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Rural Tourism under Apartheid South Africa: The Case of Transkei

Abstract. Rural tourism scholarship has greatly expanded over the past two decades. One aspect of rural tourism that is undeveloped in literature is the historical evolution of rural tourism destinations. This paper uses an historical approach and archival documentary sources to examine the evolution of rural tourism under apartheid in one of the former Bantustans of South Africa, namely Transkei. It is shown tourism became a sector of policy interest because of disappointments associated with national government programmes for industrial decentralization. Early tourism promotion centred on leisure tourism around the natural beauty and attractions of Transkei's coastal areas. With the grant of 'independence', however, a new institutional environment emerged which resulted in the Transkei becoming a focus for casino tourism at a time when casino gambling was prohibited in South Africa. The growth of casino tourism was, however, linked to corruption which occurred between South African tourism capital and the leadership of this Bantustan.

Keywords: rural tourism, apartheid, South Africa, tourism geography, historical approach, Transkei, casino tourism

1. Introduction

For Brij Maharaj (2020, p. 39) South Africa's geographical landscape was profoundly moulded by the policy of apartheid "which constitutes an unparalleled example of state-directed socio-spatial restructuring". Several scholars view the policy and implementation of apartheid as a massive exercise in (mis-) applied geography (Lemon, 1976; Smith, 1982; Christopher, 1994). Anthony Lemon (1998, p. 1) describes it as "an ambitious but doomed attempt to remould the social, political and economic geography of South Africa". Arguably, its core intent was to provide a philosophical rationale for entrenching white privilege and power in the

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core areas of the South African space economy. Between 1948 and 1991 the cornerstone of apartheid planning in South Africa became the geographical segregation of the country's different race groups (Christopher, 1994). At the urban scale this involved the designation of separate residential areas or spaces ('Group Areas') for the different racial groups as well as the creation of racialized spaces in terms of, for example, separate racially defined hotels or different spaces on the country's beaches (see eg. Lemon, 1991; Rogerson, 2016, 2017; Maharaj, 2020; Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2020; Rogerson, 2022a). At the macro-scale of 'grand apartheid' the centrepiece of government planning surrounded the attempt to forge separate geographical territories and political spaces with the establishment of the Bantustans or Homelands. According to Laura Phillips (2017, p. 1) the making of South Africa's ten Bantustans "was perhaps one of the most infamous cases of racial segregation in the 20th century". The Bantustan system began with the designation of 'self-governing' territories which subsequently were to be guided to an 'independent' status (Laurence, 1976). By 'self-governing' it was meant that the homelands were granted limited powers whereas an 'independent status' granted these territories with sovereign rights on certain issues that were previously controlled by the apartheid government (Southall, 1983). From 1948 Black Africans were systematically stripped of their South African citizenship and forced to accept "false nationalities" and become citizens of one of the ten ethnically-based and nominally self-governing Bantustans or Homelands which have been styled as 'artifices' of the apartheid state (Ally, 2015). Kim Wildman (2005, p. 38) points out these geographical spaces were officially "championed as areas where, due to black people's historical connection to the land, they could maintain their 'customs' and 'traditions'". In practice, however, the territories of the Bantustans functioned merely as geographical reservoirs of cheap labour or became a 'dumping ground' for South Africa's unwanted or 'surplus' people (Platzky & Walker, 1985).

Undoubtedly, during the period 1959–1991 "the bantustans were the central pillars of the apartheid edifice, designed to preserve white minority rule in South Africa" (Jones, 1997, p. 31). The aim in this paper is to examine the evolution of rural tourism under apartheid in one of the former Bantustans of South Africa. The focus is on Transkei which was the first Bantustan to be granted self-governing status and, in many respects, was viewed as the showcase for apartheid planning. In terms of tourism scholarship, research concerning tourism in the Bantustans can be looked at as an unusual, if not special, case of rural tourism. Doris Carson (2018) considers that geographers have contributed substantially to literature on rural tourism. The paper represents a contribution to the limited international literature on rural tourism in its historical dimensions as well as to evolving rural tourism scholarship in South Africa. For historical geographers the importance of

a wider intellectual concern for tracing the past in Southern Africa is recognised (Roux & Parnell, 2020). Arguably, this paper contributes to strengthening a new 'tradition' of studies which has consolidated in South African tourism geography and focuses on applying an historical evolutionary approach to destination development (see Knight & Rogerson, 2019; Rogerson & Visser, 2020). Furthermore, it provides an historical lens on issues of tourism and geographical change in the environment of the Global South (Saarinen & Rogerson, 2021).

