The Beach: The Making & Remaking of Coffee Bay (1945 – 2005)

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Declaration:
This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate **Date:** 5/9/05

The Beach

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Abstract

The Beach: The Making and Remaking of Coffee Bay (1945-2005)

Coffee Bay, a small beach resort located in the heart of the former Transkei, is one of the current tourist "hot spots" on South Africa's Wild Coast. Through a detailed analysis of tourist literature spanning several decades, together with consideration of established theories regarding the 'making of place', this study examines the relationship between visual representations of Coffee Bay and the changing patterns of tourism in the seaside resort from 1945 to the present.

This study traces the Coffee Bay's development over three separate periods - 1945 to 1969, 1970 to 1989, and 1990 to 2005 – during which time three different groups of tourists inhabited its space: cottage owners, hotel guests and backpackers. Despite their differences, each group sought the same thing - an archetypal, mythical vision of a tourist "paradise". They thus inhabited and confected Coffee Bay's touristscape with their interpretations of this Utopia.

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A Word on Terminology

Throughout this study I refer to the area in which Coffee Bay is located by three separate names. Currently it is in the South African province of the Eastern Cape, which was formed in 1995 following the fall of apartheid. For the period covering 1976-1994, I refer to the region as *Transkei*, which was its official designation during "independence". Prior to this period, however, I refer to the area as *the Transkei* or *the Transkeian Territories*. Since Transkei was never recognised internationally as an official state, I have placed the word "independence" in quotation marks in order to stress its lack of legitimacy.

At differing stages I then refer to Transkei as both a *reserve* and a *homeland*. The term *reserve* is used in the context of the territory being officially designated as a "Native Reserve" by the 1913 Natives Land Act until the inauguration in the 1950s of the Bantu Authorities system (Southall, 1982). Over the years the terms *homeland* and *Bantustan*, which both refer to particular areas defined by the apartheid government as to which a certain "racial" group belonged have come to be used somewhat interchangeably (see Clark & Worger, 2004). For this study I have chosen to employ the term *homeland* for two main reasons: Firstly, in recognition of the fact that it refers to an official set of policies and institutional structures created by the apartheid government. Secondly, and most importantly, during my initial archival research for this study at the University of Transkei I discovered that the word *Bantustan* was deemed unacceptable with all library searches being immediately redirected to *homeland*.

When making reference to the peoples of South Africa, there are a myriad of terms that have been utilised and appropriated over the years. These have

included among others: *natives*, *Bantu*, *Africans*, *blacks*, *whites* and *coloureds*. The use of any of these terms is problematic as they are all constructions that were appropriated and imposed by the colonial and apartheid governments in order to maintain power and control over the black majority (Boonzaier, 1988:175). As West (1988:108) points out, "South Africans [or any nation's people for that matter] cannot be easily pigeonholed into 'population groups', 'races', 'tribes' or 'cultures'. The population, as it has always done, moves, interacts, and intermarries, and therefore changes and denies rigid classification schemes".

The terms *natives* and *Bantu*, because of their offensive nature, have in contemporary studies been supplanted by *Africans* and *blacks*. Nevertheless, in certain instances in this study I have made use of some of these terms, specifically *native*, as a means through which to emphasise that the indigenous peoples of South Africa were seen not only by the apartheid government, but moreover by tourists, as cultural curiosities. I have therefore used the term *blacks* to encompass all of the country's indigenous peoples. As Denning (1992:178) so succinctly notes, replacing the term "native" with a neutral synonym such as "indigenous", "aboriginal" or "inhabitant" does not hide or lessen the racist overtones and prejudices attached to the original word.

When referring directly to the people of Transkei, most academics prefer the term *Xhosa-speaking* as opposed to *Xhosa* as Xhosa in fact refers to the language spoken in the region and not to the people themselves. However, for greater regional emphasis and in order to retain the notion of "blackness" and "whiteness" inherent in this study, I have chosen to break with contemporary conventions and employ the term *black Transkeians*. While I am fully aware that since reintegration with South Africa the name *Transkei* has fallen by the wayside, I believe that it is still an appropriate choice as it continues to live on as a social and geographical term in popular tourism discourse.

My employment of any of these terms, as well as others such as "culture", "tribe" and "tradition", in no way implies my acceptance of them.

List of Abbreviations

ANC	South African National Congress
CPA	Communal Property Association
Deat	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
IPSP	Integrated Provincial Support Programme
MK	Umkhonto we Sizwe (the Spear of the Nation)
PTO	Permission to Occupy
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SADF	South African Defence Force
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SATOUR	South African Tourism Board
TDC	Transkei Development Corporation
TDF	Transkei Defence Force
TGC	Transkeian General Council
TNIP	Transkei National Independence Party
TTGC	Transkeian Territories General Council
UTTGC	United Transkeian Territories General Council
WCCOA	Wild Coast Cottage Owners Association
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WTO	World Tourism Organisation
XDC	Xhosa Development Corporation

Chronology

1945	The Second World War ends.
1948	National Party comes to power.
1950	Introduction of the Population Registration, Immorality and Group Areas Acts.
1951	Bantu Authorities Act passed, abolishing the Native Representative Council.
1953	Reservation of Separate Amenities Act and Bantu Education Act passed.
1956	Tomlinson Commission report recommends that more land be allocated for the establishment of homelands. Bantu Authorities Act approved.
1958	Hendrik Verwoerd becomes Prime Minister of South Africa.
1959	Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act adopted.
1961	South Africa becomes a republic and leaves the Commonwealth.
1963	Transkei Constitution Act passed and Transkeian Legislative Assembly elected.
1966	Prime Minister Verwoerd assassinated in parliament and B.J Vorster becomes Prime Minister.
1976	Transkei becomes the first "independent" homeland. Botha Sicgau becomes State President and Kaiser Matanzima appointed as Prime Minister.
1978	Transkei severs diplomatic ties with South Africa.

1979	Botha Sicgau dies. Kaiser Matanzima resigns as Prime Minster and takes over the reigns of the Presidency. George Matanzima succeeds as Prime Minster.
1981	Ciskei becomes an "independent" homeland, Transkei refuses to acknowledge Ciskeian independence. Kaiser Matanzima dismisses three senior Transkei Defence Force (TDF) officers and hires a group of ex-Rhodesian Selous Scouts headed by Reid Daly.
1986	**February:** First official commission of inquiry into corruption in Transkei established. Zondwa Mtirara appointed Commander of TDF. Kaiser Matanzima retires. **September:** The Selous Scouts free Charles Sebe, the imprisoned former head of the Ciskei Department of State Security and brother of Ciskei President Lennox Sebe.
1987	**January:** TDF second-in-command Brigadier Bantu Holomisa detained. **February:** The Selous Scouts organise a military attack on Ciskeian Presidential Palace. **March:** Holomisa released. **April:** TDF stage a mutiny. Selous Scouts expelled. Brigadier Bantu Holomisa replaces Zondwa Mtirara as Commander of TDF. **May:** Kaiser attempts a political comeback. **September:** First Transkeian coup. Stella Sicgau, daughter of Transkei's first President, elected Prime Minister. **December:** Holomisa takes control of the government in Transkei's second coup.
1989	At the reburial of Sabata Dalindyebo, the former Paramount Chief of Thembuland, Holomisa announces plans for a referendum on the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa.
1990	**February:** Holomisa unbans seven organisations including the ANC, PAC and SACP. **November:** Kaiser Matanzima with the backing of the South African government staged an unsuccessful third coup.
1994	ANC wins South Africa's first non-racial elections. Nelson Mandela becomes President. Transkei is reintegrated with South Africa and becomes part of the Eastern Cape Province.
1996	White Paper for Social Welfare published.

2000	ANC wins second democratic election. Thabo Mbeki becomes President.
2003	Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act and Communal Land Rights Act adopted.
2004	Thabo Mbeki is re-elected as President of South Africa.

PART ONE

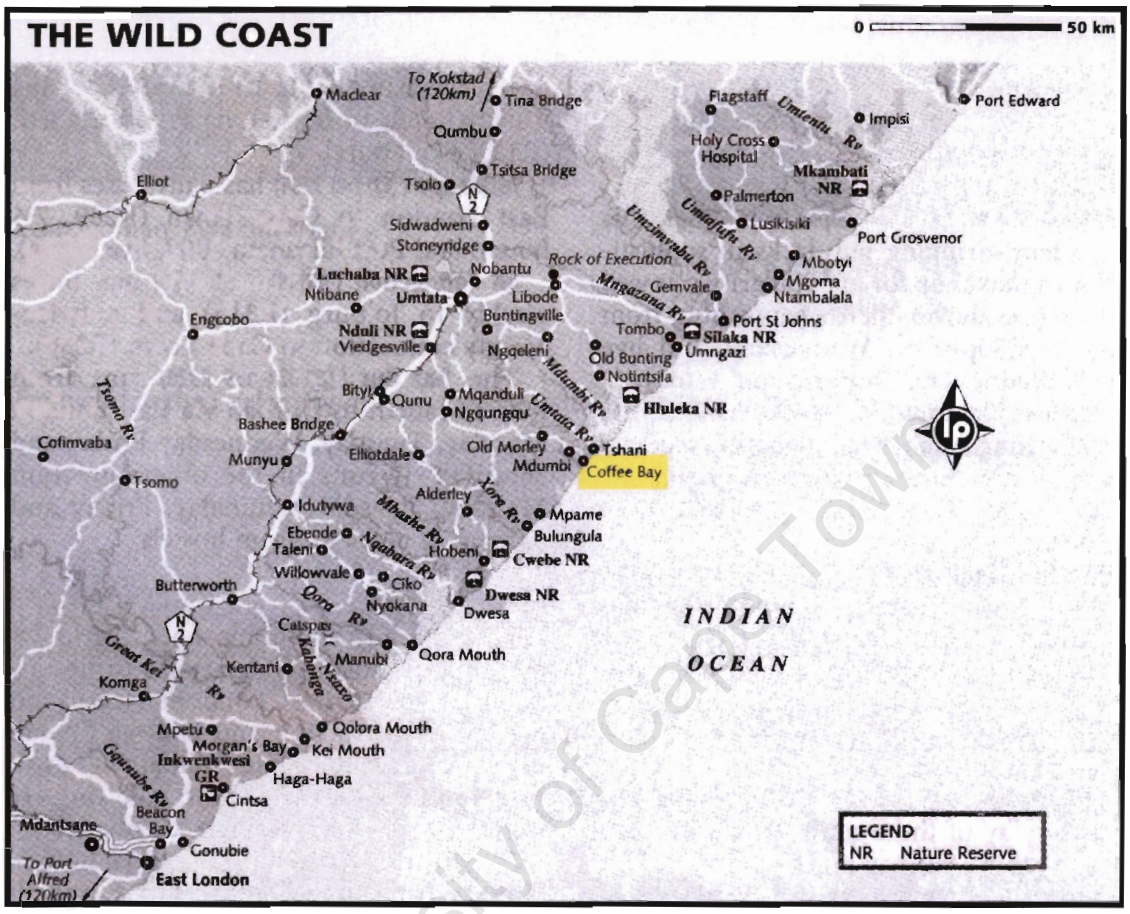

Figure 1.1: Previously located in the Transkei, Coffee Bay (highlighted yellow) is now part of the Wild Coast region of the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa. The 280 km stretch of coastline on which Coffee Bay is situated has long been referred to as the Wild Coast – a name acquired from its notoriety as a graveyard for the many ships wrecked on its rocky shores. (Fitzpatrick et al, 2005:262)

1

Introduction:

Seeking Eden on a Lonely Planet[1]

There's no way you can keep it out of Lonely Planet, and once that happens it's countdown to doomsday.

Alex Garland, 1997:194

A fresh gust of breeze greets me as I finally make it to the top of the cliff. Feeling tired, but at the same time strangely energised, I close my eyes and breathe deeply, allowing the pungent salty smell of the sea air to fill my senses. Opening my eyes again, I inadvertently glance at my watch. Not bad, I muse, calculating that it has only taken me just over a half an hour to make the hike up from the resort below. Pleased with my efforts, I move closer to the cliff's edge and collapse exhausted on a carpet of soft green grass. After no more than a moment or two I sit upright and shading my eyes from the sun's bright rays like a latter day explorer, I survey the bay below. The bay I have now conquered – Coffee Bay.

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[1] This study had its beginnings in an earlier paper I wrote for one of my core Masters courses at the University of Cape Town. See: Wildman, K. 2004, 'Picturing Coffee Bay: The Visual Politics of Tourist Representations', *postamble*, 1(1): 2-10
[Online] Available: http://www.africanstudies.uct.ac.za/postamble/

Somehow this little seaside resort on South Africa's Wild Coast seems smaller than I had imagined. A thin strip of beach runs the length of the bay protecting the inlet from the constant rolling waves that wash its shore. Meeting the beach, a dense thicket of shrubbery provides the resort with its second natural boundary. More of a village than a resort, Coffee Bay itself is a rather scruffy collection of tired, weathered cottages and near derelict buildings. From where I sit its most striking feature is the rambling old Lagoon Hotel, since re-opened as KwaTshezi Hotel, whose bright blue tin roof dominates the landscape. Beyond the main settlement, lush green hills dotted with lime-washed rondavels – the homesteads of the black Transkeian people – gently rise up out of the valley.

Looking down on the small inlet I am reminded of Australian historian Greg Dening's (1980) book *Islands and Beaches*. Dening (1980:31-32) describes beaches as "beginnings and endings"; "frontiers and boundaries" that demarcate and limit the transformative space of "cultural contact" between the voyager who crosses the beach and the people who inhabit the land. While Dening's study is focused on the Marquesas Islands, the islands and beaches that he writes of are more metaphoric than physical. As he explains, "They are the islands men and women make by the reality they attribute to their categories, their roles, their institutions and the beaches they put around them with their definitions of 'we' and 'they'" (1980:3). Islands and beaches can be found everywhere – even in a place like Coffee Bay.

From my vantage point I can clearly see the drama of Dening's metaphor as it is acted out in the bay below me. On the central section of the beach a group of tourists – Dening's voyagers – have laid claim to its possession with their brightly coloured towels and raised umbrellas. Off to one side, under the shade of a tree, a group of black Transkeian children – Dening's islanders – sit in a huddle. Having ventured down from the hills for the day, they idly hang about the beach hoping to sing for the tourists for small change and sweets. I watch as

one child makes a tentative step towards the tourists, while the others eagerly urge him on. Further along, I notice two black Transkeian women carrying strands of beads in their hands. They too approach the tourists and impatiently brandish their wares, only to be waved on. Further down the beach, to my surprise, I spy a small herd of cows gathered close to the water's edge.

I become aware that there is a clear distinction between the modern settlement in the foreground and the rural landscape that is its picturesque backdrop. Considering Dening's metaphor, Coffee Bay is the beach and the verdant green hills of the Wild Coast that rise behind it belong to the island on which it verges. As the divide between the land and the sea, Dening (1980:35) claims the beach is a place where "edginess" rules. It is the site of perpetual movement that not only marks the voyagers' crossings from sea to island and back again, but also their many interactions and exchanges with the islanders. Like the beaches of the Marquesas, Coffee Bay has been the site of numerous cultural exchanges between the black Transkeian people and the many different voyagers who have crossed the beach. The modern voyagers – the tourists – like all those who came before, are intricately involved in the ongoing drama of the cultural process of the beach. As Dening (1980:31) writes, in crossing the beach "every voyager has brought something old and made something new". Each new generation of voyagers brings with them their old habits, needs and desires and so, with every trip, the beach is renewed as it adjusts and rebalances.

In addition, Dening (1980:2) claims that each time the voyagers leave the beach it becomes a little more divided. Their continuous comings and goings, and their sharing of their knowledge of the island with others, forever alters it. In reflecting upon his visit to the island of Tahuata, Dening (1980:2) remarks, "we do not know what our visit cost … or what was the price of our shared knowledge". As a voyager who has crossed Coffee Bay's beach on several occasions, I begin to wonder what has been the cost of my shared knowledge of

this place on the bay and its inhabitants. Have I left more than footprints in the sand?

We Can't Go There – It's Not in the Book!

I first learned of Coffee Bay in March 2001, when I came to South Africa to research and write the fifth edition of Lonely Planet's *South Africa, Lesotho & Swaziland* guidebook.[2] Stopping briefly in Cape Town to organise my transportation for the trip I met up with the co-ordinating author of the guide. During our conversation he claimed that he had heard of a hot new, relatively undiscovered destination on the east coast called Coffee Bay that he thought would be perfect for the guide.[3] As the area fell within a section of the guide I was covering, he urged me not to miss it in my travels. Thinking nothing of it, I made some quick notes and then set off on my trip.

As I began driving slowly up the coast, stopping en route at numerous backpacker hostels, I soon realised that the word on Coffee Bay was spreading: everyone it seemed was talking about Coffee Bay. But, while the young backpackers I spoke to romanticised Coffee Bay as some kind of mythical beach paradise, well off the usual beaten tourist trail, most of the South Africans I met claimed that, because of its location in the former Transkei,[4] Coffee Bay was dangerous and unsafe, warning me to avoid the region at all costs. One particularly worried man I stopped to ask for directions from anxiously advised:

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[2] I had previously come to South Africa as a tourist in 1996, but returned as a guidebook author in 2001 to update the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Lesotho chapters of this guide. See: Richmond, S., Murphy, A., Wildman, K. & Burke, A. 2002, *South Africa, Lesotho & Swaziland*, 5th Ed, Melbourne: Lonely Planet.

[3] Coffee Bay had been listed in the guide since its inception in 1993, but being new to this particular guide, neither my co-ordinating author, Simon Richmond (who covered Cape Town and the Peninsula and the Western Cape) nor I, were aware of this at the time.

[4] The former Transkei, now part of the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa, refers to the large tract of land bounded by the Umtamvuna River in the north-east, the Great Kei River in the south-west, by 280km of coastline and inland by the Stormberg and Drakensberg mountain ranges.

"If you *have* to drive through the Transkei, *only* stop at the Shell Ultra City outside Umtata to fill up your car and then *get the hell out of there*!"

With the Coffee Bay myth growing, I, too, fell prey to the hype and soon found myself spreading the word to other travellers. When I finally made it to Coffee Bay, however, my illusions were quickly shattered. Far from finding a region that was dangerous, I found the former Transkei to be safe and virtually hassle-free. Apart from the odd free-roaming cow that insisted on standing in the middle of the road, my journey through the region had passed by uneventfully. And instead of finding an untouched paradise akin to the one immortalised in Alex Garland's novel *The Beach* (1997), what I found was a mini backpacker ghetto full of hedonistic young tourists who were more interested in drinking and getting high than exploring the region in which they found themselves.

Disappointed by this discovery, I began to question how tourist myths were created and circulated. Drawing on a Levi-Straussian tradition, Selwyn (1996:3) writes that myths are "stories which may serve the intellectual and emotional function of taking up personal and social conundra of living in such a way that these appear 'resolved' at an intellectual and emotional level". They are "vehicles of forgetfulness" that allow us to shift the difficulties encountered in the post-modern world elsewhere. In transferring these difficulties, however, myths simultaneously become "vehicles for overcommunication with others" (1996:3). Applying Levi-Straus's notions of myths to tourism, Selwyn (1996:3) therefore claims that tourist perceptions, motivations and understanding of a destination are shaped by their preoccupation with the overcommunicated, mythologised tourist view of the destination.

Thus, if what I had been told previously about Coffee Bay was only, as Selwyn (1996) argues, a tourist myth, then how had it begun? Had Coffee Bay always been envisioned as some kind of earthly paradise? Had it always been the domain of backpackers? And what of the issue of safety in the former Transkei? How had this myth come into being?

These questions soon gave way to more critical, self-reflexive questions. As a guidebook author, what had been my role in the production of tourist myths? Had I, through my writing, merely been recycling old myths? Moreover, what, as Dening (1980) queries, had been the cost of my shared knowledge?

One of the great paradoxes debated in Garland's *The Beach* (1997) is that the very tourism spawned by travel guidebooks ends up spoiling the places that they praise. Garland's core argument is that once a destination is listed in a guidebook such as the Lonely Planet it becomes accessible to a host of young Western travellers, who in visiting it destroy the very paradise that they seek. As Abram and Waldren (1997:1) purport, tourism has become, "tainted with the imagery of a totalising modernity that tarnishes all it touches, destroying 'authentic cultures' and polluting earthly 'paradises', so that it has become a truism to state that tourism destroys the very object of desire".

For many, modern guidebooks have become virtual Bibles (Garland, 1997; Gluckman, 1999; Sørensen, 2003) and, as such, are now as much a part of the budget travellers' paraphernalia as "the inevitable cigarettes, Teva sandals and light-weight rucksack" (Maltz, 2003). What has given the guidebook this god-like power has been its apparent ability to make the inaccessible accessible. In this sense, it has replaced the traditional tour guide/leader as pathfinder and mentor and as a consequence has widened the horizons of many young Western travellers who "without a guidebook, would never have made the leap into the developing world" (Sørensen, 2003:859). But as one Indonesian tour guide laments:

> When a place becomes popular through a travellers' guidebook like Lonely Planet's, it changes everything....Tourists expect it to be exactly as it has been described....People just believe the books – even if they are five years old (Wheat cited in Hampton, 1998:639)

McGregor (2000:35) contends that the greater problem is that guidebooks "delineate a world to experience, making some foreign places open, attractive and accessible, while at the same time restricting and commodifying the extent, and variability, of travellers' explorations". Despite the travellers' desire to touch, taste and feel a foreign land, they in fact limit their experience by using a guidebook. Sørensen (2003) found that backpackers were more likely to stay within or near the regions described in their guidebooks rather than venture into the unknown. In addition, he frequently heard backpackers argue while planning their trips that, "We can't go there, it's not in the book" (Sørensen, 2003:859).

As Santos (2004:123) points out, in their quest to provide readers with "unique, exciting and undiscovered destinations", modern travel writers have become nothing more than "cultural brokers" who churn out homogenised, repetitive narratives that maintain and uphold previously established socio cultural paradigms. Thinking this proposition through, I realised that everything I had known about South Africa prior to my first visit in 1996 (and everything I had written on the country since) had been constructed by what I had gleaned from the tourist myths created by all kinds of visual and textual media. As Eslrud (2001:600) so succinctly puts it, "the traveller [in my case, the travel writer] does not begin narrating without some sort of manuscript".

Statement of Research Problematic

While there has been much debate regarding the notion that tourists are performers acting and enacting scripts on the stage of tourism (see Boorstin, 1964; Eslrud, 2001; MacCannell, 1976), such perspectives give rise to a number of new, more critical, questions. In the grand spectacle that is the tourist performance, what is the relationship between the production of knowledge and the making of place? How are tourism spaces enacted and scripted for tourists? How does the touristic performance develop over space and time? How is the

tourism performance linked to the making of place? What role do "tourist myths" play in generating and sustaining this performance?

This study is concerned with the production of the tourist myths of Coffee Bay and their connection to the making and re-making of Coffee Bay as a tourist destination. Through the analysis of travel literature, including travel brochures and photographs, this study will examine closely the relationship between tourism *in* Coffee Bay and tourist knowledge *of* Coffee Bay. In tracing how this performance has been played out since the mid 1940s until the present day, I seek to uncover how these socially constructed myths have been appropriated and perpetuated, and also how they have been visibly mapped into the landscape over time. By actively engaging with such visual representations, this study will take the reader on a "journey of [re]discovery" through the "display of histories and pasts" (Minkley, Rassool &Witz, 1996:2). Such historical perspective will provide an analytical tool for problematising contemporary tourist myths.

Implicit in this study is the interweaving of the socio-political relationship between the Transkei and South Africa, and the influence this had on the perceptions of tourists. I will argue that fundamental transformations in the Transkei/Eastern Cape over the last 50 years led to the remarkable metamorphosis of Coffee Bay's projected tourist image and also its tourist landscape. Throughout this study I deconstruct the binary oppositions between such notions as native/stranger, colonised/coloniser and wild/civilised. For it is from the inseparability of power and knowledge created by these constructs that tourist myths have evolved. To help unpack my theories I have employed Dening's (1980) metaphor of "islands and beaches" as the basic framework of my study. As such, I refer to Coffee Bay as "the beach", the Transkei/Wild Coast as "the island", the black Transkeian people as "islanders" and all the various tourists who have crossed the beach's shores as "voyagers".

Part one of this study details the theories and methodologies that underpin its theoretical framework. In Chapter 2 I review the relevant literature,

and define key concepts including notions of tourists and tourism. In Chapter 3, I place Coffee Bay in its geographical and historical context by providing a brief history of the Transkei covering the period from 1945 to the present. Finally, in Chapter 4, I outline the methodologies I employed in the research process and provide a detailed account of my field research diary.

The second part of this study examines the visual representations that have helped shape the patterns of tourism in Coffee Bay since the end of World War II. The chronologically organised chapters are delineated into three distinct periods of touristic development. The first, detailed in Chapter 5, covers the period from 1945 to the late 1960s. During this time Coffee Bay, as an outpost of "civilisation" in a "primitive" landscape, was a popular weekend getaway for nearby white settlers who confected its beach with their holiday cottages.

In Chapter 6 I then focus on the period from 1970 to the late 1980s. For much of the early 1970s, as part of the South African "pleasure periphery"[5] (Crush & Welling, 1983), Coffee Bay enjoyed a reputation as a popular holiday destination for white South African families eager to indulge themselves, free from the restrictions of the prevailing apartheid policies. Following "independence" and the transferral of power to a black government, Coffee Bay's tourist sunshine, however, slowly began to fade until by the end of the 1980s the once thriving seaside resort had turned into a virtual tourist ghost town.

The third section, put forward by Chapter 7, studies the years from 1990 until 2005. During this time, following the violence and upheaval of the period prior to the region's reintegration with South Africa, Coffee Bay fell further into decline. Come the mid-1990s, however, with the opening up of South Africa and the subsequent arrival of international backpackers, Coffee Bay was rediscovered and reinvented as an adventurous off-the-beaten-path destination. Finally, with

[5] The concept of the 'pleasure periphery' is taken from Crush and Wellings (1983) but was first developed by Louis Turner and John Ash. See: Turner, L. & Ash, J. 1975, *The Golden Hordes: International Tourism and the Pleasure Periphery*, London: Constable.

its renown growing, Coffee Bay not only regained its popularity with domestic South African tourists but also began enticing more affluent international tourists. In the concluding chapter, Chapter 8, I reflect upon one of Coffee Bay's most enduring myths – that of its naming – before offering some insights on the relationship between tourist myths and contemporary tourism in Coffee Bay.

What this analysis will ultimately show is that since the mid 1940s the changes that came with both contact and shared knowledge have led to the continuous re-making, re-imaging and re-presenting of Coffee Bay. But as Dening (1980:30) argues, "In re-presenting the past, in re-constructing the different, there is no avoiding our present or ourselves".

2

Touring the Essential:

Literature Review & Matters of Definitions

During the latter half of the 20th century the tourism industry has grown exponentially. By the mid-1990s the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) estimated that tourism had become the world's largest industry (Shepherd, 1998:2). With international arrivals jumping from a mere 25 million in 1950 to more than 763 million in 2004 (WTO, 2005), tourism and travelling is no longer restricted to the wealthy socialites long associated with the Grand Tour. The increase in time allowed for leisure, entertainment and vacation activities beyond the prescribed hours of work has been extended to include all levels of society (Löfgren, 2002). Tourism has not only become an appealing and widespread diversion, it has also generated an entire industry whose sole purpose is to maintain and uphold the very business of travelling. But, as Rassool and Witz (1996:335) so astutely point out, tourism is not merely about business, it is also about "the construction, packaging, transmission and consumption of images and representations of society and its past". This is what is known as the tourism performance.

The purpose of this chapter is to review the literature that forms the framework for this study and to provide definitions for key concepts and terminologies. For ease, the relevant literature has been broken down into four

broad areas of study: The Tourism Performance; [Re]presenting the Tourism Performance; The Tourism Performance in Africa; and, The Tourism Performance and the Making of Place.

The Tourism Performance

The Production

Given that this study's central concern is the tourism performance, it is essential that I first outline what "tourism" means. Over the last few decades scholars have continuously debated over an appropriate definition. One early definition was offered by Jafari (1977) who wrote that tourism was "a study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and the impact that both he [or she] and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic and physical environment". Though dated, it does provide us with a good general overview of the nature of tourism and its consequences.

Pearce (1982) later shifted the debate's focus away from the holistic nature of Jafari's approach by countering that tourism was "the loosely interrelated amalgam of industries which arise from the movement of people and their stay in various destinations outside their home area... Tourism, is in essence, a phenomenon concerned with the leisured society at play". Though a fairly effective definition, its main focus is the role of the tourist and it therefore does not make allowances for impacts of tourism on the host society. A more useful definition is provided by Mill and Morrison, (1992:4) who define tourism as a system of interrelated parts: "like a spider's web – touch one part of it and reverberations will be felt throughout".

While scholars continue to debate, most concur that tourism is a recreational activity that takes place during specifically designated leisure time and involves excursions or trips away from one's normal place of residence (Herbert, 1995; Mathieson & Wall, 1982; Urry, 1990). This definition, however, is itself problematic in that it fails to answer a number of pertinent questions such

as: How far does one need to travel and for how long does one need to be away before one can be considered as a tourist? And, do all types of travel and travellers qualify as tourism and tourists respectively?

Wanting to add clarity to this debate, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) stepped in with their own definition, describing tourism as "the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environments for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business, and other purposes" (cited in Shepherd, 1998:8). What this description and those of the others discussed have made obvious is that any definition of tourism is reliant upon how the central actor in the tourism performance – *the tourist* – is defined.

The Main Actor

Buzard (1993) informs us that the first appearance of the term "tourist" in English was in a late eighteenth century dictionary where it was employed as a synonym for the term "traveller". Like Boorstin (1976) before him, however, Buzard (1993:6) alleges that there is in fact a major difference between the two:

> Travellers sought to distinguish themselves from the 'mere tourists' they saw or imagined around them. Correspondingly, the authentic culture of places – the *genius loci* – was presented as lurking in secret precincts 'off the beaten track' where it could only be discovered by the sensitive 'traveller', not the vulgar tourist.

The tourist has thus come to be viewed as someone who travels *en masse* and tactlessly destroys authentic cultures and destinations, while the traveller has become the epitome of independence, originality and sensitivity. MacCannell (1976:104), however, writes that this condescending attitude is in fact "part of the problem of mass tourism, [and] not a reflection upon it".

Fussell (1980) added a new dimension to the debate by identifying another group called the "anti-tourists" whom he differentiated from travellers by arguing that their desire to blend in with their host environment was not

motivated by a genuine understanding of their hosts but by their own vanity. Dann (1998:165) explains this further by stating that in "seeking to avoid the double loathing of *tourist angst*" – hatred of other tourists and self-hatred – anti-tourists engage "in a fruitless exercise of reversing their roles" by refusing "to join coach tours or to read guidebooks, take photographs of marked sights and purchase postcards".

While the distinction between traveller and tourist remains a recurrent theme in academic literature, it has also become the fodder of many tourism commentators and the subject of numerous lively online discussions (Dann, 1998:159). In his cult novel *The Beach*, Alex Garland (1997:96) weighs in on the debate through the musings of his young protagonist, Richard, who insightfully admits:

> I had ambiguous feelings about the differences between tourists and travellers – the problem being the more I travelled, the smaller the differences became. But the one difference I could still latch onto was that tourists went on holidays while travellers did something else. They travelled.

Within the tourism discourse this dichotomy has also been extended to include a range of categories and typologies of tourists. Many theorists have noted that studying tourists in terms of their typologies helps explain why certain people are attracted to particular destinations (Cohen, 1972; Plog, 1977). While others characterised *the* tourist as a unitary type (Boorstin, 1964; MacCannell, 1976), Cohen (1972; 1988:35) argues that this is simply too broad to be realistic. He countered that there were in fact four distinct types of tourists: the "organised mass tourist" and the "individual mass tourist", who form part of the pre-packaged or "institutionalised" tourist industry; and, the "explorer" and the "drifter", who are both associated with a more independent or "non-institutionalised" form of travel. While some theorists have criticised Cohen's typology for being too generalistic and stereotypical, others have claimed that it

fails to take into account that an individual's touristic role changes as they mature. Despite later attempts to improve upon his classifications (see Cohen, 1979b; Pearce, 1982; Smith, 1977), Cohen's original four-fold typology has remained one of the most useful tools for guiding and analysing tourism research.

Further complicating the tourist-traveller debate is Urry's (1990) concept of the "post-tourist". Urry (1990:11) argues that as a product of the modern age of mass communication and technology the "post-tourist" can – and is often more content to – experience the thrills of travel without even leaving home. In the post-tourist world of virtual reality, tourism is "merely a series of games" to be played at one's leisure (1990:11). With the advent of Urry's post-tourist the tourist-traveller dichotomy has become an extraneous and almost irrelevant debate.

Thus, more than 200 years after the first appearance of "tourist" in an English language dictionary we are still no closer to agreeing on a definition. Inglis (2002:2) ties up this loose end by reminding us that, be they Buzard's tourists or travellers, Cohen's tourist typologies, Fussell's anti-tourists, or Urry's post-tourist, "like all historical actors, he and she…are irreducible to the single simple performance of consumption".

