant,” *Die Burger*, 8 Februarie 1990, p. 9.

⁴²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴²⁵ Sapa-Reuter. “Chikane in Japan: ANC-besoek bespreek,” *Die Burger*, 15 Maart 1990, p. 21.

⁴²⁶ T. Wentzel. “FW’s diplomatic roundabout ends with Japanese meeting,” *The Argus*, 27 March 1990, p. 9.

⁴²⁷ E. van der Merwe. “Mandela ‘warmed hearts to SA’,” *The Argus*, 19 July 1990, p. 17.

a victory lap, as until February 1990, he had been the most famous political prisoner in the world.⁴²⁸ “He lived up to his legendary status. The crowds which have gathered in Europe, Northern America and Africa went home with more than the satisfaction of having seen in the flesh, the legend, Nelson Mandela.”⁴²⁹ During his visits, Mandela succeeded in convincing the European Parliament, the United Nations and the Organization for African Unity to continue with their sanctions against South Africa until the proposed reforms were irreversible. He did, however, struggle to convince some governments and businesses that the lifting of some international sanctions could delay the changes in South Africa.⁴³⁰

Back in Britain, the British media had made it clear that they were expecting bloodshed and violence in South Africa before power would be handed over, as a peaceful transition was just unheard of. *Die Burger* was of the opinion that journalists tried to find de Klerk’s hidden agenda when he appeared on a British television interview. De Klerk did make it clear that even if the negotiations failed, he would work to repair them again and again, because he believed it was the only way to avoid a violent transition in South Africa.⁴³¹

Despite the reported success of de Klerk’s foreign tours, it seemed that there was only praise and no action, as, according to *The Argus*, nothing had come from the talks of ending, or even just relieving, sanctions against South Africa.⁴³² However, on the surface it would seem that 1990 did bring significant changes to South Africa’s international tourism industry.

5.2 The ‘New’ South Africa and Tourism

*“South Africa is a beautiful country. I know it quite well. It has a large potential for tourism, one we will have to address once the political matters have been resolved.”*⁴³³

Rockwell Schnabel, the Under Secretary of the State for Commerce, Tourism and Travel of California State in America, is quoted above. His statement carries the same sentiment as the *White Paper on Tourism* of 1996, namely the belief that South Africa’s woes would be over once their political situation was sorted out. Even *Die Burger* had reported that the country had

⁴²⁸ E. van der Merwe. “Mandela ‘warmed hearts to SA’,” *The Argus*, 19 July 1990, p. 17.

⁴²⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴³¹ Onbekend. “Dan begin ons weer,” *Die Burger*, 24 April 1990, p. 16.

⁴³² T. Wentzel. “FW tells the world it’s time for action,” *The Argus*, 2 November 1990, p. 12.

⁴³³ Argus Correspondent. “Hope flying high for SAA landing in US by next year,” *The Argus*, 25 June 1990, p. 5.

received fewer tourists during 1985 and 1986 because of the political climate.⁴³⁴ It should be noted, despite many believing it was the announcements of de Klerk on 2 February 1990 which gave the tourism industry in South Africa a significant boost, the country's tourism industry was seeing great strides before this 'significant' moment. Kent Durr, Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism, stated already in January of 1990 that this could be the year South Africa finally welcomed one million foreign tourists in a single year. Durr also highlighted that the increase in tourist numbers would help with job creation and help some regions economically.⁴³⁵ This refers back to the theories of many academics and constantly serves as the justification tourism was receiving in a developing country. Durr further stated that South Africa had almost reached the one million milestone in 1989, but he believed that this would be the year.⁴³⁶ Durr repeated this milestone dream of one million tourists in March 1990 at a prominent international travel and tourism fair in Berlin.⁴³⁷ He emphasized the importance of tourism in the new South Africa and also expressed appreciation towards Germany, whom he stated had done well to promote South Africa as a tourist destination.⁴³⁸ By May of 1990, Durr had set his eyes on the target of two million tourists by the year 2000, as there had been an apparent positive increase in tourist numbers in the country, and he was certain this target would easily be met.⁴³⁹ It should be noted that in 1980 South Africa had received a total of 702 794, and in 1990 the total was 1 029 094, thus another million in just ten years was a great ask.⁴⁴⁰

It was also in February of 1990 that the protests which had been going on outside of the South African Embassy in London were finally minimized to weekends.⁴⁴¹ An American anti-apartheid activist, who had also arranged lengthy protests in front of the South African Embassy in America, which was extensively covered by the media, found himself applying for a visa to visit South Africa. This was Randall Robinson, head of the TransAfrica pressure group and accredited with informing the American public of Apartheid in South Africa.⁴⁴² It was also at the end of 1990 that it was expected that there would be financial and staff cuts at the South

⁴³⁴ Hoofverslaggewer. "Toeristebedryf voor groot uitdagings," *Die Burger*, 26 Januarie 1990, p. 2.

⁴³⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁷ Politieke Redaksie. "Een miljoen toeriste in SA verwag," *Die Burger*, 8 Maart 1990, p. 5.

⁴³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁹ Onbekend. "Gunstige opswaai in toerisme," *Die Burger*, 3 Mei 1990, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁰ Statistics South Africa, *Tourism 2000*. Report No. 03-51-02, Pretoria, 2001, <http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/Report-03-51-02/Report-03-51-022000.pdf>, (Accessed 15 June 2021). Table 1.1 Tourism, p. 2.

⁴⁴¹ Kantoor. "Betogings by SA ambassade in Londen afgelas," *Die Burger*, 26 Februarie 1990, p. 3.

⁴⁴² Kantoor. "Groot sanksiedrywer wil SA besoek," *Die Burger*, 2 Mei 1990, p. 13.

African Embassy in the United States as South Africa was transferring their focus to Eastern Europe and Africa.⁴⁴³ In the United States, South Africa at this time had embassies in Washington, New York, Chicago, Houston and Beverley Hills.⁴⁴⁴

In January of 1990, it was acknowledged that tourism facilities in South Africa was lacking and could not cope during the peak season.⁴⁴⁵ It was by May 1990 that Durr also confirmed that already his department was working on a national strategy for the development of tourism.⁴⁴⁶ Despite the tourism industry having seen improvements before February 1990, Durr was still of the opinion that the South African tourism industry was proof that South Africa was distancing itself from the international isolation and that their international relations were normalising.⁴⁴⁷ He even stated that no other industry was to grow as fast as the tourism industry as South Africa was emerging from isolation.⁴⁴⁸ This Durr stated, as the guest speaker at the launch of the Tourism Guide of the Western Cape Regional Association for Tourism.⁴⁴⁹ From 1990, the new mission set before the Department of Foreign Affairs was to re-introduce South Africa to the foreign world, and also make sure that the facts which were sent out were accurate. This was the central message of Minister Pik Botha as he opened the annual conference of foreign mission heads which was held in Cape Town in 1990.⁴⁵⁰

During the first three months of 1990, according to *Die Burger*, the country had received 16% more visitors compared to the same time of 1989.⁴⁵¹ The tourist numbers out of America alone had risen by 25%.⁴⁵² Kobus Meiring, Administrator of the Cape Province, warned that there should not be unrealistic expectations regarding tourism in South Africa but was also adamant that the changing perspective among foreigners regarding South Africa had to be utilized.⁴⁵³ At the 111th annual general meeting of the Federated Hospitality Association of Southern Africa (Fedhasa), the managing director of Cape Union Mart, Philip Krawitz, stated that Southern Africa had everything to offer the tourist, from flowers, wildlife and natural beauty to wine, the issue was not the product but rather the marketing. He stated that the marketing

⁴⁴³ D. Braun. "Embassy cuts in US are likely," *The Argus*, 22 November 1990, p. 19.

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁵ Hoofverslaggewer. "Toeristebedryf voor groot uitdagings," *Die Burger*, 26 Januarie 1990, p. 2.

⁴⁴⁶ Onbekend. "Gunstige opswaai in toerisme," *Die Burger*, 3 Mei 1990, p. 10.

⁴⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁸ Tygerbergse Kantoor. "Blink toekoms vir SA toerisme," *Die Burger*, 4 Mei 1990, p. 16.

⁴⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁰ Politieke Redaksie. "Wêreld moet nuwe SA leer ken – min. Pik," *Die Burger*, 27 Februarie 1990, p. 2.

⁴⁵¹ Onbekend. "16% meer besoek land," *Die Burger*, 15 Mei 1990, p. 5.

⁴⁵² Hoofverslaggewer. "SP gee toerisme groot stoot," *Die Burger*, 27 Maart 1990, p. 3.

⁴⁵³ Onbekend. "Verander doelgerig – Meiring," *Die Burger*, 22 Mei 1990, p. 7.

was to build on the fact that de Klerk had unbanned the ANC, PAC and also released Mandela, and with this, South Africa was also opened to all.⁴⁵⁴

According to the annual report from the South African Tourism Board, published in *Die Burger*, 1989 showed a 15% increase in the tourism numbers from 1988.⁴⁵⁵ This growth in the numbers was attributed to numerous factors, which included the decline of negative reportage in foreign media, favourable foreign publicity regarding tourism, an increase in the number of seats on aircrafts that served South Africa and Southern Africa, a favourable exchange rate for the foreign tourists, marketing abroad by Satour, SAA and members of the local and foreign tourism industry, and finally the successful promotion of South Africa as a tourist destination at numerous international exhibitions.⁴⁵⁶ It was described as incredible that there was an increase in the tourist numbers despite the reports of violence, an uncertain political climate and the international sanction campaign. It was also noted that there was an expected peaceful transition of power and that South Africa also needed to inspect their tourism infrastructure in order to stay on the international tourist map.⁴⁵⁷ The report also stated that the largest number of foreign tourists originated from Europe, specifically Britain and West Germany.⁴⁵⁸ The statistics of 1980, 1990 and 2000 support this statement. The top countries from the African continent were Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Botswana.⁴⁵⁹ This is problematic, as discussed before, the tourist numbers from Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho were not taken into consideration from December 1980 to October 1991. These countries are relevant to the supposed rise of tourist numbers in South Africa after 1990. There were, however, concerns regarding the capability of the South African tourism industry regarding this influx.⁴⁶⁰

It was in July 1990 that the Universal Federation of Travel Agents' Associations (UFTAA), which is an international body with status within the United Nations, held its board meeting in South Africa for the first time.⁴⁶¹ The deputy director of this association, Barney Singer, who was also the vice president of the Association of Southern Africa Travel Agents, believed that the tourism industry in South Africa was on the brink of unprecedented growth. This was also the first time many of the eighteen delegates could enter South Africa, yet, special

⁴⁵⁴ Onbekend. " 'Alles vir toeris hier' ," *Die Burger*, 19 Julie 1990, p. 5.

⁴⁵⁵ Hoofverslaggewer. "Toeriste-stroom na SA 'n rekord," *Die Burger*, 7 Junie 1990, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵⁷ Unknown. "Expanding Tourism," *The Argus*, 4 May 1990, p. 14.

⁴⁵⁸ Hoofverslaggewer. "Toeriste-stroom na SA 'n rekord," *Die Burger*, 7 Junie 1990, p. 3.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶¹ D. Yutar. "Tour body meeting in SA gives hope for boom times," *The Argus*, 26 July 1990, p. 28.

arrangements still had to be made for some as their passports still did not allow them entry into South Africa. The countries represented at this meeting included Turkey, Spain, Mexico, India, Sweden, Greece and Uruguay.⁴⁶² Singer had also taken it upon himself to try and convince UFTAA to schedule their annual congress of 1993/94 in South Africa, as he was fully convinced this would make for a significant increase in tourism numbers in South Africa as eighty countries were to be present at this congress.⁴⁶³

Further, Durr believed that the growing tourism industry in South Africa could have brought in more foreign revenue than gold.⁴⁶⁴ This speaks to the over optimism the South African Government placed on the tourism industry. Durr was of the opinion that tourism was by far South Africa's fastest-growing industry, yet the country's share in world tourism spending remained insignificant.⁴⁶⁵ A new law that was to be implemented in 1991 was to make it possible for black entrepreneurs to finally enter the tourism market in South Africa.⁴⁶⁶ Durr was also of the opinion that black South Africans now had a role to play in the marketing of South Africa, especially with regards to safety.⁴⁶⁷ Durr himself was of the opinion that South Africa had something very unique to offer their tourists, referring to the country's natural environment and thus he believed that South Africa could become the most popular eco-tourism destination in the world.⁴⁶⁸ The report from Satour of 1989 had recorded 930 393 tourists, which was an increase of 15,6%, with visitors from the African continent increasing by 10% and visitors from overseas increasing by 21,6%.⁴⁶⁹ As stated in the section regarding tourism statistics in South Africa, these statistics from the African continent are problematic, specifically from December 1980 to October 1991. This anomaly in the statistics made it at first seem like overseas tourism increased more than regional tourism, also that there was a sudden increase of international tourists after the announcements of de Klerk in 1990. Thus, according to *The Argus*, South Africa had received 472 076 travellers from overseas and 454 818 from the African continent in 1989.⁴⁷⁰ However, it must be taken into account that the numbers may exclude the African countries as stated in the documents and discussed previously. With all these visitors, South Africa's tourism industry in 1989 amounted to about

⁴⁶² D. Yutar. "Tour body meeting in SA gives hope for boom times," *The Argus*, 26 July 1990, p. 28.

⁴⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁴ Korrespondent. "Toerisme kan meer as goud verdien – Durr," *Die Burger*, 13 November 1990, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁵ Sapa. "Tourism SA's fastest growing industry – Durr," *The Argus*, 3 May 1990, p. 4.

⁴⁶⁶ Korrespondent. "Toerisme kan meer as goud verdien – Durr," *Die Burger*, 13 November 1990, p. 13.

⁴⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶⁸ Sapa. "Tourism SA's fastest growing industry – Durr," *The Argus*, 3 May 1990, p. 4.

⁴⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

R1 900 million. Thus, Satour and the Development Bank had begun a national strategy for tourism development, with the Board of Trade and Industry conducting a thorough investigation at the request of Satour, specifically focussing on the arrangements of school holidays and the seasonal air capacity shortage.⁴⁷¹

The United States, Britain and the rest of the foreign community welcomed the news of 7 August 1990 of a summit between the South African Government and the ANC, which put an end to the ‘armed struggle’.⁴⁷² Nevertheless, the London Anti-Apartheid Movement was of the opinion that sanctions against South Africa could only be lifted once the ANC and the United Nations declared that the changes in South Africa were irreversible.⁴⁷³

The Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg was specifically urged to upgrade its standards of service delivery. This after a visitors to the Jan Smuts airport labelled it as the most unfriendly airport in the world in the *World Airnews* magazine. In response the spokesperson for Satour, Johan Louw, had to defend the staff by stating that Satour was constantly training the customs and immigration officials of the Jan Smuts Airport to be more friendly.⁴⁷⁴ They were criticised as this was the first impression tourists got of the country, and it was not perceived as a welcoming one. It was also stated that although it was clear that Satour was trying to teach customs and immigration officials to be more friendly, Jan Smuts Airport in Johannesburg was still not holding up with international airports.⁴⁷⁵ It was also warned that if South Africa did not address this issue, they might lose a number of tourists in the long run. The possibility of the tourism industry becoming South Africa’s largest earner of foreign income was made slim when foreign visitors experienced unfriendly welcomes from control officials.⁴⁷⁶ It was also feared that this unfriendliness towards the visitors could discourage tourists from return visits, make them not recommend South Africa to their friends and family, and scare off potential investors.⁴⁷⁷ *Die Burger* was of the opinion that “[a] country with enormous economic challenges cannot afford it. A smile, friendliness and courtesy costs nothing.”^{478 479}

⁴⁷¹ Sapa. “Tourism SA’s fastest growing industry – Durr,” *The Argus*, 3 May 1990, p. 4.

⁴⁷² Kantoor. “Yanks, Britte prys besluit oor geweld,” *Die Burger*, 8 Augustus 1990, p. 11.

