South Africa: A World in one Country. Moments in International Tourist Encounters with Wildlife, the Primitive and the Modern

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Abstract
During South Africa's transition to democracy in the early 1990s, tourism came to be seen as the 'passport' to development. In an emerging consensus, the country's tourist Africanness was articulated in a series of connected images—a 'world in one country'— presented through its animal wildlife, primitive 'tribalism' and modern society. While the primitive was set in more comfortable surrounds, South Africa's modernity was packaged in a primitive wrapping. This paper constructs a hypothetical tour of South Africa, visiting each element of the tourist vision, and provides a genealogy of these presented images of the past.

Résumé
Afrique du Sud : le monde en un pays. Instants de rencontres du touriste international avec le monde sauvage, le primitif et la modernité. — Au cours de la transition démocratique du début des années 1990, le tourisme en est venu à être considéré comme le « passeport » pour le développement. Dans ce consensus naissant, l'Africanité du tourisme sud-africain s'articulait en une composition d'images — « le monde en un pays » — autour de la vie sauvage de ses animaux, de son tribalisme « primitif » et de sa société moderne. Alors que le « primitif » était installé dans un environnement confortable, la modernité sud-africaine était, quant à elle, enveloppée dans un emballage primitif. Cet article compose un itinéraire supposé à travers l'Afrique du Sud, s'arrêtant à chaque élément de la vision touristique, et fournit une généalogie de ces images proposées du passé.
Tourism, in large measure, is about the activity of ‘going away’, of ‘going on holiday’. Until recently, this journey through space, for most, involved a trip of short distance and duration, at best a weekend at the seaside.\(^1\) Over the last ten years, however, tourism has become truly internationalised and, by the mid-1980s, with 300 million worldwide arrivals, it is now the second largest item of international trade (Urry 1990: 47). Indeed, international tourism is an all-embracing industry, an enormous business organised around leisure and pleasure, involving the consumption of goods and services on a vast scale. The industry is staffed by a range of professionals at every level (travel agents, couriers, tour guides, hotel managers, restaurant chefs, car hire consultants, promoters and publicity agents) ever ready to sell pleasure and service leisure to a lucrative market of global travellers. In third world settings, this expansion of tourism into the most ‘remote and exotic corners’ of the world is said to hold the possibilities of a ‘passport’ to material and cultural development.\(^2\)

But tourism is not merely a business. It is also about the construction, packaging, transmission and consumption of images and representations of society and its past. Most obviously, historical images have pride of place in heritage and cultural tourism, in the museums, landmark buildings, ‘historic’ urban trails and walkways, monumental sites and theme parks. Yet, the past is present in less apparent ways in every aspect of tourist relations. From airports bearing commemorative names and game parks bequeathed to the nation to the majesty of scenic beauty, discovered and rediscovered, the tourist journeys through the past, steadily absorbing a multiplicity of historical images. Even in the more pleasurable settings of the concert hall, the dance floor and the restaurant, cultures of the past are presented and consumed.

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1. For a discussion of mass tourism, and the rise and fall of the seaside resort, see Urry 1990: ch. 2.
2. See the joint UNESCO-World Bank study by E. de Kadt 1979.

The historical knowledge produced in these tourist encounters emerges within an intricate network of power relations. These power relations begin in the tourist’s home country, where the tourist, confident of his country’s presumed place in the imagined world of trade and international relations and ‘knowing’ what to expect, embarks upon his journey. On arrival at the destination, these apparent relations between societies and expectations of societal images are brought into focus. Through the ‘tourist gaze’ on landscapes and townscapes, on society and history, the visitor affirms and reaffirms his imagined world. He—for the tourist gaze is quintessentially male—enters a world of images, lingering over, even gawking at what he sees, imaging and imagining, classifying and objectifying, capturing and appropriating through photographs, postcards, films and now the hand-held video camera.3 In the process, he slots, with relative ease, into power and privilege, knowing, gazing and designing the visited world.

As the South African polity and social fabric are being ‘re-formed’ in the 1990s, a set of tourist images is being consolidated. This tourist gaze does not merely consist of the random production and reproduction of South African tourist moments by a set of mediating institutions. These images themselves have a history and their consolidation is the product of their encounter with the expectations of the international traveller. The result is a set of snapshots of South Africa and its past, providing the tourist with portable histories and an exalted sense of knowing the whole. South Africa is reduced to a collection of media moments constructed in the relationship between the tourist and the industry, known through its animal wildlife, primitive tribalism and modern society. As the publicity material boldly proclaims, South Africa is a ‘world in one country’ (SATOUR n.d.).

Gazing on the New South Africa

For the past few years, as South Africa has experienced a process of political transition, it has become an integral part of a world wide image-manufacturing network. Whereas previously South Africans spent their time gazing awkwardly upon themselves, in both isolation and in political struggle, now the imaginary worlds of international relations created by North American and British networks, CNN, Sky, and occasionally CBS and WTN, have swamped their vision. This involves the deliberate packaging of countries as carefully constructed commodities, each with its own identities and traditions, and firmly positioned in a seemingly natural world order of international power and subservience. The production and design of each country, the delineation of its topographical and cultural landscape, are constrained within this imaginary global framework. Being part of the world means knowing your place within it.

Since the beginning of the 1990s, South Africa, immersed in the murkiness of transition, has been invited to take a place in this international order of images, to imbibe from its media offerings and to become knowing and knowable. In this world, where almost nothing is left to chance, South Africa is being asked to negotiate its own images, to suggest the style of its wrapping. The possibilities are bounded by the dazzling promise of an ordered modernity, with the United States as the yardstick, and a primordial tribal backwardness, with images of third world chaos, violence and poverty as its measure. South Africa is located spatially and conceptually as 'African' and hence, 'tribal' by nature, with all the associated potential for anarchy and upheaval.4

Unable to escape these parameters, South Africa is having to propound its 'Africaness' as the embodiment of the continent's possibilities for modernity, the 'engine-room' of Africa's economic development. An integral component of this modernity is a recasting of tribal violence to natural beauty and authentic primitive innocence. In turn, the modernity of a 'new', recoded South Africa, with an ordered environment of safety and comforts, affords the opportunity to gaze upon the 'ancient rituals' and 'traditions' of 'Olde' Africa, replete with the wonders of its wildlife, natural beauty and 'a culture as fascinating as it is diverse' (Connex Travel 1994). In the process, South Africa, in the peculiarities of its modernity, is being inscribed as a 'world in one country', reflecting not merely human diversity, but the very image of the world itself.

The primary international medium for knowing the world and its microcosmic representation, South Africa, is the television screen. But the immediacy of the TV image is rendered otherworldly and almost unreal by the electronic process of its manufacture and presentation. On the other hand, real, seemingly unmediated knowledge of the world and its component parts can only be gained through the act of visiting, by 'being there'. And it is crucially through the institution of tourism that the 'international community' is being invited to look at the world in South Africa.

Frenzied preparations are being made in South Africa for the reorganisation and rebirth of tourism as an industry. Technical schools and colleges have displayed a remarkable obsession with the technology of tourism: with industry efficiency, better customer care, training of travel agents and tour operators, upgrading transport, accommodation and recreation services, and making reservations, fare payment and ticketing more efficient.5 This is not unconnected to the growth of research into the economics and

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4. See, for example, R. W. Johnson, 'Spears of the Nation', The Independent on Sunday, 14 Oct. 1990, in which Johnson asserts that South Africa must be understood against the 'tragic inevitability' of tribal strife.
5. Telephone interview with Clarissa Brown, Rapid Results College, 26 Aug. 1993; UKEN 1993; Tourist Guides Institute, 'Guides Training Course', Cape Town, Nov. 1993; see also course outlines and prospectuses, Rapid Results College, Cape Technical College, Cape Technikon.
planning of South African tourism: product planning, marketing, efficiency, segmentation, employment and development, travel flows, tourist destinations and facilities, the environmental impact of tourist activities, geographic patterns of recreation (Theron & Versveld 1993; Cassim 1993). An infrastructure of modern services, ‘first-class hotels, an extensive network of national highways [and] superb transport facilities’ is being established for the tourist to consume, in leisurely, familiar surrounds, ‘the unique combination of true African magic with all the comforts of home’ (Connex Travel 1994).