The research was undertaken by utilising an historical approach in terms of methodology and draws upon a range of different archival documentary sources, most importantly material housed in collections at the South African National Library, Cape Town depot. Jarkko Saarinen, Christian Rogerson and C. Michael Hall (2017) advocate for a growth in the application of historical approaches to unpack tourism pasts and to deepen our understanding of tourism and hospitality studies. Gordon Pirie (2022) argues that the exploration of archival material is the raw material of history and represents an important methodological approach for advancing the frontiers of understanding in tourism research. Archival research is a much underused yet potentially highly effective research strategy for qualitative research in tourism and hospitality research (Power, 2018). The remainder of the paper is structured into two uneven parts of material. The next section situates the research as part of the development of international writings in the field of rural tourism. Attention then moves on to the major section which investigates the case of Transkei and the chequered evolution of this Bantustan as a rural tourism destination under apartheid.

2. Rural Tourism — International Research Directions

It is generally accepted that academic writings on rural tourism first began to appear during the 1970s with descriptive monitoring studies of tourism that was taking place in rural areas (Lane, 1994; Lane & Kastenholz, 2015). An expansion in scholarly interest is recorded from the 1980s. Nevertheless, Stephen Page and Donald Getz (1997, p. 3) asserted during the 1990s that "rural tourism has continued to suffer from a neglect among tourism researchers" and "remained peripheral to the focus of tourism research". Useful early surveys of academic research concerning the topic of rural tourism were authored by Page and Getz (1997), Richard Sharpley and Julia Sharpley (1997), and by Richard Sharpley and Lesley Roberts (2004). In an extended review of the 'state of the art' of international rural tourism research it is observed that a 'take-off' in academic writings occurred during the 2000s decade (Karali et al.,

2021). Similar findings are offered in other bibliometric studies (Ruiz-Real, Das & Roy, 2021; Aydin, 2022). Undoubtedly a burst of international writings and research has occurred on rural tourism with an accelerating tempo of academic interest (Gabor, 2015; Lane & Kastenholtz, 2015; Karali, Das & Roy, 2021; Rosalina, Dupre & Wang, 2021). This growth was underpinned by recognition of the significance of rural tourism for local and regional development and in particular remote rural regions (Briedenhann & Wickens, 2004; Kastenholtz & Lima, 2011). Issues surrounding rural tourism and its development impacts in Europe were a major catalyst for growth in scholarship (Gabor, 2015). The recent review of advances in rural tourism research undertaken by Oshi Singhania, Sampada Swain and Babu George (2022) demonstrates that the field gathered considerable momentum post-2010 with China, Spain and Italy appearing as the strongest foci for research. Taken together these several systematic reviews on international directions in research on rural tourism show that it “has been a key research area over the last few decades” (Karali, Das & Roy, 2021, p. 1).

The content of rural tourism research has matured and advanced beyond the early phase of descriptive case studies. Within the emerging literature on rural tourism in the 1990s an array of themes and issues can be observed including social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts, research on different niches in rural tourism and the implications of rural tourism for rural development (Page & Getz, 1997; Sharpley & Sharpley, 1997; Roberts & Hall, 2001). The findings from a systematic analysis of papers published since 2000 pinpointed a major interest in tourism management, economic considerations, environment/ecological issues and themes in regional development and concerns surrounding sustainability (Lane & Kastenholtz, 2015). A scan of the literature discloses that by the decade of the 2000s academic debate was occurring on topics such as management and conservation, resource control, economic regeneration and even the ramifications of climate change (Dashper, 2014; Lane & Kastenholtz, 2015; Ruiz-Real et al., 2021; Karali, Das & Roy, 2021). In the review of studies on rural tourism which was produced by Putu Rosalina, Karine Dupre and Ying Wang (2021) the major identifiable research foci relate to sustainable development, the role of local communities, the importance of ‘authenticity’ and ‘experience’ for the rural tourism product, and the challenges facing rural tourism development including rural tourism entrepreneurship.