⁴⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁴ Onbekend. “Satoer leer Jan Smuts se mense maniere,” *Die Burger*, 21 November 1990, p. 3.

⁴⁷⁵ Unknown. “Unfriendly Jan Smuts,” *The Argus*, 23 November 1990, p. 10.

⁴⁷⁶ Onbekend. “Toeriste-behandeling moet verbeter,” *Die Burger*, 21 November 1990, p. 14.

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁷⁹ Author’s own translation. “ ‘n Land wat deur enorme ekonomiese uitdagings in die gesig gestaar word, kan dit eenvoudig nie bekostig nie. Boonop kos ‘n glimlag, vriendelikheid en hoflikheid net mooi niks.”

5.2.1 Cape Town and Tourism, 1990

Cape Town has become one of the most sought after destinations for overseas tourists in South Africa in the past year.^{480 481}

The above quote indicated that just as in 1980, Cape Town also found itself as the most popular destination in 1990 amongst tourists when visiting South Africa. Moreover, Cape Town's own marketing body, Captour, had already been established in 1978.⁴⁸² Thus, well before the announcements of de Klerk in February.

Cape Town was also urged to review the standard of its service delivery. Although the city was considered one of the most beautiful cities in the world, they were cautioned that if they did not improve their services regarding tourism, these tourists would find other places with better services. It was highlighted that a loss in tourists would lead to a loss in income, and thus a loss of jobs and a socio-economic issue would emerge. These warnings came after tourists had complained about the bad service they experienced at hotels in Cape Town. *Die Burger* advised Cape Town to learn from Durban, where they gave the highest priority to the supply of services to tourists. The mayor of Cape Town, Gordon Oliver, begged Capetonians to realize that tourism was the lifeblood of the Mother City and that they were in constant competition with other cities, nationally and abroad.⁴⁸³

The chair of the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, Lionel Hartmann, was speaking at the introduction of a new travel agency, *Specialized Tours*, which was to focus on taking small groups of international or local tourists to destinations in Cape Town and towns along the West Coast. Like many, he also attributed this growth to the changing political climate in the country due to de Klerk's reforms and the release of Mandela.⁴⁸⁴

It was also in 1990 that the mayor of Cape Town, Oliver, was set to travel abroad to inform others of Cape Town and the future plans of South Africa. He planned to travel to France and Germany to provide them with brochures that highlighted Cape Town's stance on freedom as he wanted to make clear that the Mother City had been against the Apartheid regulations before

⁴⁸⁰ Author's own translation. "Kaaipstad het die afgelope jaar die mees gesogte Suid-Afrikaanse toeristestad vir oorsese besoekers geword."

⁴⁸¹ Onbekend. "Kaap raak al gewilder by oorsese besoekers," *Die Burger*, 12 Januarie 1990, p. 3.

⁴⁸² Unknown. "Captour man joins travel agency," *The Argus*, 9 June 1980, p. 2.

⁴⁸³ Hoofverslaggewer. "Toeristediens in Kaap nie na wens," *Die Burger*, 15 Desember 1990, p. 6.

⁴⁸⁴ Onbekend. "Oorsese toeriste bestee al hoe meer," *Die Burger*, 20 Junie 1990, p. 12.

1990.⁴⁸⁵ According to du Plessis, on the front page of this new brochure, one was to find the image of Table Mountain, the badge of the city, the text stating that the people were the heart of the city and that anyone should be able to enjoy Cape Town, regardless of their race.⁴⁸⁶ This brochure was explicitly designed for Oliver's European tour, as in the pages the city's stance on civil liberties was set out.⁴⁸⁷ Oliver also represented Cape Town at the *Foire Internationale de Nice*, an international tourism and trade show which was to be attended by mayors from all around the world.⁴⁸⁸ Oliver returned from this tour boasting about the success he had generated for his city. According to *Die Burger*, by the end of 1990, Cape Town was boasting with 20% of the national number of tourists and 55% of the international tourists coming to South Africa.⁴⁸⁹ Thus, Captour had set their sights on increasing their share of national tourists from 20% to 30%, and intended to keep their share of 50% of the international tourists.⁴⁹⁰

Robért, also believed that the tourism numbers of 1990/91 could increase to more than one million, just like Durr. The chair of Captour, Louis Kreiner, also added that Captour now had a successful marketing body and set goals.⁴⁹¹ Robért attributed most of this tourism success to the more favourable image South Africa was enjoying in the foreign media.⁴⁹² Again, this so-called 'new image' was portraying a changing political situation in the country as it was constructed after the announcements of de Klerk and the release of Mandela.

It was also in 1990 that the Western Cape and Captour started advertising the South African winter months as an ideal time to visit the country. Captour's managing director had stated that they would be launching a massive advertising campaign for the so-called "Green Season", which was to try and attract tourists to the Western Cape all through the year.⁴⁹³ It was also made known that Captour would keep Cape Town 'alive' during the winter months with television advertisements to promote the Western Cape as a winter tourism destination.⁴⁹⁴ However, Cape Town was still warned that violence and unrests could negatively influence their tourist numbers despite the flourishing tourism industry.⁴⁹⁵

⁴⁸⁵ Stadsverslaggewer. "Oliver wil buiteland inlig oor Kaapstad," *Die Burger*, 27 Februarie 1990, p. 5.

⁴⁸⁶ H. du Plessis. "Liberal image of city goes glossy," *The Argus*, 9 March 1990, p. 10.

⁴⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸⁸ Stadsverslaggewer. "Oliver wil buiteland inlig oor Kaapstad," *Die Burger*, 27 Februarie 1990, p. 5.

⁴⁸⁹ Hoofverslaggewer. "Kaapstad lok talle oorsese besoekers," *Die Burger*, 14 November 1990, p. 3.

⁴⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹² Unknown. "Tourism remains buoyant," *The Argus*, 18 December 1990, p. 23.

⁴⁹³ Hoofverslaggewer. "Mikpunt 30% vir toerisme in Kaap," *Die Burger*, 30 Januarie 1990, p. 4.

⁴⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁵ Unknown. "Tourism remains buoyant," *The Argus*, 18 December 1990, p. 23.

The issue of crime and tourism has been written on extensively in academic pieces and can especially be found in the work of Ferreira⁴⁹⁶. Thus, it only warrants a brief mention here, as it is not the main objective of this thesis. It was noted at this time that criminals were targeting foreign tourists, and there were fears in some circles that this would have a negative effect on the increase of tourism numbers Cape Town had been experiencing.⁴⁹⁷ Yet, the chair of Captour, Kreiner, told *Die Burger* that crime was a problem in any major tourist city in the world and that he still considered Cape Town safer than New York City.⁴⁹⁸ It should be noted that not all would have agreed with him. Kreiner also stated that according to statistics, crime against tourists was on the decline in Cape Town. He claimed that the issue was rather that these tourists were attacked within walking distance of their hotels and in broad daylight, which made for the bad publicity.⁴⁹⁹ A spokesperson for Captour stated that, unfortunately, the effects of negative publicity such as this was almost always immediately felt in the tourism industry. The spokesperson also made it clear that reports such as this did not only affect the number of international tourists negatively but also the number of domestic tourists.⁵⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the managing director of Captour remained optimistic.

As the country had to display the image of a changing society, new tourist attractions emerged. One of the leading tourism destinations Cape Town started concentrating on by 1990 was Robben Island.

5.2.2 The Robben Island Museum

*“The tragedy of Africa, in racial and political terms is concentrated in the southern tip of the continent – in South Africa, Namibia, and, in a special sense, Robben Island.”*⁵⁰¹

The above statement was made by Oliver Tambo in 1980, 14 years prior to the birth of the South African democracy, yet it encapsulates the symbolism Robben Island would come to embody. The symbolism which had been attributed to the island had been vast since the 1980s. As the quote above states, some believed that Robben Island not only served as a symbol of

⁴⁹⁶ S. L. A. Ferreira: “Crime: a threat to tourism in South Africa,” *Tourism Geographies*, (1), (3), 2007.

⁴⁹⁷ Onbekend. “Kaapse misdadigers spits hul toe op toeriste,” *Die Burger*, 31 Januarie 1990, p. 11.

⁴⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰⁰ Onbekend. “Moord-verslag kan Kaap se toerisme knou,” *Die Burger*, 20 November 1990, p. 3.

⁵⁰¹ R. Marback. “The Rhetorical Space of Robben Island,” *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, (34), (3), 2004, p. 7.

South Africa's racial and political issues but that of the entire African continent. It was also believed that Robben Island had become a single symbol to refer to South Africa's past and upon which her future was to be built.⁵⁰² According to scholar R. Marback, international understanding of the island originated from humanitarian concerns and the dissatisfaction with Apartheid, while the national understanding originated from fear, humiliation and state power.⁵⁰³ This was to change as South Africa approached democracy. Marback explains that "[w]ithout distortion or exclusion, the truth told about Robben Island needed to best serve the project of reconciliation and nation-building upon which South Africa was embarking."⁵⁰⁴ Thus, views regarding the island's development differed as some wanted to conserve it, while others wanted to develop it into a tourist mecca.

Over its 300 year history, Robben Island had been utilized as an asylum, leper colony, prison, sanatorium, a military base during World War Two and, from the 1960s, imprisonment for political prisoners. It was from this time that the island became synonymous with Mandela. During the 1980s, leaders in South Africa were often infuriated as they would escort foreign dignitaries to the top of Table Mountain just to have them take pictures of the illusive Robben Island.⁵⁰⁵ However, as the dynamic of the country was changing in the 1990s, the significance of Robben Island found itself at a crossroad. RIM had to try and find a balance between the representation of the inhumanity of Apartheid while also serving as a monument of the anti-Apartheid struggle. Even in 2000, Deborah Barnes, the spokeswoman for RIM, had stated that the island was a symbol of South Africa's democracy.⁵⁰⁶

During the late 1980s, access to Robben Island was becoming more accessible. It was only in 1988 that the South African Prison Services had given permission to members of the Royal Cape Yacht Club to dock at Robben Island, and then braai and toilet facilities had been set up near Murray Harbour.⁵⁰⁷ In 1989 alone, about 31 000 people visited the island, and it was expected that in 1990 means would be found so the infrastructure on the island would keep up with the ever-increasing demand for accessibility.⁵⁰⁸ Robben Island was considered as the most important tourist destination when it came to the perspective of change in South Africa. It was in 1990 that *Die Burger* was of the opinion that the time had come for the island to be more

⁵⁰² R. Marback. "The Rhetorical Space of Robben Island," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, (34), (3), 2004, p. 8.

⁵⁰³ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁵⁰⁴ *Ibid.* p. 20.

⁵⁰⁵ *Ibid.* p. 10.

⁵⁰⁶ E. Sylvester. "Robben Island now a World Heritage Site," *The Argus*, 25 September 2000, p. 3.

⁵⁰⁷ Hoofverslaggewer. "Robbeneiland 'moet toegankliker wees vir'," *Die Burger*, 7 Desember 1990, p. 4.

⁵⁰⁸ Onbekend. "R'eiland ál meer toeganklik," *Die Burger*, 30 Januarie 1990, p. 4.

accessible to the public.⁵⁰⁹ It was believed that the island could become one of the top tourist destinations in Cape Town. It was eventually the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce who requested that Robben Island be made more accessible to tourists.⁵¹⁰ It should be noted that although there were requests for the island to be more accessible, there were also issues with its development plans. The government had vehemently opposed any developments that would have threatened Robben Island's wildlife and cultural heritage. According to the Minister of Justice, Kobie Coetsee, who spoke on 2 March 1990 at the naming ceremony of two new ferries that were to transport tourists from the Table Bay Harbour to Robben Island.⁵¹¹ Some developers had argued that Robben Island could become the most important tourist destination in South Africa, as they believed if there were hotels, gamble halls and a golf course, the island would attract more tourists than the Kruger National Park. However, Coetsee believed that the island was rather to be preserved for its heritage and education, not for the wealth seekers.⁵¹² It should be noted that RIM does have a guest house on the island; unfortunately, it is not being utilized for tourism purposes. The old guardhouses in the old Village are still standing, but again these houses are not utilized for tourism purposes and have been left in ruins or are only used for research staff. The Future of Robben Island Committee strove to make Robben Island more accessible to the public with a strict developmental plan. Nick Malherbe, a Cape Town businessman who spoke for the Future of Robben Island Committee, was against the idea of restricted parts on the island and believed that everything should be accessible to all.⁵¹³ It should be noted that the island does need some protected areas, especially for the ecosystems on the island. Malherbe also stated that water, electrical and telephone connections would have to be extended to the island at the cost of millions of Rands in order to fully utilize the tourism potential.⁵¹⁴

Pieter Spaarwater, writing for *Die Burger* in 1990, thought that Robben Island was an excellent tourist resort and should not be developed into a kind of Sun City. He stated that nature, the sea and the view of Table Mountain were to be enjoyed, that all developments were to represent the tourism era, that no cars or motorbikes were to be on the island and that the number of visitors had to be limited. He also believed that the prison was to be left alone as too many South Africans still regarded it as an important historical site; he suggested that it could become

⁵⁰⁹ Hoofverslaggewer. "Robbeneiland 'moet toegankliker wees vir'," *Die Burger*, 7 Desember 1990, p. 4.

⁵¹⁰ Onbekend. "R'eiland ál meer toeganklik," *Die Burger*, 30 Januarie 1990, p. 4.

⁵¹¹ Omgewingsverslaggewer. "Regering steun bewaring van eiland," *Die Burger*, 3 Maart 1990, p. 11.

⁵¹² *Ibid.*

⁵¹³ Hoofverslaggewer. "Robbeneiland 'moet toegankliker wees vir'," *Die Burger*, 7 Desember 1990, p. 4.

⁵¹⁴ *Ibid.*

a museum.⁵¹⁵ This would ultimately come to pass in 1997. Regrettably, the marketing of the island is solely focussed on the prison which housed Mandela and the struggle narrative associated with it. Yet, Robben Island possesses such a rich history other than that of the prison.

The Future of Robben Island Committee finally met in 1990 to discuss the development program to turn Robben Island into a tourist mecca.⁵¹⁶ It was at this meeting that it was decided that the aim of the association was to draw up a framework for the development of Robben Island.⁵¹⁷ Representatives that formed part of the association included Captour, the Cape Town Council, the Afrikaanse Sakekamer, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce, the Stigting Simon van der Stel, the National Monuments Council and other interested parties. It should be noted that the Future of Robben Island Committee met for the first time in five years on 10 December 1990 to discuss the island's development into a tourist destination. The think-tank had urged that there be a master plan for developers to follow in order to integrate nature conservation and tourist attraction. This plan would ultimately be the responsibility of the committee. Malherbe had stated that one of the main issues was to make sure that the island not be overrun by tourists, and that the infrastructure on the island should also be able to deal with an expected influx. Financial help for the redevelopment was urged, especially from the private sector.⁵¹⁸

Today, RIM attracts boatloads of tourists which exceeds 200 000 every year and often sees fully booked tours during the South African tourist season, with extra tour times needing to be arranged. RIM was declared a national monument and museum in 1996, receiving its firsts official tourists in January 1997.⁵¹⁹ Marback stated that as Mandela opened the island to the public in 1997, "he narrated a past of Robben Island that proposes a future for South Africa."⁵²⁰ Since the 1990s, RIM was quickly emerging as one of the main tourist attractions in South Africa. RIM was finally declared a World Heritage Site by the United National Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) on 1 December 1999, though the unveiling of the official plaque was postponed to 24 September 2000 to coincide with Heritage Day in South Africa.⁵²¹

⁵¹⁵ P. Spaarwater. "Van alle kante – Hou Robben Eiland rustig," *Die Burger*, 29 November 1990, p. 13.

⁵¹⁶ Hoofverslaggewer. "Voorstelle of Robbeneiland om te skep in toeristemekka," *Die Burger*, 12 Desember 1990, p. 4.