Today, the central institution involved in publicising and promoting South Africa as an international tourist destination is the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR). Established in 1947 by legislation as the South African Tourist Corporation, its function was the ‘promotion of tourism from abroad to South Africa’ (SATOUR 1994). This took place through the establishment of overseas offices, staffed by South Africans ‘well versed in travel marketing’. By the mid-1970s, with South Africa becoming increasingly isolated because of apartheid, SATOUR was extending its field of operation ‘to publicise to the best advantage South Africa’s great diversity of attractions’.6 As a growing industry, tourism was increasingly seen as a way of overcoming international isolation by the government, which in 1967 had established a special Department of Tourism. Visitors could have the opportunity to ‘see for themselves’ and be persuaded that South Africa had its own ways and was keen to develop ‘goodwill and understanding among nations’7. Not only was the growth of tourism important for earning foreign exchange but, for SATOUR, it was also a way of making ‘many valuable friends for the country’ (Marsh 1976: 14).

Hoping to attract one million tourists a year to South Africa by 1980, numbers fell well short of this target, with little more than 400,000 international visitors in that year. This figure remained fairly consistent during the early 1980s, reaching the modest figure of 450,000 in 1984 (ibid.; SATOUR 1991a: 19). In the face of these disheartening statistics, new initiatives were required. Firstly the government located tourism more firmly within the world of trade and industry by merging the Department of Tourism with the Departments of Commerce and Industry. Secondly, new legislation was passed in 1983, in which SATOUR became the South African Tourism Board, now widening its ambit of operation from promotion and publicity abroad to ‘encouraging the development and improvement of travel services to and within, and of accommodation for travellers within the Republic’ (SATOUR 1994).

Along with the sales pitch of South African diversity and year round sunshine, the fostering of improved standards and the upgrading of facilities

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and infrastructure by SATOUR would promote the industry and increase the number of international visitors. Over the next ten years, SATOUR was to proclaim boldly that South Africa was a country with an efficient telephone service, exceptionally good medical facilities, reliable roads and where, 'with rare exceptions, planes and trains run on time'. And, importantly, 'most international credit cards are accepted here' (SATOUR n.d.: 11).

Despite SATOUR's marketing efforts and its attention to upgrading standards, the envisaged growth in the international tourist trade to South Africa did not materialise. Instead the period after 1984 brought about a dramatic decline. By 1986 tourism had declined to 1973 levels with little more than 290,000 tourists per annum (SATOUR 1991a). Western television audiences had come to know South Africa as 'an international trouble spot' through incessant scenes of crowds, stone-throwing and police brutality. Massive popular resistance had unfolded in South Africa to reform and repression, and international television presented South African society as a morality play in which disorder was prevailing, where there was apparently little chance of rational resolution. This did little to promote South Africa as a prime place of sunshine and efficiency, with the luxury of African safety.

In the eyes of the West, the South African morality play began to be resolved in the early 1990s when order and rationality at last prevailed. The South African government was seen to 'come to its senses', and Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela walked to freedom and into sitting rooms across the Western world. From this point on, the view of South Africa ceased to be that of a doggedly unreasonable 'apartheid regime' pitted against the demands of the people for rights. In western terms, South Africa was being recoded as being on a path of acceptability with conflicts being resolved through round table discussions and peaceful negotiations. This created a more positive 'houding teenoor die land' ('attitude towards the country') which seemed to provide a new 'bemarkingsklimaat' ('marketing climate') for the South African tourist industry to promote the emerging South African order for the world of tourism (SATOUR 1991a: 5).

In keeping with this national discourse of development and dialogue, SATOUR began to position itself as a community development organisation and not merely a tourism promotion body concerned with marketing and the supervision of standards. In language strikingly similar to that of the World Bank, it began speaking of a new 'vision' of increased international tourism 'improving the quality of life of all the communities of South

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8. See D. POSEL (1989: ch. 19) for a discussion of how political conflict in the mid-1980s was reduced in ideological discourse by South African television broadcast media to three principal symbols: the crowd, stone-throwing and flames. In the process, an opposition was set up between 'supposedly "primitive" and "civilised" behaviour' (ibid.: 269).
Africa at all levels', a possible 'passport to development'. Tourism would earn foreign exchange and create jobs—one direct and two indirect—for every 30 overseas visitors. It would also conserve culture and the environment and, above all, instil a 'sense of community pride and upliftment'. As an 'integrated' and 'long-established organisation', SATOUR saw itself as a body which could do 'something for every South African', contribute to 'the creation of goodwill, peace, understanding and friendship' and facilitate the establishment of a 'tourism culture'. SATOUR was, it proclaimed to video and television viewers in South Africa, 'your partner in tourism'.

This partnership had to take into account a coterie of operators who now offered alternatives to the well-worn tourist paths of mountains, sea and scenic beauty. These alternative tours were originally designed in the 1980s as trips for foreign funders and international 'struggle junkies' to view the realism of township conditions, and to experience the 'dangers' of South African 'hot spots'. As these travel excursions became more frequent in the 1990s they began to take on a more streamlined character, addressing themselves to a broader market. These sightseeing jaunts, striving to reflect the experiences of the majority of South Africans, now promised a 'first hand experience of the township', where the tourist could 'interact with the people' of Bonteheuwel, KTC, Crossroads and Khayelitsha (One City Tour 1994). The tourist would be 'spoilt' with 'African warmth', visit Guguletu, the 'township that produced some of the finest Jazz music artists of the world' and imbibe 'traditional beer' at a shebeen, an 'African social place'. A trip to the wine farms of the Boland can now be crowned by making a pilgrimage to Prison Gate, the entrance to Victor Verster Prison in Paarl, the 'gateway the world saw on TV as Nelson Mandela took up a new role in national politics' (Ubuntu Tours 1994).

As new image tourism sought to present a set of hidden truths about South Africa, new lobbies, calling for 'broader participation from community level' in the reorganisation of international travel to South Africa, emerged. A National Tourism Forum, under the executive chairmanship of ANC former youth activist, Peter Mokaba, called for the harnessing of South Africa's 'natural attractions'—'wildlife and game parks, scenic beauty, a superb climate and cultural richness'—to bolster the 'astronomical' growth of tourism. This would only be possible, it argued, through recognising the vital importance of the community and 'consulting their needs and interests'. Community participation would necessitate affirmative action programmes, funding tourism development and training to upgrade services. This emphasis on development would require the establishment

9. SATOUR publicity television programme (South African Television, TSS, 1993); E. de Kadt 1979. See also Mathieson & Wall (1986: 186), wherein the authors argue that tourism needs to provide 'a means for improving the way of life of residents of destination areas'.

of a Tourism Development Bank and a Tourism Training Institute. In this way, ‘community driven tourism’ would encourage ‘harmony and goodwill’, promote a ‘culture of tourism’ and a ‘national appreciation of the value of visiting’. South Africans can then begin ‘to export and exchange with others [their] national cultural pride and no longer a subservient, imposed and distorted culture of apartheid’. All this would help ensure that fewer incidents of violence would be seen.¹¹

In the Western Cape, a ‘Community Action Group on Tourism’ was established, consisting of ‘well-informed people who are concerned with the restructuring of tourism’. These ranged from struggling tour guides on the margins and fringe museum curators to black small business interests and career advancement agencies seeking equity in the economic sector. Attention was focused on strategies to promote the restructuring of the industry so as to ensure ‘the effective participation of Black communities’. Recognising that tourism was both a major income generator as well as an important job creator, the lobby set itself the task of pursuing the ‘ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT of all communities with relation to tourism’ and challenging the tourism industry as ‘an exclusive haven dominated by White capital and White interests’.¹²

As South Africa began to enter a new political era, SATOUR, under pressure from small operators and tourism interest groups, found that this lobby was not necessarily speaking an alien language. With a discourse of ‘development’ increasingly constituting a consensus, SATOUR began to enter into consultation and discussion with an expanded network both within the travel industry and with ‘ander belanghebbende partye’ (‘other interested parties’) (SATOUR 1991a: 5). This cautious toenadering (‘rapprochement’) was expressed at a conference jointly hosted by SATOUR and the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture at the University of the Western Cape in early 1993. As they registered for the conference delegates were handed, in an Avis plastic bag, a conference kit which included stationary, SATOUR publicity brochures and a smiling SATOUR badge proudly proclaiming the organisation as ‘Your Tourism Partner for a brighter future’.¹³

The itinerary for the day involved both a discussion of the state of tourism and possible new directions as well as field trips to new tourism sites, including a museum of apartheid and resistance, in its first stages of development. Community representatives, such as the District Six Museum Foundation, independent tour operators like One City Tour, and geog-

raphers and historians were brought together in discussion with Satour executives. Independent lobbyists called for the dumping of 'tailored versions' of the past, the fostering of community participation in tourism and increased access to the tourism industry. On the other hand, Colin van Zyl, the regional director of Satour for the Western Cape, emphasised the benefits of tourism for all sections of the community. The profits from the international tourist economy, where money is generated in one place and spent in another, would filter down to the lowest level of society, he argued. In concentrating on 'development' and adapting to the new environment, tourism, with Satour at the helm, 'could be this country's number one nation-builder'.