Geographers stress that in discussions of rural tourism and its impacts there is the need to differentiate between different kinds of rural spaces (Carson, 2018; Carson & Koster, 2019). In particular it is relevant to include studies of ‘in-between’ rural spaces or ‘non-tourism places’ (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021a). The essential character of ‘in-between’ rural spaces is that they are not sufficiently attractive to establish tourism as a self-contained major local sector (Carson, 2018; Carson & Koster, 2019). The asset base and development prospects of ‘in-

between' rural spaces therefore contrasts with the major categories of fringe rural spaces and remote or exotic rural spaces. The limited linkages of in-between spaces in terms of distance from major urban core regions, challenges of transport access, and sometimes a difficult physical environment combine to create particular constraints on rural tourism development in these areas and in particular as compared to the other two categories of rural space (Carson, 2018; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021a).

Looking across four decades of rural tourism scholarship a recent thematic analysis pinpoints major issues around the impacts and management of rural tourism as well as the role of stakeholders with most research on impact studies, stakeholder-community relationships, and performance-related issues (Karali, Das & Roy, 2021). Entrepreneurship and small enterprise development challenges in rural tourism are critical themes highlighted by Jonathan Yachin (2019, 2020, 2021), Isaac Mantey (2021) and Ingeborg Nordbø (2022). In particular the issue of lifestyle entrepreneurs in rural tourism has attracted much attention (Cunha, Kastenholz & Carneiro, 2018). The significance of 'community resourcefulness' in resource-constrained rural environments has been identified (Qu, McCormick & Funck, 2022). Tourism route planning has been a commonly applied planning approach to energising rural tourism destinations (Rogerson, 2007; Kovács & Nagy, 2013; Herman & Blaga, 2022; Pedrosa, Martins & Breda, 2022). The planning challenges for rural tourism in sub-Saharan Africa are interrogated by Jarkko Saarinen & Monkogoi Lenao (2014). The potential for heritage and of storytelling to contribute to rural tourism destination development is acknowledged (Rogerson & van der Merwe, 2016; Kim, Chhabr & Timothy, 2021; de Beer, van Zyl & Rogerson, 2022). Of note is that in terms of the geographical distribution of studies there has been a spreading of research interest on rural tourism across many countries. It is evident rural tourism now has a literature with contributions from various parts of the world (Alim et al., 2021; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021a, 2021b, 2021c; Chen, Clarke & Hracs, 2022; Darabos, Kőmíves & Molinar, 2022; Rocca & Zielinski, 2022; Senyao & Ha, 2022; Shen & Quan, 2022; Silva, 2022). Recently, the impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic for rural tourism inevitably have garnered considerable attention (Kastenholz et al., 2022). Rural tourism has been observed to be one of the more resilient sectors of tourism in the wake of the pandemic (Marques, Guedes & Bento, 2021; Grandi, Macdonald & Tankibayeva, 2022). With COVID-19 triggering changes in consumer travel preferences towards open spaces, solitude and nature, potential opportunities opened for rural tourism in several countries, albeit with challenges to reach that potential (Giddy, Rogerson & Rogerson, 2022; Kinczel & Müller, 2022; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2022a; Rogerson & Sixaba, 2022; Rogerson et al., 2022).

What is evident in all the recent reviews of international research on rural tourism is that little serious attention had been devoted to researching *historical* issues surrounding the evolution of rural tourism destinations. The major exceptions are works produced by tourist historians such as those magisterial works which have investigated the establishment of the English Lake District as a prime rural tourism destination (Wood & Walton, 2016). Smaller-scale studies, however, recently have appeared on the broad evolutionary pattern of rural tourism in South Africa as a whole (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2021c) and the beginnings of rural tourism occurring in the spaces of former Bantustans (Wildman, 2005; Drummond, Drummond & Rogerson, 2021, 2022; Rogerson, 2022b). This study therefore represents a further modest step towards a more comprehensive interpretation of the tourism historical geography of the Bantustans in South Africa. It examines developments which occurred in the rural Transkei during the apartheid years. Figure 1 shows the location of the spaces that formed the basis of ten ethno-states under apartheid. It is apparent that Transkei was the largest in terms of the size of its territory. The majority of the land that made-up Transkei was part of the former Cape Province, one of the four provinces of South Africa.