⁵¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵¹⁹ T. V. Bulpin. *Discovering Southern Africa*, 6th ed. (Tafelberg Publishers Ltd: Cape Town, 2001). p. 40.

⁵²⁰ R. Marback. "The Rhetorical Space of Robben Island," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, (34), (3), 2004, p. 22.

⁵²¹ E. Sylvester. "Robben Island now a World Heritage Site," *The Argus*, 25 September 2000, p. 3.

Scholars N. L. A. Ramoupi and A. Odendaal⁵²² have very dramatically stated that Robben Island had served as a place of banishment, exile and imprisonment during the 300 years of its history.⁵²³ However, the biggest issue with RIM is that they have constructed their entire history, and so their tours too, around the sole narrative of Mandela. Thus, all the other layers of the history of Robben Island have been discarded. Yet, ironically, Marback believed that it was Mandela alone who could reshape the narrative of Robben Island, as according to him, Mandela had transformed the island into a national monument and tourist attraction.⁵²⁴

This issue regarding the development of the island would be a controversial point for years to come. In 2000, the company, *Island Hospitality Group*, had been named as the bidder of preference to set up accommodation and entertainment facilities on Robben Island. The *Island Hospitality Group* was a consortium that consisted of Thebe Travel and Tourism, Protea Hotels, the Makana Trust, the Tuan Matarah Trust, the V&A Waterfront and GAPP architects.⁵²⁵ This consortium, along with others, had set forth a detailed proposal for the development of the hospitality industry on the island. Odendaal, had stated that this announcement was another milestone in the development of the island as an important tourist attraction. They had already erected a modern reception area at the V&A Waterfront and were at this time spending R20 million on the roads, sewage system and water supply on the island.⁵²⁶ The idea was to erect accommodation for visitors who wanted to stay the night and also erect a permanent conference centre on the island. All development plans also had to take into consideration the sanctity of the history of the island and the conservation of the environment in cohesion with the relevant organizations.⁵²⁷ Final negotiations on these developments were expected to take place in August 2001.⁵²⁸

It should be noted, despite its fame, the museum does not offer a variety of tours, there is only one option. Journalist Leopold Scholtz, who was reporting for *Die Burger* in 2000, went on a personal visit of the island and thought that the island's natural beauty was mesmerizing.⁵²⁹

⁵²² Odendaal was the Director of the Robben Island Museum from 1996 to 2002.

⁵²³ N. L. I. Ramoupi & A. Odendaal. "The making – and then breaking – of Robben Island Museum," *IOL*, 23 September 2021. <https://www.iol.co.za/travel/south-africa/western-cape/the-making-and-then-breaking-of-robben-island-museum-e50a87dd-47d0-4c50-aa85-4e6a29c5672e>, (Accessed 4 October 2021).

⁵²⁴ R. Marback. "The Rhetorical Space of Robben Island," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, (34), (3), 2004, p. 22.

⁵²⁵ Onbekend. "Voorkeurbeër vir opbou van Robbeneiland aangewys," *Die Burger*, 8 November 2000, p. 6.

⁵²⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁹ L. Scholtz. "Sake van die dag: Te veel propaganda op besoek aan Robbeneiland," *Die Burger*, 28 Januarie 2000, p. 10.

However, according to Scholtz, there were only two elements to the official tour on Robben Island, the first being a visit to the prison, and the second consisting of a bus tour of all the other sites of note on the island. Scholtz believed that both these elements, some to a greater or lesser degree, were exacerbated by ANC propaganda. He explained that one was to be guided through the prison by a previous political prisoner, specifically shown where Mandela spent 18 years of his life, and the tour would conclude with the tour guide giving a personalised lecture justifying the armed struggle to the group, which mainly consisted of foreigners.⁵³⁰ Later years, once the famous blue frame indicating a world heritage site was erected, tourists could also depart the bus at Jetty One to take their pictures with this frame and Table Mountain in the background. Interestingly, Scholtz did not regard the tour as excessive with regards to the Apartheid narrative, but he did find that the narrative of RIM fit too well with that of the ANC and how they regarded the South African past. Important to note here, in the twenty years since Scholtz had written this piece, not much has changed regarding the structure of tours on the island.

The reality is that Robben Island has so much more to offer than only the struggle narrative. First, RIM has the potential to offer more of a variety of tours. Visitors should be allowed to stay a night on the island. There will be no need to develop a hotel as there is a guest house, or even the old guard houses can be utilized. This will also not be something new for the museum, as they annually host a summer camp and the scholars stay at the Multi-Purpose Learning Centre on the island. It was noted that there should not be any cars or motorbikes on the island, the roads can allow for escorted bike tours. So too with the available variety, the museum can offer themed tours. They must also focus on their history which stretches back farther than that of Apartheid.

Ramoupi and Odendaal had identified Ashumato and Krotoa, both Khoi people who were imprisoned on the island, as the first to be imprisoned for the African freedom fight.⁵³¹ This was an idealized view of Krotoa which suited their purpose, as Krotoa's case was much more complicated than simply a 'freedom fight'. Krotoa had served as an interpreter between the Dutch settlers and the Khoi during the latter part of the 17th Century. She is often referred to as

⁵³⁰ L. Scholtz. "Sake van die dag: Te veel propaganda op besoek aan Robbeneiland," *Die Burger*, 28 Januarie 2000, p. 10.

⁵³¹ N. L. I. Ramoupi & A. Odendaal. "The making – and then breaking – of Robben Island Museum," *IOL*, 23 September 2021. <https://www.iol.co.za/travel/south-africa/western-cape/the-making-and-then-breaking-of-robben-island-museum-e50a87dd-47d0-4c50-aa85-4e6a29c5672e>, (Accessed 4 October 2021).

a ‘woman in between’, as author R. Elphick notes she had settled into the Dutch culture while still maintaining contact with the Khoi population.⁵³² However, by the end of her life, she was described as a prostitute and drunkard.⁵³³ “Indeed, Eva’s tragic life had helped spawn a belief that Khoikhoi could never successfully absorb the higher aspects of European culture.”⁵³⁴ RIM consists of history as far back as the Khoi people who first lived there, through to the prison during van Riebeeck’s time at the Cape, the leper colony, a banish site for the Irish, World War Two weapons and bunkers, natural heritage and a political prison during Apartheid. This history needs to be utilized appropriately and not just to suit the ‘freedom fight’ narrative.

As Ramoupi and Odendaal stated, the democratic government of South Africa had decided that the island was to be a place of memory, learning and healing.⁵³⁵ Thus indicating that the history of the island would be used to fit one narrative, namely that of the fight against Apartheid. Accordingly, its history would be structured in such a way to fit this narrative, and that which was not relevant to this narrative would be discarded. They further stated that the island, or more the memory of the island, emerged as an important part of this transitioning country’s heritage and culture.⁵³⁶ Sadly, RIM has much more to offer, and it is disheartening to see that the full tourism potential is not utilized.

As the so-called ‘new’ South Africa was emerging, and new monuments of national note, regional tourism was also developing.

5.2.3 Regional tourism

Though it may have seemed that the focus was only on international tourism, 1990 also brought with it new opportunities for regional tourism in South Africa. Durr was of the opinion that there was still some undiscovered tourist attractions in the country, and he believed they would be discovered with the development of regional tourism. South Africans also made their opinions known in the newspapers regarding regional tourism.

⁵³² R. Elphick. *Khoikhoi and the founding of White South Africa*, (South Africa: Raven Press, 1975). p. 107.

⁵³³ *Ibid.* p. 165.

⁵³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 203.

⁵³⁵ N. L. I. Ramoupi & A. Odendaal. “The making – and then breaking – of Robben Island Museum,” *IOL*, 23 September 2021. <https://www.iol.co.za/travel/south-africa/western-cape/the-making-and-then-breaking-of-robben-island-museum-e50a87dd-47d0-4c50-aa85-4e6a29c5672e>, (Accessed 4 October 2021).

⁵³⁶ *Ibid.*

Dr Dawie de Villiers, Minister of Minerals, Energy and Public Enterprises, was also of the opinion that the natural and cultural treasures of the ‘platteland’ were not being utilized enough for tourism. This he stated as he officially opened the Samoa-Hotel in Moorreesburg, where he added that although the Swartland had been flourishing in the tourism industry for the past four years, they were still lacking behind on tourism accommodation.⁵³⁷ De Villiers also made it known that Satour was busy with a plan to ensure that rural tourism was utilized to its full potential from 1990 onwards.⁵³⁸ One of the biggest issues with regional tourism was that it was primarily local people who were running the tourism industry in their towns and were thus not receiving governmental help.

Another point of interest was the Southern Cape, a destination that has been quite popular among national tourists. The Deputy Minister of Planning, André Fourie, believed that in order for the Southern Cape to benefit more from tourism, especially the changing tourist dynamic, they had to base their planning on regional tourism development. This was as Fourie had stated that he believed by 2000, black tourism would have taken over white tourism, which in 1990 formed the most significant part of the market segment.⁵³⁹ However, it seems that his beliefs were solely based on the changes which were implemented in the country at the time.

It is clear that in 1990, there was a lot more attention given to the tourism industry than in 1980, but does this justify the statement in the *White Paper on Tourism*?

5.2.4 The New Millennium

Even by the end of 1990, some were still shocked by the backwards image of South Africa abroad. One of these was Rudolf Gruber, director of the *Suid-Afrikaanse Stigting in Bönn*⁵⁴⁰, who had stated that it was disappointing that the view regarding South Africa was still so negative in Germany. Gruber blamed this on an enemy news media and the lack of a defensive image for South Africa.⁵⁴¹ Although it was noted that de Klerk’s announcements of reform did have a positive effect on the German media and people, the effort to construct a positive image

⁵³⁷ Politieke Redaksie. “Platteland nie genoeg benut vir toerisme, Dr. Dawie de Villiers open hotel,” *Die Burger*, 11 Desember 1990, p. 3.

⁵³⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵³⁹ Spesiale Verteenwoordiger. “Swart Toerisme gaan mark oorneem,” *Die Burger*, 24 September 1990, p. 4.

⁵⁴⁰ Author’s Translation: South African Foundation in Bönn.

⁵⁴¹ Onbekend. “Die Duitsers en Suid-Afrika,” *Die Burger*, 28 Desember 1990, p. 20.

for South Africa was still to be put forth, not only in Germany but also in the wider European Union.⁵⁴²

However, the most beneficial aspect of tourism in South Africa in 1990 must have been when Durr announced on the 15th of October that a new national strategic program for tourism development in South Africa was expected to be completed by the end of 1990 and would be presented as a White Paper before parliament in 1991.⁵⁴³ This Durr stated at the opening of the new Satour headquarters, adding that South Africa had great tourism potential, and along with the international growth of the industry and the changing perception regarding the country because of de Klerk's reformation initiatives, they had to utilize the opportunity. Durr also pointed out that culture and the environment had also become important for the South African tourism industry and were to be addressed in this White Paper. Furthermore, it was also crucial to Durr that tourism be to the benefit of the community. Lastly, Durr also made it known that Satour and other members of the South African travel industry were to meet to coordinate their marketing strategies for the country abroad.⁵⁴⁴

Many had believed de Klerk's unbanning of political parties and the freeing of Mandela would change South Africa's image abroad and so too strengthen their tourism industry. Yet, as the 1990s went on, it became clear that it was not as simple and that the tourism industry, and so too the image of South Africa, would need a lot of work to get it to the same level as European countries. Also, politicians in South Africa needed to come to an agreement before there would be any change in international policies or the country's image.

As South Africa looked forward to their first democratic elections in 1994, the hosting of the RWC in 1995, a new *White Paper on Tourism* in 1996 and the birth of a so-called 'new' South Africa, hopes were high for the tourism potential which would come with the year 2000. Hopes were that by 2000 the tourism industry in South Africa would be able to compete with that of Europe.

⁵⁴² Onbekend. "Die Duitsers en Suid-Afrika," *Die Burger*, 28 Desember 1990, p. 20.

⁵⁴³ Politieke Redaksie. "Nuwe plan vir toerisme dalk nog vanjaar voltooi, sê Durr," *Die Burger*, 16 Oktober 1990, p. 3.

⁵⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

Chapter 6 : Post-Apartheid South Africa (2000s) and Tourism

6.1 The 'New' South Africa and Tourism

*"Croukamp (1996) states that South Africa, despite all its tourism potential, has not yet capitalised on its rich variety of attractions for the foreign and domestic visitor."*⁵⁴⁵

*"Mr Fabricius said South Africa's tourism boom after its peaceful transformation to democracy was clearly over."*⁵⁴⁶

The above quotes address the potential many believed the tourism industry in South Africa held, but also how it was realized by the year 2000 that their expectations may have been too optimistic.

According to *The Argus*, between 1995 and 1998, the South African tourism industry had seen a 15% annual growth rate, but in 1999 this growth dropped to 3%. According to Mackay, for the industry to be successful, it had to present an annual growth rate of at least 10%.⁵⁴⁷ Dr. Mike. Fabricius, Head of Western Cape Tourism in 2000, believed the South Africa brand was now again in need of revitalization abroad.⁵⁴⁸ Six years after the first democratic election and nine years since the release of Mandela, ministers and officials were still blaming the local and international media for the negative image of both the South African Government and President Mbeki.⁵⁴⁹ They thus believing that it was the media that kept potential tourists from the country. Craig Nancarrow, director of East London Tourism, had labelled the media as the biggest enemy of the tourism industry in South Africa.⁵⁵⁰ It was as the new millennium was approaching that Mbeki addressed national and international guests on Robben Island where he stated that the African continent could be proud of its accomplishments in the 20th Century.

⁵⁴⁵ M. Saayman, A. Saayman & J. A. Rhodes. "Domestic tourist spending and economic development: the case of the North West Province," *Development Southern Africa*, (18), (4), October 2001, p. 443.

⁵⁴⁶ M. M. Mackay. "Rural tourism not taking off; Waterfront and Cape Point gobbling biggest slice of cake," *The Argus*, 26 October 2000, p. 14.

⁵⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁴⁹ J. Dommissie. "Mbeki vuur rasseverdeling aan, sê Britte," *Die Burger*, 9 Oktober 2000, p. 10.

⁵⁵⁰ S. Joubert. "Moorde in O-Kaap 'sal oorsese toeriste nie afskrik'," *Die Burger*, 20 Januarie 2000, p. 6.

However, he also stated that they had not used all the opportunities, as he believed the African continent was marginalised while the rest of the world had advanced.⁵⁵¹

World leaders in tourism in 2000 believed that an explosion in e-commerce worldwide was to change the character of the tourism industry, and was also to change how tourism was to be advertised. José Luis Zoreda, chief executive officer of the WTO's business council, said at a conference regarding tourism and e-commerce that these changes required an integrated internet marketing strategy.⁵⁵² Dr Dawie de Villiers, deputy secretary-general of the WTO, had also reported that the African continent was only luring 4% of the international tourists, which he believed was well below the potential of the continent. De Villiers further stated that the biggest part of tourists to Southern Africa originated from the rest of the African continent.⁵⁵³ The majority of overseas tourists to South Africa originated from Europe. It was also important to note, according to *Die Burger*, that these tourists were in search of authentic travel experiences and preferred eco- and adventure destinations.⁵⁵⁴

In 2000, the South African tourism industry was to be comprehensively reshuffled under new legislation as it was set on the table by Parliament.⁵⁵⁵ Two of the main elements of the new law was that the South African Tourism Council (Satour) was to be transformed and the system of tour guides was to be restructured – the latter instructing that all who wished to be a tour guide had to be registered.⁵⁵⁶ The Tourism Amendment Bill came from the new policy framework the government set up to make sure the country's tourism industry developed stronger than before and could compete internationally.⁵⁵⁷ Saki Macozoma, the managing director of Transnet, was set to be the new head of Satour. The Deputy Head position would be filled by Rick Menell, the Chief Executive of Anglo-Vaal and the president of the Chamber of Mines in 2000.⁵⁵⁸ In addition, a national registrar for tour guides was to be appointed in the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism which was to replace Satour's registrar of tour guides. This was to make Satour a pure tourism marketing organization.⁵⁵⁹ The *White Paper on Tourism* and provincial legislation stated that the Western Cape was also to receive a single

⁵⁵¹ Politieke Redaksie. "Die eeu van hoop lê voor, Afrika moet sê genoeg is genoeg, vra Mbeki," *Die Burger*, 1 Januarie 2000, p. 1.