For the purpose of this study I have adhered to the WTO definition of tourism, therefore a tourist is anyone who does not reside in Coffee Bay permanently. As for the tourists themselves, like Cohen (1972), I have identified three distinct tourist typologies: cottage owners, hotel guests and backpackers. While the cottage owners fulfil the position of Fussell's (1980) "anti-tourists", the latter two groups are further subdivided in line with Cohen's typology. The hotel guests thus include both the "individual mass market tourist" represented by domestic South African tourists and the "organised mass market tourist" represented by international bus tour groups. And finally the backpackers are split into "non-institutionalised" and "institutionalised" tourists.

Setting the Stage: The Search for Authenticity

One of the first researchers to critically analyse the state of modern tourism was historian Daniel Boorstin. In his 1964 *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America*, Boorstin claims that 20th Century American society has been infiltrated by the "menace of unreality" which has slowly been replacing the "authentic" and "real" with the "contrived" and "illusionary". Unsatisfied with the mundaneness of everyday life, Boorstin postulates that contemporary society actively seeks stimulation in false appearances and simulations. In this "age of contrivance" he claims public life has now become filled with "pseudo-events" – staged and scripted events that were nothing more than "caricatures" of authentic happenings.

Furthermore, Boorstin argues that unlike the traveller of old, the tourist seldom seeks to experience the "authentic" or "real" when travelling. Instead, he/she thrives on "pseudo-events" which "befog their experience" (1964:3). Isolated from their "host" environment the tourist, now travelling *en masse* usually as part of a guided group, enthusiastically revels in contrived attractions and performances while disregarding the "real" world around them. As such the modern tourist has become a mere passive onlooker who is content to enjoy the "extravagantly strange" from the "security of the familiar" (1964:4-5). Boorstin writes that not only has the travel experience become "diluted, contrived [and] prefabricated" (1964:79), but moreover, travel itself has become nothing more than a commodity (1964:85). As a result, tourism has turned into a "self-perpetuating cycle of illusions" in which the "vivid [contrived] image" now "overshadows pale reality" (1964:13).

A key turning point in the scholarship of tourism was MacCannell's groundbreaking *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (1976). In it MacCannell takes issue with Lévi Strauss' theory that it is impossible to conduct an "ethnography of modernity" because modernity's structures have been

"smashed" (1976:1). Instead he counters that there is one such person who actively seeks the structure lacking from the modern world – *The Tourist*. MacCannell's (1976:3) central thesis is that the "expansion of modern society" has gone hand-in-hand with the growth of the tourism industry. In making his case he argues that the global movement of tourists has inadvertently spread "modern values" from the post-industrial "First" World to the pre-industrial "Third" World.

MacCannell also rejects Boorstin's hypothesis that tourists intentionally seek out inauthentic experiences in the form of pseudo events. Instead he claims that the overriding motivation for travel is in fact the tourist's desire for the "real" and "authentic". In this quest for authenticity, MacCannell depicts the tourist as a modern day pilgrim who traverses the globe on a sacred journey to find authenticity in "other times" and "other places". One of MacCannell's chief arguments is that "authentic" and "real experiences" can only be found in backstage areas that are not immediately apparent or accessible to the tourist.

MacCannell (1976) hypothesises, that "tourist spaces" are arranged around what he calls "staged authenticity". Drawing on Goffman (1959), MacCannell (1976) describes the touristic setting as a frontstage-backstage construction where the former is the meeting place of the hosts and guests and the latter is the host's home or place of relaxation. In an endeavour to authenticate their experiences MacCannell argues that tourists actively seek to penetrate the backstage area. As a result of this invasive quest, tourist operators have constructed contrived backstage areas that allow the tourist greater "insight" into their hosts' daily lives.

Cohen (1988), however, found that the motivations and behaviours of tourists were intrinsically linked to their place within modernity. As such he argues that, "intellectuals and more alienated individuals will engage in a more serious quest for authenticity than most rank and file members of society" (1988:376). Translating this in terms of his typologies Cohen concludes: that the

drifter and the explorer driven by a feeling of social "alienation" from modernity desire a deeper involvement with the host society and thus actively seek the authenticity of which MacCannell speaks. On the other hand, the organised mass tourist and the individual mass tourist, assumed by Cohen to be less disaffected by modernity, are more interested in seeking "enjoyable restoration and recuperation" (1988:377) than with the search for authenticity.

Conversely, John Urry (1990) claims, that when tourists travel they actively look for contrasts from their everyday life back home. As such he contends the tourist gaze is "socially organised" and "systemised". While the gaze has changed and developed in different societies across diverse historical periods, each gaze has been constructed through *difference*. Thus, when the tourist gazes upon a sight/site it must be "out of the ordinary" and must invoke feelings of "distinct pleasure" (1990:11).

While acknowledging that there are a wide variety of potential sights/sites for the tourist to gaze upon, Urry suggests that there are two distinct types of gazes: the romantic and the collective. The "romantic" gaze focuses on "solitude, privacy and a personal, semi-spiritual relationship with the object of the gaze" which he aligns with socially aware tourists. The "collective" gaze belongs to the less astute masse tourist. It "necessitates the presence of large numbers of other people" because "other people give a sense of carnival to a place" (1990:45-46). What unites these gazes is not their search for *authenticity* but their search for *difference*.

Although admitting that authenticity is of some importance to the touristic experience, Urry (1990:11) rejects the notion that the "search for authenticity is the basis for the organisation of tourism". For as he argues, the tourist, or as he calls them, the post-tourist, has come of age. As products of the post-modern world they recognise that there is *no* such thing as an authentic touristic experience and therefore accept "cultural productions" for what they are: pseudo events staged for their pleasure.

Enacting the Script: Performing "Culture"

In "Objects of Ethnography" Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991) applies the notions of authenticity to the staging of cultural performances and folk festivals. Drawing upon MacCannell (1976), she claims that: "Live displays, whether recreations of daily activities or staged as formal performances, also create the illusion that the activities one watches are being done rather than represented, a practice that creates the illusion of authenticity or realness. The impression is of unmediated encounter. Semiotically, live displays make the status of the performer problematic for people become signs of themselves" (1991:414).

While Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998) later states that cultural productions appear to provide tourists with the perfect "entrée" to deciphering and penetrating the host's backstage, she maintains that they merely give the *illusion* of cultural transparency. Encapsulated in time and space and filtered through the touristic lens of spectacle the mere physical presence of a "cultural other" conveys a sense of *realness*. Thus, the performers actually become signs of what the tourists believe them to be. As such the performance authenticates the touristic experience and reaffirms their prior knowledge of the destination.

MacCannell (1992:17), however, is more scathing in his opinion of cultural performances which he describes as a "funeral for the savage". With contemporary tourism bridging the gap between "primitive" and "modern" worlds, "primitive cultures" have over time have adapted elements of modernity to the scripting of their performances. Therefore, he writes that the performances viewed by tourists are no longer enacted by "primitives", rather by "ex-primitives" who are performing a "dead form". As such MacCannell (1992:17) posits that "ex-primitive performances complete the postmodern fantasy of 'authentic alterity'" which he states is "ideologically necessary in the promotion and development of monoculture". Moreover, he claims that what the tourist has actually "witnessed" during these performances is in fact "the demise of the

original form of humanity". As he poignantly remarks "no matter how hard we try to forget, modern civilisation was built on the graves of our savage ancestors" (1992:25). Thus, the tourist, aware of their role in the spreading of modernity, often experiences a sense of "guilty pleasure" when viewing ex-primitive performances.

Commoditising the Performance

The process of cultural commoditisation is best illustrated by Greenwood's (1977) essay 'Culture by the Pound'. In his study of the *Alarde* ritual in the Basque town of Fuenterrabia he concludes that through the tourism performance the ritual, not unlike mass produced "cultural artefacts", has become part of the commoditised version of culture that is packaged and sold to tourists as "authentic culture". The selling of "culture by the pound" he claims, has not only "cheated" the tourist of an "authentic" experience, but has also slowly diluted the significance for the performers thereby destroying its original meaning (1977:135). Yet, the problem with Greenwood's argument, as Cohen (1988) points out, is that it is oversimplified. In contrast Cohen (1988:383), while acknowledging that "tourist-orientated products acquire new meanings for locals", contends that despite commoditisation old meanings "remain salient". As such he argues that the authentic cannot be bought or sold. With tourism viewed as a form of play, Cohen (1988:383) maintains that tourists and performers willing participate in a game of make-believe in which they "pretend" that the cultural performance is authentic.

Nash (1981, 1989) like MacCannell before him, maintains that the modern tourist is responsible for the socio-cultural transformation of the pre-industrial world. He writes: "The tourist, like a trader, the employer, the conqueror, the governor, the educator, or the missionary, is seen as the agent of contact between cultures and, directly or indirectly, the cause of change particularly in the less developed regions of the world" (1989:37). In Nash's (1981:465) view tourism is

merely a set of "transactions" between the "tourist-generating society" (the metropolitan centre) and the "host society" (the tourist periphery). While he concedes that the effects of the touristic transaction transcend the social systems of both the "tourist-generating society" and the "host society", he argues that the relationship between the two is inherently unequal (1981:464). Throughout the creation and development of tourism the tourist-generating society maintains a degree of control over the host society, which as Nash (1989:39) ultimately concludes "makes the metropolitan centre imperialistic and tourism a form of imperialism".

Boissevain (1996:13) on the other hand counters that the commoditisation of culture in the form of staged performances in fact protects the privacy of the hosts' back-stage region by keeping the tourist gaze focused on the commercialised front region. While Boissevain acknowledges the tourists' relentless search for the "holy grail" of authenticity drives them to seek out the back-stage areas, he maintains that host communities have reacted swiftly and adopted "business-like attitudes" so as to "maximise their profits". In order to "deflect the tourist gaze from private space and activities" they have created staged events that "furnish entertainment and provide information on their culture", while simultaneously protecting their back regions (1996:21). Boissevain concludes (1996:14) that host communities have learned how to "confront and cope with tourism".

[Re]presenting the Tourism Performance

In 1989 Malcolm Crick identified three main fields of enquiry in the study of tourism: economic development and political economy; meanings, motivations and roles (semiology); and, socio-cultural change. While the tourism performance has been widely dissected in terms of its impacts on economic development (see de Kadt, 1978), and its influence on socio-cultural change in host communities (see Smith, 1977), with the tourist often viewed as someone

who "chases myths" (Selwyn, 1996:1) it has been suggested that the more interesting approach is to study the semiology of the tourism performance. As Crick (1989:329) writes, the imagery associated with the tourism performance is not about the "socioeconomic reality", but about "myths and fantasies".

Semiology is explained as: "the study of meaning and relationships between an image or symbol (the signifier) and the concept associated with it (the signified) which is by society's denotation and connotation of the particular image" (Burns, 1999:84). In the context of the tourism performance this means that when tourists travel to a destination, in order to authenticate their experience of a place they intentionally seek out "markers" that, having viewed or read about them previously in books, brochures and so forth, they believe to be significant.

One of the best examples of this is Roland Barthes' (1979) classic essay *The Eiffel Tower*. According to Barthes the Eiffel Tower, through its numerous representations, has become the universal sign of France and its people. Without ever having been to the country, when confronted with an image of the Eiffel Tower the armchair traveller immediately associates it with France. The connotations of the Eiffel Tower as a sign, such as "modernity, communication, [and] of science or the nineteenth century", appeal to the imagination and invoke "the great itineraries of our dreams" (1979:4). Thus, the Eiffel Tower's main function is to attract *meaning*. As all great vistas are outlooks upon nature, Barthes (1979:8) argues the panoramas produced for tourism – be they cityscapes or landscapes – "infallibly imply a naturalist mythology". The images produced of the Eiffel Tower, therefore, naturalise the city. As Barthes (1977:169) explains, myths are created by "overturning culture into nature, or at least, the social, the cultural, the ideological, the historical into the 'natural'".

The Tourism Performance and the Travel Brochure

In the tourism performance the myths of which Barthes speaks are continuously recreated, recycled and reproduced by the travel industry in the form of travel brochures. Crick (1989:329), however, charges that the places depicted in such brochures do not in fact exist. Instead he claims they are merely fabrications created by the tourist industry to sell their tours. Through the careful manipulation of tourist myths, Crick (1989:329) argues, the "industry image makers" magically transform Third World countries into First World paradises. While travel brochures entice tourists and sell destinations, Crick (1989:332) claims that they also "alter tourists' experience of space and time". Travel brochures supply tourists with a predetermined, ready-made set of "cultural markers" of a destination that the tourists invariably utilise when planning and organising their experience. In other words, when a tourist travels to Paris, rather than seek out little known sights/sites within the city they will inevitably spend their time locating the city's "cultural markers" such as the Eiffel Tower.

This is further explained by Andsager and Drzewieka (2002) who argue that travel brochures provide tourists with a "cognitive framework" through which to select and interpret what they see. That is, they provide tourists with a structured context through which they perceive cultural Others and organise their touristic experience. The problem herein lies with the images employed to represent travel destinations, which, as Andsager and Drzewieka (2002) found in their studies, more often than not reinforce cultural myths and stereotypes rather than break them down.

One of the first theorists to consider the ways in which travel brochures have contributed to the creation and perpetuation of tourist myths was David Uzzell (1984). Uzzell's main thesis is that tourists are in fact "myth makers" and that travel brochures are "myths". Expanding upon Barthes (1979), Uzzell (1984:86) proposes that in reading brochures there are two levels in the semiological system: the "first-order", which is language, and the "second-

order", which is myth. In order for a myth to be created the sign from the first-order semiological system must be transferred to the role of signifier in the second-order semiological system. In the context of travel brochures this means that their main ideological function is to transform first-order images of destinations into easily digestible second-order meanings (that is, myths) for tourists. The tourist, Uzzell (1984:98) thus declares, is not merely a "passive victim" of the advertisements in travel brochures, but an "active participant in the creation and maintenance of ideology and myth".

On the other hand, Selwyn (1993) contends that brochures are in fact "multi-faceted texts" which can be read from two theoretical standpoints. Firstly, they present their spectators with "structuralist" images in which the tourist "goes on holiday to recreate, frequently with representations from the imaged pre-modern world, the structures which life in the post-modern world has appeared to demolish" (1993:18). Thus brochures persuade the tourist to step back in time into a pre-modern paradise where, free from the pressures of modern life, they can relax, unwind and rediscover themselves. Secondly, Selwyn (1993:127) identifies a recent "post-structuralist" trend in which "the dominant theme in the material....is that of 'commoditisation', the gathering together of everything from sites to emotions to persons, into a cash nexus". In this view, to keep pace with consumer demands the world is presented as a virtual smorgasbord. Selwyn (1993:127), however, concludes that, no matter which approach travel brochures utilise, they are increasingly presenting a world that is far removed from the realities of everyday life and instead have become more obsessed with pushing their "own promotional lexicon and repertoire of myths".

Concerned by the imagery associated with the tourist culture of consumption, Dann (1996) conducted what he called a "semiotic ethnography" of travel brochures that targeted a cross-section of the British public specifically focusing on the tourist image of "paradise". From this he deduced that travel

brochures promoted four distinct types of holidays: paradise contrived (no people, natives as scenery or cultural markers), paradise confined (tourists only), paradise controlled (natives as servants, entertainers or vendors), and paradise confused (natives as seducers, intermediaries, or tourists; tourists as natives) (1996:67). Moreover, he argued that one of the underlying features of all these different tourist depictions of "paradise" was that they are firmly rooted in Western discourse.

While Uzzell, Selwyn and Dann with their analyses have widened this field of tourism enquiry, as Burns (1999:111) suggests, tourist myths extend far beyond the creation of paradise through travel brochures. Tourist myths are also recycled and given new life by the tourists themselves in the form of holiday snaps. For, faced with the proliferation of touristic representations, most tourists do not feel like they have been to a destination unless they have *seen* and *photographed* the sights as determined by their travel brochures. Indeed, what better way is there for the tourists to capture the fantasy of their picture-perfect holiday than on film?

The Tourism Performance and the Photographic Eye[1]

Ever since the development of the photographic process in the late 1830's, photographs have been used as a way of not only documenting history, but as a way of "seeing and recording" foreign lands (Urry, 1990:138). With travel during the nineteenth century well beyond the means of all those but the very rich, early Victorians were forced to view the world and experience the thrills of travel through the writings and accounts of the great explorers (Leggat, 1999). The advent of photography, however, made the world beyond the horizon appear far more tangible. Thus, as Jean Claudet, one of the world's first commercial photographers, wrote, travel photography had finally brought the world home:

[1] This section has been adapted from a previous paper I wrote. See: Wildman, K. 2004, 'Tourists of Reality: Synergies and Dissonance between Touristic Images and Alternative Realities', *Itch*, (1) 3: 56-58.

> By our fireside we have the advantage of examining [the pictures] without being exposed to the fatigue...and risks of the daring and enterprising artists who, for our gratification and instruction, have traversed lands and seas, crossed rivers and valleys, ascended rocks and mountains with their heavy photographic baggage (cited in Leggat, 1999).

Throughout the following century photography emerged as one of the central mediums through which our perceptions of the world have taken shape. As a result the photograph became accepted as indisputable visual evidence, thereby replacing direct experience as the primary source of knowledge (Berger, 1980). Urry (1990:139) surmises that what gave photography this power was its "ability to pass itself off as a miniaturisation of the real, without revealing either its constructed nature or its ideological content". Photographs were thus believed to be true representations of reality. Sontag (1977:87), however, contests that, "instead of recording reality, photographs have become the norm for the way things appear to us, thereby changing the very idea of reality, and of realism".

As camera technology advanced and travel became more accessible, marketers of tourism embraced the use of photography as a way of promoting the world beyond our shores. Through the use of photography, foreign lands have been romanticised as idyllic and exotic, thereby captivating and enticing the photocentric spectator to their shores. Without having left the confines of our own homes, we could now not only see the world, but also picture ourselves within it (Barthes, 2000). So effective has this form of photographic marketing been that tourists invariably end up spending much of their vacation time searching out the so called "view points" in order to capture these touristic images for themselves (Urry, 1990:140). Without these images, the tourist would have no proof that they did in fact visit that particular sight, place, town, city or

country. Thereby, tourism in effect has become "a strategy for the accumulation of photography" (Urry, 1990:139).

On this point Sontag is critical of the tourist/photographer. As she writes "there is something predatory in the act of taking a picture" (1977:14). In fact she claims that this acquisitive desire of photographer/tourist to acquire these images for themselves is an act of violation. Indeed the very terminology utilised in photography is in itself predatory: in order to "capture" an image the photographer "loads" the camera, takes "aim" with the lens and finally "shoots" the subject (Landau, 1998; Markwell, 1997; Sontag, 1977). But as Sontag (1977:164) adds, "to possess the world in the form of images is, precisely, to reexperience the unreality and remoteness of the real". By viewing the world vicariously through the camera's lens she claims people have become "tourists of reality". As such every sight that passes before the photographic eye becomes objectified. Thus, in the relentless search for this constructed reality, the tourist has in fact denied himself or herself the reality of their own unique experience.

Photography is and will always be an integral part of the touristic experience. Albers and James (1988:136) argue, "snap-shots made by tourists complete a hermeneutic circle". As such in the "pre-travel stage" photographic images help the prospective tourist form expectations of their intended travel destination, then once on tour the collection of photographs and postcards authenticates the experience and in the end helps shape the tourists' memories of the trip in the "post-travel stage" (Albers & James, 1988; Markwell, 1997). In the acquisition of these images the tourist's gaze seeks to reaffirm the "truth" of the "touristic reality" that numerous "alternative realities", which are just as real, have passed them by undetected. As Bourdieu (1990: 68) contends:

> ...unrepentant photographers exhaust themselves in the laborious quest for pictures. Finally forgetting to look at what they are photographing, they travel without seeing and never know what their cameras are producing for them.

Thus, as Little (1991:157) notes, as the world is constantly being constructed and reconstructed as a "representation" or "object lesson", it is simply impossible for tourists to find an "authentic reality". Instead he contends that the world has become a "proliferation of reality-effects" and that the modern tourist has become "one who forever seeks certainty in those reality-effects".

The Tourism Performance in Africa

According to Witz, Rassool and Minkley (2000:1-2) tourist operators during the colonial era mapped the African continent into "three distinct zones of European imagination": North Africa was seen as the birthplace of white "civilisation", and East and Central Africa personified the *Heart of Darkness*, whereas southern Africa, as part of "white man's country" was viewed as a place of "sunshine and scenic landscapes". While for most of the twentieth century these divisions were upheld, in more recent times the lines between them have blurred as tourist operators have appropriated images from one region to sell tours to another. In the case of southern Africa images of "darkest Africa" and primitive "natives" have infiltrated the "colonial sunshine" (2000:2). As such, the themes and images generated by all three zones underpin the discourse of the tourism performance in Africa today.

The East African Performance

In his analysis of the cultural performance of the safari in East Africa, Little (1991) states that the most commonly utilised images for the promotion of safaris draw upon the metaphor of "wild" and "civilised" Africa. Through the performance of the safari, the images of Africa as wild and untamed have been repeated so frequently that they have ultimately mythologised the continent and its inhabitants (1991:150). However, as Little (1991:150) writes, "while this metaphor is powerful, it is encompassed within the larger metaphor of seeing – the tourist gaze – which enframes and valorises the 'wild' and the 'civilised' as

elements of visual production". By directing the tourist gaze to "see" the animals, to "explore" the landscapes and "observe" the peoples, the safari is constructed in such a manner that gives the production an "aura of authenticity and the appearance of realism and spontaneity" (1991:149-150). The tourist gaze therefore generates *tourist realism*, which Little (1991:149) argues is the "tourist perspective or vantage point". Little (1991:150-151) thus concludes that the tourist experience is not merely a description of the wild, but is also the "basis for the invention and construction of tourist sights/sites, designed specifically to fit the master trope of the tourist perspective".

Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994) in their paper 'Maasai on the Lawn' also submit that what tourists experience through tourism performances in East Africa is *realism*. The performance site they concentrate on is the Mayers Ranch, owned and operated by the Mayers, "a British ex-colonial family" (1994:435). Here they claim that "the explicit contrast between wild and civilised" is again played upon, but this time to bring to life the fantasy of the colonial drama that exists between the savage Maasai (the colonised) and the genteel British (the coloniser) (1994:435). Through the production as staged by the Ranch, Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994:458) argue that the Mayers have not only merged the discourses of tourism and ethnography, but have appropriated the language of ethnography to authenticate the production and in so doing have achieved the same effects as that of ethnography – that is *realism*. Immersed in this new world of *experience theatre*, the tourist, while actively engaging with the site, simultaneously "pushes back" the virtual world they are experiencing, thereby allowing their experience to become real. Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994:449), thus conclude that the effect produced by the production is not *authenticity* but is in fact *tourism realism.*

The South African Performance

While, as previously noted, southern Africa has been envisioned as a region resplendent in "colonial sunshine", within the context of South Africa this sunshine was for a long time blocked out by the dark cloud of apartheid. Consequently, as Rassool and Witz (1996) found, following the fall of apartheid the path of the tourism performance in South Africa took a slightly unusual turn. With South Africa no longer deemed as the pariah of the continent, the tourism industry quickly raced to re-vision the now politically corrected country. The result of this was the presentation of South Africa as "A World in One Country". Rassool and Witz (1996:336), however, argue that the repackaging and reimaging of South Africa as a tourism commodity was consolidated within predetermined parameters set by the expectations of the international community. Furthermore, Rassool and Witz (1996:336) add that this deliberate packaging of South Africa slotted the country into "a seemingly natural world order of international power and subservience". Constricted by international expectations and power relations, South Africa was forced to promote not only its "Africanness", but to do so within the context of modernity (1996:337). The South African Tourism Board (SATOUR), thus, drew upon a ready stable of preconceived African stereotypes such as "tribalism", "primitivism", "wildlife", and "nature" in its promotion of the "new" South Africa, which thereby reinforced the imagined world view of South Africa.

Contrary to MacCannell's (1976) findings, however, Rassool and Witz (1996:365) argue that the tourists' quest for authenticity "is no longer framed in terms of a quest 'in search of the primitive' or an experience of modernity". Instead they claim that modern tourists in South Africa encounter this world of "essential images, through an altered gaze of seeing, knowing and redemption". Therefore, by travelling to South Africa and experiencing and engaging with "staged primitiveness" tourists could now see themselves as directly

contributing to the reconstruction and development of South African society and to the dismantling and the laying to rest of the country's apartheid past.

As South Africa entered the new millennium, however, Witz, Rassool and Minkley (2000:5-6) claimed that South Africa and its "rainbow nation" had been repackaged and re-imaged to construct and promote a new post-apartheid national identity. Their argument was that the tourist's quest for authenticity in South Africa had become entwined with the government's quest for nation-building. The tourist gaze in South Africa was therefore redirected to rest upon new sights/sites such as cultural villages and township tours that not only re-visioned the past but also constructed new memories of the past (Witz, Rassool & Minkley, 2000:3). Thus, filtered through the lens of Thabo Mbeki's "African Renaissance" these sights/sites have provided the "basis for the construction of South Africa's cultural Africanness and the transformatory possibilities that it holds up to the world in its celebration of managed diversity" (2000:3).

Additionally, Witz, Rassool and Minkley (2000:1) argue that "tourist memories" of their travels to Africa are not merely produced through the visual encounter itself, but also through the "residual traces of those that have gone before them". As Crawshaw and Urry (1997) concede the visual and textual images we consume when travelling are in fact the memories of others. From this realisation new questions arise regarding the tourism performance and the making of place: Most notably what role does memory play in the formulation of place identity? How does place identity in turn influence the touristic experience of a destination?

The Tourist Performance & the Making of Place

Crucial to the construction of the tourism performance of Coffee Bay are the concepts of place and space. As McCabe and Stokoe (2004:604) assert, "the spatial characteristics of destinations…are fundamental to understanding the dynamic character of destinations and the meanings attached to places by tourists". I am

therefore concerned here with the way in which tourists attach meaning to the tourist space and how, through the attachment of meaning, space is thereby transformed to *place*. Equally important is the way in which tourist experience and tourist identity is itself anchored in space.

Space, Place & Landscape

The problem with the tourist space is that the landscapes tourists inhabit bear the burden of the past. They have been previously inscribed by all those that have come before (see Bunn, 1999; Hall, 1995). The most enduring inscriptions that today still scar many tourist spaces such as Coffee Bay were produced during the colonial period when the Empire was expanding.

In *The Road to Botany Bay* Paul Carter (1987:xvi) takes issue with what he calls "imperial history" – the form of history which reduces "space to a stage" upon which actors (such as James Cook) enact significant historical events (such as the "discovery" and settlement of Australia) as they unfold chronologically over time. Alternatively, Carter (1987:xxii) prescribes a "spatial history" – a history of "spatial forms and fantasies through which culture declares its presence".

Carter's (1987:344) main hypothesis, therefore, is that it was through the mistaken assumption of teleological lore that the early explorers and settlers believed that Australia was "a country *waiting* to be occupied". As he writes, by the time Cook arrived in 1788, far from being an unmapped, unchartered territory, Australia was already "a highly cultivated space" (Cater, 1987:337). For from the story-telling of the Dreamtime to the tracks that grooved their journeys, Australia's first inhabitants – the aboriginal people – had already inscribed their existence on the landscape. Spatial history therefore deconstructs historically mapped space, releasing it from the bonds of Imperial discourse and thus liberating place by transforming it once again into space and making it available for [re]writing.

In his study of landscapes, Hirsch (1995) identifies two main meanings associated with the anthropology of landscape. The first is a framing device that brings people into view and the second refers to the meanings that people attach to their surroundings. Thus, Hirsch (1995:3) argues that "landscape entails a relationship between the 'foreground' and 'background' of social life". Building upon Carter's notion of spatial history, Hirsch (1995:4) proposes that foreground actuality (the way we are here and now) is to background potentiality (the way we could be), as place is to space, inside is to outside, and image is to representation. In his applying his theory to landscape, Hirsch found that in some instances the inhabitants of a landscape made attempts to overcome the struggles everyday life (the foreground actuality) by stimulating a relationship with the background potentiality.

Much like Hirsch, Rodman (2003) contends that places are socially constructed by the people who live in them. As she writes, places, like voices, "are politicised, culturally relative, historically specific, local and multiple constructions" (Rodman, 2003:205). But while the meanings attached to a place may be shared by its inhabitants, each inhabitant experiences their own unique "reality", therefore, as Rodman argues, the views of place are often contested. Rodman thus proposes that greater attention be paid to the concepts of "multilocality" (the varied manner in which meaning is attached to place) and "multivocality" (the varied manner in how place is narrated) as a way of empowering space and understanding the complex social construction of place identity. In conclusion, Rodman (2003:220) suggests that it is only through the "joining [of] multilocality to multivocality, [that] we can look 'through' these places, explore the links with others, consider why they are constructed as they are, see how places represent people, and begin to understand how people embody places".

Global Spaces & Identity

The trajectory of the globalisation of the post-modern world also plays itself out in the tourist space. In *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Culture* Robertson (1992:165) emphasises the importance of moving away from the traditional view of "global" as being off set by "local". While Robertson (1992:173) proposes that globalisation is best understood as the paradoxical movement towards both "cultural homogeneity *and* cultural heterogeneity", he focuses on the production of difference, which he describes as "glo*ca*lisation".[2] The advantage of Robertson's concept is that it shifts attention to the complex relationship between global and local, neither of which, he claims, are meaningful without the other. Robertson (1992) therefore, surmises that "glo*ca*lisation" is essentially about the nature of places created through the various flows of people, practices and commodities which are central to the formation of place identity and to the attachment of meaning to such places.

Like Robertson, Appaduari (1996) also argues that globalisation does not necessarily lead to the homogenisation of culture. Instead, he claims that in spite of migration, "diasporic public spheres" retained their cultural links across national and territorial boundaries through the global networks of the mass media (1996:10). In fact, according to Appaduari (1996:9), far from diluting culture, the "massive globalisation" of electronic media and migration has given rise diversity of cultural processes. No longer spatially limited, "public culture" cuts across conventional social and political boundaries, allowing for the reproduction of culture by extra-territorial groups to occur outside the borders of the nation-state.

But it is not only migrants who are creating new forms of spatiality. So too do all forms of interlocutor, including tourists and anthropologists (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003:29). In applying the metaphor of travel to the discipline

[2] Glocalise, roughly meaning "global localisation", was a term developed in Japan in reference to marketing issues as the country established a successful global economy. See: Robertson, R. 1992, *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture*, London: Sage.

of anthropology, Clifford (1997:20-21) criticises the anthropological practice of ethnography, which he argues that in its fixation with localising the "culture" of a region in time and space it has itself paradoxically become "rooted". While he acknowledges that the current anthropological trend has been to move away from "village/culture synecdoches" to the study of modern/urban settings such as hospitals, tourist sites and city neighbourhoods, Clifford (1997:21) argues that "the notion of fieldwork as a special kind of localised *dwelling* remains". He therefore suggests that a more mobile approach to ethnography be taken based on the notion of "routes" and "itineraries".

Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003:29) write that in the anthropologist's search for authentic "cultures" they, much the same as the tourist, invariably create their "own kind of translocality". While Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003:29) describe "translocal spaces" as spaces which have been culturally deterritorialised due to the media, travel, tourism, migration and religious diaspora, they encompass it in the broader term of "transnational spaces", which they claim are created through the movement of people. Paraphrasing Aihwa Ong (1999), Low and Lawrence-Zúñiga (2003:26) define "transnational spatial processes as situated cultural practices of mobility that produce new modes of constructing identity and result in zones of graduated sovereignty based on accelerated flows of capital, people, cultures, and knowledge".

Beach Identity

With traditional ethnographic practices now localising the global, academic attention has shifted to marginal spaces, such as beaches, as the new sites of cultural interaction. This is the premise of Dening's (1980) *Islands and Beaches*, in which he argues that beaches are sites of cultural interaction. Picking up on this theme again in *Mr Bligh's Bad Language*, Dening (1992:177) goes on to argue that history itself was likely to have been born "on beaches, marginal spaces between land and sea … where everything is revitalised a little, turned around, where

tradition is as much invented and handed down, where otherness is both a new discovery and a reflection of something old". Though, as Dening (1992:179) adds the beach is more than just a marginal space, for it is a space "where neither otherness nor familiarity hold sway". That is, it is a liminal space where everyone who crosses it becomes a traveller.

Löfgren (1999:236), on the other hand, argues that one of the main the attractions of beaches is that they are global. With the three universal basics of the perfect global beach – sun, sand and sea – available on almost any beach around the world, Löfgren (1999:236) claims that tourists will always feel at home on a beach no matter where they are. Yet despite their ubiquity and the sense of freedom they invoke, Löfgren acknowledges that beaches are still sites of contestation. As he explains there is "constant tension between the beach as an individual experience and the beach as a cultural arena" (1999:227).

In reflecting upon the Leo DiCaprio film version of Alex Garland's 1997 novel *The Beach*, Ralf Potts (2000) writes that the individual experience of the beach has been completely overshadowed by the emergence of a new kind of beach space – the "trans-global Beach Nation". Defined as the "loosely-conglomerated free-market republic founded solely on its capacity to cater to the wants and needs of young budget travellers from industrialised nations", Potts (2000) argues trans-global beaches are nothing more than "international backwaters" that "have more in common with each other than with their home cultures". The problem, he contends, is that in adapting to meet the needs and desires of wealthy Western tourists, the trans-global beach has "mutate[d] into a caricature of itself: A crowded, self-referencing economic zone that could just as well be located in a heated Milwaukee convention centre" (Potts, 2000). Thus while most young "travellers", such as DiCaprio's Richard, pack their backpacks and head off to a little-known part of the world in search of the ultimate beach paradise, what they invariably find is a trans-global beach nation inhabited with numerous other "tourists" just like themselves.