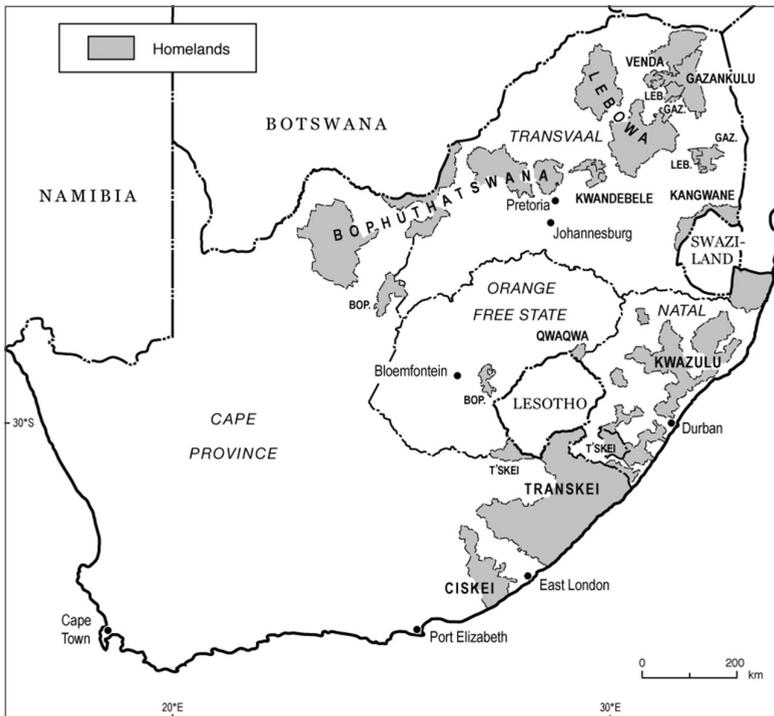


Figure 1: The Geographical Territories of the Apartheid Bantustans or Homelands

Source: Authors

3. Transkei and Rural Tourism

Two subsections of material are given. The first provides a brief account of the historical development of Transkei as a Bantustan and the challenges for territorial economic development. The second section turns attention specifically to the evolution of Transkei as a rural tourism destination during the apartheid period.

Transkei — Historical Context

The historical roots of all the Bantustans are located in the 19th century colonial land dispossession which resulted in the establishment of ‘native reserves’ (Phillips, 2017). The early history of Transkei is mapped out in detail by Monica Wilson (1959) and Jeff Peires (1979). During 1894 certain powers to self-govern were granted by the Cape Colony which preceded the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969). Stone (1969) states that the first official ‘territorial authority’ for the Transkei can be traced back to 1895. By 1903 the Transkeian Territories were formed and governed by a chief magistrate (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969). The formation of the ‘native reserves’ and the empowerment of traditional authorities during the colonial period facilitated the making of the Homelands in the apartheid era (Phillips, 2017).

In 1948 the National Party came to power trumpeting the notion of ‘apartheid’ — apart-ness — but in the early years of its government “it was unclear precisely what this would mean” (Phillips, 2017, p. 2). The legal framework to create the Bantustans was the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act which “established tribal, regional and territorial authorities that codified the principle that the former ‘reserves’ were spaces that the apartheid government would continue to ethnicise and use as dumping grounds for removed Africans” (Aerni-Flessner & Twala, 2021, p. 97). According to Laura Phillips (2017) this piece of legislation opened the way for a series of policy changes that ultimately led to the formation of the bantustans. In 1959 the Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act was passed “opening another door in the move toward the creation of the bantustans” (Phillips, 2017, p. 4).