Clearly a consensus was beginning to emerge around tourism as 'development', 'empowerment' and 'job creator'. This was not an easy rapprochement, especially with entrenched interests at stake in the management of the industry and the marketing of tourism, with misgivings being expressed on the margins, about Satour's 'new turn' and the National Tourism Forum 'doing nothing to change the status quo'. But another set of tacit agreements was unfolding between some 'new image' lobbyists and the 'long established' managers who had fashioned the tourism industry through the apartheid years. There was growing consensus about the imaging of South Africa's tourist Africanness and developing confidence in the essential elements of this package. In words strikingly similar to those of the executive chairman of the National Tourism Forum, Peter Mokaba, Satour declared that South Africa had 'extraordinary natural beauty, wildlife, rich ethnic cultures and a developed infrastructure'. The essential elements of the 'world in one country' have remained intact. While the 'primitive' has been stripped of its rough edges and set in comfortable surrounds and become more modern, South Africa's tourist modernity has been packaged in a 'primitive' wrapping. As the foreign tourist prepares for his planned three-week voyage of discovery through South Africa, a 'World of Difference' awaits him.

Touring South Africa

At the start of his journey, the tourist finds time to acquaint himself with what to expect at the end of the twelve-hour flight from a European city. He looks forward to touching down in Johannesburg for his first taste of

14. Programme of conference 'One City, One History' (1993); One City Tours 1994.
Africa, ‘the adventurer’s last frontier’. ‘It’s a strange person that comes to Johannesburg and doesn’t want to see a gold mine—particularly a working gold mine’, he reads from a tourist guide to Africa. He is particularly interested in the magic of mining and reads about Gold Reef City, ‘worthwhile for its old gold mine and its Zulu dancers’. This is the ‘Timeless Afrika’ he has anticipated.17

Gold Reef City

Day 1
Early morning arrival at Jan Smuts Airport. Hire a car at the airport and transfer to your hotel in Johannesburg.

Johannesburg

Among a great many other attractions, you can visit Gold Reef City (open-air museum) and enjoy the spirit of the great gold rush era. Features include a Victorian fun fair, old brewery, public house and stock exchange. Watch a gold pour and enjoy traditional tribal dancing; underground you can explore the workings of a gold mine (SATOUR 1993: 119).

Gold Reef City was built by the mining industry at a cost of R62 million. It is situated just off the after-work minibus route back to Soweto, ‘one of the largest cities in Africa’, a journey which ‘most black workers still have to make [. . .] each evening’.18 At this theme park, site of a disused mine shaft, the international tourist is invited to partake of ‘a century in a day’. Here is all that sanitised South Africa offers: a ‘safe’ trip down a gold mine, the ‘bawdy heady fun of [. . .] Johannesburg’ and ‘happy songsters’ of tribal Africa (Kros 1993: 28-29).

The concept of a simulated mining village, where visitors can partake of all aspects of mining life, has its origins in the 1940s and 1950s when the Chamber of Mines, the controlling body of the mining industry in South Africa, embarked upon massive domestic and international publicity campaigns. This was deemed necessary because of post-war economic growth in secondary industry, increased worker militancy, ongoing attempts by the government to regulate and tax the industry and escalating international criticism of mine labour practices in apartheid South Africa. The Chamber was concerned that there was ‘an impression abroad that Natives are taken by the scruff of the neck and flung down a mine where they stay until they die’. This caused the Chamber to shift from a ‘private’

18. E. Koch & L. Witz, ‘Jo’burg’s history as Gold Reef City prefers to portray it; the past as Gold Reef City chooses not to portray it’, Weekly Mail, 2-8 May 1986; Crowther 1989: 836.
dialogue, which confined information about its technological and labour practices, to a discourse in which mining and all its operations were knowable to a wider public. Once the public—in particular, international visitors—had acquired 'self-knowledge' about mining they would then come to the 'self-realisation' that the 'Natives [on the mines] live under such splendid conditions'.

From 1926, the Chamber of Mines had arranged for both domestic and international visitors to go on underground mining tours and see the mines 'for themselves'. But from 1946, these tours were extended and made more regular, hoping to attract 'world travellers' from 'as far as Iceland and Malaya', 'kilted Scotsmen' and '[n]uns, in their long flowing habits'. International visitors were ferried to and from the mines in a motor coach hired by the Chamber of Mines. On the way to the mine, tourists gazed on the modern Witwatersrand, 'passing through communities which have arisen as a direct result of the discovery of the main reef'. The tourists, in hard hats and boiler suits descended in groups down a mine shaft to inspect the underground workings. Their 'smooth “ride” in the cage' is likened to an airplane trip, which the travellers know all too well. There is the feeling of 'nervousness and excitement, very like the feeling one gets waiting for one's [...] plane to take off'. Then, it is down into 'thousands upon thousands of feet of empty space', where there is 'no unpleasant sinking feeling, although some visitors compare the slight sensation of atmospheric changes felt in the ears to that of descending in an aircraft.'

After the 'thrills of the downward ride', the tourists inspected the underground first aid station and examined the electrical and mechanical engineering, the cables, machinery, pumps and pipes. They also marvelled at the 'cleanliness', 'spaciousness' and 'brightness' of the mine, 'amazed at the amount of artificial lighting', which made their hat lamps 'superfluous'. These images of 'highly efficient, ultra-modern organisation' were carefully prepared and presented. Yet, according to the Mining Survey, ideological mouthpiece of the Chamber of Mines, the visitor was surprised to learn '[...] that the mine is always kept in that condition of cleanliness'.

This image of cleanliness extended to the surface and into the compound, 'living quarters of the Native mineworkers'. Here, the tourists inspected the kitchens and cookhouses, paid a visit to a modern mine hospital and were encouraged to sample the food and the 'gruel-like', 'native' beer, 'of low alcoholic content'. Almost inevitably, they found the

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20. Ibid., Sep. 1953, pp. 21-23; PAON 1970: 48. The original caption for the photograph read: 'Tin-hatted and overalled visitors about to enter the cage before going underground. South African, British, Dutch, French and American visitors are in this group.'

Native quarters [to be] scrupulously clean and pleasant. One visitor from Australia found that these 'compared very favourably with those of similar undertakings in other parts of the world, even where European labour only was used'.

On Sunday mornings African mine workers put on displays of 'tribal dancing' for international tourists. It was 'one of the sights of one's lifetime to see the great tribal dance'. Visitors had been going to the mines to view 'native dancing' from at least the 1930s. Then, dancing was experienced as an expression of the 'innate savagery of the native', when 'the cloak of civilisation [was] thrown aside' (Paton 1970: 50; SAR & H 1935: 35). 'In these dances, the native expresses all his emotions—love, hatred, prowess in battle—and the precision maintained in this wild orgy of leaping and stamping, brandishing of sticks and beating of shields, is really remarkable' (ibid.: 35-36).

By the 1950s, these performances were recast as leisure activities, providing an 'outlet for the Native desire for movement'. For this, the mine management designed and built special arenas. 'European spectators' were able to view 'the rippling movement of the dark, supple limbs gleaming in the sunshine' from the comfort of seats, shaded 'under a bamboo roof'. By now, the Natives were seen as having become part of industrialised life, without severing their ties with the natural world of 'tribal

22. Ibid., p. 27.
customs’. The result was that tourists gazed at dancers in a variety of costumes. Although they may have been a touch unhappy that ‘their dress was disappointingly European’—‘on one native a silk shirt of the Dress Fraser tartan, worn with a jockey’s cap’—they were relieved by the sight of ‘ostrich feathers waving and bobbing’ to the sound of the ‘fast rhythmic beat from the African drums’.23

In the early 1950s as well, the Chamber of Mines spent vast amounts of money in setting up exhibits of simulated mines at fairs and festivals. The aim of these exhibitions was ‘to provide South African, Rhodesian and visitors to Southern Africa with information on [ . . . ] the country’s most important industry’. ‘Misconceptions’ needed to be dispelled in the minds of overseas visitors, ‘especially about the status and treatment of Native mine-workers’. £120,000 were spent on a pavilion at the Van Riebeek Festival Fair in Cape Town and massive exhibits were constructed at the Central African Rhodes Centenary Exhibition in Bulawayo and at the Rand Easter Show in Johannesburg. Almost one million people visited these exhibits, an indication that the Chamber was broadening its campaign of increasing

public knowledge and appreciation’ of the gold mining industry to embrace a ‘fuller understanding’ by overseas visitors.24

However, these visitors did not go underground at the gold mine pavilions at these festival fairs. They did not spend up to eight to ten hours on a shift, they did not experience the heat, darkness and dirt in the stopes. Unlike the workers on the newly opened Free State Gold Mines, who were dying almost on a weekly basis as a result of mining accidents, they did not experience the daily fear that they might never emerge alive from the depths of the earth. The visitor to the gold mining pavilions at the various shows remained very much on the surface and was not in any danger of rockfalls and sinking shafts. Although the Chamber’s ‘danger sign’ at the entrance to the ‘lift shaft’ provided an element of the risque, they were assured of emerging unscathed from their thirty minutes ‘underground’ with their memories, photographs and a sense that they now knew ‘what it really was like’ to work in a gold mine. Their ‘knowledge’, like their ‘journey’, barely scratched the South African surface.