With beach now engrained in the tourist's mind as the ultimate utopian paradise, before I finish off this scene-setting I want to briefly consider the notion of paradise. Heinberg (1989:xxvi) tells us that the image of paradise is derived from a myth that dates back to the beginning of time. But, as he writes, it was through Christianity's account of Adam and Eve that paradise became synonymous with notions of Eden – an earthly heaven "full of fruit-bearing trees, gold and precious stones" from where four rivers flowed to the four corners of the world (1989:39). With humankind having been banished from the Garden of Eden, Heinberg (1989:140) claims that for millennia philosophers, explorers and mapmakers assumed that Eden lay, awaiting discovery, in some geographically remote region of the world.

Today, however, with every inch of the globe now mapped and explored many times over, Potts (2000) argues that our search for Eden has been refocused on the Other – "other climes, other times, other states of mind". As Potts (2000) concludes, however, the problem "is that, when we try to plant our flag in the Other, we find that what seemed like Eden tends to mimic home. And the more it resembles home, the less it resembles Eden... [But] that, of course, is what gives 'The Beach' its drama - because anyone who's paged through Genesis will know that the real fun starts not with the Edenic bliss, but the desire to control it".

3

Unpacking the Past:

A Brief History of the Transkei (1945-present)

The past is present, and in the present is the tragedy of the past. And in the past lies the future....

Cited in Ideehuis, 2003

In this chapter I will place Coffee Bay in context by providing a brief overview of the history of the Transkei covering the period 1945 to 2005. Today the areas now referred to as "former homelands"[1] were originally defined by the British colonial government and established as "reserves" under the Natives' Land Act of 1913 (Clark & Worger, 2004:65). Officially, the reserves were championed as areas where, due to the black people's historical connection to the land, they could maintain their "customs" and "traditions" without interference. In practice they not only provided the government with the perfect "dumping ground" for their unwanted black population, but also supplied them with a handy "reservoir" of cheap labour (Streek & Wicksteed, 1981).

[1] During apartheid there were 10 designated "homelands" in South Africa, which accounted for an estimated 13.8 per cent of the country's land. See: Kaur, A. 1997, *South Africa and the Bantustans*, Delhi: Kalinga Publications.

A "Home" for All

While Hendrik Verwoerd is credited with being the chief engineer of apartheid, his idea was not a new one. In the early 20th century several government policies, including the Native Land Act of 1936, which effectively enforced the division of the country and restricted the movements of its peoples, were introduced (Kaur, 1997:8-9). However, it was not until the mid to late 1940s that the idea of developing homelands "crystallised" (Carter, Karis & Stultz, 1967:36).

Under Verwoerd's grand plan, which he began to shape during his eight year stint as the Minister of Native Affairs, he envisaged the creation of "quasi-independent" homelands where each of South Africa's individual "racial groups" could prevail under a democratic system (Welsh, 2000:449). It was then introduced as the main strategy of the National Party, the chief campaigners of Afrikaner nationalism in South Africa, when they came to power on 26 May 1948.

Verwoerd's apartheid vision was set in motion with the passing of the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951, which abolished the Native Representative Council in favour of government-appointed "traditional leaders"[2] who would administer the reserves in line with government policy. Through this process of government, best encapsulated by what Mamdani (1996) describes as "decentralised despotism" or the "bifurcated state", all administrative, legislative, judicial and executive power was fused in a single body, the Tribal Authority. Thus, "not only did the chief have the right to pass rules (bylaws) governing persons under his domain, he also executed all laws and was the administrator of 'his' area, in which he settled all disputes" (Mamdani, 1996:23). However, it was not until the South African government's adoption

[2] "Traditional leaders" is a term that refers to all "chiefs" despite ranking. The term's use is problematic in that the degree to which "chiefs" can be deemed as "traditional" is questionable. Therefore my use of the term here does not infer legitimacy of leadership. See: Ntsebeza, L. 1999, 'Land Tenure Reform in South Africa: An Example of the Eastern Cape', paper presented at the DFID workshop on Land Rights and Sustainable Development in sub-Saharan Africa. Held at Sunningdale Park Conference Centre, Berkshire, United Kingdom, February 16-19.

of the Promotion of the Bantu Self Government Bill, in 1959 that Verwoerd's "master plan for the separation of whites and blacks was [fully] disclosed" (Kaur, 1997:16). Under this Act local administrative authorities were promoted to the level of semi-autonomous government.

A 1956 report issued by the government-appointed Tomlinson Commission highlighted the desperate state of the reserves, stating that "even under the best of conditions" they would not be able to support more than two-thirds of the black population (Clark & Worger, 2004:59-60). The Commission recommended that the government allocate more land for the reserves, but the government rejected their recommendations and proceeded with their policy of division. Verwoerd argued in a statement presented to parliament on 23 January 1962 that the time had now come for South Africa to make a choice: accept a multiracial state dominated by blacks, or choose to partition the country into a number of racially homogenous, independent homelands. "I choose division" he defiantly proclaimed (Laurance, 1976:60; Mbeki, 1984:44).

What followed was a "classic example of the principle of 'divide and rule'", in which the African population was "fragmented into a series of linguistically defined groups" (Christopher, 2001:69). The four main African linguistic groups – Nguni, Sotho, Tswana and Venda – were subdivided into 10 "national units". In the case of the Nguni they were split into Xhosa, Zulu, Swazi, Shangaan, North Ndebele and South Ndebele. The separate "national units" were then each assigned what was regarded by the government as their "traditional territory" and were placed under the control of a Chief Commissioner. The exception being the Xhosa-speaking people who were further split by what the government considered to be "historical grounds" along the Kei River (Christopher, 2001:72), allowing for the creation of the two Xhosa-speaking homelands: Ciskei and Transkei.

With its lengthy history of limited self-government stemming back to the Glen Grey Acts of 1894,[3] the Transkei was the obvious choice for the Nationalist government to test the apartheid waters (Welsh, 2000:449). It had a homogenous population, who for the most part spoke a unified language, and had a well-defined border within which a substantial proportion of its population already resided. Furthermore, in Paramount Chief Kaiser Matanzima, Regional Chief of Emigrant Thembuland and the then Chairperson of the Transkei Territorial Authority, the South African government had an intelligent ally who "embodied the very essence of chiefly collaboration" (Southall, 1992:2-3). In December 1963, with the passing of the Transkei Constitution Act and the election of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly, the Transkei became the first official homeland. Apartheid was now no longer merely a Nationalist government theory – it was a reality.

[In]dependence?

The apartheid government's creation of Transkei[4] as an "independent" state in 1976 spawned a flurry of research that dissected every aspect of the region's feasibility as an official state. Liberal historians even gave serious credence to the viability of an independent Transkei. As Carter, Karis and Stultz (1967:12) explained, Transkei was "virtually the only ground" where black people could "voice non-violent opposition to [the South African] regime". Radical historians, however, rejected liberal arguments "as politically obtuse" (Peires, 1992:365). Inspired by a Marxist tradition of historiography, they were more concerned with the emergence of Transkei's new "black" middle class whom they argued had a "vested interest… in the

[3] The Glen Grey Act of 1894 provided not only for the individual tenure of land in the Glen Grey District, but also established the first system of local district councils of 'native representatives'. See: Carter, G.M., Karis, T. & Stultz, N.M. 1967, *South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism*, Evanston: Northwestern University Press.

[4] With the coming of independence "*the* Transkei" was officially designated as "Transkei" hence I have now dropped its prefix "*the*".

maintenance of white capitalist domination in South Africa" (Molteno, 1977:25).

The person with perhaps the most "vested interest" in Transkei's independence was Kaiser Matanzima. A keen proponent of independence and a long-time ally of the apartheid regime, Matanzima's dreams were realised when Transkei was officially inaugurated on 26 October 1976 and he became the "country's" first Prime Minister under the non-executive State President Botha Sicgau. But beneath all the pomp and ceremony that accompanied the inauguration of Transkei's independence, trouble was already beginning to brew for the fledgling state. Despite sporting all the insignia of a democratic nation – its own flag, coat of arms and national anthem[5] – Transkei's "independent" status was not recognised by any country other than South Africa (Kaur, 1997:33).

One of the most significant and immediate consequences of independence was that all Transkeians were stripped of their South African citizenship (Laurance, 1976:11; Stultz, 1980:19-21; Kaur, 1997:33). Furthermore, the new "republic's" constitution declared that native Transkeians included all black people who were born and lived in Transkei, every Xhosa-speaking black person in South Africa, excepting those who belonged to another homeland, and every Sotho-speaking black person in South Africa who had descended from Transkei's Sotho-speaking peoples (Stultz, 1980:19-20). This literally meant that with independence Transkeian 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.

But as Southall (1982:195) contends, despite the fact that Transkei's imposed "independence" was rejected by the majority, the emerging "petty bourgeoisie" – comprised mostly of politicians, bureaucrats and

[5] The Transkei's national anthem, *'Nkosi Sikelel'i Afrika* (God Bless Africa), is today the national anthem of South Africa. For the origins of the anthem see: Bellwood, W. 1964, *Whither the Transkei?*, Cape Town: Howard Timmins.

entrepreneurs - as the "beneficiaries of independence" were keen to see the state succeed. Seduced by better salaries, greater job opportunities and a higher standard of living, all previously reserved for white South Africans, Transkei's petty bourgeoisie became "willing collaborators" of the apartheid state. As a result they became the key determining factor of Transkei's financial dependence on South Africa.

The Matanzima Brothers & Corruption

Transkei was ruled for many years as a virtual "personal fiefdom" (Mondlane, 1988:61) by the brothers Matanzima: Kaiser Matanzima, who was Prime Minster from 1976 to 1979 then became President upon the death of Botha Sicgau; and George Matanzima, who was Transkei's first Minister of Justice until he became Prime Minister in 1979, then succeeded as President following his brother's retirement in 1986. While Transkei's independence had awarded the brothers "status, power and wealth", for the majority of the population it meant "more poverty, more oppression and fewer citizen rights" (Streek & Wicksteed, 1981:2).

The Mantanzimas' stranglehold on Transkei was maintained through their party's - Transkei National Independence Party (TNIP) - domination of the National Assembly, whose seats were routinely filled by the party faithful through a series of what Southall (1992:3) calls "less than democratic" elections (held in 1963, 1968, 1973, 1976 and 1981).[6] Their reign, which lasted almost a decade, was marred by widespread corruption. A 1987 official commission found that an estimated R200 million of the state's funds were misappropriated between independence and 1986 and a further R58 million had been siphoned off by other senior officials (Southall, 1992:5). One of their "craziest schemes" was the purchase of 200 tractors (many of which remain unaccounted for to this day) from an Austrian company, leaving the region with a R100 million debt (*Mail & Guardian*, 8 February 1995). Their greed, and

[6] For a detailed analysis of the Matanzimas' manipulation of elections see: Streek, B. & Wicksteed, R. 1981, *Render Unto Kaiser: A Transkei Dossier*, Johannesburg: Raven Press.

that of those who worked for them, catapulted an already cash strapped Transkei into bankruptcy.

However, as Peires (1992:367) writes, it was not until February 1986, when Kaiser Matanzima retired, leaving the running of the state in his brother's hands, that "the wheels began to come off".[7] While Kaiser Matanzima had been more discreet in his corruption, Peires claims George Matanzima "threw all caution to the wind". According to a 1987 newspaper article, George Matanzima not only accepted R500,000 in exchange for a housing contract, but also "demanded and received" R2 million from Sun International for granting the company the sole rights of gambling in Transkei (*Weekly Mail*, 25 September 1987). Consequently, the regime was forced by Pretoria to accept the establishment of the first official commission of inquiry into corruption.

Coups and Counter Coups

While the Matanzimas where fending off allegations of corruption, they were simultaneously being undermined by elements from within Transkei Defence Force (TDF). Set up in 1975, the TDF was trained by the South African Defence Force (SADF). When Kaiser Matanzima severed all diplomatic ties with South Africa in 1978 because of ongoing territorial disputes, however, the South African government retaliated by cancelling this training agreement (Mondlane, 1988:62). Consequently, the TDF was severely weakened.

In a bid to combat this problem, Kaiser Matanzima dismissed three senior officers and in 1981 hired a group of white, ex-Rhodesian Selous Scouts headed by Reid Daly (Mondlane, 1988:62; Peires, 1992:368) – a decision resented by the members of the TDF. In 1986, Kaiser Matanzima appointed Zondwa Mtirara – the son of Chief Bambilanga who Kaiser had installed as

[7] Upon Kaiser Matanzima's retirement, George Matanzima became Prime Minister and Tutor Ndamase, Paramount Chief of Nyanda, became President. See: Southall, R. 1992, 'Introduction: Rethinking Transkei Politics', in Donaldson, Segar & Southall (eds), 'Undoing Independence: Regionalism and the Reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 11 (2):1-30.

the Paramount Chief of Thembuland after driving the incumbent Chief Sabata Dalindyebo into exile in 1983 – as Commander of the TDF in order to retain political control upon his retirement (Peires, 1992; Southall, 1992). Reid Daly and his men remained in Transkei as "security advisors". Mondlane (1988:62) charges that they in fact stayed on as George Matanzima's own "private army". The slow-burning fuse of discontent within the TDF was further fanned on 2 January 1987 when George Matanzima detained second-in-command Brigadier Bantu Holomisa for complaining about the Selous Scouts' use of TDF facilities for their own private operations (Peires, 1992:368).

George Matanzima's demise began with an ill-fated attempt to oust Ciskeian President Lennox Sebe.[8] In September 1986, the Selous Scouts staged a daring double coup simultaneously freeing Lennox's brother Charles Sebe, the imprisoned former head of the Ciskei Department of Security, and kidnapping Lennox's only son Kwane Sebe (Mondlane, 1988:63; Peires, 1992:368). Not content with this victory, George Matanzima then organised a "full-scale military assault" on the Lennox's Presidential Palace in February 1987. The failed attack, however, not only angered the TDF, who had disapproved of the operation, but also caused great concern for the South African government, which increasingly saw Transkei as a "destabilising element" in an already "volatile region" (Southall, 1992:3).

With unrest growing amongst the ranks and under increasing pressure from Pretoria, George Matanzima was forced to release Holomisa. However, despite Holomisa's release, a contingent of around 200 soldiers, led by Lt Colonel Craig Duli, head of Transkei military intelligence, mutinied on 3 April 1987 (Peires, 1992:369; Southall, 1992:4), forcing George Matanzima to agree to the expulsion of the Selous Scouts. Mtirara was summarily retired from his post as Commander of the TDF and replaced by Holomisa. But this

[8] The Matanzimas were never happy about the creation of two Xhosa homelands and when the Ciskei became independent in 1981 they refused to recognise its new status. See: Mondlane, E. 1988, 'The Transkei "Coup d' etat" and the Militarisation of the Apartheid State', *Transformation*. 6:58-66.

was all a case of too little, too late, and, as Southall (1992:4) noted, "George's days as Prime Minister were thereafter numbered".

George Matanzima's greater problem, however, proved to be his brother who, realising the precarious position of the ruling government, attempted to make a political comeback the following month (Mondlane, 1988:64; Southall, 1992:4). At the TNIP's annual conference held in May 1987 Kaiser Matanzima launched his attack, arguing that his brother was not only "corrupt", but that he had "lost control" (Southall, 1992:4). Despite failing to win support, Kaiser Matanzima formed new political party and announced his intention to take over government. George Matanzima, however, defeated his brother by passing a constitutional amendment that barred former presidents from sitting in parliament. He then banished him to Qamata (the seat of his paramountcy) and detained his supporters.

Rumours of George Matanzima's corruption and the misappropriation of funds surfaced again, and on 24 September 1987 the Transkei's first military coup forced George (who at the time was in Port Elizabeth seeking medical treatment) and eight of his cabinet ministers to resign (*Daily Dispatch*, 25 September 1987). Stella Sicgau, daughter of Transkei's first President, was elected Prime Minister. Sicgau had previously served as a Minister in Kaiser's government, until she was dismissed from cabinet in November 1977 on "moral grounds" for falling pregnant while unmarried (Streek & Wicksteed, 1981:57). In spite of this setback, Sicgau crossed over to join Transkei National Progressive Party (TNPP) from where she launched her own political comeback. Sicgau, who pledged to become "Transkei's Maggie Thatcher" (Mondlane, 1988:64), was supported by the South African government, but caused them concern with her claim that Transkei's independence was "not irreversible" (Peires, 1992:369).

As Peires (1992:369) argues, however, her "most fatal decision" was detaining Kaiser Matanzima who, unhappy with her actions, had called for the overthrow of what he deemed was her "communistic" government. After being released for "health reasons", Kaiser Matanzima fled to Bloemfontein,

from where Peires (1992) alleges that, aided by high-ranking South African officials, he hatched the next coup from his hospital bed. On 30 December 1987, following the revelation that Sicgau had accepted a R50,000 bribe[9] from George Matanzima, the TDF, with Holomisa now at the helm, again seized power (Peires, 1992:369; Southall, 1992:5). In just over 12 weeks, the country saw its second military coup.

As soon as Holomisa took control he began to take steps to "root out corruption" (Southall, 1992:5). He had George Matanzima extradited to Transkei from South Africa to face charges relating to the misappropriation of state funds. George Matanzima, along with his Minister of Finance, Sydney Qaba, was subsequently tried.[10] But while the South African government had been more than helpful with the extradition of George Matanzima, they declined Holomisa's request for the extradition of Sun International's chairman Sol Kerzner (Southall, 1992:5). With the new military government in place, the South African Security Police were now allowed access to "intervene" in the "clean up" of the Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK; the Spear of the Nation) cadres who had "infiltrated" Transkei (Peires, 1992:370). Holomisa, thus, became viewed as puppet of both the South African government and Kaiser Matanzima.[11]

Holomisa's change of allegiance came about with the reburial of Sabata Dalindyebo, the former Paramount Chief of Thembuland, who Kaiser Matanzima had forced into exile in 1983 because of his support for the ANC (Peires, 1992:370; Southall 1992:5). After the repatriation of Sabata's body,

[9] These allegations were subsequently proven to be true during the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. See: *Mail & Guardian*, 'Transkei haunts Stella', *Mail & Guardian*, 7 November 1997.

[10] Although implicated in the findings of the Commission of Inquiry into corruption, both Kaiser Matanzima and Stella Sicgau were never officially charged. See: Southall, R. 1992, 'Introduction: Rethinking Transkei Politics', in Donaldson, Segar & Southall (eds), 'Undoing Independence: Regionalism and the Reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa', *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, 11 (2): 5.

[11] With the instalment of Holomisa's military government Kaiser, who had been officially banished from Transkei, was now allowed to return to Transkei.

Kaiser Matanzima had him buried in a commoner's grave. When Holomisa came to power he granted permission for the body to be exhumed and the customary funeral that followed on 1 October 1989 turned into a major ANC political rally (Dennie, 1992). In an amazing about face, Holomisa surprised the assembled funeral goers by announcing plans to hold a referendum on the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa (Dennie, 1992). In one dramatic move, Holomisa had not only separated himself from the politics of the Matanzimas, but also aligned himself with the movement for democratic change.

In the following year Holomisa took steps that further angered the South African government. On 7 February 1990 he lifted the ban on seven organisations including the ANC, PAC and SACP, and the release of six political prisoners (*Daily Dispatch*, 8 February 1990). He also continued, against the South African government's wishes, to pursue corruption charges against Sun International while simultaneously fighting a R5 million claim by JALC, a construction company based in East London (*Daily Dispatch*, 15 May 1999).

Perturbed by Holomisa's actions, Kaiser Matanzima began plotting to take control of Transkei again, this time with the aid of Chris Van Rensburg, a JALC director, and Craig Duli and Vulindlela Mbotoli, head of JALC in Transkei (Peires, 1992:372). Together they organised two unsuccessful attempts on Holomisa's life during 1989, and they also called on the South African government to provide military intervention. Unwilling to intervene, the South African government tried to "reign in" Holomisa by threatening to cut Southern African Customs Union payments unless Transkei lifted its ban on South African sorghum beer ironically imposed by Kaiser Matanzima in 1985 (Peires, 1992:372).

"Pretoria's patience snapped" in 1990 when, following an 11 January meeting in Umtata with the then South African President F.W. de Klerk and Foreign Minister Pik Botha, Holomisa refused to hand back power to civilian rule (*Mail & Guardian*, 7 November 1997). As a result, the South African

government finally agreed to join forces with Kaiser Matanzima and his cohort. In the bungled coup attempt that ensued on 22 November 1990, one of the chief conspirators, Craig Duli, died (*Daily Dispatch*, 23 November 1990).[12]

In light of the "astounding reversals" of events - most notably the ousting of Transkei's government who had been sympathetic to the apartheid cause in place of a military regime with strong allegiances to the ANC - Jeff Peires (1992:366) demanded that historians pay greater attention to the study of homelands. Peires (1992:366) argued that "these events made a mockery of conventional wisdom" expounded by Southall and others that the homelands were "far too economically dependent on the South African government to turn against it". To this he added that the "radical analysis has never, in fact, attempted to define the relationship between the homeland leadership and the local bourgeoisie. It has been simply assumed that their interests are identical" (1992:384). On the contrary, Peires (1992) found that there was a major disjuncture between homeland leaders and the local bourgeoisie. That was, the majority of homeland leaders were in fact not the petty bourgeoisie, but, "chiefly elites" who formed part of the state apparatus. Thereby he argued that the chiefs, because of their commitment to the state, shared no commonality of interests with the middle class. Thus, the homelands' leadership was only enabled by their ability to disperse favours and benefits to the middle classes through their control over the state apparatus. But once the leadership was no longer able to maintain these benefits, the middle-classes realigned their allegiances elsewhere. Thus, Peires (1992) claimed, no longer able to uphold the façade of statehood, the homelands simply imploded.

[12] Mbotoli and 16 other co-conspirators were sentenced on 14 December 1993 to a total of 800 years for their part in the November 1991 coup attempt. They were subsequently pardoned by new South African President Nelson Mandela in July 1995. See: Peires, J. 1992, 'The Implosion of Transkei and Ciskei', *African Affairs*, 91::373, and *Daily Dispatch*, 15 December, 1993.

Undoing [In]dependence

When, on 14 April 1994 Holomisa ceremonially lowered Transkei flag signifying the impending reincorporation of Transkei into the new South Africa, Transkei was on the brink of economic collapse (*Daily Dispatch*, 15 April 1995). Despite its pretensions of independence, the state had remained heavily dependent on South Africa for financial assistance. With little infrastructure and few natural resources, its economy was almost entirely reliant on subsistence agriculture. Pressure for land combined with scarce financial resources and damaging agricultural practices such as overgrazing had taken their toll (Merrett, 1984:83). The resulting "agricultural crisis" was made more acute by the outflow of Transkei's one great asset – its abundant cheap labour force.

Consequently, following the April 1994 elections when Transkei was integrated into South Africa's Eastern Cape Province, it became, as Flanagan charged, the "Eastern Cape's biggest nightmare" (*Mail & Guardian*, 24 February 1995). According to Flanagan, not only had the Eastern Cape now taken on a region that was "underfunded, marginalised, [and] demoralised", it had also inherited a R98 million overdraft. She also claimed that the lack of capital expenditure during independence had left the region's infrastructure and public services teetering on the "brink of collapse". Flanagan, thus, declared that the former Transkei homeland was "one of apartheid's worst legacies".

Transkei's legacy of poverty, and underdevelopment and its implications for social welfare in the Eastern Cape Province, was taken up by Maistry (2003). She claimed that when the homelands of Transkei and Ciskei were reintegrated into the Eastern Cape the newly established Eastern Cape Department of Social Welfare (DSD) was faced with "mammoth" task of amalgamating systems that were "extremely fragmented, bureaucratic, [and] inefficient" (Maistry, 2003:9). Complicating matters further was the fact that there were (and still are) "marked disparities in the patterns of development"

between the former homelands and the rest of the province. Despite the DSD's efforts to "redress the imbalances of the past", Maistry (2003:15) argued that the department continued to struggle to meet its social security responsibilities. While Maistry (2003:15) acknowledged that the "transformation process is still in its infancy", she pointed out that the DSD is still facing some "critical challenges"; specifically the lack of a comprehensive understanding of the practice of social development and the lack of physical and institutional resources.

Compounding these problems, Ntsebeza (2004) claims, is the complex issue of land tenure reform and its implications for rural development in former homelands. As noted previously during apartheid "traditional leaders" controlled the administrative, judicial and executive power of Transkei, and land allocation and tenure. This led to widespread abuse of powers and corruption. The installation of democratically elected councillors in rural areas following the 1995/6 local elections created tension and confusion. The problem, as Ntsebeza (2004:3) states, is that "both the institution of traditional leadership and representative democracy are entrenched in [South Africa's new] constitution". The fact that the Constitution does not actually clarify the role of traditional authorities complicates matters further. Ntsebeza (2003:4) notes that the "absence of clear-cut functions for traditional authorities" has become a "recipe for chaos and confusion".

Illustrating his point Ntsebeza (2004:5-6) cites the case of the Tshezi[13] people in the Mqanduli district of the Eastern Cape. The Coffee Bay (the site of this present study) and Hole-in-the-Wall areas, the region where the Tshezi people reside, were identified by the Department of Trade and Industry-led Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) as a prime site for economic development. A major requirement of the SDI for their investment was clarity over who owned the land and who was responsible for municipal services.

[13] The Tshezi people are a sub-group of the Bomvana – one of the 12 Xhosa-speaking groups who live in the Transkei. See: *Daily Dispatch*, 4 September 2001.

With this distinction unclear, the Communal Property Association (CPA) was established as an alternative democratic landholding entity that would enter into negotiations on behalf of the Tshezi people. Unhappy with this development, traditional leaders used their influence to persuade the chief in the Tshezi area not back the project. In the end, Ntsebeza (2004:5) claims that it was the "lack of clarity" that forced the project to be abandoned.[14]

In an endeavour to define the roles of traditional leaders and institutions in rural communities, Ntsebeza (2004:17-22) notes that the government passed two new Acts in late 2003 and early 2004. These were, first, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act, which provided for the establishment and recognition of traditional councils; and, the Communal Land Rights Act, which furnished the traditional councils as established in terms of the Framework Act with all land allocation and administrative powers in rural communities. Ntsebeza (2004:18), however, claims that these Acts were "trade-off[s]" made by the government to appease traditional leaders. Moreover, as land control is crucial to the development process of rural communities, Ntsebeza (2004:22) argues that these two new Acts in fact "run the risk of compromising" this process. As he laments, the placement of rural development in the hands of "unaccountable structures" is "a disturbing departure from the democratic values enshrined in the constitution" (2004:22).

What has been made evident through this analysis is that the historical legacies of the Transkei are very much present day concerns. As highlighted by Ntsebeza (2004), the legacies of Transkei's past are currently playing a pivotal role in the development of the site of my research – Coffee Bay. While it is important that the Transkei and Coffee Bay are understood in terms of their own histories, it is also imperative that we recognise that this history is in a continual state of renegotiation.

[14] For more details on this case see: Ntsebeza, L. 1999, 'Land Tenure Reform in South Africa: An Example of the Eastern Cape', paper presented at the DFID workshop on Land Rights and Sustainable Development in sub-Saharan Africa. Held at Sunningdale Park Conference Centre, Berkshire, United Kingdom, February 16-19.

4

Mapping the Route:

Approaching Research Methodologies

As is apparent from the preceding chapters, my study stands at the juncture of several scholarly approaches. It not only intersects with scientific debates in sociology and anthropology, but also is heavily indebted to the new wave of humanities scholarship focusing on tourism. While theorists from as early as the 1980s highlighted the benefits of combining and integrating different research methods and techniques in tourism studies (see Hartmann, 1988), the renewed interdisciplinary attention being given to tourism studies (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004:604) validates and lends credibility to their claims. In order to engage with a topic of this range, I have thus combined the theoretical and methodological approaches from both the humanities and the social sciences.

Throughout this analysis I have undertaken the study of the anthropology of tourism in Coffee Bay as a method of understanding the construction of contemporary tourist myths in the making and remaking of place identity. I have therefore mapped Coffee Bay's evolving destination image through detailed readings of the available tourist literature, most notably tourist photographs and travel brochures. Personal readings of the tourist literature, however, are both too fragmentary and too subjective to provide a full picture. I have, therefore, placed these readings within a narrative examination of the touristscape, drawn from archival research, oral

interviews, photography and insights gleaned from my own personal observations and engagement with the tourist space of Coffee Bay.

Research Methodologies

Archival Research

Through my searches at the both the University of Cape Town Library and the South African National Library I found several key resources including early tourist brochures and postcards. I also spent a day going through the University of Transkei Library and a day searching through the newspaper archives at the *Daily Dispatch* in East London. In addition, I conducted many web-based searches locating relevant contemporary journals, including the *Annals of Tourism Research* and *Tourism Management*, conference papers, and press association articles.

Interviews & Photography

Drawing on my skills as a journalist, I interviewed the families of Coffee Bay's original white cottage owners, the hotel and hostel owners/managers, long term tourists and regional tourism experts. In order to form a clear picture of how the tourist space had developed and evolved, I utilised a semi-structured interview approach to encourage my informants to talk more freely and openly. During these interviews I asked questions around the relationship between place and identity to examine how issues of identity, selfhood and territory have been enacted in the Coffee Bay touristscape. All interviews were recorded (with the exception of telephone interviews) and transcribed and then analysed from an ethnomethodological perspective.[1]

Throughout the interview process it was not only personal recollections and memories of Coffee Bay that I gathered. Many of my informants also supplied me with photographs from their personal family collections, many of which have proven to be key resources for this study. These photographs were then supplemented with photographs taken by

[1] The full transcripts of all interviews referenced throughout this study appear in the appendix.

myself. In many cases, I purposely replicated the photographs given to me by my informants as a way of visually mapping the cultural process of the touristscape. The use of photography as a research method has thus supported and informed the interpretation of the tourism performance in Coffee Bay.

It must be noted, however, that, although the process of decoding images has been a crucial step in my research process, it is in itself problematic. As Collier and Collier (1986:170) explain:

> It [decoding images] involves abstraction of visual evidence so that we can intellectually define what we have recorded and what the visual evidence reveals. It frees the photographs from their limitation as documents or illustrations and allows them to become the basis for systematic knowledge.

Furthermore, while interviews and photographs have been treated as central resources in this study's reproduction of the tourism performance of Coffee Bay, both are profoundly subjective activities. Throughout my analysis I have acknowledged my awareness of the asymmetrical power relations that exist between the roles of the interviewer/interviewee and photographer/subject, and have included them as part of the study's conclusions.

Participant Observation

In order to obtain a deeper understanding of the multiple meanings tourists have attached to the Coffee Bay touristscape, I also utilised a participant observer approach to field data collection. As Finn, Elliot-White and Walton (2000:67) remark, "the perspectives and interpretations of those being researched become key to understanding the human behaviour". Throughout each research trip, I therefore continuously made observations of the tourists' behaviour and comments and whenever possible notes were taken. But, while observation in itself is a powerful heuristic tool, it is not enough just to sit back and detachedly watch the ongoing cultural tourist process. As Fernandez (2003:199) argues, "It is also important by means of direct inquiry with participants to determine qualitative changes in state, the emergent

qualities, that result from activity in that space". Therefore, throughout my time spent in the field I actively sought to engage other tourists in conversations around their understanding and interpretation of the relationship between the tourist space, identity and experience. Notes from these conversations were then transcribed in private at the end of each day. This resulted in the collection of detailed information which I could hardly have gathered through the formal interview process.

As Coffee Bay's tourist space is divided into three distinct tourist zones occupied by the backpackers, the hotel guests and the cottage owners, I subsequently divided my time between each of these tourist groups. As Cohen (1972) has commented, tourist behaviour and experiences of place identity vary significantly between differing tourist typologies. In the process of "doing being a tourist" (McCabe & Stokoe, 2004:604) I thus resided and socialised with each group separately, as well as participated in their tourist activities. Again, the observations I made of each group were noted at the end of each day.

Changing Roles: Tourist, Mediator, Researcher

A key element of this study has been the notion of reflexivity. In "The Ethnographer/Tourist in Indonesia", Bruner (1995) problematises the ambiguities of his role as both a tourist and a tourism researcher. He argues that the duality of the role creates tension in the researcher's identity. In overcoming the discursive practice of both "doing being a tourist" and analysing tourists, some researchers have noted the similarities between themselves and their subjects (see Crick, 1989), while others have commented on their differences (see Bruner, 1995). In this study, however, I was not merely faced with the tourist/researcher duality. More problematically my positioning was tri-fold: I was simultaneously a tourist who chased tourist myths, a researcher who analysed tourist myths and a mediator who created and perpetuated tourist myths. As a guidebook author, it had been my job to mediate and rationalise the tourism experience of the region by providing

information to steer tourists on their journeys. In a sense, through this project, I found myself studying myself. Thus, as a "reflective ethnographer" I have acknowledged my awareness of my position throughout my study and have included it as part of my study's outcome.