⁵⁵² J. Bonthuys. "Ontplofing in e-handel sal reisbedryf verander," *Die Burger*, 29 Augustus 2000, p. 12.

⁵⁵³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁵ H. Swart. "Wetgewing stel nuwe reëls vir Satoer en toergidse," *Die Burger*, 3 Oktober 2000, p. 1.

⁵⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵⁸ J. Yeld. "Members of revamped Satour board announced," *The Argus*, 5 April 2000, p. 2.

⁵⁵⁹ H. Swart. "Wetgewing stel nuwe reëls vir Satoer en toergidse," *Die Burger*, 3 Oktober 2000, p. 1.

tourism marketing body.⁵⁶⁰ This the Western Cape Minister of Economic Affairs and Tourism, Hennie Bester, reiterated in May 2000 at the introduction of the Western Cape's publicity campaign to promote tourism and further stated that by the year 2010, the Western Cape was to be one of the top tourist destinations.⁵⁶¹ Bester further stated that according to the *White Paper on Tourism*, focus was to be given to the most beautiful part of the international market, while more affordable opportunities for local tourists were also created. However, Cape Town was still to be the main attraction of the Western Cape in their marketing campaign.⁵⁶²

Fabricsius had also stated that they had a new approach to get more tourists to the rural areas; one example being outings to the West Coast and the Garden Route, as 60% of the tourism revenue of the Western Cape was generated within the Cape Metropolitan and 40% from outside of the metropolitan. Nevertheless, according to *The Argus*, places like Zolani in Ashton, a traditional Xhosa village, did not see a significant number of tourists, despite having tour guides of the village having been trained. The main obstacle which had been cited was funding, as it was believed that effective marketing could change this. Furthermore, it was believed that rural and urban tourism should complement each other rather than compete.⁵⁶³

In February of 2000, *Die Burger* was reporting that South Africa had seen a decline in their tourist numbers during 1999. According to *Die Burger*, there was a decline of 0.8%, as in 1998 South Africa had received 420 192 tourists, while in 1999 they only received 416 745. In June of 1999, Britain made out 19.1% of the foreign tourists in South Africa, followed by America at 18.9% and Germany at 9.4%. The biggest increase of tourists, compared to June of 1998, came from Germany with 16.2%. Turning to the African continent, most tourists to South Africa in 1999 came from Lesotho, making out 38.4%, followed by Swaziland with 18.1% and Botswana with 11.7%.⁵⁶⁴ This is an interesting point to consider when referring back to the fact that these countries were excluded from the tourism statistics of South Africa for some years. This has been discussed above. The most significant increase in tourists from the African continent in June of 1999, compared to June of 1998, came from Mozambique with 22.5%.⁵⁶⁵ The World Trade Organization had reported an increase of 9% in the African tourism market after they had not seen any growth in two years. According to provisional results, the African

⁵⁶⁰ H. Coetzee. "Een liggaam sal toerisme in provinsie bevorder," *Die Burger*, 4 Mei 2000, p. 10.

⁵⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶² *Ibid.*

⁵⁶³ M. M. Mackay. "Rural tourism not taking off; Waterfront and Cape Point gobbling biggest slice of cake," *The Argus*, 26 October 2000, p. 14.

⁵⁶⁴ H. Jacobs. "Buitelanders kuier effe minder in SA, sê verslag van SSA," *Die Burger*, 26 Februarie 2000, p. 2.

⁵⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

continent was one of the top regions with regards to growth in the international tourism market.⁵⁶⁶ South Africa saw an increase of 6,3%, from 486 525 to 517 155.⁵⁶⁷ In 1999, South Africa received more foreign visitors than any other country on the African continent. They received 5,8 million travellers.⁵⁶⁸ Though the number for South Africa may have seemed great, it is to be noted that it was only a 3% increase from 1998. However, if the tourists from the African continent were excluded, South Africa experienced an increase of only 4,5% from 1998 to 1999, which was subsequently lower than that of Egypt, which lay at 40% and Morocco at 18%.⁵⁶⁹

Despite the hundreds of millions the government annually spent on marketing South Africa, the best ambassadors, and the best salespeople, tourism numbers in South Africa were still lagging behind that of the rest of the world. Thus, Satour had announced its most extensive worldwide marketing effort in their history. More than R400 million was to be spent over 2001 and 2002.⁵⁷⁰ This campaign was to include eighty taxi drivers in Britain who had the South African flag painted on their cars and were to actively market South Africa as a tourist destination. Further, in the Netherlands, trams were also painted in the colours of the South African national flag, while castles in Germany were to rent “boerewors-partytjies”⁵⁷¹, which attracted more people than expected.⁵⁷² Similar marketing opportunities also regularly took place in France, Austria and Italy. *Die Burger* also stated that Mandela was always eager to act as an ambassador for South Africa internationally. The latest ‘ambassador’ at the time had been Francois Pienaar, the captain of the 1995 Springboks who had won the RWC.⁵⁷³ Satour had also planned to make small ambassadors of the South Africans who were temporarily or permanently in Britain. It was with this marketing campaign that Satour, all foreign diplomatic missions and SAA were actively working together for the first time to market South Africa and made sure there was a coordinated policy.⁵⁷⁴ Some found it hard to understand why South Africa could not develop into one of the top tourist destinations in the world, as it seemed that the most significant deterrent was the distance. Other issues included that it was South Africa

⁵⁶⁶ Onbekend. “Afrika toerisme groei stewig met 9%, sê WHO,” *Die Burger*, 3 Mei 2000, p. 1.

⁵⁶⁷ Onbekend. “SA bly gewild onder oorsese besoekers,” *Die Burger*, 11 Augustus 2000, p. 7.

⁵⁶⁸ Onbekend. “SA lok meer as ander in Afrika,” *Die Burger*, 26 Oktober 2000, p. 4.

⁵⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁰ J. Dommissie. “Toerisme as skoolvak kan vonk gee,” *Die Burger*, 27 November 2000, p. 15.

⁵⁷¹ A traditional South African dish, a sausage in a hotdog bun. For this event they would rent a kind of hotdog stand.

⁵⁷² J. Dommissie. “Toerisme as skoolvak kan vonk gee,” *Die Burger*, 27 November 2000, p. 15.

⁵⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

who did not make tourists feel welcome, and departments of foreign affairs, especially that of Britain, still painted dark pictures of South Africa and were constantly warning potential tourists against South Africa.⁵⁷⁵

Another accomplishment the tourism industry had achieved in 2000 was the opening of the *Radisson Hotel Waterfront* in Granger Bay, which was the first hotel in Cape Town of the international *Radisson SAS Hotel and Resorts* company. This was part of the company's long-term strategy to become the best foreign hotel group in Southern Africa. In this, South Africa had obtained a formidable marketing agent who would influence many foreigners to visit the country. Kurt Ritter, CEO of the group, had stated that South Africa had a wide variety to offer foreigners a fair price; and they would make sure potential vacationers and business tourists were informed about this.⁵⁷⁶

6.1.1 Township Tourism

*Tour operators in Cape Town have been quoted saying "They [the tourists] are not interested in negative things like poverty, politics. But they just want to see how [South Africa] has changed, projected. (...) Positive life, positive story, to tell when they get back home."*⁵⁷⁷

The above quote by scholars J. Burgold and M. Rolfes explains the myth all people like to hear of the hero who came from nothing and built himself up to something. In this case, the hero is a democratic South Africa and what these townships represent to the tourists is where 'the struggle' started, and the city shows them how far South Africa has come from their township origin. It is described as a moment frozen in time.

Sheryl Ozinsky, manager of Cape Town Tourism, had stated that tourists often said that their most memorable memories of South Africa were their interactions with locals rather than the tourist destinations.⁵⁷⁸ This was Ozinsky's opinion regarding the *People2People* project, which had been launched in December 1999 by *The Argus*, *Starfish 2000* and Cape Town Tourism

⁵⁷⁵ J. Dommissie. "Toerisme as skoolvak kan vonk gee," *Die Burger*, 27 November 2000, p. 15.

⁵⁷⁶ J. Leuvennink. "Wêreldwys: SA moet voortbou op dié positiewe toerismegebeure," *Die Burger*, 14 November 2000, p. 3.

⁵⁷⁷ J. Burgold & M. Rolfes. "Of voyeuristic safari tours and responsible tourism with educational value: Observing moral communication in slum and township tourism in Cape Town and Mumbai," *Die Erde: Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin*, (144), (2), 2013, p. 164.

⁵⁷⁸ Y. Kemp. "Tourists get ready to boogie in new township tour, People2People excursion give visitors and locals a chance to make friends and have a really good time," *The Argus*, 10 January 2000, p. 3.

and strove to link people in Cape Town with local and international visitors.⁵⁷⁹ Cape Town Tourism had invited four overseas tourists and two local “hosts” to experience the project's first excursion, a township music tour. Abel Mtebele, Cape Town Tourism’s awareness and development manager, stated that Capetonians' response had been very positive. The two guides of this first tour were locals from Khayelitsha. It was also stated that it had become clear that tourists believed that “Africa” was to be found in these townships.⁵⁸⁰

It should be noted that these township tours are often marketed as ‘reality’ tours. Burgold and Rolfes state that in the well-organized Cape Town township tours, the culture of the township and their role in the struggle against Apartheid receive the limelight.⁵⁸¹ They further stated that “one reads and hears about a proud people who succeeded in its struggles against Apartheid; a people who kept its traditions, who dances and who lives its life to the rhythm of the music.”⁵⁸² Burgold and Rolfes also make it clear that this township tourism does not wish to emphasize the pain and suffering but rather “slum positivity.”⁵⁸³ As Burgold and Rolfes quoted one slum tourism provider saying: “We show you the poor, but the positives and developments ... that’s our business strategy.”⁵⁸⁴ Tour operators often do this by focussing on the culture, the upgrading of living conditions, the development initiatives and the informal economic activities. This then makes it seem that the township dwellers are the heart of the new South Africa.⁵⁸⁵ With this then comes the possibility of corrupting heritage and also influencing its conservation negatively.⁵⁸⁶ It is then that staged authenticity and creative tourism comes to the fore.

Residents of the Cape Flats believed they were not benefitting from the tourism industry because of a shortage of resources, inadequate training, and a lack of ambition.⁵⁸⁷ Residents believed that it was only a handful of tour guides and others who had worked in the industry who were benefitting from this. Residents were also of the opinion that the tour guides focussed

⁵⁷⁹ Y. Kemp. “Tourists get ready to boogie in new township tour, People2People excursion give visitors and locals a chance to make friends and have a really good time,” *The Argus*, 10 January 2000, p. 3.

⁵⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸¹ J. Burgold & M. Rolfes. “Of voyeuristic safari tours and responsible tourism with educational value: Observing moral communication in slum and township tourism in Cape Town and Mumbai,” *Die Erde: Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin*, (144), (2), 2013, p. 167.

⁵⁸² *Ibid.*

⁵⁸³ *Ibid.* p. 164.

⁵⁸⁴ *Ibid.* p. 166.

⁵⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 167.

⁵⁸⁶ I. Booysen. “Rethinking township tourism: Towards responsible tourism development in South African townships,” *Development Southern Africa*, (27), (2), 2010, p. 275.

⁵⁸⁷ M. M. Mackay. “Festering sore lurks behind tourism,” *The Argus*, 16 May 2000, p. 14.

too much on places like the V&A Waterfront rather than the previously disadvantaged areas. It was also believed that the foreign tourists preferred the V&A Waterfront and Cape Point.⁵⁸⁸ Fabricius had admitted that there was a difference between urban and rural tourism, yet, he had also stated that steps were being taken to even the playing field, but tours to the Cape Flats were only in their beginning stages in 2000.⁵⁸⁹

Unfortunately, crime would also play a deterring role in the development of township tourism. Tourism experts believed that the clashes between taxi operators and *Golden Arrow* bus drivers were having a negative effect on tourism in the Cape Flats. Tourism in Nyanga, Khayelitsha, Langa and Gugulethu had reportedly been affected negatively after the death of two people in these clashes.⁵⁹⁰ It was believed that many locals who were being trained as tour guides would have these opportunities taken away from them because of the violence. It was also reported that tour guides often phoned the police to hear what routes were safe so they could know where they could take their tourists and in what township; thus, Khayelitsha had often been left out of these tours as violence was more prone there.⁵⁹¹ The general manager of *Ikapa Tours*, Dugby Schultz, was also of the opinion that if it were reported within the international media that bus drivers were being shot in Cape Town, many tourists would cancel their visit to Cape Town because of the violence.⁵⁹² Therefore, in 2000, it was decided to have police escorts on tours to the townships. The issue was that tourists immediately assumed they were being taken into a dangerous area when they saw police escorts.⁵⁹³ Some tour guides had claimed that the tourists immediately became nervous when they saw the police as they had heard so much about the crime in the country from the international media.⁵⁹⁴

It was in the Boland where a new tourism development program set out to train 16 community guides in order for tourists to experience the gang-infested neighbourhoods of Mbekweni just outside of Paarl and other communities that had been out of reach of tourists.⁵⁹⁵ In Paarl specifically, this would offer tourists more than just the usual tours of the wine farms and the *Taalmonument*. The tourism bureaus of Paarl, Mbekweni, Wellington, Franschhoek and Pniel were asked to send candidates. It was believed that tourism involved all sectors of a community.

⁵⁸⁸ M. M. Mackay. "Festering sore lurks behind tourism," *The Argus*, 16 May 2000, p. 14.

⁵⁸⁹ M. M. Mackay. "Rural tourism not taking off; Waterfront and Cape Point gobbling biggest slice of cake," *The Argus*, 26 October 2000, p. 14.

⁵⁹⁰ M. M. Mackay. "'Violence will stop tourists visiting township'," *The Argus*, 18 May 2000, p. 2.

⁵⁹¹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹² *Ibid.*

⁵⁹³ Staff Reporter. "Police presence scares visitors, says guide," *The Argus*, 31 July 2000, p. 6.

⁵⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹⁵ E. Erasmus. "Nuwe gidse wys toeriste kultuur van Boland," *Die Burger*, 11 Februarie 2000, p. 12.

These candidates graduated through Satour, and according to the course consultant, this was the first time community guides were trained in such an organised way and even received certificates.⁵⁹⁶ It had been claimed that an international tourist had asked why there were not more black tour guides in South Africa.⁵⁹⁷ It was also noted that this kind of tourism would allow tourists to see the consequences of the Group Areas Act.⁵⁹⁸ Thus building on the struggle narrative it was believed international tourists came to witness.

In June 2000, it was expected that Gugulethu was soon to open a tourism centre and according to the manager of Cape Town Tourism, who had stated that it was expected the centre would cater for both the local and international market. This Sivuyile Tourism Centre was funded by support from the provincial administration of the Western Cape and the City of Cape Town.⁵⁹⁹ Staff from Cape Town Tourism were to be placed at the centre to help with all the planned activities. Both the City of Cape Town and the provincial government supported this R400 000 project.⁶⁰⁰ It was also stated that the importance of tourism in the township was job creation.⁶⁰¹ In July 2000, 26 tour guides had completed a six-month tour guide course in Gugulethu, which was made possible by the City of Cape Town and Cape Town Tourism.⁶⁰² “[B]lack people had been denied opportunities in the tourism industry in the past and it was now time to play a role.”⁶⁰³ Another point which was made clear in the *White Paper on Tourism* and post-apartheid literature regarding tourism.