When Gold Reef City was opened in April 1986, it contained many of the elements that had gone into the underground tours and the gold mining pavilions at the festival fairs in the 1940s and 1950s. Once again, the visitor was introduced to images of mining through the experience of descending a mine shaft, the underground tour, seeing gold being poured and, inevitably, ‘tribal dancing’. In an underground tableau, the technology of mining is displayed by a live miner repeatedly drilling the same rock as if he were a ‘mechanical figure or a Disneyland robot’. The talented ‘tribal’ dancers, who through years of experience have become ‘[e]nergetic and polished’, can now be seen in ‘the Hippodrome’. Wearing ‘plumes, beads and skins’ they were, from the inception of Gold Reef City, expected to be one of the ‘main drawcards’. In keeping with tradition, Gold Reef City ensured that there would be an extra mid-morning show on Sundays. These were all the ‘thrills’ of the ‘reality’ of mining.25

Alongside this experience of mining, drawn substantially from an established tradition of mining displays, the visitor encounters a new image at Gold Reef City, olde Johannesburg. This is a city on the rugged and untamed African frontier, with its ‘Wild West Saloon’, ‘Pioneer Beergarden’ and ‘Tigers Eye Trading Post’. But the visitor has no need to worry. The frontier has been domesticated and has become a location of ‘forgotten romance’ and secure time travel. The tourist can ‘stop off for a drink in the

24. The Mining Survey, Sep. 1953, inside front cover, pp. 1-2. The pavilion at the Rand Easter Show became a permanent exhibit at the Milner Park showgrounds. See also RASSOOL & WITZ (1993) as well as WITZ (1993) for an extensive account of the 1952 Jan van Riebeeck Festival and the role played by the mining industry.

bustling Consolidated Saloon, where cancan dancers romp on the bar and even the barmaids sing along to the honkytonk hits of yesteryear.\textsuperscript{26}

His stay at Gold Reef City is in a ‘cosy cocoon’ of Europe’s history of ‘civilisation’, which has given the Gold Reef City Hotel ‘Victorian luxury and comfort: four poster brass beds [. . .] enamel baths, antique lighting—all fascinating reminders of a long forgotten world’. This was one city with a world of history, where the ‘charm and elegance’ of days gone by are located within a tourist gaze of revelry and entertainment, where the visitor can loop the loop at a Victorian fun fair—‘Gold Reef City: Built just for the fun of it’.\textsuperscript{27}

Erased from this historical fun fair are the ‘native quarters’, which had been proudly displayed to visitors in the 1950s as sites of cleanliness, happiness and modernity. Now the quaint, old tin houses of white miners and a model stock exchange of the mining magnates are prominent. In the view of a representative of the National Union of Mineworkers, these clean images of the past had been constructed with ‘soiled’ money. ‘It is ridiculous to spend so much on a project that does not reflect the inhumane conditions under which black mineworkers lived’, he said when Gold Reef City was proclaimed open for ‘prospecting’ in 1986. But the compounds, ‘those bleak rectangular structures without light or ventilation [where] workers slept on narrow concrete slabs built on top of each other like shelves in a cupboard’, are not part of Gold Reef City’s ‘cosy cocoon’ because they certainly are not fun. In the ironic words of the managing director of Gold Reef City, John Rothschild, ‘the history of black mineworkers is the most ghastly story on the planet earth. Compounds were the most terrible indictment of human beings. It [Gold Reef City] would have to be a monument of stacked bodies’.\textsuperscript{28}

The visitor, however has had his enjoyment, taken his Kodak snaps, and is confirmed in his TV knowledge of modern South Africa. Gold Reef City on the safe African frontier has more than lived up to his expectations. His encounter with civilisation in Africa has begun and he can now cross the frontier to find Africa in its natural state.

\textsuperscript{26} Function of Participants at Gold Reef City, publicity document (1986); Gold Reef City Souvenir Guide (1986); ‘Rekindle the flame of forgotten romance’ [advertisement]. \textit{Cape Style}, Feb. 1987; see also KROS (1993) for an account of Gold Reef City as a trading post on the frontier.

\textsuperscript{27} Function of Participants at Gold Reef City (see supra fn 26); Gold Reef City Souvenir Guide (In 25); \textit{Cape Style}, Feb. 1987.

\textsuperscript{28} E. Koch & L. Witz, ‘\textit{Jo’burg\textquotesingle}s history . . .’ (see supra fn 18); \textit{Cape Style}, Feb. 1987; see CALLINICOS (1980: 43-51) for an account of life in mining compounds on the Witwatersrand.
**Wildlife Sanctuary**

**Day 4**
From Hoedspruit, drive via Mica to Phalaborwa and the world famous Kruger National Park. It's advisable to keep your cameras handy after you enter the park.

**Kruger National Park**
This is the largest wildlife sanctuary in the Republic of South Africa. Internationally renowned, it supports the greatest variety of wildlife species on the African continent: 137 mammal species, 493 bird species and 112 reptile species.

**or Private reserves**
There are three major private game reserves bordering Kruger National Park. Sabi-Sand, Timbavati and Manyeleti each offer a choice of several private game lodges. Guests can wallow in luxury, be pampered by a willing staff, and enjoy the best game viewing in the world at one of Africa's most expensive destinations.29

The main attraction for the international tourist to any African destination is the wildlife, for Africa is quintessentially 'animal'. Being on safari in the 'incomparable world of the wild' enables the tourist to experience the make-believe world of Africa 'unchanged since time began'. This is a world of game drives to the water hole to see the hippo 'keep cool', 'off road close encounters' with the statuesque African elephant—'much larger than the Asian variety'—and after dark encounters with the flashing turquoise eyes of the nocturnal hyena. In between these rituals of the safari, the tourist suns at the poolside, dines on a 'beautifully presented lunch' and drinks his sundowners, accompanied by hot snacks 'warmed by the tracker over a portable device in a river bed'. The day ends on a high note with a special designer dinner in the 'affected rusticity' of a boma, a circular outdoors enclosure constructed out of branches, framed by the light of the fire and the shadows of the servants. The menu for the African bush features 'such delights as a Venison Carpaccio with Quail Eggs, Saddle of Springbok [and] Sauteed Cucumber with Wild Aniseed'. Now, elated and satisfied by the full range of the day's sights, sounds and smells, the gourmet traveller retires to his luxury air-conditioned bush chalet to the strains of 'local tribes' performing 'ceremonial dances'. Convinced that he has braved the frontier and encountered the real Africa, he lies awake in bed 'where a distant growl will raise a knowing smile'.30

The Kruger experience was not always one of luxury 'designer bushwacking'. The park, originally named the Sabi Game Reserve, was established

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in 1898 in the wake of the ‘Age of Wildlife Extermination’, when ‘man, the ultimate predator’, had ruthlessly hunted down and killed whole species of animals as colonial territory was being emptied and tamed for white settlement. ‘In the space of half a century [. . .] the game [had been] simply worked out like a mineral seam’. Modern-day tourist brochures and travel guides, promoting South Africa as a haven for ecotourism, portray the establishment of the park as the result of a deep, inherent conservationist vision of the ‘lion of the Transvaal’, President Paul Kruger. They draw a picture of Kruger, who ‘alarmed about the encroachment of “civilisation” on the wilderness [. . .] decided to set aside certain areas where animals might live without undue interference’. Kruger and the Transvaal government, however, were under severe pressure from private landowners and the sporting elite to ensure the continued viability of the hunting domain in the face of both the rinderpest epidemic and ‘profligate’ hunters. Both the animal and human ‘vermin’ had to be controlled. ‘The lions, leopards and wild dogs had to be exterminated and the poachers relentlessly pursued’. It was to this end that reserves for (sporting) game were set up, with almost rudimentary facilities. Visitors had to cook for themselves, sleep on the ground and travel over rough tracks. This was not the styled world of the ecotourist with ‘hot showers, game drives [. . .] cold beers’, ‘“his” and “her” bathrooms and “24 hour room service”’.\(^{31}\)