Field Research Diary

In order to complete this study I undertook five well-structured research based field trips to Coffee Bay, Umtata and East London where I gathered information and sourced materials.

Research Trip 1

The first of my field research trips was conducted from 11-26 January 2004. Throughout the duration of this trip I stayed at the Coffee Shack backpacker hostel so that I could observe and note the experiences of this tourist typology. For my formal interviews I concentrated on the owners/managers and employees of Coffee Bay's main tourist businesses, long time tourists and regional tourist experts. I therefore interviewed:

- **Deryk Lang**: As a direct descendant of white settlers who had moved to the Transkei in 1841, Deryk was born and raised in the Transkei. He worked for Rustenburg Platinum Mines for more than 30 years as their Public Relations Officer for the Transkei. During the 1970s, as one of the few white settlers to apply for and be awarded Transkeian citizenship, Deryk moved permanently to Coffee Bay. Deryk is the owner of the Coffee Shack backpacker hostel. (13 January 2004)
- **Karl Wechstra**: Owner of Bomvu Paradise backpacker hostel, Karl moved to Coffee Bay in the mid-1990s. (14 January 2004)
- **David Malherbe**: An ex-South African surfing champion, David moved to Coffee Bay in early 2000 to manage the Coffee Shack backpacker hostel for Deryk Lang. (15 January 2004)
- **Karen Anderson**: Since 1996 Karen has co-managed the Ocean View Hotel with her husband Gary, and Gary's sister Karen Challis (nee

Anderson) and her husband Peter. After this interview I had a brief conversation with Peter, which I added to my field notes. (17 January 2004)

- **Silas Kalipa:** Silas is a drum maker and tour guide for both the Coffee Shack and the Ocean View Hotel. (19 January 2004)
- **Mandisi Mququ:** Mandisi is office receptionist and duty manager for the Coffee Shack. (21 January 2004)
- **Clive Berlyn**: Clive worked for the Eastern Cape Development Corporation (previously known as the Transkei Development Corporation and before then the Xhosa Development Corporation) for 28 years and was the CEO of the Transkei National Tourism Board. (25 January 2004)

These interviews were supplemented with personal observations I diarised from "hanging out" and "doing being a tourist". As part of this process, I participated in several of the day trips offered by the hostel including the Cultural Tour, Mapuzi Cliffs Sundowners and the Headman's Dinner. During these trips I talked to the other tour participants and organisers, inquiring about their opinions of the tour. Afterwards I also discussed with tour participants whether they felt that the tours represented a continuation or a rupture of their feelings about Coffee Bay's tourist space and identity: What had they expected prior to the these tours? Had the tours lived up to these expectations?

Research Trip 2

The main aim of this second trip, conducted from 1-6 July 2004, was to spend time searching through the archives of the *Daily Dispatch* in their East London office. This was done on 5 July 2004. I did, however, spend the first four days of the trip in Coffee Bay. While on the previous trip I had focused most of my attention on the cultural day trips on offer at the hostel, this time I participated in the more activities-based trips such as the Surf Day and Abseiling to Baby Hole-in-the-Wall. During this time I again touched base

with both Deryk Lang and David Malherbe who supplied me with additional leads and contacts that subsequently proved vital to my research. These were:

- **Brian Jackson**: Head of Eastern Cape Tourism based in East London. Due to a clash in schedules I was unable to meet with Brian while in East London, thus I contacted him via email. (25 & 26 August 2004)
- **Peter Myles:** The former Regional Director of SATOUR, now Director for Tourism Studies at the University of Port Elizabeth. Again unable to meet in person I contacted Peter via email. (20 & 21 September 2004)
- **Tuppy Trow (nee Davis):** Tuppy's family were one of the first white families to build a holiday cottage in Coffee Bay. Then living in Cape Town, I contacted Tuppy and organised a formal interview. During this meeting Tuppy supplied me with photographs of Coffee Bay and her family's cottage taken by her father in 1948. (12 October 2004)

Research Trip 3

I made a follow-up trip to the Transkei from 7-14 November 2004. I spent the first part of the trip in Umtata (7-11 November) carrying out interviews, collecting resource materials and undertaking archival searches at the Department of Environment, Tourism and Trade (9 November) and at the University of Transkei (10 November). I then made the following interviews:

- **Mr Wiseman:** Mr Wiseman is Head of the Eastern Cape Tourism Board in Umtata. During this interview I also collected tourism brochures from the 1980s and 1990s. (9 November 2004)
- **Dr C.M. Lamla:** Dr Lamla is the Head of the Department of Anthropology in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Transkei. (10 November 2004)
- **Julie Davis (nee Trow), Willie Davis, Terri Trow and Jason Krain:** The purpose of this group interview was to meet with Tuppy's daughters, Julie and Terri, and their partners to discuss their childhood memories of family holidays in Coffee Bay. (10 November 2004)

- **Dave and Spence Devitt:** Along with the Trows and Davis families, Dave and Spence's parents were also one of the original white families to build a holiday cottage in Coffee Bay. (11 November 2004)

I spent the latter half of this research trip in Coffee Bay (12-14 November) taking and collecting photographs and tracking down my most elusive informants:

- **Ed Batty and Gareth Dart:** Ed and Gareth are co-owners of the refurbished KwaTshezi Hotel (formerly the Lagoon Hotel). During this interview Gareth supplied me with personal photographs taken of the hotel prior to the beginning of renovations. (13 November 2004)

Back in Cape Town, I met with Clive Berlyn whom I re-interviewed and from whom I collected more old travel brochures from his time with the Transkei/Wild Coast Tourism Board. (16 November 2004)

Research Trip 4

On this fourth research trip to Coffee Bay, conducted from 12-21 February 2005, I focused my attention on replicating some of the photographs I had already accumulated, and gathered more photographs and brochures from my informants. Of most significance were the photographs supplied to me by David Malherbe of the resort prior to the building of the backpacker hostels, plus a copy of the Lagoon Hotel's first travel brochure. I also re-interviewed Deryk Lang.

Throughout the duration of my previous three research trips I had stayed at Coffee Shack backpacker hostel observing and noting the experiences of young backpackers. This time, staying at the KwaTshezi Hotel, I went through the process of "doing being a *hotel* tourist". Not only did the type of tourist differ but so too did the structure of activities. Whereas the hostel actively encouraged sociality between tourists by filling each day with numerous group activities, in the space of the hotel more attention was paid

to the individual attainment of leisure. Therefore, most of the tourists' time was spent "hanging out" by the pool, lying on the beach or simply mingling in the bar. The only structured occasions were the formal eating times and the occasional organised bus tour to tourist sites/sights such as Hole-in-the-Wall.

Research Trip 5

My fifth and final research trip was undertaken from 19-27 March 2005. This time I concentrated my research on the cottage owners' experience of Coffee Bay. As such I stayed on the property of one of the cottage owners and mixed only with tourists staying in other holiday cottages. Again, this type of tourist experience varied dramatically from the previous two. Much like Fussell's (1980) "anti-tourists", the cottage owners, due to their status as long-term tourists, were more concerned with their appearance of being "locals" rather than "tourists". Unlike the previous two groups of tourists (the backpackers and the hotel guests) they did not participate in any tours of the marked tourist sites/sights. Instead they spent most of their time "hanging out" in the homes of other cottage owners, fishing and having numerous *braais*.

During this research trip I also took more photographs, sourced more brochures and family holiday pictures and conducted another important interview:

- **Roy Sparg:** Currently the owner of White Clay, a small Bed & Breakfast on the road from Coffee Bay to Hole-in-the-Wall, Roy's family had owned a holiday cottage in Coffee Bay since 1947. During the interview Roy provided me with several of his family holiday photographs taken during the 1960s. (25 March 2005)

From the research I conducted during this time I was put in contact with my final informant:

- **Arthur Ventress:** Arthur's family moved to Coffee Bay in 1951 to take over the running of the then Ocean View Boarding House. In 1960 his

family moved over to the then Coffee Bay Boarding House, which they renovated and reopened as the Lagoon Hotel. When Arthur's father retired, he and his brother Dudley took over as the hotel's management. They continued to run it until 1981. As Arthur now lives in Durban I conducted this interview over the telephone. (8 June 2005)

PART TWO

5

Civilisation Interrupts:

Confecting Coffee Bay 1945 - 1969

With the increasing affluence of the post-war years, the social landscape of the modern world was completely redefined. Rapid advances in transportation soon meant that workers were able to trade in their bicycles for cars (Löfgren, 1999:60). Thus, with greater disposable income and increased mobility families soon swapped weekends and holidays spent quietly at home for summer vacations in private holiday homes. Once only the aspiration of the narrow elite, ownership of a holiday home was a dream that was now realised by a much larger social base (Löfgren, 1999:129-132). The affection for a holiday space of one's own where both privacy and sociality could be enjoyed converged in the seaside cottage. As Inglis (2000:36) writes, "[t]he rich interplay of aspiration and opportunity found its ready-made locale by the sea".

With its enticing natural beauty and sublime seaside location, the Coffee Bay vacationscape has long been confected by the dreams and imaginings of many a holidaymaker. Through the careful reading of travel brochures and tourist photographs I will therefore now begin to map the ways in which since 1945 until 2005 the Coffee Bay beach has been continuously made and re-made as a tourist destination. In this chapter I will explore the period from 1945 to 1969, first looking at the ways in which white cottage owners confected Coffee Bay's beach with their dreams and imaginings, then how they civilised and

the Wild Coast could not exceed the value of £500, could only be owned by residents of the Transkei and were only be used for recreational purposes with occupation limited to three months at a time. But as Tuppy exclaims: "All those laws still exist today. You show me one cottage that meets all those prerequisites – there is not one!"

Yet while the white cottage owners faced temporal restrictions over their inhabitancy of the Coffee Bay vacationscape, black Transkeians faced restrictions not only in their movement to and from the vacationscape, but also their movement to and from the other regions in South Africa. In reinforcing their policy of racial segregation the apartheid government sought to control the Transkei by isolating it and its black inhabitants from the central parts of South Africa. The administration tried to limit the black Transkeians' mobility by bounding the Transkei as a separate "national unit", formalised by the 1959 Bantu Self Government Act, and introducing laws such as the Population Registration and Groups Areas Acts of 1950 and the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952. While the Native Laws Amendment Act officially introduced the pass book, this was first set in motion by the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 which required all black workers to be in possession of a valid pass and work registration (Merrett, 1984:81).

The bounding of the Transkei not only turned it into a "dumping ground" for unwanted people it also served to maintain the region as a cheap peripheral labour reserve of the South African metropolitan centre (Crush & Wellings, 1983:690). Merrett (1984:82) argues that, the creation of "the impoverished periphery" was an "integral part of the South African economy" as it allowed for the regulation of migrant labour flows. As he notes black "peasant agriculture was [purposefully] undermined economically and politically to fulfil a need for wage labour in the mines and factories and to protect white farming interests" (Merrett, 1984:82). The Transkeian boundary thus became, as Gottmann (1973:138) writes, "a partition … a screening instrument in the organisation of

modernised the touristscape, before finally dominating it through their leisure activities.

Beach Restrictions

While holiday cottages in other parts of the world were inhabited part-time due to inclement weather and work commitments, in Coffee Bay part-time occupancy was enforced. In accordance with the 1913 and 1936 Natives Land Acts "traditional leaders" retained control over the tenure and allocation of all land in the Transkei including Coffee Bay. As stipulated by these Acts, land was allocated through what was known as the "permission to occupy" (PTO) system. However, as Ntsebeza (1999:12) claims, because of widespread corruption and abuse of powers many of the sites in the resort towns along the Wild Coast were acquired without the required PTO. This has meant that the holiday cottages subsequently built on the sites are today considered illegal. Land tenure in the former Transkei is a major site of contestation in the "new" South Africa. To resolve the issue the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) has created an Illegal Cottage Task Team. To date the team has only successfully tried one case, but has 40 more cases pending and has overseen the "voluntary" destruction of some 10 illegal cottages (*Daily Dispatch*, 30 April 2005 & *Daily News*, 8 July 2004).

According to Tuppy Trow (2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 1), however, it was in fact because of a dispute over her family's cottage – an illegal cottage – that all the plots along the Wild Coast were allocated. As Tuppy explains when her father, Harold Davis, built their family's cottage in Coffee Bay in 1942, he built it illegally on the property of his neighbour Frank Altenkirch. Having breached the law, the Davis family were subsequently unable to enter their cottage until the matter was settled in parliament. As a direct result of the dispute, Tuppy claims the government allocated all remaining plots along the coast and introduced new regulations which stipulated that the cottages built on

accessible space" which "screens and controls the movement into and out of territory".

The movement of black migrant workers across the Transkei's imposed border was controlled in part by Rustenburg Platinum Mines. At the helm in the Transkei end of the company's operations was Deryk Lang who today lives in Coffee Bay. As a direct descendant of white settlers who had moved to the Transkei in 1841, Deryk's (Lang, 2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 2) knowledge of the region and its inhabitants – especially their language – proved a major asset for the company:

> I first started trying to live and start trading on my own. But then I met some people who were – I was 17 at the time – from the platinum division and they heard me speak [Xhosa]. So they came over to me and said [asked] what am I doing here? [They offered Deryk a job]. So from 18 to 62 and a-half-years of age I worked as their PRO [Public Relations Officer] for the whole of Transkei.

As well as overseeing the company's 18 Transkeian offices, one of which opened in Coffee Bay in the mid 1960s, Deryk (Lang, 2004, pers. comm.) claims that his main responsibility was to encourage black Transkeians to "'go to work' and get them to the mines". In spite of negative public opinion of the migrant labour system, Deryk argues that, with the company employing between 500 to 1000 people a week, the forced closure of the company's recruitment offices following the fall of apartheid created an economic vacuum. As he says: "Well we have a much higher unemployment rate now!" (Lang, 2005, pers. comm.; see Appendix 3).

Confecting the Beach

By 1945 Coffee Bay had grown to include six holiday cottages, two modest boarding houses (now known as KwaTshezi and Ocean View Hotels) and one small shop (Figure 5.1). The main part of the settlement was on the west bank of the Nenga River where, nestled against the hillside, stood the cottages of the

Cousins (site 1), the Altenkirchs (site 2), the Davis' (site 3) and the Roberts (site 4) (Trow, 2005, pers. comm.). Along the flat closer to the Nenga were two cottages belonging to the Devitts (site 6 & 23). In between was the Coffee Bay Boarding House (site 11). Consisting of a cluster of simple thatched huts and a large square building that served as the kitchen and dining room, the Coffee Bay Boarding House (Figure 5.2) was the first boarding house to be built on the Transkei Wild Coast. Established by the Kutcher family just prior to World War I, it was run for many years by Mrs Kutcher, affectionately known as Ma K, before she passed it on to her daughter-in-law Nellie (Altenkirch, 1999:14-16).

On the east bank of the Nenga was the Ocean View Boarding House (Figure 5.3) and the shop (site 12). The Ocean View itself was originally a trading station located at the top of the hill just beyond the turnoff on the old road to the Umtata and Mapuzi River mouths. Around 1920 it was bought by the Altenkirch family, who then transferred the site down to Coffee Bay where they established a new shop and boarding house, though retaining the Ocean View name. It then passed through several hands until just before World War II when the Davies family took over. Then in 1951 the Ventress family took over its running. (Altenkirch, 1999:16-17)

With Coffee Bay's holiday cottages closed for most of the year they became, as Löfgren (1999:137) writes, "mobile dream spaces … inhabited by longings and memories". For the white cottage owners who spent their summers and weekends at Coffee Bay the modest cottages were the epitome of the utopian dream of summer living. Life, as Tuppy Trow (2004, pers. comm.; Figure 5.4) recalls, was centred round the family space of the cottage:

> I was seven when my father built that house. He built it during the war. He was a very sociable man, and he built this huge house because he wanted his children to party at home. Which is exactly what happened – everybody arrived. I mean we had the most wonderful childhood there … because we had a piano, because we had this big room and we had parents who would rather have us at home

> than wandering around. That was where the whole social life of Coffee Bay happened!

On more formal occasions, such as dances, the festivities were moved to the larger space of the Coffee Bay Boarding House.

While life on the west bank of the Nenga was a very social affair, as Tuppy (2004, pers. comm.) remarks, mixing with the guests at the Ocean View on the other side of the river was "never encouraged". Tuppy explains, "The 'campers', as we were known, crossed the river, [whereas] they were sort of the 'elite' over that side". The marginal space of Coffee Bay was thereby contested and as such it became the site of "a cultural battlefield" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003) between the two opposing tourist typologies, the cottage owners (the "campers") and the Ocean View guests (the "elite"), with the Nenga River demarcating the social divide. The tension between the two sides of the river is exemplified by the dramatically different structures of the two boarding houses. While the Coffee Bay Boarding House accommodated their guests in "traditional" rondavels the guests of the modern Ocean View Boarding House by all accounts, were accommodated in much more comfortable and luxurious surrounds. This contrast is reiterated in the planning of the two tourist spaces, in which the haphazard placement of cottages and boarding house on the west bank of the river is reflective of an unplanned informality, while the meticulously planned modern buildings of the Ocean View's east bank settlement reflects a more dignified formality. Thus through the civilised formality of the Ocean View, Coffee Bay's "elite" holidaymakers reaffirmed their claim to tourist modernity.

Yet it was not merely notions of class that governed the spatial arrangements of the Coffee Bay beach. In both colonial and apartheid discourse and thought, the Darwinian/Linnaean system of racial ranking supported and justified the meta-narrative of white superiority. As outlined in Darwin's Descent of Man, "This method consisted in the conversion of a hierarchy or classification

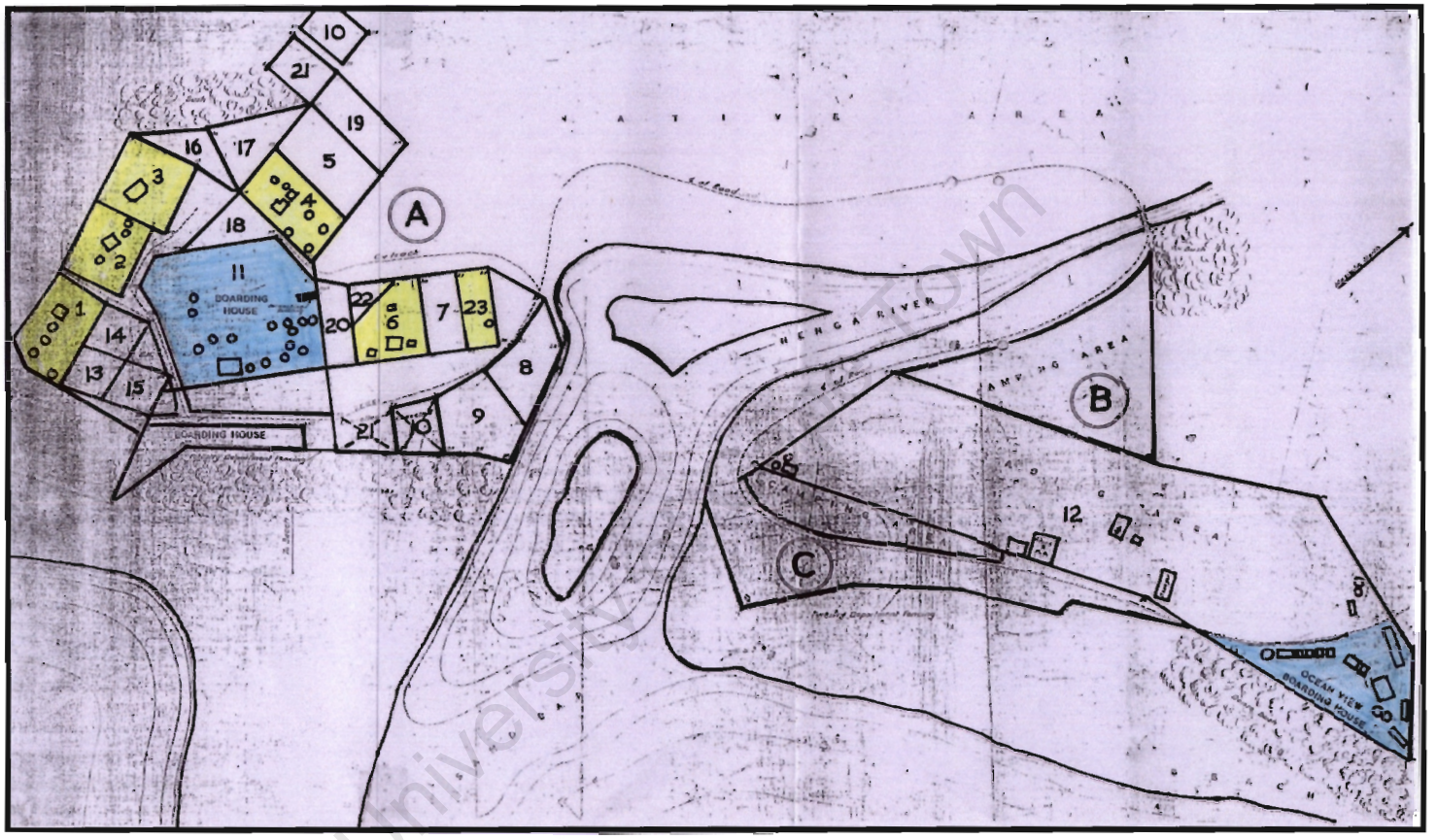


Figure 5.1: According to this 1946 plan (traced from Resort Plan No. T.181/46), while 23 sites had been allocated Coffee Bay only consisted of six cottages (highlighted yellow), two boarding houses (highlighted blue) and a shop (site 12). This plan clearly shows the Nenga River dividing Coffee Bay's two opposing settlements – the west bank "campers" (left) and the east bank "elite" (right). The distinction between the two is further demonstrated by the planning of buildings of the two boarding houses. While the buildings of the Coffee Bay Boarding House (site 11) appear to have been placed haphazardly, those of the Ocean View (site 12) appear to have been sited meticulously. Furthermore, this plan also highlights the fact that black Transkeians had been marginalised from the main tourist space by nominating a separate space as a "native area" (see top middle). (From the private collection of Willie Davis, 2004)

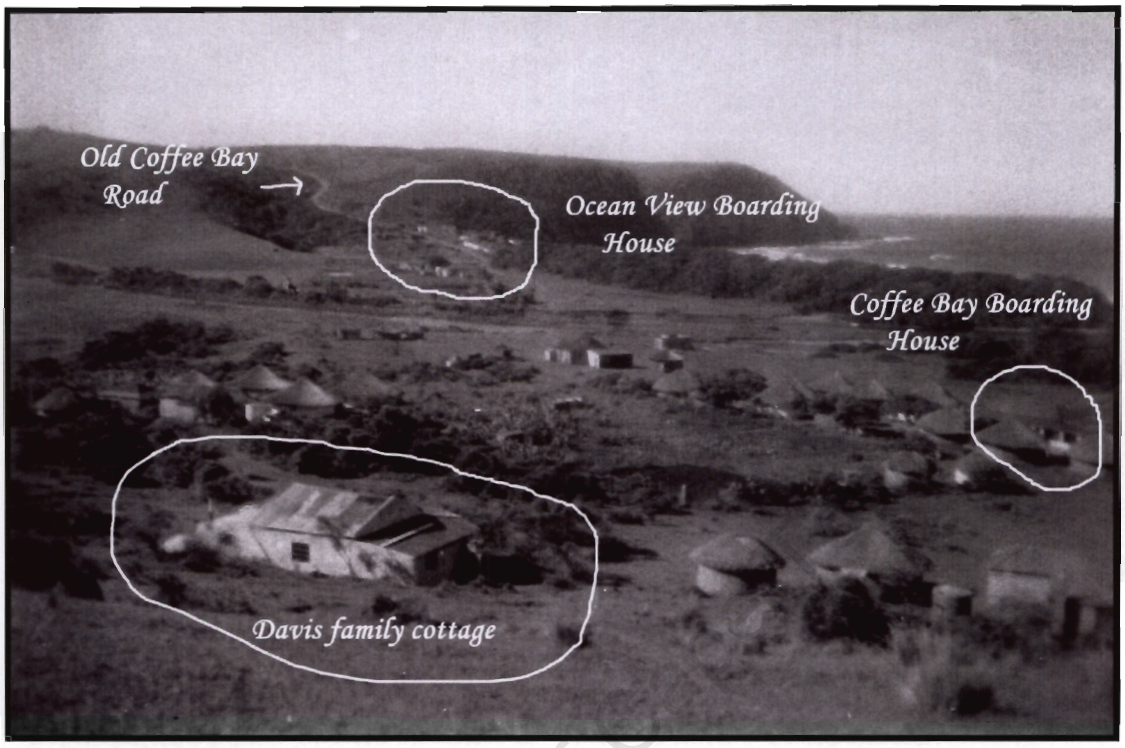


Figure 5.2: Coffee Bay in 1948. Taken by Harold Davis this photograph shows the Coffee Bay settlement as viewed from the hill behind the Davis cottage on the west bank of the Nenga River. In the foreground on the left hand side is the Davis family cottage. To the right is the Coffee Bay Boarding House where tourists are accommodated in rondavels – the "traditional" homes of the "native" black Transkeians. Interestingly, none of the rondavels pictured are inhabited by black Transkeians (those to left of the Davis cottage belong to the Roberts family and those to the right the Altenkirch family) who by this stage had been pushed to the margins of the tourist space.

What this photograph emphasises is the cultural division between Coffee Bay's two tourist settlements: the cottage owners, colloquially referred to as "campers", who inhabited this side of the Nenga River and the "elite" holidaymakers who stayed at the Ocean View Boarding House, which can just be seen in the distance at the base of the Mapuzi Cliffs, on the east bank. (From personal collection of Tuppy Trow, 2004)

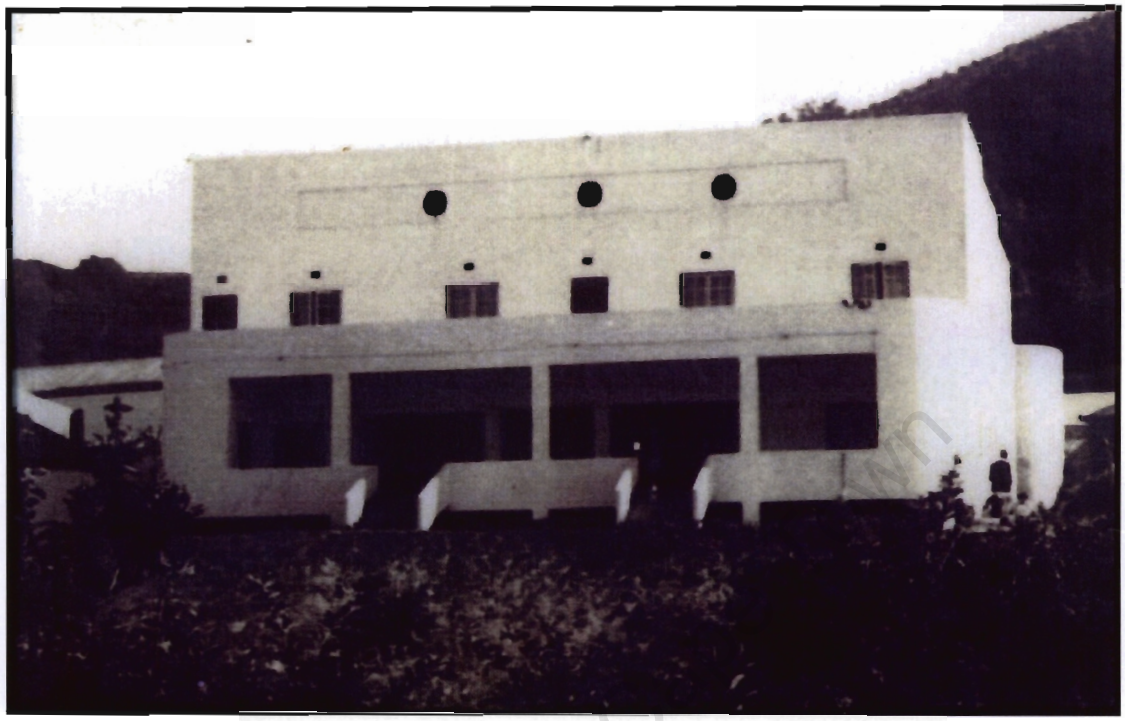


Figure 5.3: The Ocean View Boarding House 1951. Built in the 1920s by the Altenkirch family, the modern structure of the Ocean View Boarding House on the east bank of the Nenga River stands in stark comparison to the cottage owners' "camp" sites on the west bank of the river. Here the "elite" holidaymakers' tourist modernity is reaffirmed by the civilised surroundings of the boarding house. While the cottages and boarding house on the west bank of the river reflects a scruffy informality, the sharp cleans lines of the Ocean View's modern building reflects a more dignified formality. (From the collection of the Ocean View Hotel, 2004)

Figure 5.4: Photograph of the Davis family cottage taken in 1948. Built illegally by Harold Davis in 1942 on the property of his neighbour Frank Altenkirch, the Davis family cottage became a major site of contestation. In accordance with the 1913 and 1936 Natives Land Acts "traditional leaders" retained control over the tenure and allocation of all land in the Transkei including Coffee Bay. As stipulated by these Acts, land was allocated through what was known as the "permission to occupy" (PTO) system. Having breached these laws, the Davis family were unable to enter their cottage until the matter was settled by parliament. According to Harold Davis' daughter, Tuppy Trow (pers. comm., 2004, see Appendix 1), as a result of this dispute all the remaining plots along the Wild Coast were allocated.

In spite of this initial setback, for the Davis family their cottage, like all others in Coffee Bay, was the epitome of the utopian dream of summer living. As Tuppy (pers. comm., 2004) recalls their family's cottage was the social space for not only for her family but also for all of Coffee Bay!

of coexistent forms into a temporal process of successive stages" (Brook, 1980:41). With the white cottage owners assuming their position at the top of the hierarchy of evolutionary progress, the region's indigenous people – the black Transkeians – were placed at the bottom. Identified with nature, black Transkeians were therefore marginalised from the touristscape and consigned to their place in the "wild". Thus, even in the utopian world of the Coffee Bay beach the social positions of class and race, as imposed by Western social constructs, were naturalised and reinforced.

The Beach Icon

In *Mr Bligh's Bad Language* (1992:213) Dening writes that the *Bounty's* mutineers who had sought refuge on the Tahitian island of Matavai constructed what he called "an icon of the beach" – a 31-foot, half decked schooner rather appropriately christened the *Resolution*. Without a doubt Coffee Bay's beach icon was the nine-hole golf course located atop the Mapuzi cliffs above the Ocean View Boarding House. Like the sailing boat built by the mutineers, as a product of the beach, the construction of the golf course mediated the relationship between the white cottage owners and the native black Transkeians. For, as with Morrison the chief engineer of the *Resolution*, the cottage owners not only needed land to locate the course on and labourers to lay the green, but also the patronage of authority from the chief. As Dave Devitt (2005, pers. comm.; see Appendix 4), whose father Jock was instrumental in the laying of the course, recalls it was in fact because of a dispute with a regional chief that the course was located in Coffee Bay in the first place:

> The original course was between Harrison's trading station at Hole-in-the-Wall and our family's trading station at Mabehana. It was a seven green course. But the local chief decided to turn one of the greens into his garden. So it was decided to move the course elsewhere.

Thus, during the mid 1930s the white cottage owners, aided by black labourers, relocated the course to Coffee Bay and in so doing created the settlement's first beach icon. In Roy Altenkirch's (1999:17) account of *Coffee Bay in the Early Twenties* he notes the hard work that went into the construction of the golf course. He writes: "Credit must be given to the traders, especially Jock Devitt, Frank Altenkirch [Roy's father], Harold Davis [Tuppy's father] and Stanley Harrison [who ran the trading station at Hole-in-the-Wall], who put in many hours of sweat and toil laying out the course". Yet while Altenkirch has been quick to praise the white workers he has omitted any reference to the many black hands that helped in its construction. Shepherd (2003:348), however, observes one of the central fantasies inherent to the maintenance of settler lifestyle of "leisure and innocence" was "that of an African continent free of Africans ... a place where labour continues to be performed, where work is done". By not acknowledging the role of black labour in the construction of Coffee Bay's beach icon Altenkirch has thereby banished the black Transkeians from sight and upheld the settler fantasy of a leisured lifestyle.

Throughout the 1950s and much of the 1960s the golf course proved to be a very popular attraction, especially at Easter when white settlers from the surrounding trading stations would converge on Coffee Bay for the Annual Easter Golf Tournament (Devitt, 2005, pers. comm.). Altenkirch (1999:17) recounts one such occasion:

> One holiday it was decided to hold a fancy dress tournament. The night before was hilarious, the highlight of trying on various rigouts was when Melt van der Spuy tried Pat Roberts' shorts on and was persuaded to do the "Cake Walk" for which he was famous. Frank Altenkirch wore a grain bag with holes cut out for his arms and head. Old Bertie borrowed Mrs Farnham's night dress. The greens were protected by fences with a little turnstile for entry – low enough for the men to lift a leg and get over while the ladies entered sedately through the turnstile. That day Burt forgot that he wasn't wearing trousers, and lifted his legs with disastrous results. What a day – what laughs!