The point of job creation in the tourism industry also became a discussion point in 2000, specifically from 1994. Cape Town Tourism believed that since 1994, the government and the media had created unreasonable expectations regarding job opportunities in the tourism industry. Ozinsky had stated that she blamed the media as people had just been expecting too much from the tourism industry after April 1994.⁶⁰⁴ A lot of hope was put on the tourism industry for job creation and to help solve the unemployment issue in South Africa.⁶⁰⁵ Again a point which came through clearly in the *White Paper on Tourism* and post-apartheid literature regarding tourism, as tourism was presented as a fix-all remedy. Ozinsky also stated that there

⁵⁹⁶ E. Erasmus. “Nuwe gidse wys toeriste kultuur van Boland,” *Die Burger*, 11 Februarie 2000, p. 12.

⁵⁹⁷ Staff Reporter. “Police presence scares visitors, says guide,” *The Argus*, 31 July 2000, p. 6.

⁵⁹⁸ E. Erasmus. “Nuwe gidse wys toeriste kultuur van Boland,” *Die Burger*, 11 Februarie 2000, p. 12.

⁵⁹⁹ M. M. Mackay. “Gugs gets tourism boost,” *The Argus*, 28 June 2000, p. 4.

⁶⁰⁰ M. Dlakavu. “Gugulethu opens tourism centre,” *The Argus*, 27 September 2000, p. 7.

⁶⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰² Staff Reporter. “Police presence scares visitors, says guide,” *The Argus*, 31 July 2000, p. 6.

⁶⁰³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰⁵ Reuters. “Spoke moet Moederstad se ekonomie hupstoot gee,” *Die Burger*, 12 Desember 2000, p. 1.

had been no interest from South Africans, and thus most jobs had been filled by non-South Africans. She was also of the opinion that more money needed to be allocated to tourism training, as stated they were underfunded.⁶⁰⁶ Ozinsky ended on a positive note, stating that the tourism potential of the city of Cape Town was immense; the challenge was rather integrating township tourism with the city's tourism, as in her opinion, they could not be separated. Fabricius again believed that township tour operators should promote themselves in such a way as to become part of the tour package which were offered to foreign visitors.⁶⁰⁷

Cape Town's most famous township was known as Khayelitsha. This township was marketed as South Africa's second largest township, after that of Soweto.⁶⁰⁸ In 2000, a sand dune referred to as "Lookout Hill", which offered a bird's-eye view of Khayelitsha, was to be turned into a tourist hub. The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Valli Moosa, initiated this R7,5-million operation.⁶⁰⁹ These plans seemed to be much the same as those for RIM which never came to pass. This hub was to include an area for local craftsmen and artists, and a museum that would display the history of Khayelitsha, a restaurant, tourist information centre, stores and kiosks and a hotel. Most residents who spoke to *The Argus* favoured this project as they believed it would reduce unemployment in the community.⁶¹⁰ Though Khayelitsha had been recognized by the Tygerberg Tourism Bureau, they were still dissatisfied with how the bureau was conducting itself. The opinion was also that Khayelitsha had not been given a platform within this bureau.⁶¹¹ Paul Rosenbrock, chairman of the Tygerberg Tourism Bureau, believed that it was the infrastructure that lured tourists; thus, attempts were being made to ensure a permanent tourism infrastructure in Khayelitsha.⁶¹² The City of Tygerberg was also trying to change the perception of Khayelitsha.⁶¹³ Hotels were also often blamed for the lack of tourists numbers in townships as tour guides claimed that hotels were discouraging potential tourists by warning them of the dangers in townships. The hotels claimed that these accusations were simply untrue. Tourists who had braved these 'dangerous areas' had told great stories of their experiences of the 'other side' of Cape Town. It was also reported that many foreign

⁶⁰⁶ M. M. Mackay. " 'Media to blame for creating false picture'," *The Argus*, 16 May 2000, p. 14.

⁶⁰⁷ J. van der Merwe. "Province bids to put township on tourist map," *The Argus*, 12 September 2000, p. 8.

⁶⁰⁸ M. Dlakavu. "High hopes for tourism based on Khayelitsha's Table Mountain," *The Argus*, 16 October 2000, p. 4.

⁶⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶¹¹ M. M. Mackay. "Festering sore lurks behind tourism," *The Argus*, 16 May 2000, p. 14.

⁶¹² M. M. Mackay. " 'Media to blame for creating false picture'," *The Argus*, 16 May 2000, p. 14.

⁶¹³ *Ibid.*

tourists, especially those from Europe, had requested to visit the Cape Flats.⁶¹⁴ Fabricius believed that those potential tourists who would come to South Africa are experienced tourists, who now longed for a behind the scenes experience, and not over development.⁶¹⁵

It was by October that phase one of the tourism project at Lookout Hill in Khayelitsha, which amounted to about R7,5 million, was near completion. This was the first tourism infrastructure program in a black township in an urban environment. The project had the primary aim to centralize the entrance of Khayelitsha and the management thereof and promote tourism to the area.⁶¹⁶ All visitors were to pay an entrance fee to Lookout Hill, which was to be used to develop the art and craft in Khayelitsha. The complete project included parking for tour busses and other forms of transport, a trade area for artists and craftsmen and a boardwalk to the lookout point. Other facilities included a restaurant, shops and kiosks, an access path and a security fence. The motto read 'A Product of Khayelitsha, for the people of Khayelitsha, by the people of Khayelitsha', though it should be noted that Western Cape Tourism and Cape Metro Tourism contributed significantly to the developments.⁶¹⁷ Some tour operators even started specializing in showing tourists the so-called 'new' South Africa, operators like Owen Jinka from *Roots Africa Tours* in Cape Town.⁶¹⁸ In December, there had been a campaign to encourage more tourists to visit Khayelitsha. Jinka had stated that even hotels had become interested in these tours and would be sending their own representatives to assess the situation and if it was safe to promote it to their residents.⁶¹⁹ Unfortunately, not all of the foreign media was as optimistic regarding township tourism.

A journalist for the London based *Evening Standard* labelled township tourism as 'guilt tourism'.⁶²⁰ This journalist, Alex Renton, had stated that although this kind of tourism had become very popular in black communities, it was not yet as sophisticated in Cape Town as it was in Soweto, where tourism shebeens were operating and tours behind the "rainbow curtain" were offered.⁶²¹ This again returns to the theory of staged authenticity, which has been discussed previously. Renton stated that it would cost the British tourist in South Africa only £15 if they wanted to spend the day in a township to experience the legacy of white dominance

⁶¹⁴ M. M. Mackay. "We do promote tours in townships, say hoteliers," *The Argus*, 16 May 2000, p. 14.

⁶¹⁵ K. Louwrens. "Wes-Kaap kan land se 'Spaanse Riveira' word," *Die Burger*, 6 Januarie 2000, p. 8.

⁶¹⁶ M. van Houwelingen. "Toerismeprojek vorder in Khayelitsha," *Die Burger*, 20 Oktober 2000, p. 4.

⁶¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶¹⁸ M. M. Mackay. "Touch of Scotland for township kids, Tour groups focus on Khayelitsha, Cape Flats," *The Argus*, 12 June 2000, p. 6.

⁶¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁰ J. Dommissie. "SA bruin buurte tragieser as swartes, sê Britse blad," *Die Burger*, 26 Februarie 2000, p. 11.

⁶²¹ *Ibid.*

and thus escape from their sun and sand vacation package. It was also stated that these tourists were aware that the conditions were dreadful, but they also believed that they would not get this experience anywhere else in the world.⁶²² *Grassroots Tours* was the biggest marketer of these kinds of tours, and they would warn tourists of the dangers at the start of the tour and sometimes would even arrange overnight facilities. The tour was taken in a minibux taxi, and Renton noted that some of the tourists were disappointed because of the modernism of some of the houses.⁶²³

Nobantu Mtuza, a street committee chairman at Phaphu Square in Langa, stated that one of the issues was that visitors viewed township tours as a “trip to the zoo”. The opinion was that these tourists should be able to get off the busses and mingle with the local people. This was a common complaint at the time. Mtuza also stated that people needed to be educated regarding the tourism opportunities in their areas to utilize them fully. One of the biggest issues was that tour guides and operators were primarily outsiders; the opinion was that locals had to fill these positions as they were more familiar with the township.⁶²⁴ Thus the need for programs to train locals as tour guides. However, other issues arose when these tourists did leave the comfort of the busses. A story was told of a resident in Nyanga and how she had welcomed tourists in her home in 1998, and they took pictures of her mother; after this she had not invited tourists into her house again.⁶²⁵

Scholar I. Booysen cited Ashworth who was of the opinion that this development of township tourism is ultimately the exploitation of heritage and some’s suffering for the pleasure and entertainment of the visitors.⁶²⁶ This then returns to the point that the Third World is used as the entertainment of the First World. Piroe stated that these visitors are taken on superficial tours that come with minimal interactions with locals, and thus the authenticity of these tours are compromised. Some mention that locals are viewed from inside the busses and photographed like animals.⁶²⁷ This then returns to the issue of ‘zooification’. It is considered a form of exploitation.⁶²⁸ It should also be noted that, as Booysen states, the reason townships

⁶²² J. Dommissie. “SA bruin buurte tragieser as swartes, sê Britse blad,” *Die Burger*, 26 Februarie 2000, p. 11.

⁶²³ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁴ M. M. Mackay. “Festering sore lurks behind tourism,” *The Argus*, 16 May 2000, p. 14.

⁶²⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁶ I. Booysen. “Rethinking township tourism: Towards responsible tourism development in South African townships,” *Development Southern Africa*, (27), (2), 2010, p. 277.

⁶²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁶²⁸ J. Burgold & M. Rolfes. “Of voyeuristic safari tours and responsible tourism with educational value: Observing moral communication in slum and township tourism in Cape Town and Mumbai,” *Die Erde: Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin*, (144), (2), 2013, p. 162.

are different from other slums in the world is that it is directly related and a consequence of apartheid.⁶²⁹ Township tourism also depends on the local community working with the tourism planners in order to provide development and safety.⁶³⁰

Township tourism in South Africa had started developing in 1994 and is specifically aimed at foreign tourists. However, by 2000 they still had numerous issues regarding the success and expectations from this branch of the industry. As discussed before, South Africa had suffered under the age-old discussion of whose heritage needs to be represented in cultural tourism in South Africa. Rogerson stated that township tourism had changed heritage tourism in South Africa, as heritage tourism in South Africa was no longer solely dependent on white heritage.⁶³¹ Burgold and Rolfes believed that township tourism had become very well organized in Cape Town and Johannesburg and attracted visitors in their thousands.⁶³² However, it should be noted that township tourism still had a long way to go regarding their developments.

Unfortunately, crime would still prove to be an issue for the tourism industry of the country, and specifically the Western Cape and Cape Town.

6.2 Crime and Tourism in South Africa

The issue regarding the relationship between crime and tourism in South Africa will only briefly be discussed, as there are numerous studies on this subject. It was by 2000 that tourism operators believed tourists had become numb to the violence that was ever-present in South Africa. This is according to Shaun van Eck, the director of Port Elizabeth Tourism, who stated that tourists would not be frightened by the most recent murders in this town.⁶³³

It had become clear by this time that criminals were no longer waiting for opportunities on the streets but were rather targeting tourists in their hotels. It was by April 2000 that it was stated that criminals in the Cape were working together to target tourists when they least expected it.⁶³⁴ A British group of tourists who had stayed in the *Hotel Arthur's Seat* became victims

⁶²⁹ I. Booysen. "Rethinking township tourism: Towards responsible tourism development in South African townships," *Development Southern Africa*, (27), (2), 2010, p. 267.

⁶³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 277.

⁶³¹ *Ibid.* p. 274.

⁶³² J. Burgold & M. Rolfes. "Of voyeuristic safari tours and responsible tourism with educational value: Observing moral communication in slum and township tourism in Cape Town and Mumbai," *Die Erde: Journal of the Geographical Society of Berlin*, (144), (2), 2013, p. 162.

⁶³³ S. Joubert. "Moorde in O-Kaap 'sal oorsese toeriste nie afskrik'," *Die Burger*, 20 Januarie 2000, p. 6.

⁶³⁴ H. Coetzee. "Diewe sak in groepe toe op toeriste in die Kaap," *Die Burger*, 4 April 2000, p. 8.

when they were robbed of R60 000 of room equipment, radios, bags, cash and travellers' checks while they were out. Fabricius believed that a member of an organised group of criminals was always near tourist attractions and that one or more of them often worked in the tourism industry. However, he was also of the opinion that opportunities for criminals on the street decreased as security cameras had been installed and the police visibility had also increased, and thus it was believed that they were now using other methods to target tourists. Fabricius also admitted that tour operators enquired about the safety in South Africa, and they always told them that South Africa took the same security measures as the rest of the world. It was reported that Fabricius did not want to downplay crime against tourists in hotels, but he emphasised that worldwide tourists were expected to take some safety precautions of their own.⁶³⁵ The opinion was that crime against tourists took place in New York, Miami and many other top destinations of the world, yet, when these crimes against tourists took place in South Africa, it was publicized by the international media.⁶³⁶ Again, the industry was returning to this strategy of blaming the media for their shortcomings.

Nevertheless, the biggest crime threat the South Africa tourism industry faced, especially that of Cape Town, was the random bomb explosions all over the city in 2000.

6.2.1 The Bomb Explosions of 2000

*"A bomb exploded at Cape Town International Airport yesterday. The only victims were tourism and the Rand."*⁶³⁷

*"The bombing campaign waged in Cape Town by persons or organisations unknown is an infuriating phenomenon."*⁶³⁸

The above quotes explain the devastation that was left in the aftermath of the bomb explosions of 2000 and the frustration which emerged as there was no clear motivation for these events. What was even more frustrating is that although the actual targets were not clear, the tourism industry of Cape Town suffered each time a bomb exploded. Probably most devastating of all the bombs was the one which exploded at Cape Town International Airport.

⁶³⁵ H. Coetzee. "Diewe sak in groepe toe op toeriste in die Kaap," *Die Burger*, 4 April 2000, p. 8.

⁶³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶³⁷ Unknown. "Don't let bombs get you down," *The Argus*, 19 July 2000, p. 19.

⁶³⁸ *Ibid.*

On 18 July 2000, the Cape Town International Airport experienced an explosion that formed part of the urban terror of the time. Western Cape tourism organizations sharply criticized this occurrence and pleaded with police and law enforcement to step in and put an end to this.⁶³⁹ This occurrence was also labelled as a tragedy by the chair of the Western Cape Tourism Council, Otto Stehlik. He also stated that this tragedy would indeed be reported all around the world.⁶⁴⁰ The chief executive of the council, Fabricius, stated that an occurrence like this put about 30 000 jobs in the tourism industry in jeopardy. Fabricius referred to tourism as a tap, which could very quickly be closed by events like this, and because it had occurred at an airport, it just worsened the situation.⁶⁴¹ The editorial of *Die Burger* believed that something needed to be done regarding the explosions in Cape Town. It was also reported that this had been a terror pattern which had been playing out for two years in the Western Cape, with countermeasures being ineffective. The occurrence had provoked the Airports Company to implement precautionary measures to prevent a similar attack from happening again.⁶⁴² *The Argus* was calling on Capetonians to keep pushing safety and security personnel to continue with their jobs.⁶⁴³ The existing airport security net was to be helped by a crime prevention forum with the goal of creating a “crime-free zone”.⁶⁴⁴ However, the success of the project had relied on the cooperation of the airport staff and visitors. The main goal of the airport was still to provide world-class services in the airport and also assure safety and security.⁶⁴⁵

Because there was no apparent motive for the terror attacks, speculations regarding the motivations ran rampant. In September 2000, a webpage of the British Government had warned potential tourists that South Africa was one of the countries where British interest was being threatened due to the terror attacks.⁶⁴⁶ The webpage of the British Officer of Foreign Affairs and the Commonwealth warned that in 1998, 1999 and 2000, there had been a number of bomb explosions in Cape Town. They also mentioned that the V&A Waterfront had been signalled out twice in these attacks. The warning had stated that although there had been no proof that

⁶³⁹ H. Hoffman. “Toerisme pleit vir optrede,” *Die Burger*, 19 Julie 2000, p. 2.