The change from a game reserve to a national park whose primary purpose was to attract both local and international tourists came in the 1920s. A decade after the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910, what was beginning to emerge was a hybrid settler identity based upon elements of Afrikaner nationalism and early intonations of broader white nationalism. A new national flag was unveiled, Die Stem was sung alongside God Save the King, concerted work began on constructing highways for the nation, with ‘the dream of an all-tarmac surface along the romantic old Cape-to-Cairo road’ and Sabi Game Reserve was transformed into the Kruger National Park. Paul Kruger was receded as national hero and champion of the animals and Colonel Stevenson-Hamilton, ‘a British soldier who fought against Kruger’ in the South African War (1899-1902), became the first game warden of the park that belonged to the white nation. Privately, Stevenson-Hamilton recognised the irony: ‘I wonder what the old man, who never in his life thought of wild animals except as biltong, [jerked meat. . .] would say could he see himself depicted as the Saviour of the South African game!!!’\(^{32}\)

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‘To the Kruger National Park’, now proclaimed the signposts lining the roads between all major Transvaal towns. As a ‘national asset’, which would attract overseas visitors in large numbers, the national park began to offer unrivalled facilities for a visiting public ‘under conditions of great safety and comfort, to view wild life as it existed in the subcontinent previous to the arrival of the white man’. New hotels en route to Kruger began to flourish, accommodation was built in the park with hot and cold water, electric lighting and a telephone service, and a network of roads was established for tourists to explore the wild animal spaces in their motor cars. In this way, it was estimated that £1 million per year would be generated in national earnings, ‘a sum which should appeal to all South Africans’. ‘Let us therefore salute the motor car!’, exclaimed Stevenson-Hamilton (Carruthers 1988: 370-371; Stevenson-Hamilton [1952]: 256-257, 268-269).

On the Kruger frontier, tourists were able to ‘see wildlife in its natural habitat’ from the safety of their cars (Carruthers 1988: 374). Visitors to the South African pavilion of the Empire Exhibition held in Glasgow in 1938 were astounded to hear about Kruger’s national legacy to the empire.

‘They did not doubt that one million wild animals lived in the Kruger National Park and lived in every way as nature intended them to live. But they found it very difficult to believe that one could get into a motor car, and motor in among them, and live within a few hundred yards of them for days and weeks on end without serious risk of losing one’s life’ (Wells 1939: 207).

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**Fig. 3.** The lion and the motor car  
(SAR & NPB 1949, photographer Dick Wolff).
But ‘it was really true’. From the car cocoon, the previously maligned lion was no longer considered vermin and soon became the major tourist attraction. Between 1927 and 1930 the amount of motor vehicles which entered the Kruger National Park increased from three to 3,971. They all came to see the lion, and were extremely dissatisfied if they did not. Moved by ‘leontophilia’, tourists often remarked that ‘they see nothing unless they see lions’. Even that great opponent of vermin, Stevenson-Hamilton, underwent a change of heart in the interests of tourism. Lions ‘have their full place in nature and [...] are entitled to equal respect’, he now claimed. ‘[W]hen I see a lioness with her children, I feel like saying, “good luck to you”’.\textsuperscript{33}

From this point, the Kruger National Park was managed and maintained, not in order to preserve the animals, but for the benefit of tourists. Instead of guns, these tourists came armed with cameras, seeking to capture an image of ‘Timeless Africa’ to adorn their walls like animal trophies. According to MacKenzie (1988: 267): ‘The hunting elite had been expanded into a tourist elite, and the criteria of animal attractiveness had changed [...]. Edibility had given way to sporting characteristics, which now gave way [... to viewability’.

The shoot became the central experience around which a visit to Kruger was planned. Kruger became a world of images, selling itself through carefully selected animal shots and inviting the tourists to recreate these images with their own cameras. By the 1950s, tourist visits to Kruger increasingly took the form of a safari tour, to shoot the lion in the travel brochure, and to experience the ‘remains of Africa from the early days’. On the luxury coach holiday, as the tourist sought to emulate the descriptions of early explorers of Africa, ‘before the arrival of the white man’, words of encouragement were offered: ‘[G]ood hunting, good “shooting”—and may your hand never tremble as you take a “close up” of your first lion’.\textsuperscript{34}

This imaging of wildlife achieved even greater focus with the advent of the hand-held movie camera and ‘sharp’, ‘natural’ and ‘true’ colour photography. In contrast with the more ‘mundane factuality’ of black and white, colour seemingly provided the tourist with the ability to fulfil his wishes and capture the glamour of the African spectacle. International tourists were assured that colour film was readily available in South Africa and that the game rangers, turned wildlife photographers, would steer them ‘towards good action pictures instead of deadpan photographs’. But there were problems in capturing the ‘monarch of the wild’. Even though the tourist could get so close to a lion that he ‘could have touched him’, the danger of leaving one’s car or coach often meant that there was a ‘blurred line at the bottom of the picture caused by the lowered window’.\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{33} \textsc{Wells} 1939: 208, 210; \textsc{Stevenson-Hamilton} [1952]: 272; \textsc{MacKenzie} 1988: 67; Stevenson-Hamilton’s diary quoted in \textsc{Carruthers} 1988: 374.

\textsuperscript{34} \textsc{Markowitz} [1950]: 2, 40, 57; SAR & NPB 1949: 1, 3; \textsc{Carruthers} 1988: 373.

\textsuperscript{35} \textsc{Lutz & Collins} 1993: 94; \textsc{Markowitz} [1950]: 4, 35, 51; \textsc{Villiers, Player & Barnard} 1992: 35.
It is the advent of private game parks, bordering on Kruger, which provide the modern day adventurer, dressed in the fantasy outfit of the pith helmet and cotton bush casuals, with a more effective means of pursuing and capturing game on film. In the tracks of his ancestor, who roamed the African bush, gun in hand, as virile hunter and colonial predator, the tourist now penetrates the landscape with a ‘telephoto lens of up to 500 mm’, in an open four-wheel drive vehicle and ‘in the company of an experienced [and] well-informed ranger’, ‘familiar with the foibles of the [. . .] bush’. There is no danger here, ‘as long as visitors behave responsibly’ and they meet the ‘hefty price tag’ of the new colonial safari, with its ‘five star accommodation and cuisine’.

To ensure that the ‘spirit of Africa’s majestic wildlife’ can continue to be captured in golden colour, the luxury safari industry has recoded the essence of its business in the framework and discourse of ecotourism. ‘We have a renewable resource that must be constantly maintained so that people will come back next year and find it [Africa] still the same’. No longer are tourists encouraged merely to focus their lenses on the ‘big five’—the lion, elephant, leopard, rhino and buffalo. Instead, guests are shown ‘everything from the dung beetle to the elephant, so that when they leave, they

have a better understanding of the environment as a whole’. The international ecotourist is not on safari merely for hedonistic reasons. Today he wants to be sure that he has left his mark and has contributed to preserving the environment and benefitting the nation. Through shooting images of wildlife, the international ecotourist almost naturally becomes a ‘promoter’ of environmental awareness, ‘provider’ of job and trade opportunities for rural communities and the ‘panacea for South Africa’s foreign exchange woes’.37

As a memento of his modern experience of African timelessness the international ecotourist is encouraged to ‘Go wild - Buy gold’: one ounce Natura coins, depicting the lion. Specially ‘crafted in 24 carat gold’ by the South African Mint, the Natura coins are part of an attempt to ‘break away from the Krugerrand, which have enjoyed dominance for so long’ and to cast the producers of South Africa’s currency as in an ecofriendly light. To become ‘green in all respects’, explains the South African Mint, its new plant is ‘situated further back from the highway passing it than was necessary, and some 5,000 trees were planted’. With these green and gold scenes of ‘the everyday life of a pride of lions’, safely tucked away in his luggage, ‘the saviour of the South African economy’ leaves the Kruger Park with modernity ‘in unison with nature’ in search of tribal life.38

Shakaland

**Day 8**

After an early morning game drive and breakfast you drive through parts of Zululand (KwaZulu), the traditional home of the Zulus—the largest black group in South Africa. Over three million Zulus live here under the leadership of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi—one of South Africa’s best known and most respected politicians.

Shakaland

At Empangeni, turn onto the R34 in the direction of Eshowe and visit the traditional Zulu kraal. ‘Shakaland’, where you can have lunch and learn something about the history and culture of the Zulu people (SATOUR n.d.: 120).