The tournament's popularity, however, soon waned and finally folded in 1967 (Devitt, 2005, pers. comm.). While the golf course remained open, it was not until the 1990s that it again played host to a regular tournament. For a brief period in the early 1990s Dave and his brother Spencer Devitt organised an annual weekend tournament for members of the Umtata Country Club. The weekend long event attracted around 40 players. This revival, however, was short lived with the tournaments ending in 1995 (Devitt, 2005, pers. comm.). Unable to recapture its former glory, all that remains of this once treasured beach icon is a vacant scar on the Coffee Bay vacationscape.

Civilising the Beach

My search for early travel representations of the Coffee Bay/Transkei led me to the archives of the South African National Library in Cape Town. One day, while rummaging through the library's collection of old postcards a small, undated pack of mini, black and white postcards caught my eye. Produced as a collectable souvenir for tourists the packet proudly claimed that it contained "12 Attractive Snapshots" of "Natives" that would be suitable "for your album" or as a gift to be purchased "for your friend". Intrigued, I opened the packet to reveal its contents. As I laid out the images on a desk one photograph, that of an old man clad only in blanket and smoking a pipe simply titled "meditation" (Figure 5.5), for me stood apart. Somehow I felt as if this particular image was familiar. Studying it more closely, examining the man's dress and the decidedly orchestrated nature of his pose, I realised that I had seen this picture before.

Digging through my files I came across a photocopy I had taken of the front cover of an old, somewhat weathered, travel brochure from 1960 on the Transkei called *The Transkei and its Places* (Figure 5.6). Placing the postcard and the brochure side-by-side it was evident that the image utilised for both tourist productions was the same. But while the producers of the postcard had chosen to present the image in its original (though highly constructed) form, the producers

of the travel brochure had taken the same image, and, then meticulously cutting around the "native" and the rocks in the foreground created a photographic montage by setting it against a vignette of another landscape. In so doing they significantly altered the original image's meaning. Now, instead of residing alone in peaceful obscurity, the meditative "native" has been forcefully relocated (an ominous sign?) into a new landscape inhabited with other "natives" like himself. Thus, this brochure by transplanting the "native" into a new environment has placed the "native" where, in the eyes of the apartheid government, he traditionally belonged – the Transkei.

Now a "native" Transkeian the man's positioning in the foreground of this image not only symbolises the presence of other "natives" in the primitive landscape, but also adds an air of authenticity to the region. As part of a peopled landscape, the "native" man having forsaken his "wild" and "savage" ways has taken a step closer to a more civilised and modern society. This implication of authenticity and development, however, does not mean that the "native" is now perceived as "human" rather he has been recast as an "extra" on the stage of tourism (Dann, 1996:70). And therefore has become part of the spectacle of the region's scenery merely there for the tourist to gaze upon. As Barthes (1973:74-75) writes, the "native" has now become "a mere introduction….a charming and fanciful décor, meant to surround the essential part of the country".

MacCannell (1992) argues that through the continuous promotion of these kinds of images the "natives" have become what he calls "cultural markers" and that their presence in a picture or an image signifies the host culture of the country. That is, because of our long history of exposure to ethnographic and touristic images we can now readily associate particular peoples with their home country or region: in this case, the "native" now cloaked in a hand-painted, red blanket signifies the Transkei. What is most note-worthy, however, is that the Transkei was inhabited by some 12 distinctly different groups of people and that the custom of wearing red blankets was not practised by all. In fact as noted by

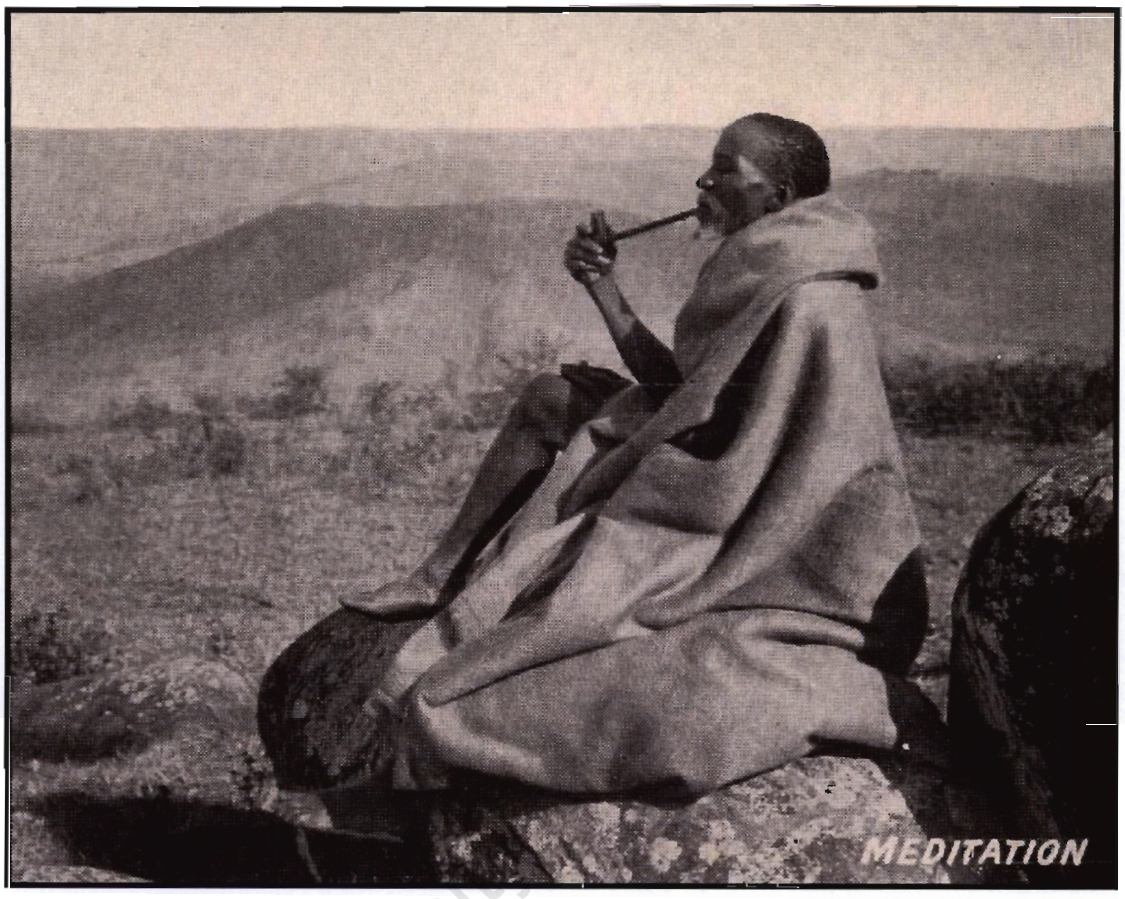


Figure 5.5: Postcard of a "native" Transkeian man deep in "meditation". The highly orchestrated nature of this photograph is reflective of the underlying discourse of both Imperial and apartheid ideology. The placement of the "native" man in an uninhabited (and therefore "primitive") landscape supports the apartheid and colonial notion that black people were closer to nature and therefore inferior on the ranking of human social progress prescribed by the Darwin/Linnaean system of racial ranking. Having not yet developed to the point of respectable civilisation the man has thus been consigned to his place – the wild. The addition of the text "meditation" then underlines this assumption by suggesting that the "native" man is most at peace in nature. Disarmed of his savagery, the "native" man has thus become a figure of irony indistinguishable from the flora and fauna of the landscape (Carter, 1987:327). (Kimble Productions, n.d.)

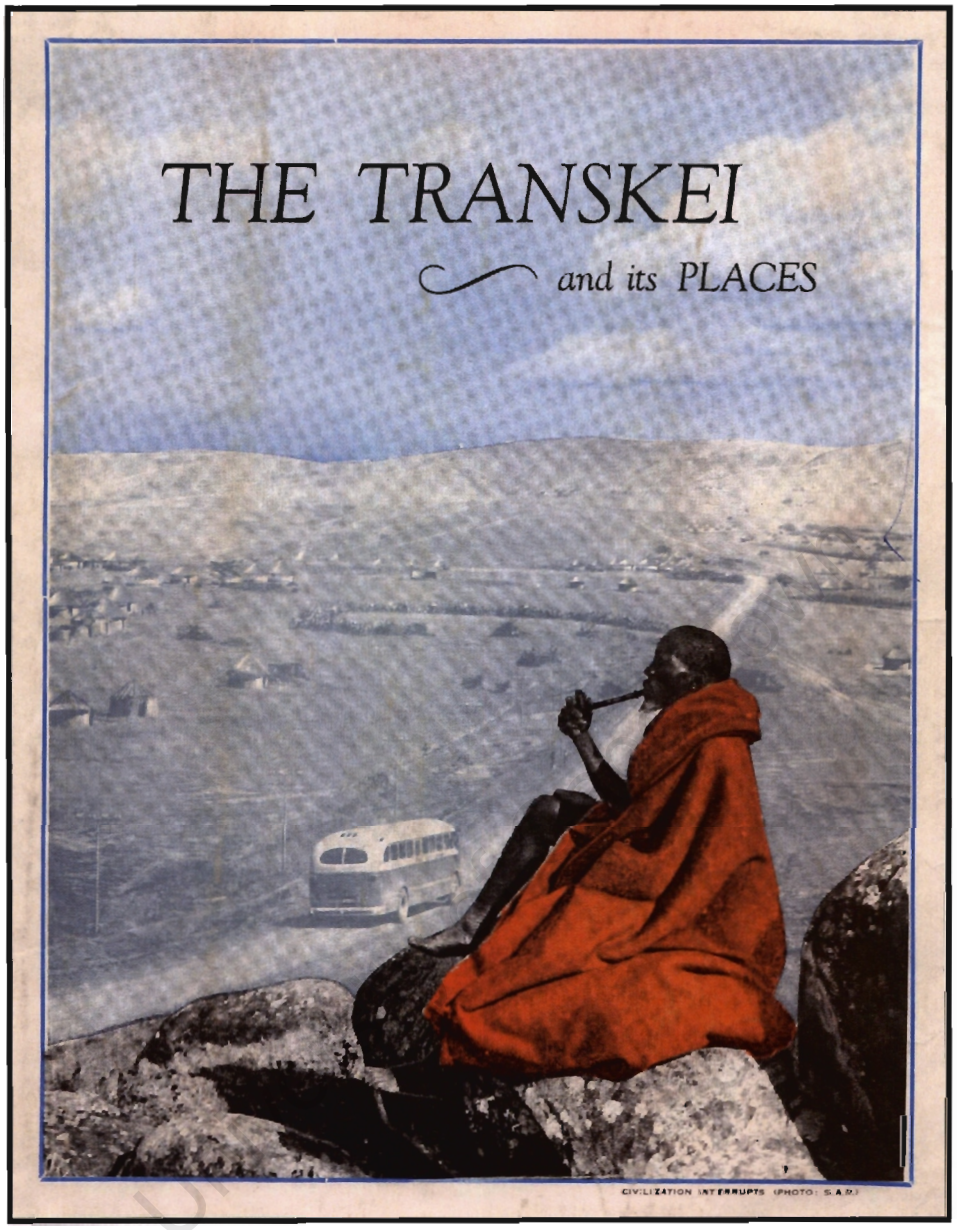


Figure 5.6: For this 1960 cover of *The Transkei and its Places* tourist brochure the meditative "native" has been forcefully relocated into a new landscape inhabited with other "natives" like himself. In transplanting the "native" into this new environment the "native" has been placed where, in the eyes of the apartheid government, he traditionally belonged – the Transkei. This photographic separation of the "native" man from his previous position in nature, underlines the apartheid assumption that it is only in the space of "native" man's "homeland" that he, along with his fellow black Transkeians, will be able to develop to respectable civilisation. Thus, in repositioning the "native" man in his "homeland" he has now taken a small step closer to modern, civilised society. Now cloaked in a hand-painted red blanket the "native" man has become "cultural marker" for the Transkei. While the "native" marker represents the primitive, pre-urban, uncivilised Other, the bus zooming through the landscape behind him has become the marker for civilisation representing all that encompasses the modern, fast paced, urban world which strengthens the tourist's notion of Self. (Potgieter, 1960)

Joan Broster (1967) in her book *Red Blanket Valley*, the "natives" of Pondoland, the northern territory of the Transkei (see Figure 5.7 & 5.8), wore pale blue blankets. Thus, the "native" man has become the nominated representative of *all* the region's "natives".

In the same way in which the "native" has become a maker of the Transkei, the bus has become a maker for civilisation. Desmond (1999:37) states the ethnographic gaze constructs modernity by picturing the primitive as its defining Other. In the scenario promoted by this particular brochure the "native" marker represents the primitive, pre-urban, uncivilised Other, while the bus becomes the marker for civilisation representing all that encompasses the modern, fast paced, urban world which strengthens the tourist's notion of Self (Pratt, 1992). The tension between the "native" posing in the foreground and the bus zooming through the dusty veld in the background is further heightened with the addition of the text "civilisation interrupts". The brochure, as such, articulates what the tourist has always known and understood – that life in rural Africa is unchanged, unhurried and timeless. Thus, through the manipulation of the image the brochure's producers have not only constructed an image of the "native" Transkeians as "primitives" forever living in the past, but by adding a few familiar, civilising touches have actively sold this past to the present (Berger, 1972:139).

Trouble in Paradise

The introduction of the Bantu Authority Act in 1951, which passed over the power to implement apartheid polices to traditional leaders (Mamdani, 1996), led to widespread corruption and the abuse of power. As Ntsebeza (1999:2) notes, "As the apartheid state became vicious, so too did traditional leaders". Furthermore, when the government introduced the Betterment Plan after World War II, as a conservation measure against soil erosion, traditional leaders became responsible for enforcing the removal and relocation of indigenous people to

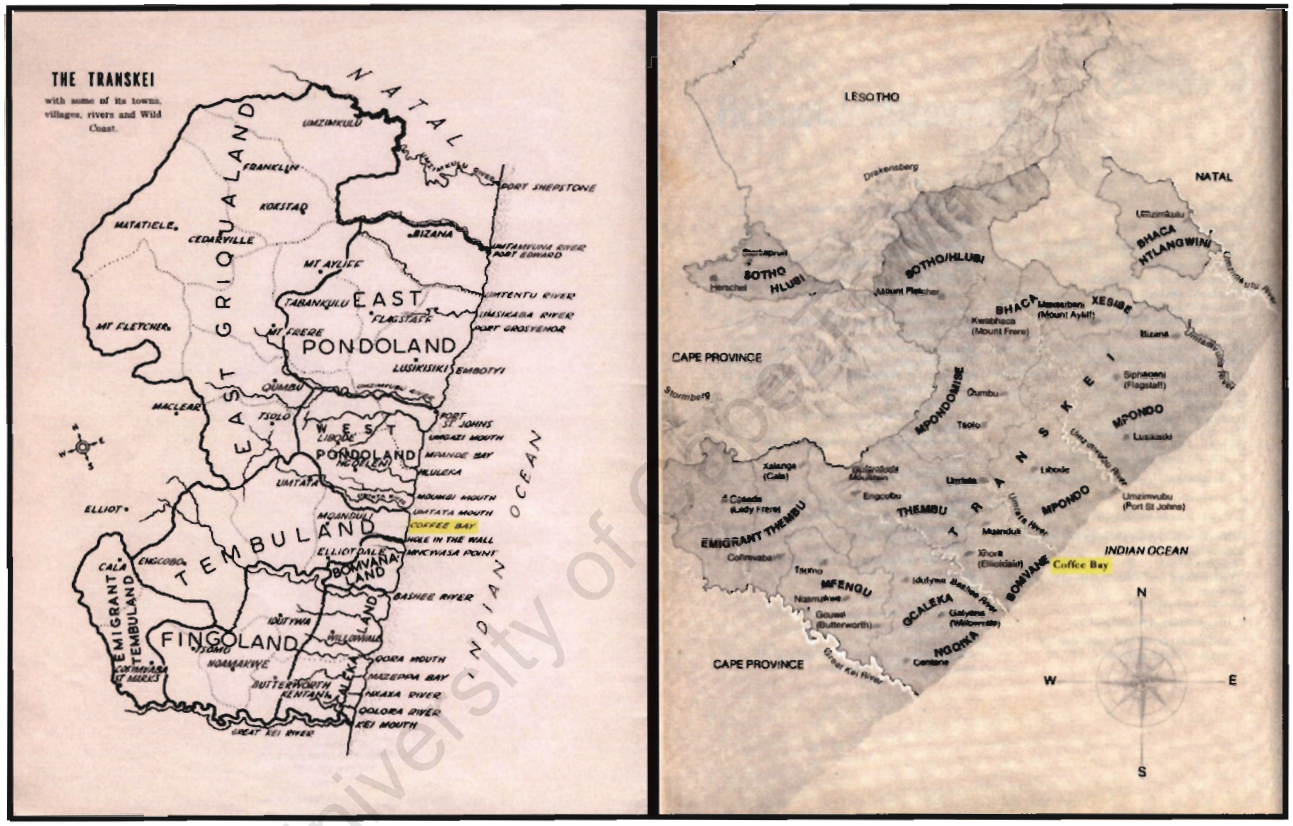


Figure 5.7 (Left): 1960 Map of the Transkeian Territories. (Potgieter, 1960:1) **Figure 5.8 (Right):** 1981 Map of Transkeian Territories. (Broster, 1981:8) One of the greatest difficulties I have faced with this study has been to geographically locate Coffee Bay within its corresponding Transkeian Territory. As illustrated by the two above maps, the maps and accounts I have found have conflictingly located Coffee Bay in both Tembuland (also spelt as Thembuland) and Bomvanaland. This underscores both the porousness of boundaries and the inherently problematic nature and practices of ethnic mapping. More generally, it might be taken as a comment on the socially constructed nature of all maps.

residential areas to make way for reservoirs, irrigations schemes and other conservation projects. In *Crossing Boundaries* Palmer (1998) highlights the case of the reserving of the Dwesa and Cwebe coastal areas of the Transkei. In fencing off these areas as protected nature reserves, the communities that lived nearby were effectively cut off from key natural resources which caused the acceleration "of ecological damage through overgrazing, erosion and natural soil resource depletion" (Palmer, 1998:4).

Resistance to both the Bantu Authorities Act and Betterment Plan culminated in the Pondoland revolt, which broke out in early 1960. The government responded by declaring a state of emergency in the region, cordoning off the area and sending in riot police and armed troops (Mbeki, 1984:117). According to official reports later tabled by the Minister of Justice in January 1961, some 4769 men and women were detained and held indefinitely during the previous year, of which 2067 had been brought to trial (Mbeki, 1084:117). Despite the fact that government regained control, tensions in the region and throughout the country remained high.

With the ANC seen as being too soft in its approach to the fight against the apartheid state, a new organisation called the PAC broke away in 1959 (Maaba 2004:257). Not long after, a branch of the group known as Poqo began operating in the Transkei. Although often viewed as an extremist group within the PAC, the word Poqo was in fact first used in 1961 to describe meetings held to revive the PAC movement in the Western Cape. As a result it became common practice in the Cape for members "to describe themselves as belonging to *Umbuthowana Afrika Poqo*, meaning the Pan African Congress" (Fullard, 2004:387). Unlike the ANC's MK, however, the attacks led by the Poqo were "designed to kill" (Fullard, 2004:383).

The group, who plotted to kill Kaiser Matanzima, were also responsible for the death of one of his advisors, Chief Mageza Dalasile, and the Ntlonze Hill Shootings on the 12 December 1962 in which seven Poqo members were killed

and three police officers injured. In the most highly publicised attack, five white settlers – two road workers who had been working of the construction of the Umtata-Engcobo road and the wife and daughters of one – were killed as they slept on the 5 February 1963 near the Bashee/Mbashe River Bridge (Maaba, 2004:282).[1] For apartheid apologists these events merely confirmed their conviction that black people were "addicted to old savage ways" (Bellwood, 1964:37).

The impact of the unrest in the region was felt immediately as tourists from other parts of southern Africa became frightened and began looking elsewhere for their family vacations. Willie Davis (Davis, Davis, Trow & Krain, 2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 5), member of the Transkei Piscatorial Society, remembers this well:

> The Transkei became seen as dangerous because Poqo started and then there were the murders at Bashee. Then the Pondoland trouble started. The stigma started then. In those days we weren't allowed to just go driving in the Transkei. During the Pondoland trouble you couldn't go driving through there unless you were escorted.... Then it got to the point where they [the government] arrested every male between the ages of 18-25 years in Pondoland. Now people who came here would drive through that. There was all this activity and there were huge [army] convoys. So that was when it started.

Tuppy (Trow, 2004, pers. comm.) agrees, "[The Poqo] did terrible damage to tourism in the Transkei. People just wouldn't go there anymore. In fact people used to ask us, 'Why are you going there?'" But as she proudly claims, "We went there all through the Poqo years". Thus, while domestic tourism decreased dramatically during this period, life for the white cottage owners on the west

[1] As a result 23 people were arrested for the murders and subsequently sentenced to death. Of these 15 were eventually hanged, one died of "natural causes" prior to the execution and seven had their sentences reduced to life imprisonment. See: Fullard, M. 2004, 'State Repression in the 1960's', in South African Democracy Education Trust, *The Road to Democracy in South Africa: Volume 1 (1960-1970)*, Cape Town: Zebra Press, Chapter 9:387.

bank of the Nenga continued unchanged. Undeterred by the violence,[2] the cottage owners' claim and control of the Coffee Bay beach solidified.

The Old Man and the Sea

The lure of the sea, from the fear and loathing it engendered in antiquity, to the romanticism of the early 20th century to its current global appeal as the ultimate nirvana, has been well documented (see Corbin, 1994; Inglis, 2000; Löfgren, 1999). The colonial propensity for sexualising and mastering the sea is best expressed by Henry Morton Stanley. Upon seeing Lake Tanganyika, which although he wrongly claimed was the source of the Nile he hoped would be "harnessed and tamed by Western know-how" (Landau, 1998:154), Stanley (1909:262) mournfully yearned for the "surge and moan" of his "long-forgotten love": the sea. Here in Coffee Bay the cottage owners' desire to tame the sea manifested itself in the sport of fishing.

In Coffee Bay one man's fishing skills and prowess won great respect from all the other holidaymakers. This man was Dave Sparg, a trader from the village of Mqanduli whose family had built a cottage in Coffee Bay in 1947 (Sparg, 2005, pers. comm.; see Appendix 6). A passionate angler, Dave meticulously documented his feats in a personal fishing diary kept from January 1949 until December 1993. Astoundingly, by 1970, he tallied his catches at a whopping 7,569 edible and 3,456 inedible fish. Not surprisingly, it was he who caught the shark that threatened swimmers on Coffee Bay's bathing beach in 1962. In the photograph that captured and immortalised his conquest (Figure 5.9), Dave poses victoriously behind his prey proudly extending its fin. Behind him a group of onlookers, mostly made up of men, vie for a closer look. As we can only clearly identify four women in the group, mainly peering through from behind,

[2] The white settlers, however, were not immune to the violence that besieged the region. Jock and Effie Devitt, long-time cottage owners in Coffee Bay, were murdered at Mabehana, 5km from Ngewanguba, during the early 1960s. Though, as Arthur Ventress (2005, pers. comm.) clarifies, their deaths were not related to the Poqo. See: Altenkirch, 1999:13.

the men's huddle appears to have unconsciously (or perhaps consciously) been formed to protect the women from the fearful creature.

The photograph itself is a classic example of what Landau (1998) defines as the "hunting-and-shooting" photographic genre. The two main conventions of this discourse identified by Landau are: the hunter/s are pictured standing around the dead animal touching or prodding it to reveal its size or bodily mass and the placement of the weapon used near or against the dead animal to claim responsibility for the kill. In line with Landau's theory, Dave is pictured with his weapons touching the shark. As we can see at the head of the shark two knives, one of which was possibly used to inflict the mortal wound, are staked upright in the sand adding testament to Dave's honour as the hunter responsible for the kill. Also, Dave's mastery over the shark's deadly power is dramatised through the accentuation of its size and length. Although, in exposing the shark's white underbelly its femininity, rather than its menace, is underlined.

In the second photograph taken in 1965 (Figure 5.10) Dave Sparg, pictured centre with Hughen and Gordon Sparg to his right (the two men to Dave's left are unknown), again proudly displays his mastery of the sea. This time with his enormous catch raised high before him and with his hand firmly on his rod (here a symbol of masculine power and authority), Dave personally claims responsibility for the kill. The two men to his left, though, are also all smiles – so perhaps they too were involved in its capture. To Dave's right, Hughen also displays his catch which in contrast to Dave's is not as impressive.

Through the sport of fishing the men have reaffirmed their position as the dominant members of the Coffee Bay beach. Like the big game hunt of the African safari, fishing was primarily the sport of white men and was intimately connected to "the theatre of Imperial ideology" (Landau, 1998:153). Thus fishing, like hunting, not only enacted the domination of Europe over its empire but also "reiterated the feudalistic conceit that men of leisure were warriors" (Landau, 1998:153).

Figure 5.9: This photograph of Dave Sparg, pictured here with the shark that threatened swimmers on the Coffee Bay beach in 1962, is a classic example of what Landau (1998) defines as the "hunting and shooting" photographic genre. In line with Landau's theory, Dave poses victoriously behind the shark proudly extending its fin to reveal its size, while the knives used to make the kill are staked in the sand at its head to legitimise his honour as the hunter responsible for the kill. (From the private collection of Roy Sparg, 2005)

Figure 5.10: In this 1962 photograph of Dave Sparg (centre), pictured here with Hughen and Gordon Sparg (to the right of Dave, the two men to the left are unknown) again proudly displays his mastery of the sea. As with Figure 5.9, this photograph conforms to Landau's (1998) "hunting and shooting" genre with Dave both emphasising the length and mass of his enormous catch while simultaneously claiming responsibility for the kill by keeping his hand firmly on his rod. To Dave's right, Hughen also displays his catch which in contrast to Dave's is not as impressive. Like the big game hunt of the African safari, fishing as primarily the sport of white men and was intimately connected to "the theatre of Imperial ideology" (Landau, 1998:153). Thus, through the sport of fishing the men Coffee Bay have reaffirmed their position as the dominant members of the beach. (From the private collection of Roy Sparg, 2005)

Modernising the Beach

By the mid-1960s an essential new beach accessory – the surfboard – had made its way to Coffee Bay. Having originated in Hawaii and then detouring via California (Löfgren, 1999:219), surfing provided the tourists with an alternative leisured activity through which they could master the ocean. While Dave Sparg continued to excel in fishing, his son Roy is pictured here with his friend Geoff Durow (Figure 5.11), as part of the new younger generation of tourists leading the way in introducing this modern craze to Coffee Bay. The pose of the two young men, standing proudly with their long-boards erect behind them, is not only again symbolic of masculine power and authority over the sea and the beach, but is also indicative of the traditional surfer stance made iconic through a slew of Hollywood "beach movies" such as *Gidget* (1959) and *Beach Party* (1963). This pose has since been immortalised by sculptor Thomas Marsh in a surfing monument erected on West Cliff Drive in Santa Cruz (Santa Cruz Surfing Museum, 2005). Thus, through the global iconography of the surfboard the tourists not only asserted their power over the sea but also laid claim to modernity.

The quintessential colonial leisure activity without a doubt would have to be cricket, introduced to South Africa by the British during the mid-1800s. Odendaal (2003:10) writes that in keeping with both colonial and apartheid logic cricket in South Africa was viewed as the sport of a "racially privileged group" in which "non-whites did not feature". As the sport required "a cultivated environment and 'gentlemanly' discipline" that was apparently absent from black society, Odendaal (2003:10) claims that black players were written out of the sport's history. The gentlemanly nature of cricket was best epitomised by the wearing of pristine colonial whites. Here in the late 1960s in the space of Coffee Bay's beach, however, the much revered game was given a modern spin (Figure 5.12). Colonial whites were replaced by the more fashionable uniform of the

Figure 5.11: In this photograph taken in 1965(?) Geoff Durow and Roy Sparg (pictured left to right), with their long-boards postioned behind them, re-enact the iconic surfing stance since immortalised by sculptor Thomas Marsh in a surfing monument erected on West Cliff Drive in Santa Cruz, USA. As part of the younger generation of tourists, Geoff and Roy helped lead the way in introducing the new modern beach accessory – the surf board – to the Coffee Bay beach. Through the global iconography of the surfboard the two young men not only asserted their power over the sea, but also laid claim to modernity. (From the private collection of Roy Sparg, 2005)

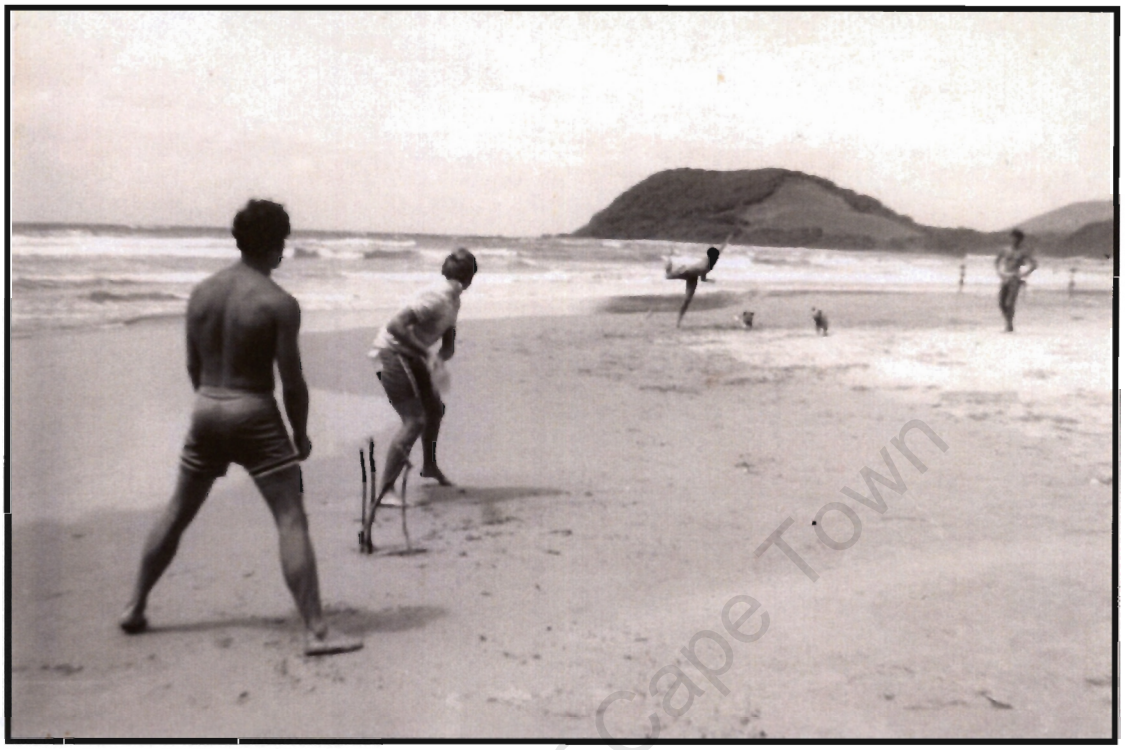


Figure 5.12: Introduced by the British during the mid-1800s, the sport of cricket typifies the colonial fantasy of a leisured lifestyle. Here during the late 1960s in the space of the Coffee Bay beach the revered game is given a new spin. With broken branches replacing the stumps and bronze bodies and swimming shorts replacing pristine colonial whites, colonial "tradition" has been overtaken by the spontaneity of modern beach lifestyle. But, as was the nature of the gentlemanly sport, the lifestyle depicted is one in which women and "non-whites" did not feature (Odendaal, 2003:10). (From the private collection of Roy Sparg, 2005)

beach – bronze bodies, swimming shorts and T-shirts. The space of the beach was thus transformed as the teenage culture of beach life spread from southern California to its shores. With the tourists having mastered and tamed the sea it now became backdrop for a new "avant-garde form of informal socialising" – the beach party (Löfgren, 1999:217-219). Hence, the Coffee Bay beach had not only been colonised it had also been modernised.

Performing Gender

While many theorists have commented on the hegemonic control of the tourist gaze (Löfgren, 1999:100; Rassool & Witz, 1996:336; Urry 1990) – that is the person who is doing the gazing is always assumed to be male, white and middle-class – the same has also been said of the photographers' gaze (Landau, 1998:155). But as Landau (1998:155) contends, "the power of the photograph, even the personal photograph, is that it obscures its manipulation of the world, and camouflages its presentation of narrative". In this particular series, the photographer's focus on masculine identity and activity contextualises the meta-narrative of white male supremacy. In taking these photographs the photographer has thereby emphasised the importance of the male "experience and practice" of dominating the Coffee Bay beach as part of the tourists' "inward gaze", with the beach itself merely functioning as background (Miescher & Rizzo, 1999).

Edwards (2001) writes that the "performative quality" of a photograph lies not in what is "in" the frame but in what has been left "out". Furthermore, she contends that the framing of a photograph "heightens and produces a fracture which makes the viewer intensely aware of what lies beyond". While the men in these photographs are visibly inhabiting and controlling the space of the beach, the women appear to have almost entirely vanished. Thus, within the frame of these photographs and more precisely within the space of the Coffee Bay vacationscape, a gendered paradigm is being enacted. MacKenzie (1987:180) notes that the devaluing of the feminine presence fits into the Imperial ideals of

gender separation – an ideal characteristic of dominant societies throughout history. This photographic separation of men and women has thereby equated the male tourists with the "public sphere" of Coffee Bay life, while simultaneously relegating the female tourists to the "private domestic sphere" just beyond the range of the photographer's viewfinder. The lack of gendered representation in these pictures has thus ironised male power and authority over Coffee Bay and therefore upheld the overarching hegemonic relationship between men and women.