⁶⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴² Staff Reporter. “Bombs blast triggers airport security drive; Crime prevention plan is aimed at widening net,” *The Argus*, 28 July 2000, p. 5.

⁶⁴³ Unknown. “Don’t let bombs get you down,” *The Argus*, 19 July 2000, p. 19.

⁶⁴⁴ Staff Reporter. “Bombs blast triggers airport security drive; Crime prevention plan is aimed at widening net,” *The Argus*, 28 July 2000, p. 5.

⁶⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴⁶ W. Jordaan. “Britse regering maan toeriste teen geweld in SA,” *Die Burger*, 22 September 2000, p. 8.

British tourists were the specific targets, they were still urged to be vigilant.⁶⁴⁷ Tourism leaders were to meet to discuss solutions for these issues.

Though the 130 tourism leaders who had ventured to Stellenbosch for a conference were well informed regarding the struggles for the tourism industry in the Western Cape, they felt like they had left without any real answers to solve the issues. The theme of this conference was the Western Cape and Tourism after 2000. The future of tourism was discussed and how to improve the tourism numbers in the province, with most speakers highlighting urban terror and crime as the biggest deterrents. According to the managing director of *Sun International*, Peter Bacon, Sun City had experienced a loss of R10 million because of cancellations due to the bomb explosions in Cape Town. *Confinitive*, a Cape Town travel agency for international tourists, had experienced the cancellation of three tour groups, stating crime and violence as the reason. The agency had also received a letter from a Polish tour group that stated that the poor publicity regarding the situation in South Africa was the reason for their cancellation. At this, time two Polish tourists had also been killed in KwaZulu-Natal. Fabricius had stated that crime and violence had just formed part of the reason for the decrease in tourism numbers; he cited the Olympic Games in Sydney and the fiercer competition from other destinations.⁶⁴⁸

In 26 months, there had been 19 terror attacks in the Western Cape, three people had died from these bomb explosions, and 122 had been injured.⁶⁴⁹ It was stated that the issue was not the cancellations but rather that tourists who were still considering South Africa as a destination for their travels would now rather go somewhere which was considered safer for their vacation. However, guest houses and small tour operators had barely lost any tourists.⁶⁵⁰ On the other hand, two groups of 60 tourists from the United States and Europe cancelled their travels with one tour operator.⁶⁵¹ According to Theuns Vivian, Head of the Department of Tourism at the Cape Technicon, these bombs were damaging the tourist image of Cape Town and the Western Cape. Neil Markovitz, the Western Cape chair of Fedhasa, was of the opinion that the tourism industry should work against this terror with an effective marketing campaign.⁶⁵² The

⁶⁴⁷ W. Jordaan. "Britse regering maan toeriste teen geweld in SA," *Die Burger*, 22 September 2000, p. 8.

⁶⁴⁸ B. Louw. "Stedelike Terreur knou toerisme in Wes-Kaap," *Die Burger*, 27 September 2000, p. 12.

⁶⁴⁹ K. Cronjé. "'So lyk man in bommoter', Ontploffing skud Kaapse middestad," *Die Burger*, 30 Augustus 2000, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁰ K. Louwrens. "Toeriemebedryf angstig oor terreur," *Die Burger*, 18 September 2000, p. 3.

⁶⁵¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵² *Ibid.*

motivation behind the bomb and its placement was not yet clear; however, they did manage to destroy the sense of safety.⁶⁵³

The Scorpion boss of the special investigation unit believed that *Pagad* (People against Gangsterism and Drugs) was responsible for the bombing at Cape Town International Airport. Ozinsky had stated that although the bomb had injured no one, it did do damage to the image of South Africa and Cape Town, as potential tourists viewed it as unsafe. She had also mentioned that although bombs were also present in other cities, their police systems were quick to put those responsible behind bars. Ozinsky also made it clear that bad news travelled fast around the world, and thus it had become increasingly difficult to promote South Africa as a tourist destination.⁶⁵⁴ Gerald Morkel, Premier of the Western Cape, stated that those responsible were damaging the international image of the Western Cape and their tourism economy.⁶⁵⁵ Fabricius stated that it was difficult to indicate the exact effect this urban terrorism would have on tourism, yet it was hoped that urban terrorism would not affect the growth of tourism numbers.⁶⁵⁶

It was noted that the tourism scene in the Western Cape was changing in the 2000s as tourists opted to stay inland in the province rather than in the metropole, like Cape Town, because of safety concerns.⁶⁵⁷ It was during this time that the country realized the potential of backpacker tourists. *Die Burger* had interviewed tourists staying at a backpack hostel in Cape Town.⁶⁵⁸ Most of these tourists were only vaguely aware of the bombs which plagued Cape Town through 2000, but they would not let this keep them away. They were well aware of the crime and that they had to be careful not to become victims themselves.⁶⁵⁹ Two backpackers explained that bombs also exploded in their home countries, namely Sweden and France. British tourists referenced the strength of the Pound, which had them return for repeat visits. A backpacker from Brazil said she found many similarities between her country and South Africa, and she used the same methods to stay safe. One Irish woman even toured South Africa on her own.⁶⁶⁰ It was stated that backpackers – young, adventurous and with Euros, Dollars and

⁶⁵³ B. Boyd. "Elizabeth's spirit survives bombing, People in my situation must not lose hope, says injured St Elmo's worker," *The Argus*, 25 May 2000, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁴ J. Schronen, K. Maughan and M. Dlakavu. "Pagad blamed for bombing; Scorpions boss cites city court case," *The Argus*, 19 July 2000, p. 1.

⁶⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵⁶ T. Lund. "Get on with business of tourism, says Bester," *The Argus*, 28 September 2000, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁷ K. Louwrens. "Toeriste wyk uit Kaap oor veiligheid," *Die Burger*, 17 Augustus 2000, p. 3.

⁶⁵⁸ K. Louwrens. "Misdaad in SA skrik jong toeriste nie af," *Die Burger*, 14 Desember 2000, p. 15.

⁶⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

Pounds in their pockets – were starting to make out a more considerable percentage of international tourists to Cape Town.⁶⁶¹ Cape Town was also the main gate for backpack tourists to South Africa and Southern Africa. Backpacker tourism even had its own marketing body in South Africa, namely *Backpacker Tourism South Africa*, which marketed South Africa as a backpackers destination internationally. Though it was difficult to obtain accurate numbers, *Backpacker Tourism South Africa* estimated that there were about 10 000 beds for backpackers in Cape Town and that this had created many jobs opportunities in the sector.⁶⁶²

Despite the bomb explosions, the Western Cape, and more specifically Cape Town, was still recognized as one of the most important regions that lured tourists.

6.3 The Western Cape, Cape Town and Tourism in 2000

“The big parts of untouched natural and cultural variety of the Western Cape, the country’s foremost tourism province, will be the attraction that will make tourists take the long flight here rather than cheaper, easier accessible destinations.”^{663 664}

It was in the year 2000 that Fabricius was bold enough to state that the Western Cape, with its natural beauty, landscapes and diverse culture, could become the Spanish Riviera of South Africa. Fabricius believed that the management of the nature-based tourism attractions would be essential in the marketing of the province, nationally and internationally. He was also of the opinion that the Western Cape was to be more successful in the long run if they instead appealed to a more exclusive market rather than advertising as a cheap tourism destination. This, as he argued differently than those before him, that they offered a real value for money with the exchange rate.⁶⁶⁵ It was noted that marketing would be crucial for the success of this project. By 2019, the Western Cape had become the 3rd most visited province in the country with a 16,3% share of the international tourists in the country.⁶⁶⁶

⁶⁶¹ K. Louwrens. “Rugsakreisigers is bate vir Kaapse toerisme,” *Die Burger*, 14 Desember 2000, p. 15.

⁶⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶⁶³ K. Louwrens. “Wes-Kaap kan land se ‘Spaanse Riveira’ word,” *Die Burger*, 6 Januarie 2000, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁴ Author’s translation. “Die groot stukke ongerepte natuur en kultuurverskeidenheid van die Wes-Kaap, die land se voorste toerismeprovisie, sal dié trekpleiser wees wat toeriste die lang vlug hierheen sal laat verkies bo goedkoper, makliker bereikbare bestemmings”

⁶⁶⁵ K. Louwrens. “Wes-Kaap kan land se ‘Spaanse Riveira’ word,” *Die Burger*, 6 Januarie 2000, p. 8.

⁶⁶⁶ *South African Tourism Annual Report 2018/2019*.
https://nationalgovernment.co.za/entity_annual/1979/2019-south-african-tourism-annual-report.pdf.
 (Accessed 27 February 2022). p. 41.

Thus, Hennie Bester, the Provincial Tourism Minister, had proposed that all the tourism budgets of the municipalities in the province had to be put together in order to establish a single marketing body for the entire province. Bester stated that his proposal was in line with the new Tourism Bill which had aimed to create one marketing body for the Western Cape.⁶⁶⁷ Three marketing agencies had been competing for the main title: the Western Cape Tourism Board, the Cape Metropolitan Tourism Authority, and Cape Town Tourism. The proposed new agency was to consist of a partnership between the metropolitan local government, five district councils from outside of Cape Town, the private sector, and a representative of each individual board. Bester had stated that his invitation was not mandatory, but he believed that it would have been the best for the province to have a single tourism brand – namely Cape Tourism.⁶⁶⁸

In order to address their disappointing numbers, the Western Cape and Cape Town itself became more resilient in marketing their destination in the United States. Satour's new international campaign, which amounted to R155 million, highlighted the destinations within the Western Cape as the main tourist sites to visit.⁶⁶⁹ The specific campaign was expected to reach 60 million Americans, Britons, Germans, Italians, Dutch and French. The campaign was set to introduce the Cape Metropolitan Tourism body by specifically focussing on the metropole and the top destinations, which was to appear in the American magazine *Travel Weekly*. This magazine was regarded as one of the most essential tourism newspapers in the United States.⁶⁷⁰ Satour did not stand alone in the campaign, as they had the support of the Table Mountain Cable Way, the Mount Nelson, the Cape Grace Hotel and Cape Town International Airport. Western Cape Tourism had also launched their own campaign, working with SAA and their new American partners, Delta Airlines, to attract more tourists from the United States. This was announced after the institution of a daily flight by SAA between South Africa and Atlanta, which was believed to be able to link South Africa with 107 cities in the United States and also attract 11 000 more tourists in just the first year of operations. Fabricius believed that there was a lot of potential for the Western Cape tourism market to be found in the United States.⁶⁷¹

⁶⁶⁷ T. Lund. "Province plans united front to market Cape tourism," *The Argus*, 7 April 2000, p. 6.

⁶⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶⁹ K. Louwrens. "Wes-Kaap en Kaapstad sterker bemark in VSA," *Die Burger*, 2 Februarie 2000, p. 3.

⁶⁷⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷¹ *Ibid.*

It was stated in *The Argus* that “[y]ou’ve got to promote it (South Africa), market it, tell people what you’re about.”⁶⁷² Ozinsky had stated that marketing was the key to a thriving tourism industry; she specifically referred to utilizing the developing markets of China and India.⁶⁷³ Few efforts could have achieved this objective as successful as the CNN, which had decided to start their new travel program, which was projected to reach 250 million international viewers, in Cape Town. Tourism leaders viewed this as a great honour and marketing opportunity for South Africa.⁶⁷⁴ Larry King, host of *Larry King Live* on CNN and the writer of a weekly rubric that appeared on Mondays in *USA Today*, wrote a piece, “Suid-Afrika steeds geliefd en pragtig” and seemed to not be able to say enough about South Africa.⁶⁷⁵ King had been on tour in South Africa, specifically in Johannesburg, Durban and Cape Town, to give speeches and declared that he was proud of the country's progress in the previous ten years. King was told by many that the success story of South Africa could be attributed to Mandela. This can be attributed to the theory of ‘Mandela Magic’, which had been discussed before. King ended his opinion piece by referring to the exchange rate, which was R6 to the Dollar.⁶⁷⁶ *Die Burger* praised Investec for inviting King from CNN to visit South Africa earlier in 2000, and in September the Earl Charles Spencer⁶⁷⁷ also appeared on his show, *Larry King Live*, where they both agreed that Cape Town was the most beautiful city in the world in their opinion.⁶⁷⁸ Though it was admitted that comments like these would not make for a flood of tourists to South Africa, it could still give South Africa a positive perspective abroad.

The editorial of *Die Burger* found that most tourists who had been visiting South Africa for the first time were absolutely in awe of the natural beauty, hospitality and the favourable exchange rate of the Rand to the British Pound and the American Dollar, which made tourists believe they were getting value for their money. It was also stated that the positive testimony from King of all South Africa had to offer to the tourists served as a good example of the free and positive advertising which could come from a pleasant experience. It was also noted that this kind of advertisement was needed, as most news out of South Africa which was published in

⁶⁷² M. Williams. “Good Morning USA, from the Fairest Cape,” *The Argus*, 7 March 2000, p. 2.

⁶⁷³ H. Coetzee. “Groei in wêreld se reisbevolking ‘goed vir Kaap’,” *Die Burger*, 4 Mei 2000, p. 10.

⁶⁷⁴ K. Louwrens. “Nuwe CNN reisprogram begin met fokus op Kaapstad,” *Die Burger*, 8 Februarie 2000, p. 3.

⁶⁷⁵ P. Steyn. “Larry King ná besoek in vervoering oor SA,” *Die Burger*, 29 Februarie 2000, p. 2.

⁶⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷⁷ Brother of the late Princess Diana.

⁶⁷⁸ F. Meyer & P. Bruwer. “King en Spencer ‘n lansie vir toerisme na Moederstad,” *Die Burger*, 21 September 2000, p. 2.

foreign media over the past few years mainly focussed on bombings, crime and attacks on tourists and had undermined the tourist reputations of the Western Cape and Eastern Cape.⁶⁷⁹

The image of Table Mountain, as seen from Robben Island, quickly became the display image of South Africa in the United States as it covered the front page of Satour's new brochure to lure the growing tourism market in the United States. This brochure formed part of Satour's R155 million marketing campaign and was to appear in the *New York Times*, the *Los Angeles Times* and the *Wall Street Journal*.⁶⁸⁰ These pictures were not only confined to the brochures but were also to be seen on advertisement boards as part of this project in Britain and other European countries. One slogan read, "At the end of the world's most antique country you will find a new beginning".⁶⁸¹ ⁶⁸² Even the image of Mandela was used in this campaign. Rick Taylor, Head of Cape Metropole Tourism, was overjoyed that Satour had recognized Table Mountain as not only an important icon to represent Cape Town, but also the whole of the country. Taylor believed that the campaign of Satour would be very successful, together with the campaign Cape Metropole Tourism had launched in *Travel Weekly*.⁶⁸³

Fabricius was of the opinion that visuals were the most vital aspect of a successful marketing campaign, and thus the R100 million the Government had given Satour in 2000, which had brought their budget up to R150 million, was welcomed with open arms. He had further stated that by the year 2010, they aimed to lure three million tourists to the Western Cape, but in order to accomplish this, they had to be able to compete with the rest of the world on the marketing front.⁶⁸⁴ It should be noted that with the aims regarding tourism numbers to the country, more and more strain was put on the tourism industry to succeed.

Despite these high expectations, research at the time had found that more and more foreign tourists were visiting the country.⁶⁸⁵ It was stated that all first-time international tourists wanted to visit Cape Town to experience the variety of tourism attractions, which included the mountains, beaches, flowers and wine routes. Cape Town was considered the starting point of Karoo tourism, which had become popular under eco-tourists, the Garden Route, and finally,

⁶⁷⁹ Onbekend. "Vat hulle vas," *Die Burger*, 3 Maart 2000, p. 8.

⁶⁸⁰ K. Louwrens. "Tafelberg word toonvenster vir Amerikaners," *Die Burger*, 9 Februarie 2000, p. 1.