Tourists have long been drawn to South Africa because of its depictions of the ‘presence of different kinds of primitive and natural life’. If the game reserve is something that ‘exists only in Africa’ and that ‘only could exist in Africa’, then the related image of ‘native life in its tribal state’, is offered in a multiplicity of ‘authentic African’ settings. Today, the tourist

can embark on a ‘New route for Africa’ encountering the ‘Namas of Namaqualand, the bushmen of the Cedarberg, the Malays of the Bo-Kaap and the descendants of the Khoi-Khoi’. On the national road to the North, once intended to end in Cairo, Bakone Malapa, a ‘North Sotho Kraal (Museum)’ offers guests opportunities to witness weaving and carving ‘while listening to age-old stories about mysterious traditions’. In the evenings, at a ‘Tsonga Kraal’, near Tzaneen, the tourist can ‘pulsate with the rhythms of Africa’, and hear ‘the haunting sounds of the kudu horn (mhala-mhala)’.

The eco-tourism division of the Highlands Development scheme has opened a ‘Basotho Cultural Open Air Museum’, on the ‘new tarred road between Golden Gate and Qua Qua’. Here the ‘tastes of Africa’ can be bought in a restaurant offering ‘traditional and everyday [Sotho] dishes’. But the ultimate experience of the Africa of the ‘European’ imagination is to encounter the Zulu, the ‘proud warrior nation’. It is here ‘where Africa ends’.

There are many displays of ‘Zoeloe kraals’ scattered throughout the ‘Africa route’ in KwaZulu Natal where the anthro-tourist can get to ‘know the Zulu’. The ‘first authentic Zulu village’, KwaBhekithunga was set up in the late 1960s on a farm between Eshowe and Empangeni. Its ‘guarantee of authenticity’ is a ‘live-in’ Zulu family who invite the tourist to ‘share their home’. The tourist can get even closer to Zulu history at Ondini, reconstructed royal kraal of Cetshwayo, ‘razed by the British Army on 21 July 1883’. Here, he can engage in historical research and uncover physical evidence of past battles, ‘eyes raking the ground for spent cartridges and rusted assegai [spear] heads’. A more recent creation is Dumazulu, near Hluhluwe, devoted not only to presenting Zuluness, but to portraying separate Ndebele, Swazi and Xhosa abodes ‘in order to maintain individual identities’. No accommodation is provided here because of attention to ‘realism’. Instead, guests are encouraged to motor further along the N2 main road and stay at the game reserve nearby.

But, unquestionably, the most popular of all Zulu resorts is Shakaland, developed between 1986 and 1988 on a film set from the TV series Shaka Zulu. At Shakaland, at the entrance to the set, visitors are greeted by a gatekeeper, dressed like a warrior. They are directed to their hotel alongside the set where they will spend the night in a luxury beehive bedroom decorated with Zulu artifacts. The following day, tourists embark upon their exploration of the ‘Zulu nation’. Their cultural experience begins with a lecture on Zulu history given by a ‘cultural advisor’, after which they are guided to a model homestead. Here, they are told about the variety of cultural forms, old and modern, used by Zulu speakers.

39. Wells 1939: 207; Norval 1936: 181; CCTB 1994: 16-19. This is only a small selection of the many ‘native villages’ constructed throughout South Africa for both local and international tourists.
Armed with this knowledge of Zuluness, they move on to the ‘Great Kraal’, admission to which is granted only after visitors chant the appropriate praise names of the homestead head. Inside the ‘Great Hut’, the cultural advisor acts as a translator while the homestead head explains the “Zulu” way of doing things. Various items of dress are described, and, as on mine visits of yesteryear, ‘native’ beer is drunk. The evening is spent dining in a thatched boma overlooking the Ntembeni hills and the Mhlathuze dam, ‘with the visible traffic of servants backlit by the [sibaya] firelight making up a sort of performance’, listening to the rhythms and beats of ‘ethnic’ (modern ‘tribal’) dance, first heard on the mines and then under the moonlight at Timbavati Game Reserve.\(^{41}\)

Finally, the tourists go on safari and cross the lake to pay a visit to a real homestead and to purchase Zulu crafts. This may include some beadwork, a skill regarded as ‘traditional’, but which many learnt in ‘bantu education’ art classes at schools in Kwazulu/Natal. The tour is complete and through the journey from the film set to the homestead across the lake, the travellers have come to know the Zulu. This expertise is attested to by their purchases of a ‘timeless and enduring memento’ of the ‘sacred journey’.\(^{42}\)

Shakaland does not pretend to offer the visitor an authentic experience of Zulu culture and history. Instead, it sets itself up as a tourist school of Zulu identity, a ‘cross-cultural programme’, advancing ‘knowledge of a perceived other’. The emphasis is on the difference of Zuluness, not as ‘an act of discrimination as it is in many other tourist settings’ but as a ‘mode of exploration and understanding’. Constructed in space and in time, between ‘front regions decorated to appear as back regions, and back regions set up to accommodate outsiders’, the ‘staged setting’ of Shakaland provides the tourist with a sacralising, healing experience which his own ‘modern’, ‘inauthentic’ life does not offer. On the stage he can ‘commune’ with and in ‘other worlds’, imagine new futures and buy an ‘intrinsically valuable’ portion of the ‘African Psyche’.\(^{43}\)

A similar sacralising experience is to be had in the Northern Cape game reserve of Kagga Kamma where the tourist can ‘fly in’ on an ‘overnight Safari’ to the ‘timeless world’ of the bushmen. Almost lost in its Cedarberg setting of ‘scenic mountainscapes and rock formations’, where ancient old rock paintings are in abundance, Kagga Kamma invites the tourist to partake in a ‘Jurassic Park’ adventure and step out of an ‘open game vehicle’ into a ‘place that belongs to another age’. But the ‘illusion’ is all made ‘real’ on ‘one of the most unique game farms in the Cape’ by the presence of ‘the last surviving bushmen in their village’. In search of an


ancient African essence, the visitor, comfortably accommodated in a ‘well-equipped chalet’, can ‘observe a way of life that is reminiscent of the stone age’, explore the reserve for a variety of wild species and may even be lucky to spot the ‘camera-shy, nocturnal leopard’. For the ‘Eco-explorer’ this is all part of recovering the ‘bushman alternative’.44

The lure of Kagga Kamma lies in its displays of pristine bushman culture which the tourist is made privileged to encounter. By ‘invitation’ the tourist is allowed into the reconstructed bushman village where he can see bushmen in loin cloths, armed with bow and arrows, demonstrating beadwork, hunting and tracking. In the evening, wearing karos (animal skin cloak) blankets, the bushmen approach the visitors’ chalets and, in a specially constructed arena, perform rituals of tales, song and dance. After the show, and beyond the tourist gaze, the bushmen return to their own lives of tattered clothing, canned food, and ‘shacks made of zinc and plastic’. At

44. ‘Take a break in another age this weekend’, Weekend Argus Sunday Magazine (Cape Town), 26 June 1994, p. 14. See Eco-Explorers 1993; Safaris to Kagga Kamma: Place of the Bushmen (pamphlet), Paarl, 1992; Eco-Explorers ‘guarantee the most interesting eco-experiences’ and now undertake tours through the Cedarberg with bushman adventures.
the ‘unique Rotskombuis [rock-kitchen] restaurant’ in ‘the main building’, the tourist can reflect with satisfaction on his encounter with the ‘Harmless People’ of the ‘Lost World of the Kalahari’ and his contribution to their ‘preservation’.45

These scenes of invented bushman life which are sold to tourists at Kagga Kamma are the latest form of the process whereby the bushmen have been created and recreated over time.46 This ‘bushmanisation’ has a long lineage in the history of South Africa, beginning with early colonial times when Dutch settlers invoked the term ‘bushman’ to describe a heterogeneous collection of people who were dispossessed of their livestock and resisted incorporation into the colonial economy. Because they lived by hunting, gathering and, in the colonial mind, ‘plunder’, they were cast as akin to animals and beyond civilisation. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the bushmen were reinvented by anthropologists as a timeless, primitive race which had miraculously survived into the twentieth century but which was in danger of extinction. Casts were therefore made of a group of farmworkers and shepherds from Prieska and put on display at the South African Natural History Museum first as examples of a ‘primitive race’ and later in scenes of bushman culture. At Kagga Kamma the diorama in the museum is brought to life, and, in a remarkable twist of fiction, Dawid Kruiper, ‘leader’ of this group of Northern Cape Nama and Afrikaans-speaking farmworkers, called bushmen, represented South Africa at a conference of the United Nations Human Rights Commission on Indigenous Affairs in Geneva. On his journey from the ‘baked sands of Africa’ to the ‘snows of Switzerland’, Kruiper was accompanied by his personal anthropologist, the ‘good white’ man, Michael Daiber, whose ticket to Europe was sponsored by Swissair.47

These instances of displays of invented cultures and people as tribes are part of a genealogy of human showcases set up to compare the ‘natural’ world with a conception of modernity. In these staged settings, the act of ‘gazing’ confirmed ‘knowledge’ through immediate visual comparison. Human showcases were a central feature of the great world and empire expositions of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In these ‘ephemeral vistas’ the human race was placed on an evolutionary scale, with ‘villages’ of African and Asian people, built out of mud, sticks and leaves.