In addition, it is not only the women who have disappeared from the space of the Coffee Bay vacationscape, so too have the black Transkeians. As Landau (1989:153) found in the promotion of "the theatre of Imperial ideology" the main focus of the photographer's lens was always on the modern white colonist, while the black "primitive natives" remained just outside of the camera's viewfinder. By enacting the colonial fantasy of leisure the tourists have, through their family holiday snaps, erased the black Transkeians from the vacationscape. But as Sontag reveals, photography "help[s] people to take possession of space[s] in which they are insecure" (cited in Hartman, Silvester & Hayes, 1998:16).

Visualising the Beach

Deborah Pellow (2003:160) writes that when people claim spaces they invariably develop them, divide them and mark them as their own. From the end of World War II until the late 1960s that is exactly what the tourists who vacationed in Coffee Bay did. First they confected it with their dreams and imaginings; then they divided along class and racial lines and finally they dominated it through their leisure activities, all the while constructing Coffee Bay as their own small piece of paradise. Despite their allusions of a utopian paradise, however, the identity that they created was underpinned by hegemonic Western social constructions. Thus, over the years, race, ethnicity, class and gender relations as

performed by Landau's (1998) "theatre of Imperial ideology" have been spatially assumed and reproduced in the marginal space of Coffee Bay. Meanwhile, the black Transkeians were peripherised from the settlement altogether.

Furthermore, the tourism performance of Coffee Bay, as represented by these photographs, illustrates the significance of the territory on which it verged – the Transkei – within the prevailing apartheid policies. With the passing of the Transkei Constitution Act and the election of the Transkeian Legislative Assembly in 1963, the Transkei had become South Africa's first official "homeland" (Christopher, 2001). Thus, in the context of apartheid, these photographic representations – especially those taken by the cottage owners – provided visual legitimacy to the grand apartheid dream. Firstly, in relocating the meditative "native" man from his position in "nature" to a landscape populated with other "natives" in *The Transkei and Its Places* travel brochure not only provided visual authority to the apartheid notion that this was a landscape in which the man belonged, but was also suggestive of the government's supposition that the creation of separate "homelands" would allow the "natives" to develop a more civilised society. Then through the cottage owners' photographs the colonial and apartheid claim of both Western and masculine power and dominance over the African landscape is reinforced. Above all, however, the photographs studied in this chapter showed that Western "civilisation" had indeed interrupted the "wild" and "untamed" African landscape.

6

Sun, Solitude & the Sea:

The Coffee Bay Pleasure Periphery 1970 – 1989

There's a special kind of holiday…for a special kind of person…sort of trouble free and not too many people. Kilometres of beautiful empty beaches – huge shores – quiet sea pools – tireless wonderful days when you could choose from a score of normal, uncomplicated activities…OYSTERS AT 50c A DOZEN!

The Department of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, 1982:50-51

This 1982 advertisement for the Transkei Wild Coast was part of a campaign to promote the region as the ultimate tourist dreamscape. Not just any dreamscape, however, but one desired by "a special kind of person" – the white South African tourist. With coastal destinations long renowned as the most desirable destination of white South African holidaymakers (Crush & Welling, 1983:681), this advertisement drew together all the essential elements of the perfect South African vacationscape: a place that not only had "empty beaches", "huge shores" and "quiet sea pools", but was also "trouble free", "normal" and "uncomplicated". And with "Oysters at [a mere] 50c a dozen!" – who could resist? As such, it sets the tone for this chapter's discussion of tourism in Coffee Bay from the early 1970s to late 1980s, at which time the Transkei was first a "homeland" and then an "independent" country located in South Africa's "pleasure periphery".

The Pleasure Periphery

According to Arthur Ventress (2005, pers. comm.; see Appendix 7), whose family had moved across the Nenga River from the Ocean View to take over the running of the Coffee Bay Boarding House in 1960, by the early 1970s Coffee Bay had become a popular tourist destination (Figure 6.1): "Coffee Bay was really on the map. It was a flourishing little village that was a popular fishing spot". Furthermore, with the old Coffee Bay Boarding House now completely renovated and renamed the Lagoon Hotel, business was booming. Arthur boasts, "The Lagoon ran at a very high occupancy – around 72 or 75 percent throughout the year".

During this period the Ventress family produced their first colour brochure for the Lagoon Hotel. For the front cover the family chose a photograph that was reminiscent of Potgieter's *The Transkei and its Places* (see Figure 5.6), recasting the "native" – this time two "native" women – as MacCannell's (1992) "cultural marker" to denote the Transkei (Figure 6.2). Theatrically posed in bottom right hand corner of the photograph pointing down towards the bay, the women are clothed in all the necessary "cultural props" that signify the "traditions" of black Transkeians – the red blankets, the long smoking pipe and the colourful bracelets that adorn the women's wrists and ankles. The message conveyed to the spectator/tourist by this picture is that the black women belong to a "traditional" culture that is "unchanging, homogenous and communal"; whereas the white tourists inhabiting the Coffee Bay resort belonged to a "modern" society which is "dynamic, diverse and individualistic" (Spiegel & Boonzaier, 1988:42). In the context of apartheid South Africa, the imaging of black women as "traditional" merely served to preserve and perpetuate the status quo. Despite the fact that traditions change and evolve, this photograph has frozen these ethnographic stereotypes in time.

Also of significance is that the women of this photograph are pictured some distance from Coffee Bay's beach. Marshment (1997:29) claims that the use

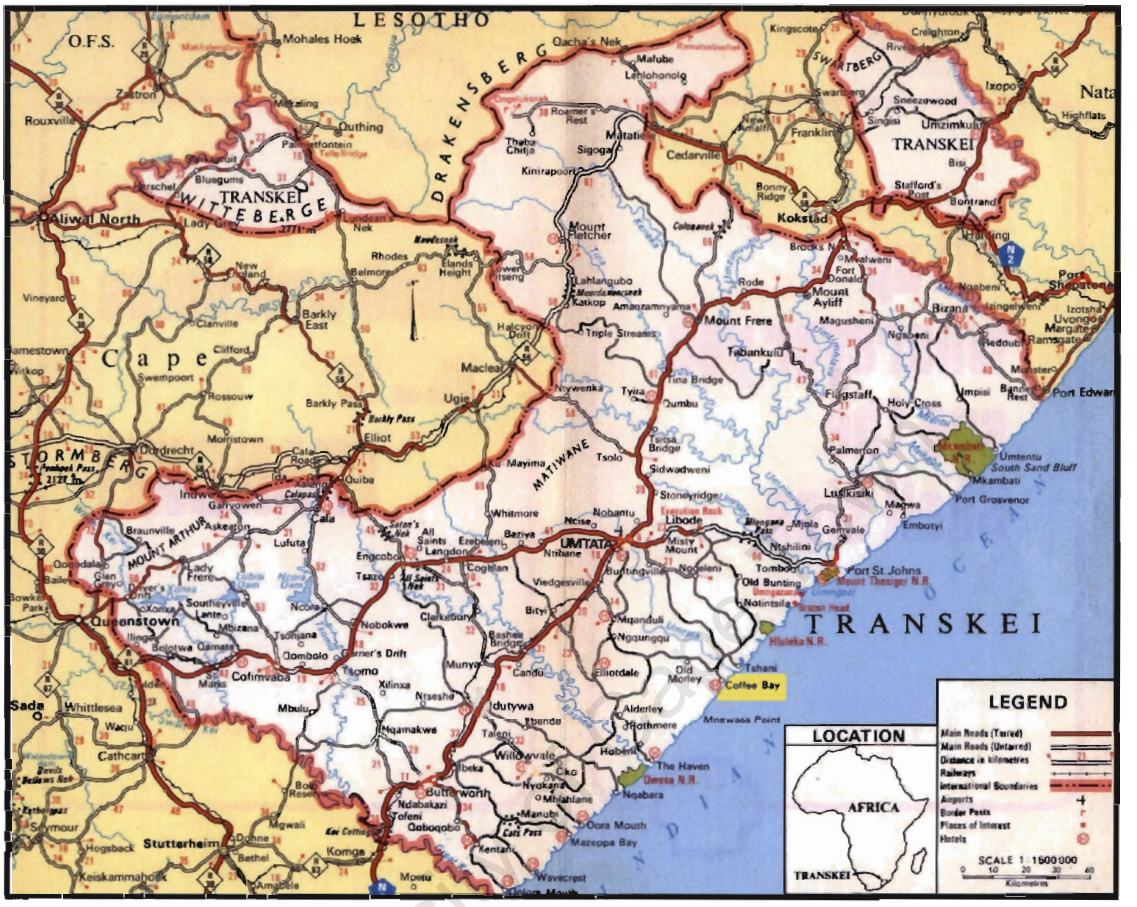


Figure 6.1: 1982 Shell road map of Transkei. Now part of the Transkeian "pleasure periphery" Coffee Bay (highlighted yellow) was well and truly on the tourist map. As testament to this claim the small seaside resort is highlighted with the letter "H" as having a hotel for tourists to stay in. (The Department of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, 1982:lift out)

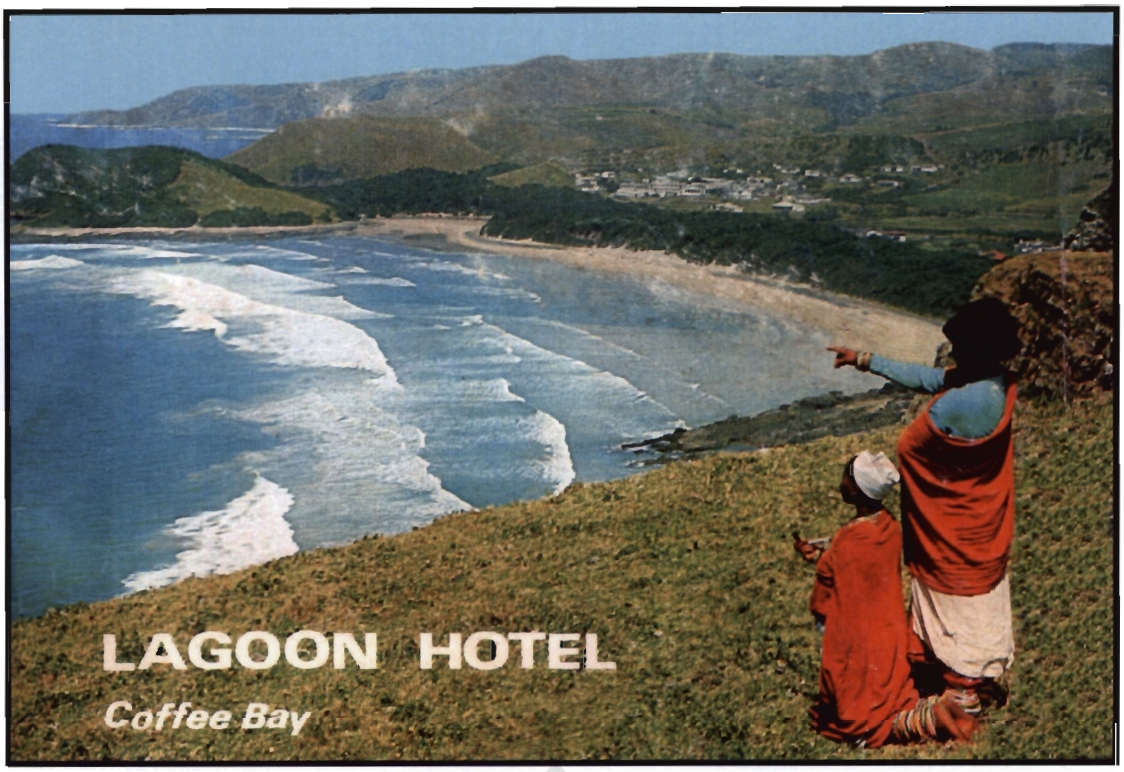


Figure 6.2: For the front cover the Lagoon Hotel the two black Transkeian women were cast as MacCannell's (1992) "cultural marker" to denote the Transkei. Clothed in all the necessary "cultural props" that signified the "traditions" of black Transkeians – the red blankets, the long smoking pipe and the colourful bracelets that adorn the women's wrists and ankles – the women are presented as belonging to a "traditional" culture which is "unchanging, homogenous and communal" (Spiegel & Boonzaier, 1988:42), thus freezing these ethnographic stereotypes in time. But in focusing on the women's cultural differences this photograph has not only resulted in the exoticism of the women as the "native" Other, but has at the same time validated the tourist's image of Self. To further underscore this difference the women are pictured as geographically distant from Coffee Bay's beach, thereby connoting their cultural distance from modernity. As an added touch the women have been explicitly framed in the bottom right-hand corner to provide the tourist settlement with fanciful window dressing. It is this particular photograph and its framing that I recreated for the picture on the front cover of this study. Additionally, it is from this same position that I cast my gaze over Coffee Bay's beach in the introduction. (Trywood, 1970)

of geographical distance in travel brochures "clearly connotes cultural distance", which together with "tradition" signifies exoticism. As she writes, "The 'other' of the exotic is identified with nature rather than culture, with tradition rather than history, the past rather than the modern. This defines the 'other' in opposition to the assumed modern identity of the western tourist" (Marshment, 1997:29). The women's exoticism has been underlined not only by the absence of modernity from their dress, but, moreover, by their geographical distance from the beach.

The women's displacement from modernity also supports the apartheid (and colonial) notion that black people were closer to nature and therefore inferior on the ranking of human social progress prescribed by the Darwin/Linnaean system of racial ranking. The black women, thus having not yet developed to the point of respectable civilisation – epitomised by the modern setting of Coffee Bay – have been consigned to their place – the wild Transkeian landscape. Furthermore, by contrasting the civilised settlement of Coffee Bay with the uncivilised women, the landscape in which they reside has been feminised, thereby articulating sexuality in the creation of a space that is simultaneously exotic and erotic.

While over time the importance of the photographic motif of the landscape has continued, interest in black Transkeians – predominately the woman – has also increased. As the brochure claims, the "picturesque hilly countryside is inhabited by the primitive Transkeian in *his* [my emphasis] native dress and habits" (Figure 6.3). Yet, despite the text's focus on the masculinity of the "primitive" Transkeians, black Transkeian men are significantly underrepresented in this brochure; only appearing in one out of three photographs which depict the "primitive" Transkeian people. When the men do appear, however, they are not pictured in their "native dress". Instead, now suitably dressed in Western attire, the black men have been civilised as waiters serving the hotel guests refreshments by the pool (Figure 6.4 & Figure 6.4a). Furthermore, while the women and children are pictured in groups (see Figure

6.2 & Figure 6.4b) the men are pictured singularly. This, Marshment (1997:28-29) writes, is indicative of the travel brochure genre:

> Representations of 'local' people, unlike those of holidaymakers – who are shown mostly in couples or mixed-gender groups, always – except for the occasional crowd scene – show them either alone or in same-gender groups. The waiter, shopkeeper or dancer, for example, is shown in her/his relation to the tourist as a lone worker; while groups of monks, fishermen or marketwomen, for example, are displayed as evidence of local culture.

The black men in this brochure, as waiters, are thus portrayed as subservient to the white holidaymakers, whereas the women in their "native dress" are presented as evidence of Transkeian culture (the one exception is the women acting as caddies for the golfers, see Figure 6.4c).

This particular brochure as a representation of both Dann's (1996) "paradise contrived" (natives as cultural markers) and "paradise controlled" (natives as servants) is coded in a way that reassures the prospective white South African tourist of their safety and comfort, and reaffirms their knowledge of Self in relation to the uncivilised Other. In addition, the photographic separation of black men and women in this brochure fails to acknowledge the existence of social relations or home life in black Transkeian society. As such gender's main function in this brochure is to construct the black Transkeians as the Other (Marshment, 1997:20).

While family and social relations have been removed from black society, it is these very relationships that have been foregrounded in the brochure's photographic representations of the tourists. As Arthur Ventress (2005, pers. comm.) states, the focus of the hotel was very much on the promotion of a family atmosphere:

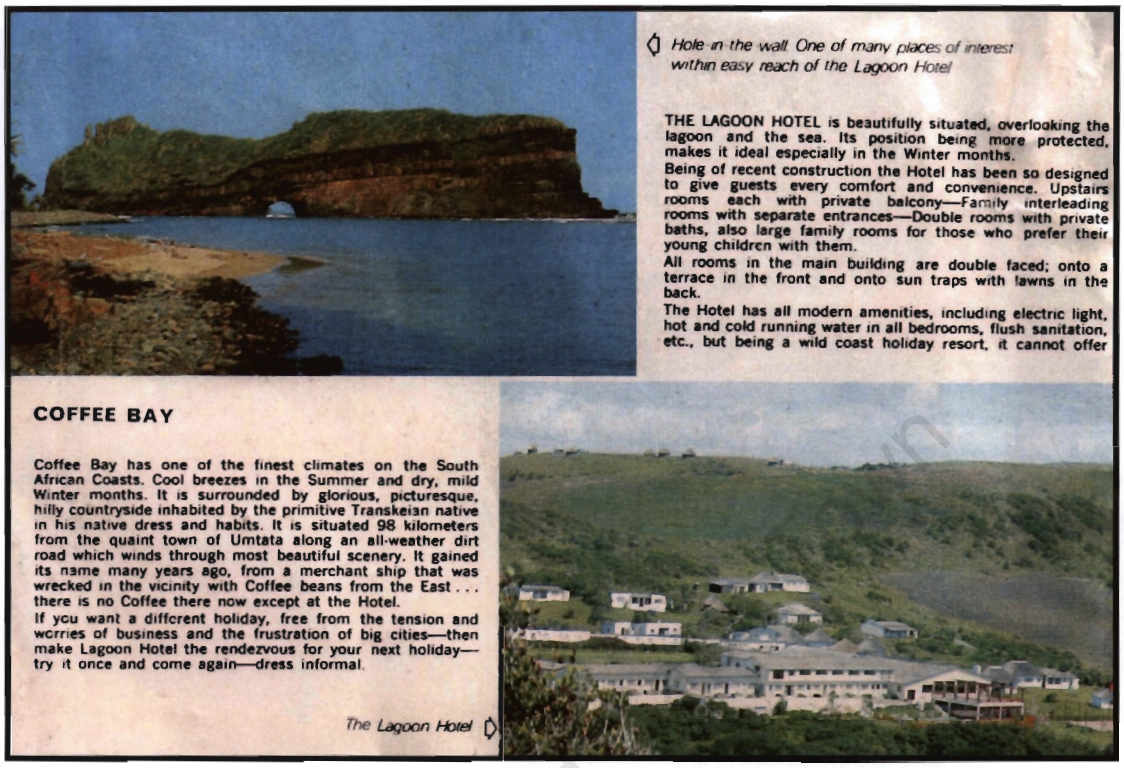
> Our guests were predominantly Transvaal people who came back year after year. We looked at our guests as friends. We had some guests that had been

> staying with our family for 20 years – that is they followed us across from the Ocean View [Boarding House]. Everyone knew us. We were on first name terms with everyone.

The family atmosphere of the hotel was also extended beyond its boundaries to include Coffee Bay's white cottage owners. As Julie Davis (Davis, Davis, Trow & Krain, 2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 5), Tuppy Trow's oldest daughter, recalls: "The [Lagoon] hotel was quite an integral part of the social life in those days. Everybody used to go there – parents, children". The informal sociality of the hotel is best typified by the photograph taken of the pool (Figure 6.4a). In it, hotel guests are pictured mingling as they enjoy a typical South African *braai*.

With the guests and cottage owners viewed as friends, it is perhaps not surprising that rather than using glamorous models for the brochure, the Ventresses chose to picture their friends having fun. In fact, Arthur himself appears watching a female companion teeing-off from the fourth tee of the Coffee Bay golf course (Figure 6.4c). Marshment (1997:23) claims that in these types of photographs "the invitation is not to gaze upon them [the guests] as ideal bodies representing a promise of beauty, glamour or sexual pleasure, but to identify with their experience of leisure". As the people depicted are ordinary people just like the spectator/tourist, the tourist/spectator can easily substitute themself into the photograph, thereby making the holiday experience seem far more attainable.

Ultimately what this brochure offers up to the prospective South African tourist is the opportunity to experience Boorstin's (1964) "extravagantly strange" (the "primitive Transkeians" and the "untouched, rugged scenery") from the "security of the familiar" (the modern Coffee Bay settlement and the hotel), all the while surrounded by familiar companions (other white South African holidaymakers). Coffee Bay as such was depicted as South Africa's ideal touristscape – its perfect pleasure periphery.



Hole in the wall. One of many places of interest within easy reach of the Lagoon Hotel

THE LAGOON HOTEL is beautifully situated, overlooking the lagoon and the sea. Its position being more protected, makes it ideal especially in the Winter months.
Being of recent construction the Hotel has been so designed to give guests every comfort and convenience. Upstairs rooms each with private balcony—Family interleading rooms with separate entrances—Double rooms with private baths, also large family rooms for those who prefer their young children with them.
All rooms in the main building are double faced; onto a terrace in the front and onto sun traps with lawns in the back.
The Hotel has all modern amenities, including electric light, hot and cold running water in all bedrooms, flush sanitation, etc., but being a wild coast holiday resort, it cannot offer

COFFEE BAY

Coffee Bay has one of the finest climates on the South African Coasts. Cool breezes in the Summer and dry, mild Winter months. It is surrounded by glorious, picturesque, hilly countryside inhabited by the primitive Transkeian native in his native dress and habits. It is situated 98 kilometers from the quaint town of Umtata along an all-weather dirt road which winds through most beautiful scenery. It gained its name many years ago, from a merchant ship that was wrecked in the vicinity with Coffee beans from the East . . . there is no Coffee there now except at the Hotel.
If you want a diffcrent holiday, free from the tension and worries of business and the frustration of big cities—then make Lagoon Hotel the rendezvous for your next holiday—try it once and come again—dress informal.

The Lagoon Hotel

Figure 6.3: In this first page of the Lagoon Hotels travel brochure Coffee Bay's tourist modernity is again underlined: first, in picturing the sprawling hotel (bottom right) and commenting on its "recent construction", and then, in remarking on the "primitiveness" of the native black Transkeians. As the brochure claims, the "picturesque hilly countryside is inhabited by the primitive Transkeian in *his* [my emphasis] native dress and habits". Yet, despite the text's focus on the masculinity of the "primitive" Transkeians, black Transkeian men are significantly underrepresented in this brochure; only appearing in one out of three photographs which depict the "primitive" Transkeian people (see Figure 6.4). (Trywood, 1970:1)

Indoor–Outdoor Swimming Pool

Morning and afternoon teas are inclusive.
Every assistance to guests is given by the Management, and restrictions are avoided. All day picnics are arranged to the various beauty spots along the coast, and lunch baskets are provided free of charge when required and ordered in advance.
No holiday is complete without seeing the untouched rugged scenery of the country surrounding Coffee Bay.

OUTDOOR RECREATIONS

Bathing, Surfing, Tennis (all-weather hard courts), Golf, Bowls, Boating, Hiking, Exploring, Beachcombing and, of course, Fishing. The shallow lagoon is a real delight for the children . . . all this just around the Hotel. Everyone you meet on any of these expeditions will be your co-visitors.

View of 9 Hole Golf Course

all the amenities of a first-class City Hotel.
There are numerous bungalows and family rooms.
Daily Laundry service available.
Please book in advance if accommodation is required for personal nurse girls, or if you wish us to hire a local servant for you.
The Hotel is noted for its good Table with fresh produce and tropical fruit from the Hotel Gardens and seafoods when available. Children have the same menu as the adults but children under 7 years may be required to have their meals half an hour before the adults.
Children's Dining and Play room.
Eight Lock-up Garages.

Figure 6.4a: With the emphasis of the Lagoon Hotel on its fun, family atmosphere the photographs on the brochure's second page (above) show their guests socialising with each other (see overleaf for enlargements). Yet while social relations have been foregrounded in the brochure's photographic representations of the tourists, these very relationships have been removed from black Transkeian society. As such black Transkeian men and women have been photographically separated. Furthermore, although both black Transkeian men and women are shown in servile positions (the men as waiters and the women as golf caddies), the men are pictured singularly whereas the women are pictured together. Thus, the main function of gender in this brochure is to construct black Transkeians as the Other. (Trywood, 1970:2)

Figure 6.4b: In this particular photograph the informal sociality of Coffee Bay's tourist modernity is underscored. With the guests viewed as friends, instead of using glamorous models for the brochure it is the guests who are pictured having fun. In fact, Arthur Ventress himself appears in both photographs: being served by a waiter above and watching golf in the picture below. As the people depicted are ordinary people just like the spectator/tourist, the tourist/spectator can easily substitute themselves into the photograph, thereby making the holiday experience seem far more attainable. (Trywood, 1970:2)

Figure 6.4c: Arthur Ventress, in the orange T-shirt, is pictured watching his female companion teeing off. Interestingly, when viewed in relation to the tourist photographs studied in Chapter 5 of Coffee Bay's men dominating the beach through the pursuit of leisure activities such as fishing, surfing and cricket (see Figures 5.9-5.12) it is the women who now appear to be in control of the tourist space. Not only is there a woman teeing off and two more women standing close by with golf clubs ready, but the "native" golf caddies, although still subservant to white tourists, are also women. (Trywood, 1970:2)

Gambling on the Wild Coast

When Transkei became the first homeland to gain its "independence" in 1976, the notion of the region as a pleasure periphery took on a new meaning. Timothy (2001:71) claims that during the apartheid era, tourism developers and homeland governments used the independent status of the homelands to circumvent the strict policies of the South African government and establish resort complexes and large casinos. As Christopher (2001:95) explains, the apartheid government retained a highly restrictive attitude towards what they deemed to be "morally dubious" activities such as gambling, interracial relations and pornography. As an "independent state", Transkei, as with the other subsequent independent homelands, provided the ideal location for white South Africans to indulge themselves. Free from the restrictions of prevailing apartheid policies like the Immorality Act (1950), the Separate Amenities Act (1953) and the strict anti-gambling laws, they were able to participate in peccadilloes long denied to them at home (Crush & Wellings, 1983:683). Furthermore, Transkei's close proximity meant that South African pleasure seekers did not even have to leave the Rand monetary area.

The first casino to be developed in Transkei opened in December 1981 (Crush & Wellings, 1983). Aptly located at Mazamba on the Wild Coast bordering the Natal South Coast, one of the major holiday regions of South Africa, the casino's main appeal was its feeling of unreality – of being a pleasure palace far removed from the reality of apartheid. This combination proved intoxicating, with more than 100,000 white South Africans visiting the casino during the first month of operation (Crush & Wellings, 1983:695). While the hotel-casino complex originally formed part of the Holiday Inns Group, then controlled by Rennies (a South African subsidiary of the Hong Kong-based Jardine and Matheson trading company), in 1983 Rennies transferred their Holiday Inns chain to Newco and it became part of the Southern Sun chain

(Crush & Wellings, 1983:697). Drawing upon the eccentric appeal of the hotel-casino's location, it was subsequently renamed the Wild Coast Sun.

Within the space of the casino a false, mediated version of public life was performed. However, while its walls acted as a masking device to block out the homeland reality, ruptures soon appeared as reality began to penetrate its edifice. Not only were there the questionable dealings between Sol Kerzner, head of the Kerzner Group (a major share-holder of Newco), and George Matanzima, as noted earlier in this study, but the casino was also the target of an MK bombing attack. According to media reports, the 18 April 1986 bombing left two dead and three injured (South African Press Association, 28 April 1999). [1]

The End of an Era

While Transkeian "independence" may have created new forms of tourism opportunities for the black government, it at the same time upset the region's traditional tourist base. As Arthur Ventress (2005, pers. comm.) explains, the repercussions of "independence" were immediately felt in Coffee Bay:

> ...when they started talking about making Transkei an independent homeland people started getting nervous. It was a new thing. It was a black government and that scared people. We sent out circulars to all our regular guests to let them know that things would not change, but suddenly our occupancy rates dropped dramatically (Ventress, 2005, pers. comm.).

According to Ed Batty (Batty & Dart, 2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 8), the current managing director of the KwaTshezi Hotel (previously the Lagoon Hotel), Transkeian independence was the beginning of the end for tourism throughout the region:

[1] The two MK members responsible for the bombing were originally convicted of murder and sabotage and sentenced to death, but subsequently granted "on the spot" amnesty by the Truth and Reconciliation Committee in 1999. See: South African Press Association, 28 April 1999.

> Prior to the formation of the bantustans [homelands], the Wild Coast was extremely popular with the domestic tourist market. Previous to the Transkei becoming an independent homeland the same can be said for Coffee Bay. It attracted a lot of domestic tourists. [But the] Independence era ruined tourism on the Wild Coast. White owned land went back to the [black] government. Then the black managers of the hotels ran them downhill – standards such as the quality of food dropped.

Others, too, have surmised that all the white hotel owners/managers of hotel resorts on the Wild Coast were forced out when the black government came to power. As Karen Anderson (2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 9), who along with her husband and his family today runs the Ocean View Hotel, remarks, "everyone was given ultimatums: 'you either leave or you're forced to leave – that's your options'. The Ventresses just closed the doors and they went".

Arthur Ventress (2005, pers. comm.), however, refutes this claim, arguing that he and his brother Dudley, who had taken over the running of the hotel from their parents, were never forced by the government to leave. Instead he says that the decline in basic services simply made it impossible to sustain the business:

> The main reason we left was that business had dropped off dramatically. Basic services had dropped off as well. There used to be a daily bus service from Umtata to Coffee Bay that brought us bread, milk and meat and all perishables. But when it was handed over to the [Transkei] Development Corporation they ran it inefficiently. Apart from the odd accident, the bus just didn't run regularly. Drivers would stop along the way at local shebeens and would never show up. And we would be waiting to feed our guests.
>
> But the most important reason was that the telephone more often than not stopped working. This was about time when the [Transkei] Development Corporation took over the Ocean View. People just couldn't get through to us and that was how we made our bookings. The [Transkei] Development Corporation installed a radio at Ocean View and set up a central communications office in Umtata that took bookings for all their hotels and

> resorts down the Wild Coast. People would call them wanting to book and stay with us and they would be told to phone us and then they wouldn't be able to get through (Ventress, 2005, pers. comm.).

With basic services now almost non-existent and tourists in short supply, Arthur and Dudley eventually conceded and sold the Lagoon to the South African Bantu Trust in 1981 who placed it under the management of the Transkei Development Corporation (TDC). Despite moving away, Arthur to Durban and Dudley to KwaZulu-Natal's Dolphin Coast, the brothers retained their family cottage in Coffee Bay.

The Real Wild Coast

In 1982 when the Transkei Development Corporation had taken over the control of most of the resorts and hotels along the Wild Coast, they quickly realised that in order to turn the tide of tourism that had slowly been receding from its shores a new approach to promotion was urgently needed. The TDC's response was the creation of the "Sun, Solitude and the Sea" brochure (Figure 6.5) which widened the focus of the tourist gaze to include the whole of the Wild Coast. While Coffee Bay had previously been a destination in its own right, it was now, once again, merely listed as one of the region's many destinations.