⁶⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁸² Author's own translation: "By die eindpunt van die wêreld se mees antieke vasteland sal jy 'n nuwe begin vind"

⁶⁸³ K. Louwrens. "Tafelberg word toonvenster vir Amerikaners," *Die Burger*, 9 Februarie 2000, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁴ H. Coetzee. "Groei in wêreld se reisbevolking 'goed vir Kaap'," *Die Burger*, 4 Mei 2000, p. 10.

⁶⁸⁵ B. Louw. "Besoeke aan Eikestad sal meer as verdubbel," *Die Burger*, 9 Mei 2000, p. 9.

the Eastern Cape which became popular for safaris.⁶⁸⁶ The wine and whale routes were also pointed out as destinations tourists had to experience while in the country.⁶⁸⁷

Unfortunately, at the time, Cape Town was experiencing the withdrawal of international airlines due to their restrictive airline regulations. Tourism leaders thought that the most obvious solution would be to grant Cape Town more international flights without the stopover in Johannesburg.⁶⁸⁸ The British Minister of Trade and Industry, Richard Caborn, had criticised South Africa for its restrictive regulations. Caborn had explicitly referred to the protective policy of the government towards SAA and also referred to the preferential rights this company was enjoying.⁶⁸⁹ SAA believed that the government had created enough opportunities for other flight services to also have opportunities in the country. They also stated that Caborn had no ground to stand on by stating that the closed air space was negative for tourism in South Africa, as it was stated that SAA played an active role in the marketing of the country as a tourist destination.⁶⁹⁰ Joseph Aminzadeh, director of *Horwath Tourism & Leisure Consulting*, stated at an announcement of the company's overview of aviation policy that the South African aviation policy in its attempts to protect SAA was restricting foreign arrivals.⁶⁹¹ Fortunately, the Western Cape and Cape Town were to get a golden opportunity in November and December 2000 to present themselves as a top tourist destination when the biggest travel promotion opportunity on the German calendar was to be held in the city.

This yearly event was arranged by the *Dertour* group for the travel agents of Germany's 700 leading agencies. In 2000, Sator and Western Cape Tourism were granted the opportunity to plan this event.⁶⁹² Cape Town was thus to become the first host on the African continent of the *Dertour* company's *Reisakademie*, which each year gave selected agents the opportunity to have a first-hand experience of a destination in order to sell it to their clients earnestly.⁶⁹³ Fabricius marked this as an opportunity of utter importance as, after Britain, most of the overseas tourists in the Western Cape were from Germany.⁶⁹⁴ Fabricius was also of the opinion that now members of the tourism industry had come to them and could now experience what South Africa had to offer first-hand. According to the vice-president of marketing and sales of

⁶⁸⁶ Onbekend. "Knou vir toerisme," *Die Burger*, 1 Maart 2000, p. 12.

⁶⁸⁷ Reuters. "Spoke moet Moederstad se ekonomie hupstoot gee," *Die Burger*, 12 Desember 2000, p. 1.

⁶⁸⁸ Onbekend. "Knou vir toerisme," *Die Burger*, 1 Maart 2000, p. 12.

⁶⁸⁹ H. Jacobs. "SA is nog nie gereed vir vrye lugruim, sê SAL," *Die Burger*, 24 November 2000, p. 2.

⁶⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹¹ Onbekend. "Lugvaartbeleid 'beperk oorsese vlugte na SA'," *Die Burger*, 15 Desember 2000, p. 3.

⁶⁹² K. Louwrens. "Duitsers kies Kaap om reklame vir reise te maak," *Die Burger*, 8 April 2000, p. 9.

⁶⁹³ K. Louwrens. "Kaapstad gasheer vir 700 reisagente van Duitsland," *Die Burger*, 25 Oktober 2000, p. 16.

⁶⁹⁴ K. Louwrens. "Duitsers kies Kaap om reklame vir reise te maak," *Die Burger*, 8 April 2000, p. 9.

Dertour, Kevin Keogh, the academy brought with it an increase of 20% to 65% of German tourists to the host country. Keogh had even stated at a media briefing that with the academy, South Africa did not even need to host a World Cup.⁶⁹⁵ This group was also to be accompanied by ten German travel journalists, which would provide Cape Town with even more publicity.⁶⁹⁶ It should be noted that South Africa was paying R18 million in order to host the academy, and the private sector also contributed R9 million. The *Dertour Reisakademie*, which was considered as Cape Town's most extensive single tourism marketing effort at the time, commenced on Robben Island on 29 November 2000.⁶⁹⁷ However, before these Germans had even arrived, the Western Cape had also experienced an influx of national tourists.

During the first weeks of November 2000, the Western Cape found its hands full with vacationers who had made their way to the province from all over the country.⁶⁹⁸ Cape Town was named as the country's top tourist destination, and much effort was put in to entertain these visitors. The city's tourism authorities had recently announced that they had come up with 16 new tourism attractions. These included an adventure route, sport route and museum route. They also presented a ghost trail where stories were to be portrayed of executions on the gallows and couples in love who died together.⁶⁹⁹ The Western Cape was also expecting an increase in visitors during the summer tourist season. Fabricius was expecting 40 000 foreign tourists in the Cape region per day during December and January.⁷⁰⁰ Fabricius also stated that because the Western Cape was considered as the most alluring province, it was believed that they would also lure one million local tourists. He stated that the Western Cape expected a growth of 6% in tourism in December 2000.⁷⁰¹ This excitement was proven to be premature. Ozinsky stated that it had been a disappointing time in terms of the tourism industry. She cited factors like floods, wildfires, the crisis in Zimbabwe and crime as the reasons for the slow growth of the tourism industry at only 3%. Ozinsky also stated that many programs were started in the hope to boost tourism during the festive time, but she remained negative regarding the spending.⁷⁰² It was believed that an increase in tourism numbers, and thus tourism spending,

⁶⁹⁵ K. Louwrens. "Kaapstad gasheer vir 700 reisagente van Duitsland," *Die Burger*, 25 Oktober 2000, p. 16.

⁶⁹⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁹⁷ K. Louwrens. "Kaapstad gasheer vir 700 reisagente van Duitsland," *Die Burger*, 25 Oktober 2000, p. 16.

⁶⁹⁸ Onbekend. "Welkom!," *Die Burger*, 13 November 2000, p. 14.

⁶⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰⁰ L. Watson. "Feestyd kan R3 miljard na Kaap bring," *Die Burger*, 10 November 2000, p. 7.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁰² *Ibid.*

would be achieved by developing Cape Town and the Cape into a world-renowned brand name.⁷⁰³

6.3.1 Cape Town – A Tourist Brand Name

Spencer had written a piece regarding his time in Cape Town, and just like King from CNN, he was in awe about the beauty of Cape Town. The Earl's praise regarding Cape Town appeared on the first three pages of the travel section of *The Mail on Sunday*, a newspaper which was calculated to have a circulation of approximately 2,3 million. Before 2000, Spencer had last been in South Africa in 1989 as a reporter for NBC. The Earl stated that although he had been in Johannesburg before, he was advised to take a trip to Cape Town. Though Cape Town, San Francisco and Sydney were often grouped together, Spencer was of the opinion that Cape Town was the most beautiful of all.⁷⁰⁴

According to *Die Burger*, in 2000, Cape Town served as a brand name for the country, but it was also marketed as a starting point for everything else the province had to offer.⁷⁰⁵ In this year, projects valued at R6-billion were either under construction, approved, or planned in the V&A Waterfront and the CBD. These projects included the Waterfront Residential Marina, the International Convention Centre, the building of the Roggerbaai Canal Tourism Precinct and the West Quay offices at the Waterfront.⁷⁰⁶

Despite these developments, when tourism leaders viewed the success tourism regions had with regional tourist numbers during the December 1999 holiday, they believed that the numbers Cape Town attracted, with regards to other international cities, were irrelevant. Cape Town Tourism blamed their disappointing tourism numbers on the exaggeration of the celebrations for the new millennium, which made for traffic and security concerns.⁷⁰⁷ Fabricius further attributed this change in the domestic tourism numbers to the new millennium and the longer school holidays as Cape Town usually received 2.2 million domestic tourists a year, of which 60% were during December and January.⁷⁰⁸ Foreign tourists were also reported to usually arrive in two waves, the first being during Spring until the end of November, and the second

⁷⁰³ Unknown. "Forging ahead to boost to Western Cape," *The Argus*, 6 November 2000, p. 9.

⁷⁰⁴ J. Dommissie. "Graaf moet nog mooier stad as Kaap sien," *Die Burger*, 16 Junie 2000, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁵ K. Louwrens. "Toeriste wyk uit Kaap oor veiligheid," *Die Burger*, 17 Augustus 2000, p. 3.

⁷⁰⁶ E. West. "Six billion reasons to have confidence in future of Cape Town," *The Argus*, 21 November 2000, p. 5.

⁷⁰⁷ K. Louwrens. "Tuinroete lok meer toeriste uit SA as Kaap," *Die Burger*, 13 Januarie 2000, p. 7.

⁷⁰⁸ *Ibid.*

being at the end of January. It was thus that the tourism industry in South Africa was so reliant on domestic tourism during the months of December and January.⁷⁰⁹ Despite reports of a decline in tourists to the Mother City, Taylor had stated that he was satisfied with the tourism numbers for the city and that they had even reported an 11% increase. Taylor also stated that they were grateful for the tourists from Gauteng and that this was a market they were working hard on to attract.⁷¹⁰

Though Cape Town had accommodated a record number of 50 000 international tourists in the tourists season from the end of 1999 to January 2000, the flood of tourists they were expecting as the new millennium approached never came.⁷¹¹ Here it should be noted that in the statistics, which has been presented earlier in this study, it does appear that there was a substantial increase in international tourists to South Africa from 1990, but it was discussed why these numbers could not be compared to earlier years. Cape Town had also accommodated another 50 000 domestic tourists during this tourist season of 1999/2000, which brought their total number up to 100 000 during the festive season.⁷¹² Cape Town still expected to see a tourist influx during February and March as Ozinsky stated that historically these had been the best tourism months for the Mother City. Ozinsky was also of the opinion that Cape Town was a twelve-month tourist destination, which was positive for the economy and job creation. She had also attributed this status of a year-round tourist destination to the events which took place in Cape Town, with the international campaign marketing the city as a favourite destination among tourists.⁷¹³

In an attempt to gain more from marketing efforts, Cape Metropole Tourism introduced a new project, namely the Tourism Partnership. In this project, the Mother City was to work with partner cities worldwide and would exchange information and market tourism both ways. According to Taylor, this partnership would not only be important for meetings, initiatives and exhibitions, but also for the leisure and tourism industry. Some of the cities which formed part of the project could be found in the United States, Australia, France and England.⁷¹⁴

⁷⁰⁹ K. Louwrens. "Tuinroete lok meer toeriste uit SA as Kaap," *Die Burger*, 13 Januarie 2000, p. 7.

⁷¹⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷¹¹ T. Mbita. "Where are the hoards of tourists Cape Town was expecting for the party?," *The Argus*, 4 January 2000, p. 2.

⁷¹² *Ibid.*

⁷¹³ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁴ A. Basson. "Kaapstad gaan inligting oor toerisme met vennote uitruil," *Die Burger*, 29 November 2000, p. 3.

Though Cape Town was described as one of the top tourist destinations in the country, they had to work hard to shed the image of a bomb-damaged city.⁷¹⁵ Luckily, by December 2000, it seemed like Cape Town's year of urban terror had come to an end as optimism for the festive season was on the rise.⁷¹⁶ It was reported that hotels and guest houses were fully booked as a record number of visitors were descending on the city.⁷¹⁷ The number of visitors passing through Cape Town International Airport during the yearly festive season was the highest it had been in years. The number of passengers that passed through the airport in November was the highest since the so-called boom year of 1994.⁷¹⁸ "Cape Town was expecting a 10% increase in international arrivals this month over December last year."⁷¹⁹ This was quite an improvement from the 1998 to 1999 increase had only been 4,4%.⁷²⁰ Seasonality had been identified as one of the most significant challenges for the South African tourism industry.⁷²¹ According to Nombulelo Mkefa, manager of Tourism Development of the Cape Metropole, Cape Town wanted to market themselves as a tourist destination right through the year, with fewer attractions being dependent on the weather.⁷²² "Ms Mkefa said the Cape Metropolitan Tourism's secret season campaign aimed to dispel this myth."⁷²³ Mkefa had stated that the success of the promotion of Cape Town's secret season was affordable packages all year round.⁷²⁴

The tourism industry in Cape Town was also keeping up with the changes of the time. In 2000, it was found that Cape Town had become very popular among gay tourists, but it was believed that this was not fully utilized.⁷²⁵ Jeremy Knowles of the Gay and Lesbian Association of Cape Town: Tourism Industry and Commerce believed that Cape Town had the potential to become the number one gay tourism destination in the world. Knowles had spoken at a tourism conference in Stellenbosch and had stated that the tourism industry had to pursue more marketing in the gay community by advertising in gay magazines and on gay websites. He had also advised that hotel and restaurant staff be trained in how to receive gay guests, and guides

⁷¹⁵ Reuters. "Spoke moet Moederstad se ekonomie hupstoot gee," *Die Burger*, 12 Desember 2000, p. 1.

⁷¹⁶ Staff Reporter. "Festive cheer has landed; Visitors descend in record numbers," *The Argus*, 19 December 2000, p. 1.

⁷¹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷¹⁸ Staff Reporter. "Festive cheer has landed; Visitors descend in record numbers," *The Argus*, 19 December 2000, p. 1.

⁷¹⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷²¹ M. M. Mackay. "Cape Town tourism campaign aims to beat winter blues myth," *The Argus*, 3 July 2000, p. 2.

⁷²² Reuters. "Spoke moet Moederstad se ekonomie hupstoot gee," *Die Burger*, 12 Desember 2000, p. 1.

⁷²³ M. M. Mackay. "Cape Town tourism campaign aims to beat winter blues myth," *The Argus*, 3 July 2000, p. 2.

⁷²⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁵ B. Louw. "Moederstad gewild onder gay-toeriste wêreldwyd," *Die Burger*, 27 September 2000, p. 12.

had to be advised on what hotels and guest houses were ‘gay friendly.’⁷²⁶ Cape Town already had gay travel agencies and tour guides, and a ‘pink card’ of the city was also available.⁷²⁷ Knowles also said that gays were lured by the tolerance in South Africa and the fact that gay rights were also protected in the Constitution.⁷²⁸

At this time, Cape Town was also working on another constructed attraction to lure and provide for even more tourists.

6.3.2 The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront

“ ‘[...] The Waterfront is a splendid introduction to South Africa for the overseas tourist. For here the visitor will discover much of the country’s early history, its maritime heritage, its links with Europe, the indigenous arts and crafts, the manufacturing capabilities, some of its culture and its food and wine. All in a single and singularly attractive location.’ ”⁷²⁹

The quote above takes together what the V&A Waterfront wanted to portray to the foreign visitor; one space in which the history and life of Cape Town, and even that of the African continent, could be experienced. However, this was a very ambitious goal.

By 1993, the V&A Waterfront was redeveloped in such a way that it found itself on the front page of *The Reader’s Digest Illustrated Guide to South Africa*.⁷³⁰ It had been estimated that nine million people had visited the site in 1992 and thus it was recognized as the top tourist destination for tourists in South Africa.⁷³¹ However, incorporating this tourist space with the history of the site was no easy task as it was claimed from early on that the V&A Waterfront stood to cater for the European tourist.⁷³²

The V&A Waterfront consisted of a rich history that had survived the continuous changes of the 20th Century. However, during the 1940s, the aim was rather to connect Cape Town to Europe and the visitors who would be coming from there, and in this way market the city as a

⁷²⁶ B. Louw. “Moederstad gewild onder gay-toeriste wêreldwyd,” *Die Burger*, 27 September 2000, p. 12.