46. The original caption for the photograph was: ‘Recalling the past [ . . . ] A bushman family from the Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve, Mr Dawid Kruiper, Mrs Sanna Kruiper, Kalaai, 10, and Little Kalaai, 8, show Italian tourists, Ms Lucia Valacs and Mrs Anna Valas how friendly the Cape can be at the Captour mini-trade fair in its tourist information centre in Adderley Street’.

placed at the lower end, close to the ‘animal state’ and located next to the ‘jungles’ of living and stuffed animals. At the other end, stood ‘western society’, portrayed as having reached the highest stage of ‘civilisation’, and represented by machinery and monumental iron structures. In this ‘culture/nature juxtaposition of terrifying simplicity’, the imperial project not only justified itself as the bearer of ‘civilisation’ to these ‘backward people’, but it also depicted ‘human evolutionary stage’ as a matter of racial type.48

‘Savage South Africa’ often formed part of the human showcases at the exhibitions, galleries and theatres of Europe and America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Prominent among these were the ‘noble’ Zulus who were paraded at the International Exhibition in London, the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in 1886, and the British Empire Exhibition at Wembley in 1923-24. They also toured Europe as part of travelling shows and were exhibited at the St. Georges Gallery in Hyde Park, London. ‘Wild Dancing bushmen’, taken from the Northern Cape, where they had been employed as farm labourers, entertained and fascinated crowds at world shows, theatres and circuses, common spaces for exhibiting the freak and the exotic. After the show, the bushmen were examined by anthropologists and their ‘4 foot 3 inch’ frame declared to be ‘physically genuine’.49

After much protest and accusations of racism, the ‘savage’ human showcases gradually disappeared from the world’s fairs by the late 1930s. To ‘observe’ ‘native life in its most interesting and variegated forms’, Europeans and Americans now had to come to Africa to see primitiveness on display, unlike their parents who saw them on the stage at home. In South Africa human showcases were an integral part of the international exhibitions staged between the 1930s and 1950s. At the Empire exhibition in Johannesburg in 1937, designed to show that South Africa was not a colonial ‘backwater’ but had become ‘metropolitan’ in outlook, Donald Bain, the big-game hunter, put a group of bushmen, the ‘living fossils’ of the Kalahari, on display. Exhibited in the shadow of a suspended aeroplane traversing a world map illuminating the ‘principal Imperial air routes’, the bushmen sat ‘around their camp fire, dancing and singing their ancient songs’.50

The 1952 Van Riebeeck Festival Fair in Cape Town, which formed part of the tercentenary celebrations of European settlement and ‘civilisation’, put on displays for specially invited international guests and local festival goers to see ‘modern’ South Africa. The central organising feature of the fair was the juxtaposition of the ‘achievements’ of industrial progress with the ‘savagery’ of ‘unevolved human primitiveness’. As at the Empire

Exhibition there were human showcases: Zulus ‘in full tribal dress’, a ‘Zulu family living their traditional tribal lives’ and a group of seventeen bushmen who, under the supervision of the Chief Game Warden of South-West Africa, P. J. Schoeman, carefully crafted bows and arrows in the gaze of thousands of onlookers. Crowds were eager and curious to see the ‘child-like simplicity’ of the bushmen, hear their ‘animated clicks’ and touch their ‘olive skins’. But now the displays were located within a framework of the ‘positive benefits’ of ‘Western civilisation on the Non-whites’. At the ‘bantu pavilion’ the visitors passed from the section showing ‘traditional tribal lives’, to a ‘Chief’s Kraal’, through to the disciplined atmosphere of a ‘native school’ and ending up in a ‘modern six-roomed house’. These human showcases served to emphasise to foreign visitors that without the tutelage of Western civilisation in South Africa’s ‘modern’ racial system, apartheid, the ranking order of (natural) racial hierarchy would be threatened.51

But while it was possible to see ‘native displays’ at exhibitions in South Africa, to go to the picturesque bantu-lands where customs and tribal rites are still practised according to ancient traditions presented the international tourist with major problems. Firstly, the roads and the accommodation in the ‘native territories’ were not adequately developed. Secondly, for those tourist who wished to ‘go off the main roads’ a permit had to be obtained from the Secretary for Bantu Administration and Development. Those who did not adhere to this regulation were warned that they would be ‘severely penalised’. But most significantly many tourists were coming to the conclusion that in the ‘native territories’, the ‘natives’ were not native enough. In the Valley of a Thousand Hills, the ‘House of Zulu’, tourists were disappointed to find that this delightful fragment of the Zulu past was ‘marred’ by ‘an occasional roof or wall of corrugated iron among the round, thatched huts comprising the kraals of that reeling landscape’.52

With ‘primitive and natural forms of life’ dwindling, and in order to ‘preserve’ safe and comfortable ‘native authenticity’ for tourist traffic, KwaBekithunga was built on the ‘famous Stewart’s Farm’ in the Nkwaleni Valley. This was the beginning of the package tour through Zulu life. Now tourists descend in ‘luxury airconditioned vehicles’ from the industrial area of Pinetown and Kloof, ‘with its splendid homes’, into the Valley of a Thousand Hills, where they are assured that ‘thousands of Zulus still live their traditional life’. This assurance is verified by the experience of ‘Zulu dancing and throwing of the bones by the [. . .] mysterious Sangoma’ at the recreated ‘traditional Zulu Kraal’, ‘Phe Zulu’. After a day tour in to the Valley, tourists can take in another performance this time an opera

or cabaret at ‘one of Durban’s most historic landmarks’, the Natal Playhouse.53

But it is on the TV set of Shakaland where he is nourished by ‘cross cultural’ education, that the tourist leaves with a more lasting and authentic knowledge of the Zulu. The tourist can now ‘wave goodbye to all the friendly people’ taking with him not only the ‘Zulu’ beads which he has purchased, but also a penis sheath, which is awarded to him as a symbol of his acquired knowledge of the secret, inner workings of Zulu society. He now prepares to return to the frontier of civilisation, exchanging greetings with his hosts in isiZulu as he departs: ‘Siyabonga!’ ‘Hamba Kahle!’54

Mother City

Days 20 and 21
At leisure in Cape Town.

Mountain, Bay and Waterfront Tour:

We depart up Adderley Street, past the Cultural History Museum, the Company Gardens and the South African Museum to the lower cableway station for the ascent of Table Mountain. We return to the city via the Malay Quarter. Passing the Castle, we proceed around Table Bay to Milnerton Lighthouse. From here, we can see Table Mountain from the same perspective as the early settlers did when they sailed into ‘Table Bay’. A short drive takes us back to Cape Town Harbour and the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront.55

The tourist ends his journey in the ‘Mother City’, the old port of entry for foreign visitors from early traders, explorers and colonists to the more recent voyages of discovery in the twentieth century. In this reverse chronology, the tourist goes back into the past in the footprints of the early colonists, to the ‘fairest Cape [. . .] where it all began’. It is here where the roots of ‘European civilisation’ in Africa are said to lie: the ‘first church services’, the ‘first printing press’, the ‘first university’, the ‘first parliament’ and the ‘first trunk railway that would ultimately reach the equator’. At last, he can relax in the familiar surrounds of a ‘pleasant resort with magnificent beaches, classy hotels and [. . .] breathtaking beauty’, where the ‘impression’ is that ‘the true heritage is not African but European’.56

This imagined heritage is embedded in the sought-after postcard gaze on Cape Town’s Table Mountain from Bloubergstrand, the battle scene of

54. PROTEA HOTELS [1993]; Safaris to Kagga Kamma . . . (see supra fn 44).
British occupation in 1806. This vista is of a ‘grandiosely silhouetted’ mountain with its ‘Table Cloth’ covering of billowing clouds in the distance, while in the foreground the ships of the Dutch and British East India Companies sail, proclaiming this to be the ‘fairest Cape in the whole circumference of the earth’. Although ‘no giant as world peaks go’, the mountain is depicted as an ‘unmistakable beacon’ between the ‘two worlds of East and West’, a ‘gigantic sign of an inn offering hospitality’ and a ‘major landfall of one of the great shipping routes of the world’. It has been given a past with European roots, through the ‘Portuguese admiral’ Antonio de Saldanha, now proclaimed as the ‘first man to climb its slopes’. 57