Historians argue that the introduction of this Act and the pursuit of a self-governing policy for the reserves in the early 1960s was associated with the changing imperatives of South Africa’s cheap labour economy anchored on migrant labour as well as the National Party’s growing confidence in its power as a result of the crushing of African resistance and asserting their dominance in the white electorate (Beinart, 2012). By the early 1960s “it was clear that some form of self-rule for the African reserves was on the cards” (Phillips, 2017, p. 5). The apartheid govern-

ment portrayed in its propaganda material the prospects for Transkei in glowing terms. It was styled “a land with high agricultural potential”, “colourful people who love nature”, “who love the traditions of their forefathers”, and “the rhythm of life” (Department of Bantu Administration, 1961, pp. 24–25). The role of the Transkei as a classic demonstration of South Africa’s ‘decolonization’ initiative was emphasized: “The Transkei has shown that the (apartheid) Government’s policy of separate development is altogether practical and feasible” (Department of Bantu Administration, 1961, p. 48).

In 1963 the territory of Transkei was granted self-governing status following the preparation of the first homeland constitution which was given approval by the South African parliament (Stone, 1969). The Transkei became viewed as the ‘model’ for apartheid planning (Southall, 1983). The Transkei led the way as the “model homeland” and was seen as “the blueprint Bantustan” (Phillips, 2017, p. 5). The Transkei Legislative Assembly was made up of 64 chiefs that included five paramount chiefs and 45 elected members from the 26 districts of the Transkei (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969). The Transkei Assembly elected a cabinet which was comprised of five different ministries. Regardless of the ‘self-governance’ the South African apartheid government still maintained control over Transkei in terms of components such as the military, external affairs, postal and information services, security, transport, immigration, currency, banks, health and constitution which were controlled by the South African government (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969). As pointed out by Adolf Stone (1969, p. 30) the entire structure of the government of Transkei “rests on the loyalty of the tribes to the chiefs and theirs to the government in Pretoria.” The Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) was the ruling party during Transkei’s independence led by Paramount Chief Kaizer Matanzima (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969). The party’s objectives were supportive of the separate development policy that was set out by the apartheid government and also approved the governing of chiefs (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969; Southall, 1983).

In 1976 the territory of Transkei became the first of four South Africa’s Bantustans to accede to ‘independence’. Patrick Laurence (1976) points out that Transkei independence in 1976 came with hidden constitutional consequences, it resulted in the denial of black persons who had a connection with the Transkei the right of being a South African citizen and making them foreigners in their country of birth. Transkei citizens were defined as persons born in the Transkei or legally resident in the Transkei for more than five years, and also applied to persons who were in South Africa but whose origins were in the Transkei (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1969). As Wildman (2005, p. 42) indicates with ‘independence’ not only were all Transkeians stripped of their South African citizenship but “Tran-

skeian citizenship was automatically given to more than one million blacks living in areas classified by the apartheid government as white, some of whom had never even set foot in Transkei". The bogus 'independence' of Transkei was not recognised by the international community and condemned by the anti-apartheid movement (Phillips, 2017). For the architects of apartheid, however, the Transkei offered the perfect example, since it was already consolidated and was the first self-governing homeland (Southall, 1983). Indeed, in the propaganda of apartheid the Transkei was presented to the world as "a living example of emancipation without chaos" (Department of Bantu Administration, 1961, p. 48)

The establishment of Transkei as 'self-governing' and subsequently as 'independent' territory was accompanied by changes in the institutional and policy environment that impacted prospects for territorial economic development (Southall, 1983). Prior to 1948 the economies of the "Native reserves" were almost exclusively anchored on agriculture and small-holdings. By the 1950s there was evidence of decline and by the 1970s a total collapse of the agricultural base of many reserves (Phillips, 2017). To address the massive economic development challenges of the reserves the apartheid government appointed the Tomlinson Commission, which was an investigation into social and economic planning in the Reserves (Union of South Africa, 1955). The Commission reported that the major development challenge was the paucity of non-agricultural wage opportunities and recommended a programme to promote industrial development and decentralization to support new job creation. From 1959 the programme was geographically concentrated on areas bordering rather than within the reserves but in 1968 the programme was re-oriented around a series of designated industrial 'growth points' inside the Homelands. In the case of Transkei the major focus was upon Umtata, the territorial capital, and Butterworth where government incentives were made available to attract local and foreign industrial investors (Tomlinson & Addleson, 1987). Further support for economic development was given by the establishment of dedicated development corporations for the various Homelands; in the case of Transkei it was the Xhosa Development Corporation (XDC) and subsequently the Transkei Development Corporations. These development corporations, according to Phillips (2017), represented key sites of elite formation and mandated with creating a capitalist class within the Bantustans by supporting entrepreneurs and business development much of which was in trading and taking-over formerly white-owned businesses.