⁷²⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷²⁹ N. Worden & E. van Heyningen. “Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town’s Victoria and Alfred Waterfront,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, (36), (141/142), 1996, p. 215.

⁷³⁰ *Ibid.*

⁷³¹ *Ibid.*

⁷³² *Ibid.*

gateway to the country and the continent as this space would be their first perspective.⁷³³ “Cape Town’s claims as a tourist attraction in the first half of the twentieth century were dominated by prevailing European tastes against which Cape Town measured itself.”⁷³⁴ Thus, academics N. Worden and E. van Heyningen were of the opinion that between the 1960s and 1980s, one had to search hard in Cape Town to find any traces of its history.⁷³⁵ The city had served as the main entry point for those tourists who were arriving on the *Union Castle*, but this had changed by the 1970s. The international airport in Johannesburg became the new entry point, and the passenger wharfs were replaced by container bays. After this, Cape Town’s tourism was rather focussed on Table Mountain, the peninsula and the surrounding winelands.⁷³⁶

Developing Cape Town’s waterfront into a public venue had already been a talking point in 1971, but at the time, activities at the dock had made public access difficult. By the 1980s, this situation had changed as the Victoria and Alfred Basin was in decline.⁷³⁷ It was then that the Minister of Transport and Environmental Affairs appointed a committee to investigate the possibilities these structures might hold.⁷³⁸ Finally, in 1987, it was proposed that the historic docklands be redeveloped to cater for retail, tourism and residential development.⁷³⁹ The Victoria and Alfred Waterfront (Pty) Ltd Company was thus officially formed in September 1988.⁷⁴⁰ It should be noted that this company came to the fore in a time when heritage was at the forefront of tourism, yet, the emphasis was rather on the buildings and not the people.⁷⁴¹ It was believed that the V&A Waterfront could ensure success regarding tourism in the Mother City.⁷⁴² According to Sepe, the restructuring of waterfronts had become an important starting point for the implementation of urban redevelopment. Waterfront development, according to Sepe, holds four main positive consequences, namely the strengthening of competitiveness, the stimulating of positive effects of the cluster, the participation of locals and finally, the increased

⁷³³ N. Worden & E. van Heyningen. “Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town’s Victoria and Alfred Waterfront,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, (36), (141/142), 1996, p. 216.

⁷³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 217.

⁷³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 220.

⁷³⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁷ *Ibid.*

⁷³⁸ T. V. Bulpin. *Discovering Southern Africa*, 6th ed. (Tafelberg Publishers Ltd: Cape Town, 2001). p.37.

⁷³⁹ S. Ferreira & G. Visser. “Creating an African Riviera: Revisiting the Impact of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Development in Cape Town,” *Urban Forum*, (18), 2007, p. 232.

⁷⁴⁰ N. Worden & E. van Heyningen. “Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town’s Victoria and Alfred Waterfront,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, (36), (141/142), 1996, p. 222.

⁷⁴¹ *Ibid.* p. 221.

⁷⁴² *Ibid.* p. 222.

internationalization.⁷⁴³ However, most success has come from the realization of the linkage between post-modernism and heritage.⁷⁴⁴ In other words, the financial success of the commercialization of heritage in waterfront settings has been realized and utilized.

It was then that the V&A Waterfront tasked itself with restoring Cape Town's heritage. Worden and van Heyningen warned against this, as in their opinion, heritage is structured by the administration and this often led to the romanticizing images for tourism purposes.⁷⁴⁵ They also highlighted that the V&A Waterfront's perception of the heritage which had to be portrayed was the changes the visitors had experienced of Cape Town over the years, rather than Capetonians themselves.⁷⁴⁶

"The eventual recommendation of the committee was that the Victorian and Alfred working harbours be maintained as a colourful, animated, lively centre-piece for the revitalisation of the waterfront buildings for tourism, entertainment and related uses."⁷⁴⁷ Author, T. V. Bulpin explains it as a Cinderella like transformation.⁷⁴⁸ Ferreira and Visser describe it as a transition from port to playground, and it is now internationally recognized as one of the most successful waterfront developments.⁷⁴⁹ During the 1990s, the V&A Waterfront became the most popular tourist destination in South Africa.⁷⁵⁰ Its image quickly dominated the media and it would come to serve as the standard to which tourism development in the country compared itself to.⁷⁵¹ The initial idea of the waterfront redevelopment was to create a tourist facility that drew on the heritage of Cape Town and its link to the sea. Emphasis was to be placed on the presentation of a passed era. These developments were often described as coming to the rescue of the city's history.⁷⁵² Unfortunately, this idea of historical reference was quickly abandoned as developments continued. Worden and van Heyningen argue that the waterfront developments had aimed to distance themselves from the realities of Cape Town from the start.⁷⁵³ The V&A

⁷⁴³ M. Sepe. "Urban history and cultural resources in urban regeneration: a case of creative waterfront renewal," *Planning Perspectives*, (28), (4), 2013, p. 598.

⁷⁴⁴ S. Ferreira & G. Visser. "Creating an African Riviera: Revisiting the Impact of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Development in Cape Town," *Urban Forum*, (18), 2007, p. 230.

⁷⁴⁵ N. Worden & E. van Heyningen. "Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town's Victoria and Alfred Waterfront," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, (36), (141/142), 1996, p. 216.

⁷⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁷ T. V. Bulpin. *Discovering Southern Africa*, 6th ed. (Tafelberg Publishers Ltd: Cape Town, 2001). p.37.

⁷⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 227.

⁷⁵⁰ D. Queiros. "The Cultural Resource Base" in B. A. Lubbe (ed). *Tourism Management in Southern Africa*. p. 96.

⁷⁵¹ N. Worden & E. van Heyningen. "Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town's Victoria and Alfred Waterfront," *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, (36), (141/142), 1996, p. 223.

⁷⁵² *Ibid.*

⁷⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 224.

Waterfront, with their royal blue colours and special uniformed security guards, made it clear that they were to entertain the upper market of society.⁷⁵⁴ Thus, the V&A Waterfront was believed to be far removed from the social and political realities of Cape Town and South Africa, and was described as being “scrubbed, perfumed and packaged.”⁷⁵⁵ It became, what Fainstein and Gladstone had coined as, a fortified city.⁷⁵⁶

In 1992, the Waterfront Company acknowledged that there was a need for a representation of a ‘new history’ and thus agreed to implement new information boards that addressed the history of the space. The idea was to challenge the romanticized image of the waterfront which often accompanied tourist brochures. Unfortunately, it was also noted that the Waterfront Company had decided to move these boards which dealt with racism to more isolated places.⁷⁵⁷ One specific example pertained to the board regarding Robben Island and the building from which the ferry escorted prisoners to the island.⁷⁵⁸ The V&A Waterfront also served as an entry point to RIM for tourists. In 1993, Allan Boesak, leader of the Western Cape ANC, described the Waterfront as an example of Apartheid thinking, as there was no representation of the majority of the population. Boesak, like historians and other academics, believed that the image the V&A Waterfront was presenting was too sanitized and romanticized.⁷⁵⁹ The issue was that “[r]eferences to, or even perceived implications of, past practices which have resonances with contemporary criticism of business are taboo. However, mention of past injustices or inequalities which have no relation to existing players at the Waterfront was accepted, if not always enthusiastically, as necessary.”⁷⁶⁰ The argument now was that the V&A Waterfront no longer failed to represent historical realities of the site, but it was also recognized that the information boards could not be forced onto visitors. The question was then asked if something would be done to change this limited perspective as the opinion was that the Waterfront Company had a very limited understanding of heritage.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁵⁴ N. Worden & E. van Heyningen. “Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town’s Victoria and Alfred Waterfront,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, (36), (141/142), 1996, p. 223.

⁷⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵⁶ S. S. Fainstein & D. Gladstone. “Evaluating Urban Tourism” in D. R. Judd & S. S. Fainstein (eds). *The Tourist City*, p. 26.

⁷⁵⁷ N. Worden & E. van Heyningen. “Signs of the Times: Tourism and Public History at Cape Town’s Victoria and Alfred Waterfront,” *Cahiers d’Études Africaines*, (36), (141/142), 1996, p. 227.

⁷⁵⁸ *Ibid.* p. 231.

⁷⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁷⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 232.

⁷⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 225.

Despite this, the V&A Waterfront remains one of the top tourist destinations in South Africa, receiving 17 million visitors annually (according to a 1997 study).⁷⁶² In addition, the V&A Waterfront also serves as a popular attraction among domestic tourists who visit Cape Town.⁷⁶³

Just as in 1990, it was stated that South Africa, and especially the Western Cape, had the potential to develop into a local and international tourist destination.⁷⁶⁴ The Western Cape Tourism, Finance and Business MEC, Leon Markovits, had stated that the Western Cape had stood to gain more than any other province with the growth of the international tourism industry. He had also stated that tourism had developed into the largest and fastest-growing industry in the world. Markovitz was also of the opinion that the Western Cape had set specific goals regarding tourism for the next decade.⁷⁶⁵ Fabricius had stated that the region had the potential to have a yearly increase growth of 15%, this despite the stagnation of growth in 1998 and 1999.⁷⁶⁶ This meant that tourism facilities and services had to be top class, and it was to become a more prominent creator of jobs.⁷⁶⁷ Taylor had stated that the growth in the tourism numbers and tourism spending could only be positive for the Cape tourism market. This increase in tourism to the Africa continent was believed to be able to help reach the goal of 9.24 million international tourists per year by 2020 to Cape Town.⁷⁶⁸ Taylor had also stated that Cape Metropolitan Tourism was advertising their region among international travel agents and operators, and they had already had positive reactions and were aiming to reach out to more regions.⁷⁶⁹ Yet, this optimism would also prove to be premature, as South Africa, the Western Cape and Cape Town have not reached tourist numbers to be able to compete with the rest of the First World.

Yet, the Western Cape and Cape Town could also not be spared from the devastation caused by the 2020 COVID-19 pandemic. Cape Town International Airport saw an unprecedented decline of international arrivals. In December of 2019, they had received 134 021 international arrivals, but in December of 2020, three months after the international borders

⁷⁶² S. C. Goudie, F. Khan & D. Kilian: "Transforming Tourism: Black Empowerment, Heritage and Black Identity beyond Apartheid," *South African Geographical Journal*, (81), (1), 1999, p. 26.

⁷⁶³ S. Ferreira & G. Visser. "Creating an African Riviera: Revisiting the Impact of the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront Development in Cape Town," *Urban Forum*, (18), 2007, p. 233.

⁷⁶⁴ J. Ohlson. "Wes-Kaap lok 800 000 van oorsee," *Die Burger*, 30 November 2000, p. 6.

⁷⁶⁵ Unknown. "Forging ahead to boost to Western Cape," *The Argus*, 6 November 2000, p. 9.

⁷⁶⁶ H. Coetzee. "Groeï in wêreld se reisbevolking 'goed vir Kaap'," *Die Burger*, 4 Mei 2000, p. 10.

⁷⁶⁷ Unknown. "Forging ahead to boost to Western Cape," *The Argus*, 6 November 2000, p. 9.

⁷⁶⁸ Onbekend. "Afrika toerisme groei stewig met 9%, sê WHO," *Die Burger*, 3 Mei 2000, p. 1.

⁷⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

had opened again, they only saw 30 376 international arrivals.⁷⁷⁰ The international borders of South Africa had been closed from April 2020 to mid-October 2020.⁷⁷¹ Thus, Cape Town, the Western Cape and South Africa have a long road to recovery if they want to achieve their tourism goals of 2030.

⁷⁷⁰ WESGRO Cape Town & Western Cape Research. *Western Cape Tourism Recovery: 2020/21*. <https://www.wesgro.co.za/corporate/resources/western-cape-tourism-recovery-2021>, (Accessed 27 February 2022). p. 1.

⁷⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Chapter 7 : Conclusion

It should be emphasised that although one is well aware of general trends in South African historiography, including debates on heritage, it was not the aim of to discuss this at any length. Whilst appraised of the issues, it was only after due consideration that some relevant matters were factored in where necessary, without getting embroiled in an internecine and at times fatuous discourse.

“Had its history been different, South Africa would probably have been one of the most visited places in the world.”⁷⁷² This statement within the *White Paper on Tourism* insinuates that the tourism industry in South Africa only received attention, and thus only really started developing, from 1994 onwards. This thesis has proven that this simply is not true.

First, chronological analysis proved this statement untrue. The *Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut* had already published guidelines on the promotion of tourism in the country as early as 1969. So too, Cape Town’s tourism body, Captour, had already been established in 1978, and by 1980 they were well structured and focussed on developing the Mother City into a tourist destination. During the 1980s, South Africa mainly focussed on the international image they sent out through their sport and attracting tourists in this matter. During this time, the country also managed to open new consulates in both Australia and the United States. Though by the end of the 1980s, it seemed that the country’s international sport had much to long for, the same does not hold true for the tourism industry.

As the 1990s approached, there was considerable optimism regarding de Klerk’s momentous announcements and the implications this would have for the tourism industry. It was then that the industry was tasked with introducing the so-called ‘new’ South Africa to the foreign world. It is at this crossroad where many confuse the change in marketing strategy as the birth of a marketing strategy for the industry. It was as these changes were occurring that the 1990s were set to be defined by what Rogerson and Visser called the ‘Mandela Boom.’ These years also witnessed the debates of whose heritage the industry had to display. However, it should be noted that it was already speculated that South Africa would be receiving one million tourists, this according to the Minister of Trade, Industry and Tourism at the time, even before de Klerk’s opening of parliament in 1990. Unfortunately, according to Ozinsky, too much was

⁷⁷² Government of South Africa Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. *White Paper: The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa*. South Africa: May 1996, <https://www.tourism.gov.za/AboutNDT/Publications/Tourism%20White%20Paper.pdf> (Accessed 7 February 2019). p. 9.

expected of the tourism industry at the time, which ultimately set the industry up to disappoint. They could not reach the high standards which were set by over optimism. By 2000, the 'Mandela Magic' had faded, the country's image had been plagued by crime, and Satour, who had carried the industry since its inception, was reduced to a purely marketing body as it was believed they were too representative of the Apartheid government. It was by this time that tourism development was solely focussed on job creation.

Over a span of 20 years, changes regarding the tourism industry in South Africa did occur. However, there were several reasons for this, the main one being market changes. It is untrue, as many liked to argue, that the tourism industry in South Africa only came to life in the 1990s as the country was heading to democracy. Changes regarding the motivation for the development of the industry also changed. Before 2000, the motivation for developing the industry was based on the promised financial gains and the possibility of improving international relations. After 2000, the motivation to develop the tourism industry shifted to the promise of job creation and the advantages the industry could have for the previously disadvantaged. However, through analysing *Die Burger*, and even *The Argus*, it is clear that the tourism industry in South Africa has continuously been developing, even well before the 1990s.

Most notable in affirming the point of this thesis are the statistics. Though there was renewed hope for the industry in 1990, the influx which was promised never materialized. As argued in this thesis, there were inconsistencies in the tourism statistics, which allowed academics and the government to come to false conclusions. It is clearly stated in the statistical releases that tourists with citizenship from Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland were no longer included in the tourism statistics of South Africa from December 1980. Thus, the statistics from January 1990 to September 1991 are not comparable with those before or after it. These countries were only again included in the statistics from October 1991. In order to address this anomaly, tourist numbers from these countries were excluded in this thesis in order to achieve a better comparison between the statistics. This proved that there was no sudden influx of tourists from 1990 to 1991 as South Africa set itself on the road to democracy.

Thus, the *White Paper on Tourism* has no ground to stand on regarding the previously mentioned statement. A number of factors contributed to where the tourism industry of South Africa found itself in 1996. Be it the misconception of the poor south and the African continent, the geographical placement of South Africa as far removed from Europe and the United States or their negative image in foreign media. It was not solely Apartheid, and thus the country's

history, which curtailed the development of the industry. Finally, if the statistics are to be used to give credibility to the *White Paper on Tourism*, the anomalies also need to be taken into consideration.

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