As noted earlier, this brochure was aimed at "a special kind of person" – the white South African tourist. In recognising that white South African tourists were uneasy about visiting a black homeland, the brochure promised them that their holiday on the Wild Coast would be "trouble free" and "uncomplicated". With the addition of "sort of" as a prefix to "trouble free", however, it is almost as if the TDC had its fingers crossed behind its back. Despite this, the brochure's text, continued to romance its readers by invoking a sense of nostalgic yearning, declaring that it was now possible to "enjoy this type of holiday again". To this they added that the sense of "FEELING FREE" was "available to everyone", which implied that the tourists would be able to indulge in activities considered

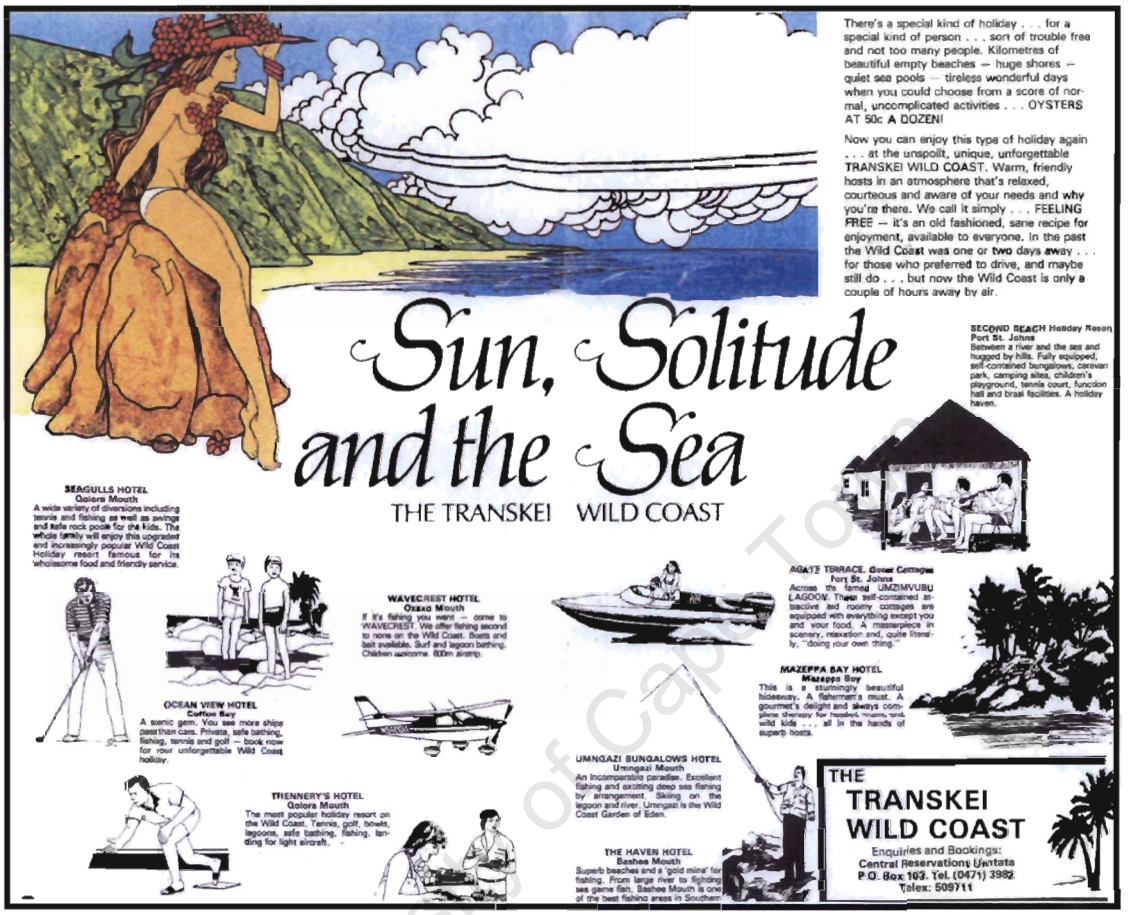


Figure 6.5: In this 1982 "Sun, Solitude and the Sea" travel brochure produced by the Transkei Development Corporation in 1981 "Sun, Solitude and the Sea" the tourist gaze is widened to include the whole of the Wild Coast. In recognising that white South African tourists were uneasy about visiting a black homeland, the brochure promised them that their holiday on the Wild Coast would be "trouble free" and "uncomplicated" for it was only in Transkei that South African's could "FEEL FREE". The focal point of the brochure, however, is a colourful drawing of a scantily clad "bathing beauty" perched on a rock in the top left hand corner who appears as the purveyor of all the Wild Coast's "normal, uncomplicated activities". Draped in flowers that strategically protect her modesty and with her long flowing hair tumbling down her naked back the bathing beauty is depicted as the personification of the promise of pleasure to be had on a holiday on the Wild Coast. (The Department of Commerce, Tourism and Industry, 1982:50-51)

illegal by the apartheid government in South Africa. Moreover, it claimed that although the Wild Coast "in the past was one to two days [drive] away", it was now "only a couple of hours away by air". The subtext of which was, that for those South African tourists too frightened to drive through a black homeland, there was an easier way for them to reach the Wild Coast.

To visualise their case, the TDC employed the use of simple black and white stylised drawings of obviously white families enjoying the many "normal, uncomplicated activities" available to them. The focal point of the brochure, however, is a colourful drawing of a scantily clad woman perched on a rock in the top left hand corner. Her deliberate positioning above the main body of the brochure has made her appear to be the purveyor of all the activities on offer on the Wild Coast. The image presented by the woman is that of the classic "bathing beauty". Draped in flowers that strategically protect her modesty and with her long flowing hair tumbling down her naked back, the bathing beauty of this brochure is depicted as the personification of the promise of pleasure. As a familiar icon of the global beach, Marshment (1997:20) writes that the bathing beauty, along with the brilliant blue sky, the golden sand and the sparkling sea, has become a universal signifier of the pleasures to be had on a beach holiday. But as Marshment (1997:20) points out, in order for the bathing beauty to "embody the aestheticisation" of the beach holiday, she must not only be "young, slim and shapely", but, moreover, she must be "white". Naturally, as a product of apartheid era South Africa, the woman depicted by this brochure, though sporting a healthy tan, is white. While the drawing itself is highly eroticised, Marshment (1997:21) argues that the use of a stylised drawing implies that the image is not to be taken "entirely seriously". In this instance, the bathing beauty therefore connotes the attainment of frivolous PG-rated pleasures, rather than explicit R-rated sexual gratification.

When the TDC released their second brochure in 1984 they opted to present the spectator/tourist with the full glossy photographic treatment of the

Wild Coast. For the brochure's front cover (Figure 6.6) they employed a somewhat clichéd scenic long shot of the coastline. To this has been added the copy: "Come to the real Wild Coast" which, like the sun, is slowly sinking into the horizon. The Wild Coast was thus presented as an idyllic, uninhabited, unspoilt paradise (which one can only assume is what the TDC meant by the term "real"). Barthes (2000:40), in his commentary on photography, claims that the allure of landscape photographs is that the landscape appears to be habitable, in that the spectator/tourist, certain that they have somehow been there before, can picture themselves within the photograph. However, while these images create a desire for the spectator to inhabit the place they depict, more often than not the people who do inhabit the landscape are absent from the scene. Markwick (2001:424) argues that this intentional absence of people from the landscape creates a vision of an uninhabited paradise which suggestively entices the spectator/tourist to "escape the mundane to the idyllic freedoms of *elsewhere*".

To further seduce the spectator/tourist, the brochure's producers have also invoked the use of sexual imagery by re-employing the stylised drawing of the scantily clad bathing beauty from the previous brochure in the bottom left hand corner. This time, however, as a simple white line drawing she appears as a mere shadow of her former self. By gazing coyly off the page and not engaging directly with the spectator, her femininity is being employed to playfully entice the spectator to turn the page to reveal a land where she claims the spectator/tourist will find nothing but: "Sun, Solitude and the Sea".

With the turn of a page, however, this uninhabited paradise has now become populated (Figure 6.7) – not with the region's "natives", but with happy, middle-class (and presumably more civilised) families. The "natives" have been replaced in their role of "cultural marker" by their understudies, the rondavels – the cute but "primitive" homes of the "natives" – to signify Transkeian culture. The rondavels depicted here, however, have almost certainly been constructed so

that the tourists can experience a little of the "native" culture, while simultaneously having access to all modern amenities. What is most significant, especially from a mid-apartheid South African perspective, is that the happy families inhabiting paradise are once again all white. Even the alluring semi-clad seductress on the front cover of the brochure is white: both literally and suggestively. The one notable exception is a working "native" dressed in Western style clothing, which, as Dann (1996:73) argues, is the closest a "native" can get to entering the inner sanctum of the tourist domain (see the middle picture on the right hand side).

Among the many attractions of the Wild Coast detailed by the brochure are the "lovely food, matey bars, lagoons, fishing, surf, sea, sand and *braais*" – just the right recipe for a perfect South African getaway. To this they have added that on the Wild Coast tourists will experience "silent sunsets, and PEACE everywhere". But in silencing the landscape, the brochure's producers have effectively stripped it of all inhabitants (Löfgren, 1999:2); most notably the black Transkeians. In so doing they have emphasised the region's cultural distance from the rest of the Transkeian homeland.

The overall picture thus painted of the Wild Coast (and hence Coffee Bay) is that it is, as the brochure states, "uncomplicated, comfortable [and] carefree" and thereby a safe destination suitable for the whole family. But the fact is that this representation was a far cry from the reality of the over-populated, politically unstable and poverty stricken region that was (and in many ways still is) Transkei. Thus, the tourists, cocooned by the sanctuary of their holiday resorts, remain blissfully ignorant of the day-to-day problems and struggles faced by the "native Transkeians" to whom the apartheid system was "nothing less than the root cause of poverty and exploitation" (Streek & Wicksteed, 1981:ii).

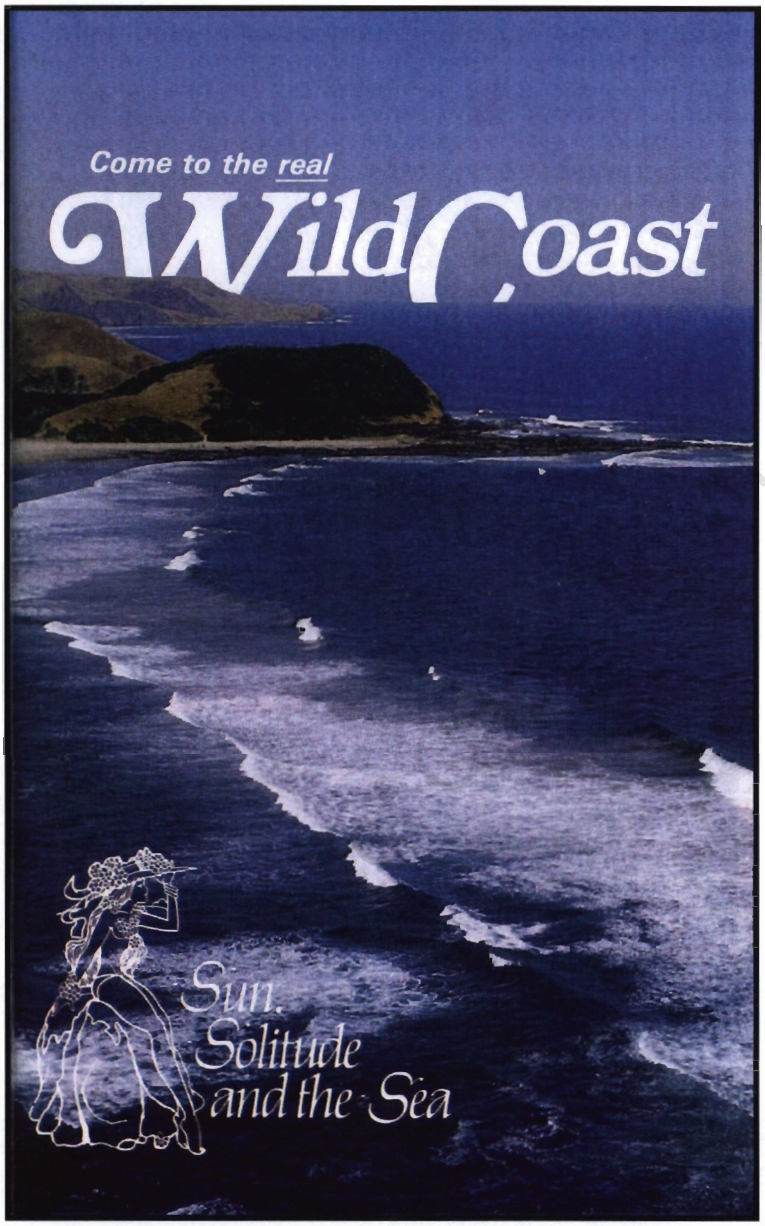


Figure 6.6: For the front cover of the TDC's second brochure in 1984 drawn upon the familiar photographic motif of the landscape presenting it as an idyllic, uninhabited, unspoilt paradise. To this has been added the copy: "Come to the real Wild Coast" which, like the sun, is slowly sinking into the horizon. To further seduce the spectator/tourist the scantily clad bathing beauty from the previous brochure has been re-employed. By gazing coyly off the page and not engaging directly with the spectator her femininity is being employed to playfully entice the spectator to turn the page to reveal a land where she claims the spectator/tourist will find nothing but: "Sun, Solitude and the Sea". (The Department of Commerce, Tourism and Industry, 1982:19)

Figure 6.7: On the second page of the TDC's 1984 brochure this uninhabited paradise has now become populated with middle-class white families. The notable exception is a working "native" pictured on the beach helping a tourist (see the middle picture on the right hand side). With the "natives" now erased from the touristscape rondavels – the "traditional" homes of black Transkeians – have been utilised as the "cultural marker" for the Transkei. These purpose built rondavels, however, have been constructed so that the tourists can experience a little of the "native" culture, while simultaneously having access to all modern amenities. Thus, the emphasis of the brochure on the "uncomplicated, comfortable [and] carefree" nature of the Wild Coast, reiterated by the depiction of leisure activities and lone tourists enjoying silent sunsets, white South African families are again assured of a holiday that is "trouble free". (The Department of Commerce, Tourism and Industry, 1982:20-21)

Potholes in the Road

The passing on of the Lagoon Hotel from the Ventress family to the TDC in the early 1980s marked the beginning of a new era for the small Coffee Bay settlement. But while the Ventresses moved on, a new resident – Transkeian President Kaiser Matanzima – moved in. It is rumoured that after a brief stay at Coffee Bay's Ocean View Hotel he became so taken with the hotel and its beachfront location that he decided to buy it (Ventress, 2005, pers. comm.). He subsequently purchased the small house adjacent to the local shop as his weekend getaway, behind which he quickly had a helicopter landing pad constructed – both of which now lie in ruins (see Figures 6.8 & 6.9). As Clive Berlyn, who worked for the TDC (now known as the Eastern Cape Development Corporation) for 28 years, recalls, Matanzima's regular visits to Coffee Bay drew plenty of attention: "[H]e was always surrounded by crowds – calling [out] his clan name – 'Daliwonga'" (Berlyn, 2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 10).

Visit any one of the bars today in Coffee Bay and you are bound to hear a tall tale or two about the bay's most infamous tourist: Like the time Matanzima, or KD as he was commonly known, demanded that the local shop be opened up for him, despite the fact that the owner had mysteriously disappeared (Ventress, 2005, pers. comm.). Some stories of course are based on fact, while many are pure fiction. The one I like the best is short and simple, though almost universally agreed upon. It relates to how Coffee Bay came to be the only coastal resort on the Wild Coast to have tar road access. As Arthur Ventress (2005, pers. comm.) explains: "The story goes that he [Matanzima] got a puncture on the road one time when he was going back to Umtata and he said 'This is not good enough. I must get the road tarred!'". Thus, it seems that it was only out of Matanzima's frustration that Coffee Bay became more easily accessible.

With the old gravel road that wound its way up past the Ocean View Hotel susceptible to flooding where it crossed the Nenga River, Coffee Bay's

Figure 6.8: During the mid-1980s Transkeian President Kaiser Matanzima took over the running of the Ocean View Hotel and purchased this house, which now lies in ruins as his holiday home. (Author's own collection, 2005)

Figure 6.9: Once a helicopter pad for Kaiser Matanzima, the site has today been taken over by a brick works. (Authors' own collection, 2005)

cottage owners were thrilled with Matanzima's decision. But, as Arthur (2005, pers. comm.) notes, their euphoria quickly waned:

> At first we thought that this was great. But, then as it turned out, it brought too many [black] people down from Umtata. They took over everything and generally wrecked the place. They smashed bottles everywhere. Coffee Bay was just not geared up for that amount of people – there weren't even any ablutions. But these [black] people would come down for the weekend and slept anywhere. It was unhygienic. We basically had to go around and clean up after them after when they left.

As Coffee Bay became more popular with the black Transkeians, it thus began to lose favour with white South Africans. However, as noted by Clive Berlyn (2004, pers. comm.), the altering colour of the tourist landscape was the least of their worries:

> Pre-1976 safety was never an issue. Coffee Bay was a value-for-money holiday destination that was seen as far from the maddening crowd. This carried on for a number of years, but then it slowly began to change and safety became an issue. Faction fights[2] had been going on for generations, but it was following the military coup[s] in the late 1980s in which people were killed that safety became an issue. People perceived that Transkei was a training camp for the ANC and PAC and that the area was a springboard from which they made their attacks.

Following rumours of government corruption on 24 September 1987 the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) staged the "independent" homeland's first military coup. Although in Port Elizabeth seeking medical treatment at the time of the coup, then President George Matanzima, who had taken over the running of the state following his brothers' retirement, and eight of his cabinet ministers, were forced to resign (*Daily Dispatch*, 25 September 1987). Stella Sicgau, daughter

[2] "Faction fights" is commonly used and abused phrase taken to refer to conflicts between indigenous peoples of a nominated territory. Its use here is strictly to maintain accuracy in the presentation of interview quotations. For information on this and other contentious terms used in South Africa see: Boonzaier, E & Sharp, J. (eds), 1988, *South African Keywords: The Uses and Abuses of Political Concepts*, Cape Town: David Philip.

of Transkei's first President, was elected Prime Minister. Sicgau's incumbency, however, only lasted a little over 12 weeks. Following allegations of bribery, the TDF, with Bantu Holomisa now at the helm, again seized power in the country's second coup. (Peires, 1992:369)

As a result of the coups, frightened South African holidaymakers cancelled bookings and began staying away in droves. With Coffee Bay's two hotels almost entirely dependant on the wealthy South African market for income generation, the consequences were disastrous. Both hotels were eventually forced to close their doors: first the Lagoon, which closed not long after the coups, and then the Ocean View in 1989.

For Arthur Ventress (2005, pers. comm.), whose family had painstakingly rebuilt the Lagoon Hotel (each brick was made by hand on site), the closure of the Lagoon and its eventual ruination was heartbreaking (see Figures 6.10a-6.11c). As he says, "[I]t was very upsetting to see the hotel fall apart – but you know what happened don't you?" Continuing, Arthur explains:

> KD [Kaiser Matanzima] took over the Lagoon as well. But when he took it over he managed it unsuccessfully and so it fell out of grace. Then the [Transkei] Development Corporation decided it wasn't economically viable, so they closed it for a while and put a guard there to look after it. But then the local people [black Transkeians] including the headman occupied it and decided to use it as their offices. The [Transkei] Development Corporation eventually had them kicked out, but when they left they stripped it, taking all the windows and the doors!

With Transkei's image irreparably tarnished by the coup, the region lost its appeal as the perfect "pleasure periphery" and white South African tourists looked elsewhere for a new idealised vacationscape to inhabit. Though, as Terri Trow (2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 5), Tuppy Trow's youngest daughter, recalls, many South Africans went to great lengths to avoid driving through Transkei:

Figure 6.10a (above): The above photograph of the Lagoon Hotel, taken in 2000, dramatises the decline of tourism in Coffee Bay following the Transkeian military coups. (From the private collection of Gareth Dart, 2004)

Figure 6.10b (left): Insert from the Ventress family's 1970 tourist brochure for the Lagoon Hotel. Previously know as the Coffee Bay Boarding House, during the 1960s it was taken over by the Ventress family who completely renovated it and renamed it the Lagoon Hotel. The hotel thrived for many years until not long after Transkei's "independence" when basic services began to drop off and the hotel's traditional tourist base – white South African families – became uneasy about holidaying in a black "country". Taken over by the Transkei Development Corporation in the early 1980s the hotel struggled on for some time until by the late 1980s following the first two Transkeian coups it was forced to close its doors. Left unoccupied the hotel was eventually stripped of its fittings and became the home of various squatters. (Trywood, 1970:1)

Figure 6.11a: In the above photograph, taken in 2000, Ed Batty, now the proprietor of the KwaTshezi Hotel, surveys what was once the Lagoon Hotel's swimming pool. Full of beer bottles and debris it sits as a silent reminder of an almost long forgotten past. (From the private collection of Gareth Dart, 2004)

Figure 6.11b: The insert (left) from the Ventress family's 1970 tourist brochure for the Lagoon Hotel shows the pool in the hotel's heyday. During the 1960s and early 1970s the Lagoon Hotel was a popular family getaway. With the emphasis on a fun and informality it became an integral part of the social life of Coffee Bay. (Trywood, 1970:2)

Figure 6.11c: Despite extensive renovations and its eventual reopening in as the KwaTshezi Hotel in late 2002, the hotel has not been able to regain its popularity. This is made evident by this photograph of the hotel's pool (left) taken in February 2005. (Author's own collection, 2005)

> When I was in high school which was the late 80s – 1986 to 1990 – people in Durban where I went to school thought it [Transkei] was in deep, dark Africa. It was not far away, but most of them had never set foot in Transkei. I mean they had been overseas, but hadn't come past or through [Transkei]. And if they had to go to Cape Town they drove the long way [around Lesotho rather than straight down the N2]. I remember that clearly. It was to the extent that people used to ask if there were wild animals. I had that actual question!

Thus, in the span of just two short decades, Coffee Bay had gone from the "flourishing little [holiday] village" (Ventress, 2005, pers. comm.) of the early 1970s to a virtual tourist ghost town by the late 1980s. As part of South Africa's pleasure periphery, Coffee Bay had enjoyed a reputation of being a "trouble free", "normal" and "uncomplicated" destination – a place where white South Africans really could "feel free". Moreover, in linking Coffee Bay to modernity and contrasting it with the "traditional" and "primitive" Transkeian landscape, Dening's (1980) marginal beach had itself become the centre. As such, Coffee Bay was envisioned as dynamic and civilised. Unable to control the politics of the region to which it belonged, Coffee Bay's tourist image of "Sun, Solitude and the Sea" once again became clouded over by images of "darkest Africa". Hence, the modern civilised centre was re-visioned as "wild", "uncivilised" and more significantly "dangerous". In effect it had, as the TDC had almost prophetically claimed, become part of "The real Wild Coast". Although this perhaps was not quite the definition the TDC had in mind!

7

Spend a While on the Wild Side:

Re-visioning the Coffee Bay Beach 1990-2005

In 1990, when renowned South African guidebook author Philip Briggs arrived in Coffee Bay to research the first edition of the *Bradt Guide to South Africa* (1991) he was surprised by what he found. As he says: "Coffee Bay was pretty hairy when I visited in 1990 and we were just glad to get away - tourism was dead, hotels were closed, our car window was smashed - but the former Transkei as a whole wasn't too safe for travel in the late 80s and early 90s" (Briggs, 2004a, pers. comm.; see Appendix 11).

It was this very sense of danger that defined tourism in Coffee Bay and Transkei for much of the 1990s. As Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994:457) argue, the success of a tourist destination in attracting tourists is very much reliant on a stable government and "the guarantees of personal safety". With Transkei viewed as "wild" and "unsafe" following the political instability of the late 1980s, tourists had simply begun going elsewhere for their vacations. Clive Berlyn (2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 10), however, claims "the crunch" for tourism came following an attempted counter-coup which lead to attacks on the hotels and on tourists themselves.

Drama on Land

In November 1990, Kaiser Matanzima, with the backing of the South African government, staged an unsuccessful third coup. Initially unwilling to intervene, the South African government's "patience snapped", following an 11 January 1990 meeting in Umtata with the then South African President F.W. de Klerk, when Holomisa refused their requests to hand back power to civilian rule (*Mail & Guardian*, 7 November 1997). In the bungled coup attempt that ensued on 22 November 1990 one of the chief conspirators, Craig Duli, died (*Daily Dispatch*, 23 November 1990).

The response of white South African tourists to the coup was immediate. According to the *Daily Dispatch* (29 November 1990) frightened holidaymakers quickly cancelled their Christmas bookings at several Wild Coast resorts following the abortive coup. As Mr Arthur de la Mare, the Director of the Hole-in-the-Wall resort, 8km south of Coffee Bay, claimed, "People have had a helluva fright". Not content to "sit back and accept the rumours", Mr de le Mare sent letters out to all the guests booked in for the holiday period and even contacted Holomisa. In spite of his efforts, however, the paper reported that the Hole-in-the-Wall resort had had a total of 13 cancellations.

Drama at Sea

Early on the morning of Sunday 4 August 1991 Coffee Bay cottage owners awoke to discover an extraordinary drama unfolding on their shores. To their amazement, the Greek cruise liner *Oceanos*, which had been en route from East London to Durban, had became the latest victim of the notorious Wild Coast.[1] Having hit ground at around 9.30 pm the previous night, the stricken ship was "slowly being swallowed by the sea". In the dramatic seven hour sea rescue that

[1] The 280 km stretch of coastline on which Coffee Bay is situated has long been referred to as the Wild Coast – a name acquired from its notoriety as a graveyard for the many ships wrecked on its rocky shores.

ensued, the South African Air Force saved all 571 passengers (The All at Sea Network, 1997).

Deryk Lang (2005, pers. comm.; see Appendix 2) remembers the day well:

> I remember first hearing the [sound of] aircraft and choppers above the house at around 5 am. So I turned on the radio to frequency 19 and was told that there was a ship going down off the coast.
>
> The rescue effort was co-ordinated from The Haven [another Wild Coast resort about 40km south of Coffee Bay], but it was three minutes longer for them to fly [the survivors] there [The Haven] and then back [to the ship] again. And the ship was on its side and they thought it was going to roll over, so they thought it was faster to bring them here [to Coffee Bay].
>
> So we drove up to the golf course [where the survivors were airlifted to]. First they dropped out the fuel drums and then the people. And then we ferried them down to the [Ocean View] hotel.

The hotel had closed down some two years earlier so it had to be "forced open". The 88 terrified passengers airlifted to Coffee Bay then remained at the hotel until around 11 am when a bus arrived to transport them to The Haven to join the other survivors.

During all the excitement Deryk (2005, pers. comm.) had made a quick trip home to fetch some clothing and other basic items for the passengers, most of which he assumed he would never see again. To his surprise, however, every item he had given to the cold, wet strangers was eventually returned – even his favourite coat:

> ... I went home to go get all the blankets and clothing I could find to give to the people. And would you believe that I got every single item back. I had this very good sheep skin coat which I also gave to one of the people. I didn't think I'd see it again, but six months later a courier delivered it to me all the way from France I think. They'd even had it dry cleaned!

While the Ocean View Hotel had itself played a part in the *Oceanos* drama, it did not officially reopen until 1992 after extensive renovations (*Ihobe*, April 1992:3).

Tackling the Tourism Blues

The following year disaster struck Transkei's tourism industry yet again. On 13 April 1993 a group of MK cadres, armed with automatic weapons, ambushed a small party of white holidaymakers near Port St Johns as they were returning home from a fishing trip. Two men were killed, while three others, two of them children, managed to escape.[2]

In a bid to save Transkei's tarnished image, Clive Berlyn, now CEO of Transkei National Tourism Board, held a workshop to promote Transkei tourism in Johannesburg at the 1993 Travel and Trade Roadshow. Addressing the workshop, he argued that while violence had engulfed the whole of South Africa, costing an estimated R200-million in foreign exchange, it was inaccurate to single out Transkei as a "no-go area". On the contrary, Berlyn claimed that statistics on violence on a per capita basis proved that Transkei was in fact a "haven of peace" compared with many of South Africa's larger cities. (*Ihobe*, September 1993:11)

With the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa now almost a certainty, Berlyn called on the South African tourism bodies to "put aside" their political differences and "look into the future". As he said: "Our thinking is 'post settlement'. We are involved in marketing Transkei as part of a region, but with our own identity". In detailing the way forward, Berlyn said that the Transkei National Tourism Board was busy setting up initiatives to revitalise tourism in

[2] Their assailants were jailed for life, but granted amnesty in 1999 by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission after claiming that their actions had been politically motivated as retaliation for the death of MK commander Chris Hani, who had been shot and killed three days earlier by a right-wing white. See: Ngqumba, P. 1999, 'TRC Granted Amnesty to 4 ANC Members', *Polity.org.za*, [Online] Available: http://www.polity.org.za/html/govdocs/pr/1999/pr0819.html [2005, June 23].

the soon-to-be former homeland. One of the major initiatives, he claimed, was to foster a culture of tourism within the various black Transkeian groups. As he said: "Our most valuable asset is the people of the region. Their inherent enthusiasm will enable us to take Transkei to where it should be on the tourism map". (*Ihobe*, September 1993:11)

The New Transkei

In 1994, following the fall of apartheid and the demise of the homeland system, the Transkei National Tourism Board, wanting to distance itself from the past, quickly renamed itself Wild Coast Tourism.[3] In keeping with the emerging national discourse of reconciliation, the main photograph in the tourism board's first brochure, produced in 1995, featured two couples: one black, one white (Figure 7.1). For the first time black people had entered the tourist domain not merely as servants or objects of cultural curiosity to be gazed upon as part of the tourist experience, but as tourists themselves. Whereas the previous brochures studied had imputed all social and family relations to the modern white South African tourists, the black man and woman, portrayed as a happy couple, are for the first time shown as enjoying social relations with each other. Now dressed in the stock-standard tourist attire – sunglasses, hats, T-shits and shorts – the "primitive Transkeians" have been "stripped" of their "rough edges" and, now, as part of the tourist domain, have "become more modern" (Rassool & Witz, 1996:342). The subtext of this was that in this new, recoded Transkei black and white were now equal.

Symbolically, the quad bikes the couples are sitting on are strategically positioned in a way that is suggestive of prior tension. It appears as if the couples had just competed in a race for control over the tourist space of the Wild Coast. With the bikes themselves, as machinery of modernity, denoting power and

[3] Despite the fact that Wild Coast Tourism released new brochures, the change of name was never official and subsequently in 1996 it became part of Eastern Cape Tourism. See: Berlyn, 2004, pers. comm.

might, the photograph depicts the polar opposite worlds of white (South Africa) and black (Transkei) meeting and confronting each other on equal terms within the boundaries of the tourist space (the Wild Coast). With the conflict now over, though, the couples are smiling and animatedly engaging their cultural Other in negotiations on the future of tourism in the new Transkei. But while the racial paradigm, as stipulated by the Darwin/Linnaean system of racial ranking, has been inverted, the gendered paradigm is still intact, with both the black and white males, as the drivers of the bikes, maintaining ultimate control of the tourist space.

In one of the smaller photographs, the two couples are reunited as part of a happy holiday party observing one of the Wild Coast's many shipwrecks (see centre picture). By focusing on the shipwreck, the connotations of "wild" and "untamed", previously attributed to the black Transkeians, has been transferred to the coast itself. In so doing, the violence long associated with Transkei has been recast as part of the natural beauty of its coastline. Rassool and Witz (1996:337) claim that this recasting is an integral component of the new ordered post-apartheid modernity that the brochure was trying to project.

While the brochure now portrays a black couple enjoying modern social relationships with each other and with the white tourists, this new found social freedom is still limited. In the more intimate photograph that is suggestive of the attainment of holiday romance and pleasure it is the white couple who are depicted sitting together in the hammock. Marshment (1997:25) remarks that the restriction of sexual intimacy to white couples is a commonality of the travel brochure genre. Furthermore, she claims that in keeping with society's ideological constructions of "normal relationships", the couples represented must not only be white, but, moreover, heterosexual (Marshment, 1997:26).

Despite the brochure's claim to a new, modern Transkeian present, the addition of a picture of a black Transkeian woman in "traditional" dress it has maintained a firm link to the past. But as Rassool and Witz (1996:342) write, the

claim to "Africanness" was one of the essential elements in the reimaging of the post-apartheid South African touristscape. Appearing here as MacCannell's (1992) "cultural marker", the woman in her "traditional" dress is again depicted as the signifier of Transkei. As time has progressed, however, the woman's "cultural props" have changed. Gone are the red blanket and smoking pipe long associated with "traditional" Transkeian culture, as advocated previously by Potgieter's *The Transkei and its Places* (see Figure 5.6) and the Lagoon Hotel's Coffee Bay brochure (see Figure 6.2). Instead, in their place the "native" woman now sports an orange skirt with black trim, colourful headwear and a painted face. In addition, the "native" woman is no longer relegated to the "primitive" African landscape. She, too, now pictured on the beach, is a part of the modern tourist vacationscape. Thus, while the brochure in its reimaging of the region has modernised the "primitive", it has simultaneously repackaged the Wild Coast's "tourist modernity" in a "primitive wrapping" (Rassool & Witz, 1996:342).

With a beautiful blue seascape providing the backdrop for the brochure's photographic collage, the holiday pleasure signified by the brochure is that of relaxing in a region of peace and tranquillity which, with the addition of the couple holding hands, is also linked to romance. Through the use of vibrant colourful text, Archbishop Desmond Tutu's "rainbow nation" has been drawn upon to underline Wild Coast Tourism's vision of the new Transkeian reality: a harmonious place where different racial groups coexist happily. This new Transkeian reality presented, having been carefully selected and filtered through middle-class lenses, has, however, glossed over the social and political problems that beset the former homeland.