Ostensibly the fragmented and economically underdeveloped Bantustans were supposed to offer opportunities for the advancement of the Black African population and thereby provide a veneer of legitimacy to white rule in the rest of South Africa (Lemon, 1998; Phillips, 2017). In an effort to provide a cloak of economic

legitimacy to these rural areas from the late 1950s and through to the early 1980s these territories were the focus for the implementation of an regional development programme which included during the 1980s the offer of generous investment incentives designed to catalyse industrial development in these peripheral spaces (Tomlinson & Addleson, 1987; Platzky, 1995). However, the programme achieved limited success in Transkei and job growth in factories fell far short of hopes for employment creation in the Bantustan (Dewar, 1987).

Tourism in Transkei Under Apartheid

With the growing acknowledgement of the disappointments of regional policy for industrial decentralization the potential of encouraging tourism development in the mainly rural Bantustan areas came onto the policy agenda of the South African government (Drummond, Rogerson & Drummond, 2022; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2023). In the case of Transkei it was a *rediscovery* of tourism as a sector for development. During the colonial period from the 1920s into the 1940s the Transkei had been promoted as a destination for international tourists in search of the ‘primitive’, the ‘exotic’, or wishing to gaze at ‘Native life’ (Rogerson, 2022b). Marketing material from 1937 stylized the Transkei territories as “a strange primeval land” with “picturesque Bantu life” (Carlyle-Gall, 1937, p. 75). This type of promotion and attraction to international tourists fell away however in the apartheid years. But, beginning in the 1940s the Transkei coast became a popular focus for small flows of domestic tourists from South Africa’s major cities, a favoured destination for (white) domestic tourists and most especially around Coffee Bay. During the 1960s and early 1970s a growth of (white) South African domestic tourism occurred in Coffee Bay (Wildman, 2005).

This emergence of domestic tourism visits to Transkei was occurring in the period of ‘self-government’ and at a time when the local development corporations were taking an interest in tourism and in hotel properties. During 1970 the XDC was responsible for a three-star Transkei Hotel which was opened in Umtata and was used as a training centre for black hotel managers (Transkei Government, 1975). The XDC expanded its portfolio in tourism by taking over several white-owned hotels and holiday resorts. The opportunities for leisure development at the scenically attractive Wild Coast came under particular attention. The Wild Coast was seen as a space of opportunity that could offer business possibilities albeit there were constraints which involved the limited number of accommodation establishments at the time as the available accommodation needed to be refurbished to tourists standards, and the upgrade of accessible roads also needed to be prioritised (Transkei Government, 1975). As earlier stressed, the focus of the

development corporations was upon building Black-owned businesses as a whole and including in the tourism sector.

A landmark in the tourism development history of Transkei was the territory's accession to 'independence' in 1976 which re-cast the environment for tourism investment and tourism development. It should be understood, however, that there was widespread opposition to 'independence' of Transkei on 26 October 1976 which was viewed as illegitimate and essentially imposed by the apartheid government (Streek & Wicksteed, 1981). The Transkei enjoyed a number of potential assets for leisure tourism development and especially around areas of the Wild Coast with Coffee Bay and Port St Johns as distinctive hubs for leisure tourism.