Table Mountain not only presents a vista of European discovery and exploration but it is also from its slopes that European Cape Town is seen to be fathered. From the foot of the mountain, the city ‘oozes history from every pore and measures traditions and buildings in centuries’. Where ‘lions roared’, ‘hippos wallowed’ and people lived in ‘shabby huts’, constructions of a European past with its gabled Cape Dutch homes, brookie lace Victorian facades and scattered garden suburbs emerged. While these have largely given way to a more modern city with its ‘tower blocks’, ‘skyscrapers’ and ‘streams of traffic flow’, they still serve as ‘national monuments’ proclaiming Cape Town as ‘not very African’. When visitors ‘speak of the fabled “charm” of the Cape’ it is this ‘colonial “Europeanised” atmosphere’ that they are referring to, where the city’s ‘Africanness is concealed beneath [the] [. . .] foreign patina’ of a mountain evoking ‘awe, wonder and majesty’. 58

This resurgent colonial past takes on a maritime image at what is being proclaimed as ‘the country’s most exciting tourist attraction’, the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront. Here, where Cape Town harbour first began, a waterfront marina has been developed modelled upon the recently reconstructed docklands in Europe and North America and the ‘quaint old’ ports of British colonial trade. Alongside these quayside images ‘of ships and legends’ of imperial yore, the tourist is invited to enjoy the ‘best jazz in Cape Town’, sample ‘every type of cuisine’, sip a pint of Bosun’s Bitter at Ferryman’s and ‘shop till you drop’ at dozens of boutiques, galleries and markets. In the shadow of Table Mountain, these glitzy representations, under the control of private capital, give the tourist a sanitised Victorian Cape Town of ‘British enterprise and industry’, where the past gloom of labour, segregation and imprisonment has been declared ‘undesirable’. Even Robben Island, for centuries a place of banishment and incarceration,

57. SATC n.d.: fig. 27; Postcards: ‘The Fairest Cape’ (Durban: Art Publishers); and ‘Table Mountain’s “Table Cloth” at Night, During a Black South-Easterner’ (Cape Town: Clifton Publications); BULPIN 1983: 13, 19; VILHERS, PLAYER & BARNARD 1992: 101.
has been cleaned up as a site of tourist curiosity, 'rich in history from Penguins to Prisoners'. Once proclaimed as the 'gateway to Africa' for the foreign visitor, 'Cape Town of the Waterfront has firmly set its back on the African hinterland and its inhabitants', allowing the visitor to retune into the rhythms and the rituals of a European life of leisure.59

But this does not mean that the tourist is unable to find African exoticism in Cape Town. Exotic images are clothed in an emerging discourse of ethnic diversity and multiculturalism. At the Waterfront, tourists can listen to the Klopse rhythms and goema beats of Cape minstrels ('coons'). A short ride away, on the cobbled streets of Bo-Kaap—'Little Islam'—visi-

59. VAN ROOYEN 1991; back cover; WESTERN CAPE TOURISM ASSOCIATION—SATOUR 1993: 16; R. Rossouw, "Cape history is distorted", South, 3-7 Apr. 1993; WORDEN 1992: 13, 17. Tourists to Cape Town during 1994 have found a series of history storyboards displayed at the Waterfront. In order to address criticisms and some misgivings about representations of Cape Town's past at the Waterfront, these histories had been commissioned by the Waterfront Company from the Cape Town History Project at the University of Cape Town (N. Worden, talk presented at the conference Symbols for Democratic Cape Town organised by the Mayibuye Centre and the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa, 30 Mar. 1993). While these do go some way towards presenting an alternative history, they remain overshadowed by a pervasive set of British imperial codes.
tors are enticed by the herbs, spices and aromas of 'traditional Cape cuisine'—smoortjies, bredies and gently spiced salomis. And if the international visitor was not fortunate enough to have a visit to Kagga Kamma included in his package, he might be able to experience the 'nearly forgotten past' of these bushmen, who are regularly displayed in a reconstructed world at 'shopping centres, hunting and gun shows' and the local office of the Cape Tourism Board. They show the international tourist, his video camera ever ready, 'how friendly the Cape can be'.

After two days spent in the leisure of 'Europe located in Africa' the tourist is well rested and ready to return home with his curios, mementos and captured images of a 'world in one country'. With a 'number of airlines [...] providing a direct service to Cape Town', it is no longer necessary to return to Johannesburg airport junction from where his venture into Africa started. With the call of the lion echoing in his memory and the image of Table Mountain fading into the distance, he bids farewell to the 'holiday playground' of the international ecotourist and returns to the 'city stress' of metropolitan life.

A World in One Country?

The predominant set of codes through which South Africa has been represented and imaged is through variants of a dichotomy between the conditions of 'modernity' and 'primitiveness'. As early as 1935, the Sunshine Route tourist brochure, produced by the South African Railways and Harbours (1935: 13), and available at Thomas Cook and Son offices, proclaimed:

'Gone are the days when Southern Africa was looked on as a land of unknown dangers, where there was every chance of being killed by treacherous savages. Nowadays the ultramodern and primitive go hand in hand and this is precisely one of the country's greatest charms in the eyes of people from overcrowded older countries.'

Wild animals in 'a setting [...] unspoilt by man for centuries' were encoded alongside 'colourful native life in the kraals', and exoticism contrasted with 'the romance of gold and diamond mining' and the 'development and progress of a land still in the making' (ibid.).

By the 1950s and 1960s these images were being recoded in terms of apartheid and separate development. In the CVR Tourist Guide to South


61. L. Elias, 'R40m to make SA top destination', Top of the Times supplement to the Cape Times, 9 July 1994; SATOUR n. d.
Africa, 1966-67 (1966: 15, 36, 207), 'apartheid' was seen as having 'unwar-ranted connotations at present' and thus South Africans prefer the phrase 'separate development'. Previously 'primitive tribes' were now cast as 'bantu nations speaking different languages'. Rural areas where Africans lived as a result of dispossession and conquest were explained to tourists as areas which 'Bantu nations [. . .] have occupied on their southward migration' and which the apartheid government, almost magnanimously, 'entrenched in the laws of the country as the inviolable homelands of their emerging nations'. Apartheid was also presented as a modern policy, which visitors were encouraged to take full advantage of by employing 'a Bantu maid' who looked after children with 'endless patience'.

As international tourists now want more 'adventure, interaction and an exotic destination', the South African tourist industry is attempting to harness this market through a multi-million rand strategy 'to make South Africa a top destination among travellers'. Again this is being done through reinforcing preconceived stereotypes of tribalism, primitivism, beauty, wildlife and nature. But in the quest for authenticity this invitation to outsiders to look into the workings of a place and a people is no longer framed merely in terms of a quest 'in search of the primitive' or an experience of modernity. Instead the modern tourist to South Africa encounters the world of these essential images, through an altered gaze of seeing, knowing and redemption. Today, the international tourist in South Africa can understand the workings of the modern world of gold and mining, can become an ecotourist at Kruger and acquire 'intimate knowledge' of Zuluness. In this way, he does not merely 'see on TV happy faces building a new nation'. Rather, through his presence and his encounters with staged primitiveness and modernity, he is seen as contributing directly to the 'reconstruction and development' of a society and to the fundamental replacement of apartheid with a 'culture of tourism'.

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ABSTRACT

During South Africa’s transition to democracy in the early 1990s, tourism came to be seen as the ‘passport’ to development. In an emerging consensus, the country’s tourist Africanness was articulated in a series of connected images—a ‘world in one country’—presented through its animal wildlife, primitive ‘tribalism’ and modern society. While the primitive was set in more comfortable surrounds, South Africa’s modernity was packaged in a primitive wrapping. This paper constructs a hypothetical tour of South Africa, visiting each element of the tourist vision, and provides a genealogy of these presented images of the past.

RÉSUMÉ

Afrique du Sud : le monde en un pays. Instants de rencontres du touriste international avec le monde sauvage, le primitif et la modernité. — Au cours de la transition démocratique du début des années 1990, le tourisme en est venu à être considéré comme le « passeport » pour le développement. Dans ce consensus naissant, l’Africanité du tourisme sud-africain s’articulait en une composition d’images — le monde en un pays — autour de la vie sauvage de ses animaux, de son tribalisme « primitif » et de sa société moderne. Alors que le « primitif » était installé dans un environnement confortable, la modernité sud-africaine était, quant à elle, enveloppée dans un emballage primitif. Cet article compose un itinéraire supposé à travers l’Afrique du Sud, s’arrêtant à chaque élément de la vision touristique, et fournit une généalogie de ces images proposées du passé.

Key Words/Mots-clés: Republic of South Africa/République d’Afrique du Sud, tourism/tourisme.