The Transkei was well known for its natural coastal scenery, waterfalls, green forests and scenic seaside resorts (Wildman, 2005). Other attractions include shipwrecks along the Transkei coast, historical sites, and rock paintings (Transkei Government, 1986). The period of 'self-government' witnessed a number of initiatives for tourism promotion prior to the 'independence' of 1976. These included the creation of the division of Tourism and Nature Conservation to oversee nature conservation and tourism promotion, the encouragement of camping tourism along the coastal zone and building of a tourist centre in Umtata to include a Xhosa museum, cinema and arts and craft centre. Policies were introduced also to control development along the coast line. By the early 1980s greater promotion was undertaken of Transkei's potential as a leisure tourism destination. Indeed, tourism came to be seen as a source of income and planning for the coastal areas was based on the identification of several key nodes with the rest of the coastline left in its natural state (Ashley & Ntshona, 2003). Hiking trails and homestays were innovated. In 1981 the Transkei Department of Planning and Commerce produced an official visitor guidebook which stated: "Transkei is a country of considerable beauty ranging from indigenous forests in its inland mountain areas to a unique coastline which is unequalled for its unspoilt natural beauty. The policy of my Department is to preserve the beauty of the coastline and at the same time to encourage tourist development in selected areas" (Republic of the Transkei, 1981, p. 2). The Transkei government recognised that tourism had the potential to boost investment possibilities, and improve the international image of Transkei (Daily Dispatch, 1985). This said, the post-1986 era of sanctions resulted in minimal international tourism with the exception of (essentially domestic) South African visitors.

As indicated in the above discussion the major issues around tourism policy and planning in Transkei centred around coastal development. It is observed, however, that remarkably little policy documentation surrounds what was the major change in Transkei tourism during the independence period, namely the establishment of casino tourism. For Jennifer Briedenhann and Eugenia Wickens (2004) the growth

of casino tourism is viewed as an important aspect of rural tourism in South Africa. With Transkei 'independence' in 1976, tourism developers were offered new opportunities for casino development as the status of 'independence' was a means to circumvent South African government restrictions towards what was deemed as such 'morally dubious' activities as gambling, inter-racial relations and pornography (Haines & Tomaselli, 1992). Wildman (2005, p. 86) observed the Transkei, as with other subsequent 'independent' Bantustans, "provided the ideal location for white South Africans to indulge themselves". The Holiday Inn group launched in December 1981 the first casino-resort in Transkei which was built at Mzamba on the Natal South Coast with white domestic visitors from the Durban metropolitan area and surrounds the target market.

Several studies confirm that the casino developments that occurred in Transkei were linked to corruption and arrangements which were made between Sol Kerzner and the leadership of Transkei (Streek & Wicksteed, 1981; Wildman, 2005; Phillips, 2017). This situation of corrupt practices in casino-resort developments in Transkei was replicated in other Bantustans (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2022b). William Beinart (2012) shows that the newly available money and resources coupled with new modes of government created an environment for patronage, personalised power and corruption by the ruling elite within the Bantustans as local politics revolved around access to new assets. It is widely recorded that the former leaders of Transkei had a close relationship with the hotel group Sun International and its chairman Sol Kerzner. The Mzamba Development Company was given the right to establish a hotel, casino and recreational facilities. It was also given the right to demolish existing cottages on the condition that the owners be compensated. In 1979 the local community was removed from their land to make way for this tourism development at the time when the Transkei government went into agreement with Sun International to construct the Wild Coast Holiday Inn (Baskin, 1984). At least 77 houses were demolished with impacts for over 1000 people of Mzamba to make way for the construction of the hotel (Baskin, 1984).

The local community were threatened and eventually removed from their land to make way for the hotel development as a result of the agreement between Holiday Inn and the Transkei leadership. Overall, the Matanzima brothers (Kaizer and George) who ruled the Transkei as leaders were known for rampant corruption and mismanagement of state funds. The younger brother George was reputed to have made demands for bribes even from some of his Ministers (Naki, 2017). In an interview conducted with a committee member of the Wild Coast Sun Mbizana Development Trust it was explained as follows:

Sun International arrived in 1978, and people were removed by Matanzima and Sol Kerzner. They had made promises to the community that people would work for Sun International for the rest of their lives, including their children and future generation. But they were unhappy because their houses were bulldozed, they were forcibly removed... The people left their kraals and plantation, and they lost their value and dignity during that time. All these years from 1978, people got poor more than the time they had their homesteads, during the time people practised farming they had their cows, and goats, plantation of banana, mango, avocados. They came and destroyed everything, Sun International, they destroyed graves and livelihoods (Interview Respondent).

The Bantustan administrations were bywords for corruption (Phillips, 2017). It was during the early 1980s, the period of major corruption surrounding tourism development in the Transkei, when this Bantustan attracted the interest of South African tourism capital. Several hotel enterprises investigated opportunities for casino development mainly in the territory's coastal areas and Umtata, the Transkei capital (Rogerson, 2019). With 'independence' new market opportunities were opened in Umtata to supply the growing market for business tourism as Umtata acquired the status as well as certain of the associated trappings of a 'national' capital by accommodating the steady flow of diplomats and government officials from Pretoria (Rogerson, 2019). By contrast, Wildman (2005) documents that whilst 'independence' for Transkei may have created new opportunities in casino tourism at the same time it dampened traditional coastal leisure tourism. Coastal tourism proprietors reported occupancy rates dropped dramatically following 'independence' as their core base of regular white domestic tourists was nervous if not 'scared' of holidaying in an area with a black government (Wildman, 2005). At Coffee Bay the situation of coastal tourism worsened throughout the 1980s and the image of Transkei became badly tarnished by two military coups and when stories circulated in 1990 of planned attacks on white tourists who might visit the Transkei during the Christmas holiday season (Daily Dispatch, 1990). Although the Transkei authorities sought to assure tourists about safety many visitors cancelled their bookings at Wild Coast hotels (Daily Dispatch, 1990). The consequences for coastal leisure tourism were disastrous with hotels closing and the former popular holiday resort of Coffee Bay becoming a 'ghost town' by the early 1990s (Wildman, 2005). At the end of apartheid and the time of democratic change in 1994, the tourism economy of Transkei still exhibited signs of distress as a consequence of its poor image for the leisure market of South African domestic tourists (Rogerson, 2022b).

Conclusion

Tourism spaces and the landscapes that tourists inhabit inevitably bear imprints of the past. It is essential therefore that tourism geographers expand their understanding of tourism's past and of the historical evolution of destinations. This paper has used an historical approach and archival sources to recover the past tourism development of one of South Africa's Bantustans during the apartheid period. The research on the Transkei represents a study in rural tourism, a field of research which has expanded considerably over the past two decades but with only limited focus on historical issues. It is shown that tourism became a sector of policy interest with the disappointments attached to a national government programme for industrial development and the continuing imperative for employment creation. Tourism promotion initially was focused on leisure tourism around the natural beauty and attractions of Transkei's coastal areas. With the grant of 'independence', however, a new institutional environment emerged which resulted in the Transkei becoming a focus for casino tourism at a time when casino gambling was prohibited in South Africa. It was shown that the growth of casino tourism was, however, linked to corruption which took place between South African tourism capital and the leadership of this Bantustan.

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Turystyka wiejska w RPA w czasach apartheidu na przykładzie bantustanu Transkei

Streszczenie. W ciągu ostatnich dwóch dekad można zauważyć wzrost zainteresowania badaniami na temat turystyki wiejskiej. Jednym z aspektów tej turystyki, któremu nie poświęca się wiele miejsca w literaturze, jest historyczna ewolucja obszarów turystyki wiejskiej. W artykule wykorzystano podejście historyczne i źródła archiwalne, aby przeanalizować ewolucję turystyki wiejskiej w okresie apartheidu w jednym z byłych bantustanów w RPA, a mianowicie w Transkei. Autorzy wykazują, że turystyka stała się przedmiotem zainteresowania ówczesnych władz RPA z powodu rozczarowań związanych z rządowymi programami decentralizacji przemysłu. W początkowym okresie podkreślano zalety turystyki opartej na walorach przyrodniczych i atrakcjach turystycznych obszarów przybrzeżnych Transkei. Jednak wraz z utworzeniem bantustanu i przyznaniem „niezależności” pojawiło się nowe środowisko instytucjonalne, w wyniku którego Transkei stał się centrum turystyki

kasynowej, w czasie gdy w RPA hazard w kasynach był zakazany. Rozwój turystyki kasynowej był jednak powiązany z korupcją, do której dochodziło na styku południowoafrykańskiego kapitału turystycznego i przywództwa tego bantustanu.

Słowa kluczowe: turystyka wiejska, apartheid, Afryka Południowa, geografia turystyki, podejście historyczne, Transkei, turystyka kasynowa



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