According to a report on poverty in Transkei released the previous year, of the 3.7 million people residing in Transkei during "independence" only 5% were urbanised, while the other 95% lived in rural areas (Mpambani, 1994:4-5). With 74% of total household income being earned outside of Transkei through migrant labour, only the elderly, sick and young remained, placing an immense

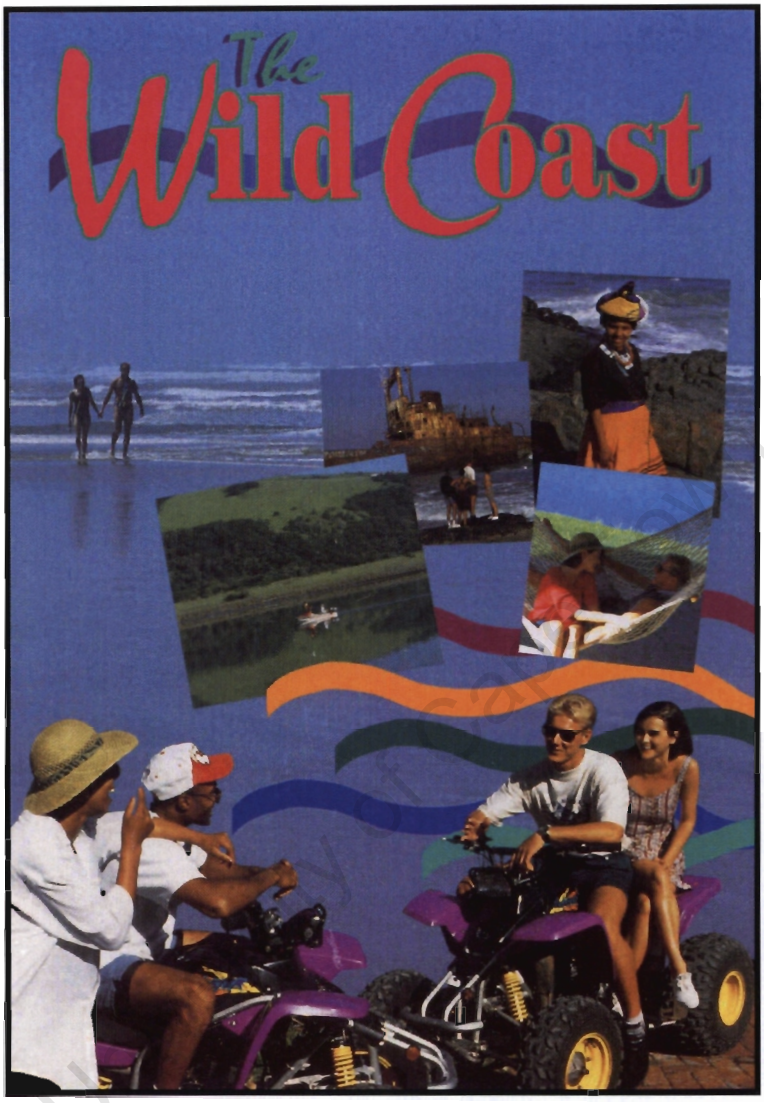


Figure 7.1: In keeping with the emerging national discourse of reconciliation the front cover of Wild Coast Tourism 1995 brochure for the first time featured a black people as tourists themselves. Additionally, as part of a happy couple they are shown enjoying social and family relations previously imputed to the white tourists. With the bikes the couples are sitting on strategically positioned to suggest prior tension, the photograph depicts the polar opposite worlds of white (South Africa) and black (Transkei) meeting and confronting each other on equal terms within the boundaries of the tourist space (the Wild Coast). With a beautiful blue seascape providing the backdrop for the brochure's photographic collage, the holiday pleasure signified by the brochure is that of relaxing in a region of peace and tranquillity. The addition of vibrant text underlines Wild Coast Tourism's vision of the new Transkeian reality: a region with a bright future where different racial groups coexist happily. (Lorton Communications, 1995)

social burden on Transkei. But as Crick (1989:329) so succinctly observes, "One cannot sell poverty, but one can sell paradise". Thus, through this brochure Wild Coast Tourism recoded Transkei as an ideal tourist destination located in an "ordered environment of safety and comfort" (Rassool & Witz, 1996:337).

Yet, despite the tourism board's efforts to revision the past, and present the tourist/spectator with a bright new future, tensions created by past inequalities continued, with the tourists themselves becoming the target of much of the anger. In the most publicised attack, four foreign tourists, three Britons and a New Zealander, travelling on the road between Port St Johns and Lusikisiki were violently robbed and assaulted on 13 September 1995. In light of this attack the then regional director of the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR), Peter Myles, likened the former Transkeian homeland to a "war zone", declaring that it was a region besieged by "lawlessness" in which crime and violence was escalating. (*Daily Dispatch*, 18 September 1995)

If You Haven't Been to the Wild Coast – You Haven't Been to Africa!

Just as the question of the former homeland's safety kept white South African family vacationers away, it simultaneously began to attract a more adventurous type of tourist – the independent backpacker. Noting this change, two white Coffee Bay residents, Karl Wechstra and Deryk Lang, decided in 1996 to open backpacker hostels (Lang, 2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 2) – the Woodhouse Backpackers (now known as Bomvu Paradise) and Coffee Bay Backpackers (now known as Coffee Shack).

Appealing to this new breed of adventurous tourist, the Woodhouse Backpackers decided to forego the traditional glossy travel brochure for an unpretentious flyer (Figure 7.2). Produced in 1996, the flyer, featuring black text and simple stylised drawings dropped onto a plain white background, has an uncomplicated hand-drawn feel about it. In keeping with the flyers' connotation of simplicity, Coffee Bay is presented as an uninvaded space. With all the

spatially threatening mass tourists, previously epitomised by white South African tourists, having been expelled from the "Garden of Eden", Coffee Bay had become the quintessential uninhabited paradise. The main emphasis of the flyer, thus, is on the hedonistic appeal of the ultimate utopian dreamscape: a tourist nirvana where "chilling out" amid "breathtakingly beautiful surrounds" is the sole order of every glorious day. The "unspoilt and undeveloped" nature of Coffee Bay is then illustrated by drawings of "tribal land" represented by "traditional" rondavels and the "warm (and sometimes wild) Indian Ocean" – complete with a frolicking dolphin and a lone surfer about to be engulfed by a mammoth wave.

The overall connotation of idleness is then underlined by the stylised drawing of a marijuana plant subtly located in the bottom left hand corner of the flyer. Along with deep tans and dreadlocked hair, marijuana, or as it is more commonly known, *dagga*, as an essential accessory of this new generation of tourists, is therefore presented as one of the many pleasures available in the "Garden of Eden". Philip Briggs (2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 12), however, claims that the availability of marijuana has always been part of Coffee Bay's appeal, "when I was at university a lot of people headed down there [Coffee Bay] for holidays - I think its reputation for cheap and good marijuana (you could buy sacks of the stuff for next to nothing) had a lot to do with its popularity in some quarters!" In fact, as is often noted, *dagga* smuggling has long been an unofficial source of income along the coastal region of the former Transkei (*Sunday Times*, 2 June 2002). Today, too, it is near impossible to walk around Coffee Bay without a hopeful peddler calling after you: "want some *dagga*?"

In a later flyer (Figure 7.3) the hostel staked its claim to its "Africanness" more explicitly by using the image of a thatch-roofed rondavel as the background over which the text was added. Drawing upon a somewhat "Disneyesque" cliché, the flyer has then re-imaged the former Transkei homeland as "Xhosaland". Repackaged as a "true tribal destination" where the

adventurous will find the "remains [of] one of the few unspoilt and undeveloped AFRICAN experiences", Transkei has been transformed into an ethnographic theme park where the "traditional" culture of the "primitive" Xhosa-speaking black Transkeians has been canonised as authentic. With Coffee Bay located in the heart of Xhosaland, those who dare to visit are, thus, assured that their "real African" experience of authenticity will correspond with their previously inscribed "tourist memories of Africa" (Witz, Rassool & Minkley, 2000).

While the black Transkeians and landscape have become a more dominant feature of the hostel's "Garden of Eden", the flyer has also reinforced the hostel's hedonistic allure of idleness. With its claim of being "a true sanctuary for "Body, Mind & Soul" subtly promising the attainment of natural highs, the flyer seduces its readers to "spend a while on the wild side!" The young backpackers are thus now no longer merely being offered the opportunity to visit an undiscovered paradise, but an undiscovered *African* paradise. As the flyer proudly declares on its reverse side, "If you haven't been to Woodhouse, Wild Coast, you haven't been to Africa!"

With Coffee Bay's renown growing, the slow trickle of young independent backpackers quickly turned in to a "steady stream" as foreign backpackers began to flock to South Africa following the fall of apartheid and the drop in value of the South African Rand. According to the managing director of Tourism East London, Craig Nancarrow, by the end of 1996 as many as 700 backpackers a month were visiting Coffee Bay. (*Daily Dispatch*, 18 December 1996)

David Malherbe (2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 13), manager of the Coffee Shack (previously Coffee Bay Backpackers), explains the region's allure for backpackers:

> [I]t's a unique place in South Africa and in the world and what I have always said about the Wild Coast is there are many beautiful, untouched places in the world but there are not many beautiful untouched places that have quite a lot of [indigenous] people living there. Yes there are many beautiful places in New

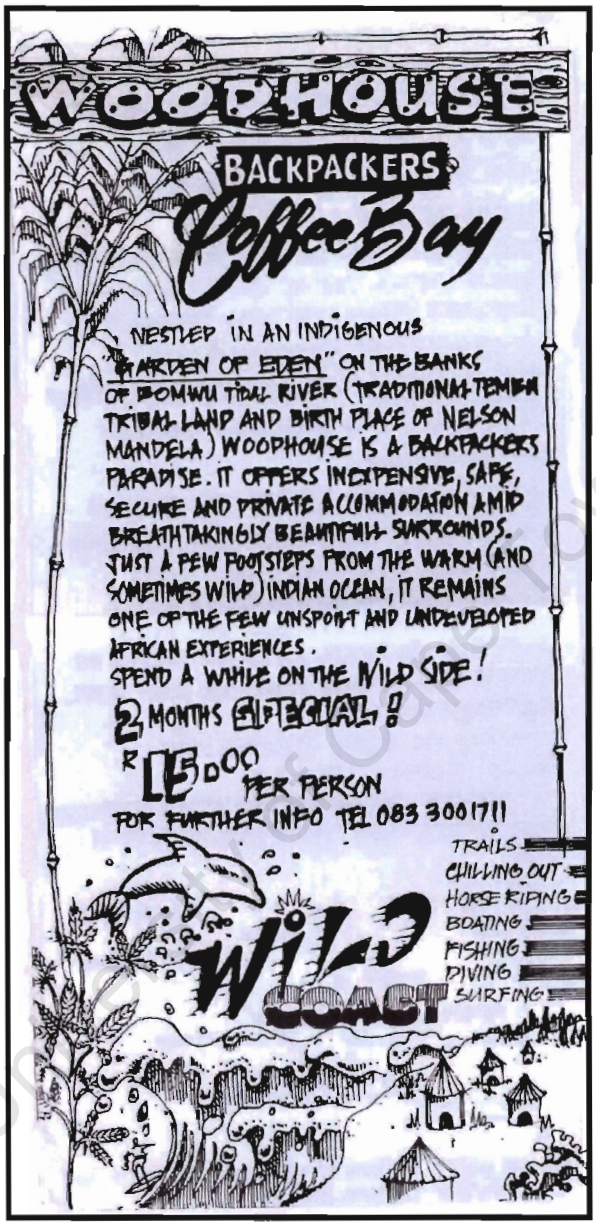


Figure 7.2: The overall connotation of this 1996 flyer for Woodhouse Backpackers is of uncomplicated simplicity. Coffee Bay is presented as the ultimate utopian dreamscape: an uninhabited "Garden of Eden"; a tourist nirvana where "chilling out" amid "breathtakingly beautiful surrounds" is the sole order of every glorious day. The "unspoilt and undeveloped" nature of Coffee Bay is then illustrated by drawings of "tribal land" represented by "traditional" rondavels. The region's hedonistic allure is then underlined by the stylised drawing of a marijuana plant subtly located in the bottom left hand corner of the flyer. (From the private collection of Karl and Monique Wechstra, 2005)

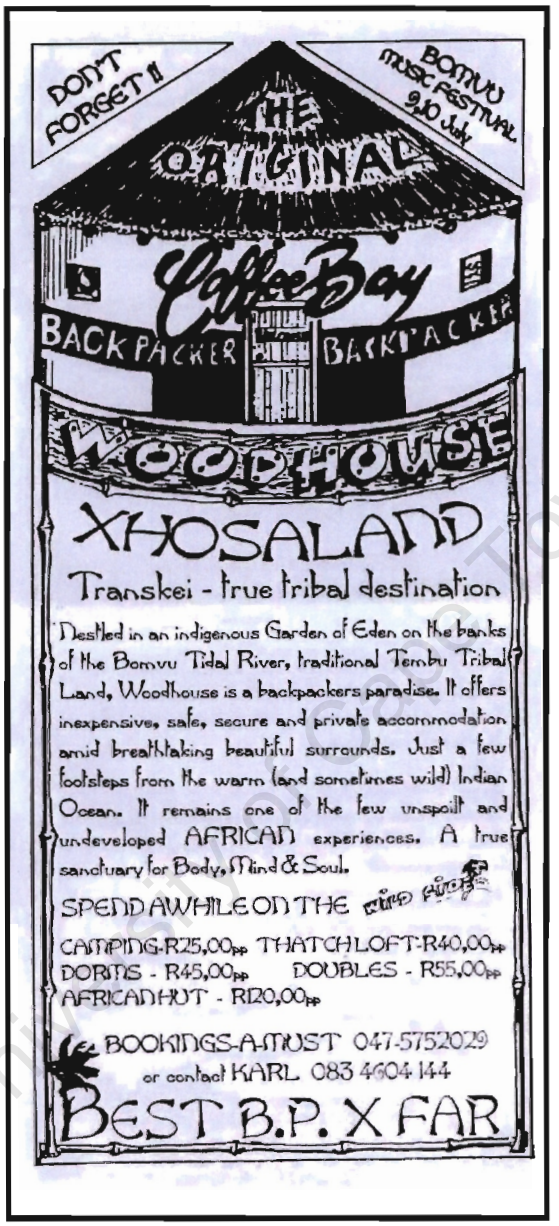


Figure 7.3: In this flyer the region's "Africanness" is made explicit through the use of a thatch-roofed rondavel as the background over which the text was added. Drawing upon a somewhat "Disneyesque" cliché, the flyer has re-imaged the former Transkei homeland as "Xhosaland". Repackaged as a "true tribal destination", Transkei has been transformed into an ethnographic theme park where the "traditional" culture of the "primitive" Xhosa-speaking black Transkeians has been canonised as authentic. Thus, young backpackers are now no longer merely being offered the opportunity to visit an undiscovered paradise, but an undiscovered *African* paradise. (From the private collection of Karl and Monique Wechstra, 2005)

> Zealand and Australia and all over the world, but they have got nobody living there.
>
> I've been to incredibly remote places were there are stone-age tribes but they still don't have the feeling of this place... [T]hese people [black Transkeins] ... are a big presence, not a minor little presence, and their culture is still very strong and their beliefs are still strong. As you've seen there is something about this area that is different, but that is what I am feeling is different - as I said, there are many beautiful untouched areas but this place is primal.

The sudden influx of young, foreign backpackers to Coffee Bay, while revitalising the tourism industry in the seaside resort, was also the cause of much tourist angst among the cottage owners (Fussell, 1980). As Terri Trow complains, "The backpackers – that was an invasion!" (Davis, Davis, Trow & Krain, pers. comm.; see Appendix 5) This sentiment is echoed by Terri's mother, Tuppy (2004, pers. comm.; see Appendix 1), who laments:

> There was nothing there on that side where Deryk is [where the backpacker hostels are today], that is where we used to have picnics. There was nothing – nothing, nothing, nothing! And Deryk was the first one to build that house there. Then of course that other guy [Karl]. But that whole thing on that side is comparatively new. Because Deryk of course got citizenship when it [Transkei] became independent. And from then on evolved all that mess over that side [of the Bomvu River]. It was beautiful indigenous bush and it has just been hacked up and there is nothing of it left there [now]. It is terrible. I mean that was a forest reserve.

But, with the opening of the backpacker hostels, it was not only the physical landscape of the Coffee Bay beach that changed (see Figures 7.4-7.8). Previously, the resort had been divided by the Nenga River into two distinct social groups – the cottage owners, who inhabited the west bank of the river and the hotel guests who frequented the Ocean View Boarding House on the east bank of the river. This time, however, it was the Bomvu River that demarcated the social divide. Thus, with the advent of the backpackers, the contested space

Figure 7.4: This aerial view of Coffee Bay taken in the early 1970s (?) shows Coffee Bay prior to the building of the backpacker hostels. The hostels which were opened in 1996 now occupy the west bank (here seen as the left side) of the Bomvu River. The Coffee Shack accommodates tourists in "traditional" rondavels on other side of the river. The main settlement itself (centre) has grown substantially since mid-1940s (see Figure 5.2) with not only the expansion of the Lagoon Hotel but also the addition of new holiday cottages. (Transkei Government, 1976:90-91)

Figure 7.5: When Deryk Lang moved to Coffee Bay during the 1970s he took up residence on the west bank of the Bomvu River. This photograph of Deryk's property was taken 1977, a long time prior to the establishment of the Coffee Bay backpacker hostel (now Coffee Shack). Much of the shrubbery as seen in the previous photograph has been cleared to make way for an extensive garden. The long narrow building today houses the Coffee Shack's office, bar, kitchen and several dorms. (From the private collection of Deryk Lang, 2005)

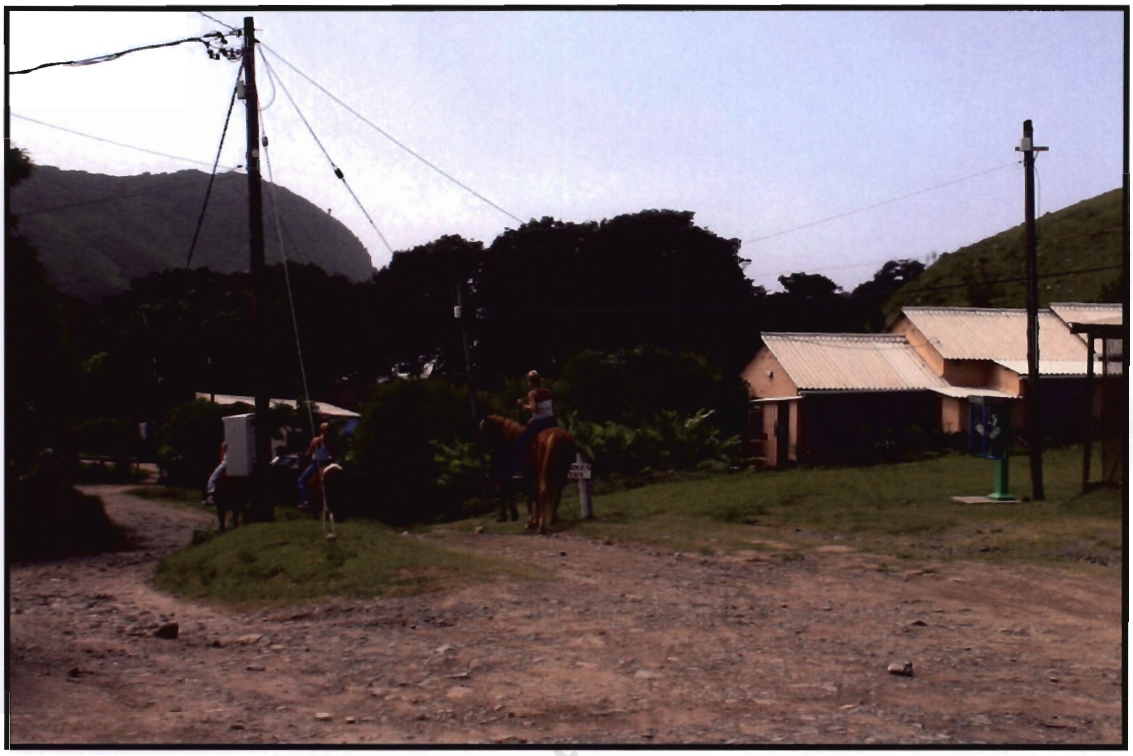


Figure 7.6: In this photograph taken of Deryk's property in 2005 you can see that the garden has now been cleared to make for additional buildings. There is also now a well-established road running alongside the property. Additionally all the signs of modernity – the telephone box and power poles – are clearly evident. (Author's own collection, 2005)

Figure 7.7: In this reverse view of Deryk Lang's property taken in 1977 you can clearly see how the once "wild" landscape has been "tamed" to establish a garden. In the background to the right you can just see a new road scarring the landscape. (From the private collection of Deryk Lang, 2005)

Figure 7.8: This photograph, taken of the reverse view of Deryk's property in 2005, shows how the settlement of the east bank of the Bomvu has grown since 1977. As well as new holiday cottages, the resort has grown to include a car park (belonging to Coffee Shack) and a small general trading store circled above. Of note however, is that the road that previously ran up the hill on the right hand side of the picture (indicated by the arrow) is now no longer in use. (Author's own collection, 2005)

of the Coffee Bay beach became split into three distinctly different tourist groups. For Tuppy (2004, pers. comm.), however, this has meant the end of her utopian dream: "There are just so many more people [in Coffee Bay today]. It used to be sparsely populated with [just the] two hotels and then the Kaffirs.[4] And that was it. Hardly any people at all. And now it is now positively corrupted!"

Thanks for my super-duper-special-cultural-authentic-time![5]

By the time I visited Coffee Bay for my first research trip in January 2004 not only had the representational paradigm of the travel brochure again shifted significantly, but so too had its format. Rapid advances in computer technology in the latter half of the twentieth century opened up new avenues of promotion for the marketers of tourism products. Most notable was the World Wide Web which, because of the low costs involved and its accessibility, made it easy for tourism promoters, especially small-scale businesses such as bed and breakfasts, to reach a wider audience. Gone, therefore, is the traditional travel brochure of old and in its place is the website homepage – in this case it is the homepage of the now renamed Coffee Shack (Figure 7.9).

Keeping pace with the times and the particular needs of a changing clientele, the hostel's homepage is suitably designed to attract a much younger audience. It is bright, playful and entertaining (the brown wooden fence used as its backdrop builds itself as it the page is downloading). Moreover, the emphasis of the homepage promotion has changed significantly. As Dann (1996:71) argues, it is "now very much on the encapsulated existence of the tourist ghetto" and that "solitude, or romantic versions of a *tourisme à deux*, are now replaced with the new 'community' of tourists". The social side of the holiday is one of the

[4] This is a verbatim quote from my interview with Tuppy Trow, therefore although the term "Kaffir" is today considered offensive I have left it in.

[5] This is a comment written by a tourist in 2004 in Coffee Shack's visitor's book.

most appealing aspects for this new generation of voyagers, and the photographs and text reinforce this.

To stake its claim as an attractive destination for adventurous, fun-loving backpackers, the hostel has presented the spectator with several photographs depicting young tourists not only revelling in the party atmosphere of the hostel, but also enjoying some of the many activities that are on offer. To drive this point home, the hostel proudly declares, "we have a reputation for being a fun hostel with one of the nicest locations in SA" (Coffee Shack, 2004). As Marshment (1997:21) notes, all the tourists pictured conform to contemporary definitions of sexual attractiveness promoted by postmodern media such as the Internet, music videos and teenage magazines. With the young men represented displaying their bare chests and torsos and the young women in bikinis or skimpy dresses, both are coded as not only as erotic, but also attainable. Thus the connotation of the web site is the realisation of a lifestyle that is fashionable, fun and exciting.

Despite Dann's (1996) claim, however, the romantic vision of solitude has not entirely disappeared. The main photograph on the page – of the feet of two people in a hammock that overlooks the sea – is very much a representation of "paradise contrived" (Dann, 1996). Though, at the same time it insinuates that after a couple of days of having fun that the spectator/tourist will be able to find somewhere quiet to recover or just "chill out". In addition, the interlocking feet not only hint at the possibility for romance, they also appeal to the spectator/tourist's hedonistic notion of idleness. The holiday has been constructed as the opportunity to do nothing (Marshment, 1997:23).

One further point made by Marshment (1997:21), which is evident here, is that this kind of promotional material "massively under-represents the proportion of young black people in the population". While statistics kept by the hotels and backpackers do break down tourists by country, they do not break them down by race or colour (see Appendix 14). From my personal observations, however, the tourists frequenting Coffee Bay appear to be overwhelmingly

Figure 7.9: Keeping pace with the changing face of tourism in Coffee Bay, the Coffee Shack's web site homepage is bright, playful and entertaining. The social aspect of the tourist experience is reinforced through the presentation of several photographs depicting young tourists revelling in the party atmosphere of the hostel. This point is driven home with the additional text: "we have a reputation for being a fun hostel with one of the nicest locations in SA". The overall connotation of the web site is of the attainment of a lifestyle that is fashionable, fun and exciting. (Coffee Shack, 2004)

white. In all the times I have visited Coffee Bay, even as a tourist myself, I have only ever seen two black tourists. Interestingly, neither one of them were South African: one was from France and the other from the UK. Thus, the web page, while not reflective of the South African population, is reflective of the tourist population in Coffee Bay.

While the emphasis of the homepage is very much on the community nature of the hostel, one of the photographs – that of the three boys undergoing initiation on the bottom right – hints that there is also the prospect of the backpacker being allowed a glimpse of the "backstage reality" (MacCannell, 1976) of the black Transkeian culture. This is further promoted by the hostel as a "cultural encounters" tour when you wave your computer's pointer over the "Transkei Trips" tag at the top of the page. Desmond (1999) maintains that these types of cultural tours in fact authenticate the destination's image for tourists. Hence, by participating in a cultural tour, the tourist actually authenticates (and perhaps justifies) his or her own concept of what they imagine Africa to be. As such, cultural tours, like the one offered by Coffee Shack, both express and encourage "the growing desire of tourists to explore behind the scenes (to pursue authenticity) into the backstage realities of the touristic experience" (Markwick, 2001:430). Thus, through the hostel's promotion of cultural tours, the "native" has returned for an encore performance as the "cultural marker" for the former Transkei.

As part of my research I joined one of the cultural tours offered by Coffee Shack as a participant observer. Dubbed by the hostel as the "Ultimate Africa" tour, my fellow tour participants and I were promised that we would "discover the hidden secrets of the Transkei" as we spent the day "strolling the surrounding hills to one of the many villages that dot the landscape" (Figure 7.10). Adding a more personal authenticating touch, the journey we were taken on was through our guide Max's own village. While the tour itself was not entirely scripted, it did follow a somewhat formatted route with the major stops

being: Max's home where we "enjoyed a traditional meal" (Figure 7.11), a local shebeen for a quick taste of the local brew (Figure 7.12), a trip to a traditional healer to "test" her "magic *muti*" (Figure 7.13) and a brief visit with young initiates to ask them about their three months in isolation. Each stop denoted a separate temporal and spatial marking of the tour around which Max constructed his narrative (Witz, 2001). Thus, as Witz, Rassool & Minkley (2000:4) write, this tour reduced the history and culture of black Transkeians "to a set of handy essentialisms".

The highlight of this ethnographic spectacle was the visit to see the young boys going through the process of their initiation into manhood (Figure 7.14). Bruner and Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1994:448) claim that in this act of self-representation the young men have become "warrior performers". As they write, "While learning to be themselves, they [the young men] are asked to participate in a representation of themselves, for others" (Bruner & Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, 1994:448). The problematic, as Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1991:414) earlier observed, is that as performers of culture the boys have become "signs of themselves". Thus, while on the one hand this act creates a sense of empowerment and allows black Transkeians ownership of their own identity, on the other hand as a form of self-parody it draws on ethnic stereotypes and, thus, perpetuates the exoticism of the cultural Other.

Interestingly, it was this part of the tour that elicited the most passionate responses from the tour participants. As one tourist later remarked:

> The first impression was horrible. We went into this hut and absolutely everybody was just looking at these boys... A lot of people started taking pictures immediately – I didn't like that … even though I took some later as well.... And I still don't know if it was okay that all the women went in there even if Max [the guide] let us know about the difference of white visitors and the foreigners... I didn't feel very comfortable in this hut. (Markus, German tourist, 2004, pers. comm.)

For me, personally, what was most significant was my own response to this situation. Like my German friend, I too was ill at ease with this particular experience of the "real" Africa. And despite my background as a photographer and travel writer and my knowledge that the setting was more than likely staged, a deep feeling of what MacCannell (1992) describes as "guilty pleasure" prevented me from taking any photographs (the photograph presented in this study was taken by Markus). I felt like Sontag's (1977) hunter out stalking my prey with my gun (camera) readily at hand. Moreover, the prey (the young initiates) was caged (in a rondavel) and I was being offered a clear shot at an easy target – one I could not possibly miss.

When the tour was over and the other tourists and myself had finally made it back to the hostel, we discussed their impressions of the cultural encounter. Throughout the conversation I endeavoured to uncover what were, as Urry (1990) describes, the "distinct pleasures" that tourists derived from the tour. The discussion that my questions generated resulted in some lively debates. While one tourist said that because the tour was a walking tour it made the experience more "real" and that because of this they did not feel like they had been visiting a "zoo", another stated that what they had enjoyed most was that there was "nothing" and that the region was "untouched". The most interesting response, however, was:

> I discovered that the black culture is not all that bad. I saw the other side of the story. They don't need to be "Westernised". They are better off out in the country in their villages, on their small plots, than living in slums surrounding cities and doing heavy manual labour. (Matt, UK tourist, 2004, pers. comm.)

Pratt (1992:273) claims that this desire to capture "primitive" culture in a timeless present is an essential part of what she calls "the white man's lament". That is, in wanting to clear the Western conscience of the guilt of the responsibility for the destruction of "primitive" cultures, we try to preserve them

Figure 7.10: As part of my research I joined the "Ultimate Africa" cultural encounters tour offered by Coffee Shack as a participant observer. The tour promised that my fellow tour participants and I would "discover the hidden secrets of the Transkei" as we spent the day "strolling the surrounding hills to one of the many villages that dot the landscape". Adding a more personal authenticating touch, the journey we were taken on was to our guide Max's (pictured here at the front of the procession of tourists) own village. (Author's own collection, 2004)

Figure 7.11: While not entirely scripted, each stop of the tour denoted a separate temporal and spatial marking around which Max constructed his narrative (Witz, 2003). Here Max is telling us about some of the more interesting aspects of the "traditional" culture of black Transkeians such as why most rondavels such as his are painted a soft lime/blue colour. Yet while Max's narrative is focused on the "traditional", it is hard not to be distracted by the many signs of modernity that fill his home: the 1991 Rugby World Cup poster featuring the French and New Zealand teams that hangs on the wall alongside a bicycle helmet and ANC election posters. (From the private collection of Markus Hindorf, 2004)

Figure 7.12: One of the major stops on the cultural tour was at a shebeen where we were encouraged to try *Ijuba*, a sour tasting beer packaged in a red and white carton (as seen in the hands of the tourist in the centre of the photograph). Max, our guide, is pictured here on the right (the man wearing a black cap and white T-shirt) with some of the children from his village who shadowed us on our journey. Interestingly, the group of tourists, myself included, automatically sat on the opposite side of the small room to the black Transkeians. (From the private collection of Markus Hindorf, 2004)

Figure 7.13: On this next stop of our tour we are taken to see a black Transkeian Traditional Healer (pictured left) to test her "magic *muti*". In Max's extended hand he displays the herbs which the Traditional Healer has passed around for us to snuff. Again the signs of modernity – the blue soap box against the wall at the back and the plastic jug just behind Max's head – are present in this "traditional" setting. The Traditional Healer herself is wearing a pair of trainers. (From the private collection of Markus Hindorf, 2004)

Figure 7.14: The promised highlight of the cultural tour was the visit to see the young boys going through the process of their initiation into manhood (pictured above). In this performance of culture the young boys have become signs of themselves. Thus, while on the one hand this act creates a sense of empowerment and allows black Transkeians ownership of their own identity, on the other hand as a form of self-parody it draws on ethnic stereotypes and, thus, perpetuates the exoticism of the cultural Other. For me, personally, what was most significant was my own response to this situation. Despite encouragement from Max that it was okay for me as a white Western woman to see the boys before they completed their initiation (women are usually barred from seeing them for the duration of initiation) I was so ill at ease with this situation that I could not bring myself to take a photograph (this picture was taken by Markus Hindorf). In essence I felt like Sontag's (1977) hunter out stalking my prey with my gun (camera) readily at hand. Moreover, the prey (the young initiates) was caged (in a rondavel) and I was being offered a clear shot at an easy target – one I could not possibly miss. (From the private collection of Markus Hindorf, 2004)

as timeless. But as Clifford (1986:10) writes, "culture does not hold still for their portraits". Thus, as much as we might like to prevent the dissemination of "primitive" cultures, culture cannot be bound by time and space.

Most significantly, however, what I discovered through this process is that despite the tourist's desire to experience the "authentic" culture of black Transkeians, what they were invariably seeking was affirmation of their prior knowledge. As Fussell (1987:651) argues, tourism "confirms your prior view of the world instead of shaking it up". As one tourist noted: "it [Coffee Bay] is the Africa we in Europe think of" (Anne, UK tourist, 2004, pers. comm.).

The Unbeatable Beach

In December 2003 the South African based travel publication *Getaway* ran a special feature on the '20 Best Beaches' in South Africa (Figure 7.15). Travel writer Don Pinnock asserted that the country's most "unbeatable beach" was to be found in a remote little hideaway close to Coffee Bay. As he wrote, "There will be contenders, pretenders and usurpers, of course, but deep in the rolling hills of the Wild Coast near Coffee Bay is the beach that shames them all". Better still, as Pinnock subsequently added, the beach was "footprint free". While the beach itself, Mdumbe Beach, is in fact half an hour from Coffee Bay, Pinnock's connection to the small seaside resort was clearly made: "Mdumbe is, well, remote. But then Coffee Bay is not far away and that's where the family holiday thing happens. It's not a Sun City or even Durban family holiday, you understand. This is still pure Africa." (Pinnock, 2003:79)

While according to Karen Anderson (2004, pers. comm.) tourism in Coffee Bay had been steadily rising since late 2000 – the Lagoon Hotel finally managed to reopen its doors in September 2002 as the KwaTshezi Hotel – the response to the *Getaway* article was immediate. As co-manager of the Ocean View Hotel, Peter Challis (2004, pers. comm.) remarked as he handed me a copy of the article,

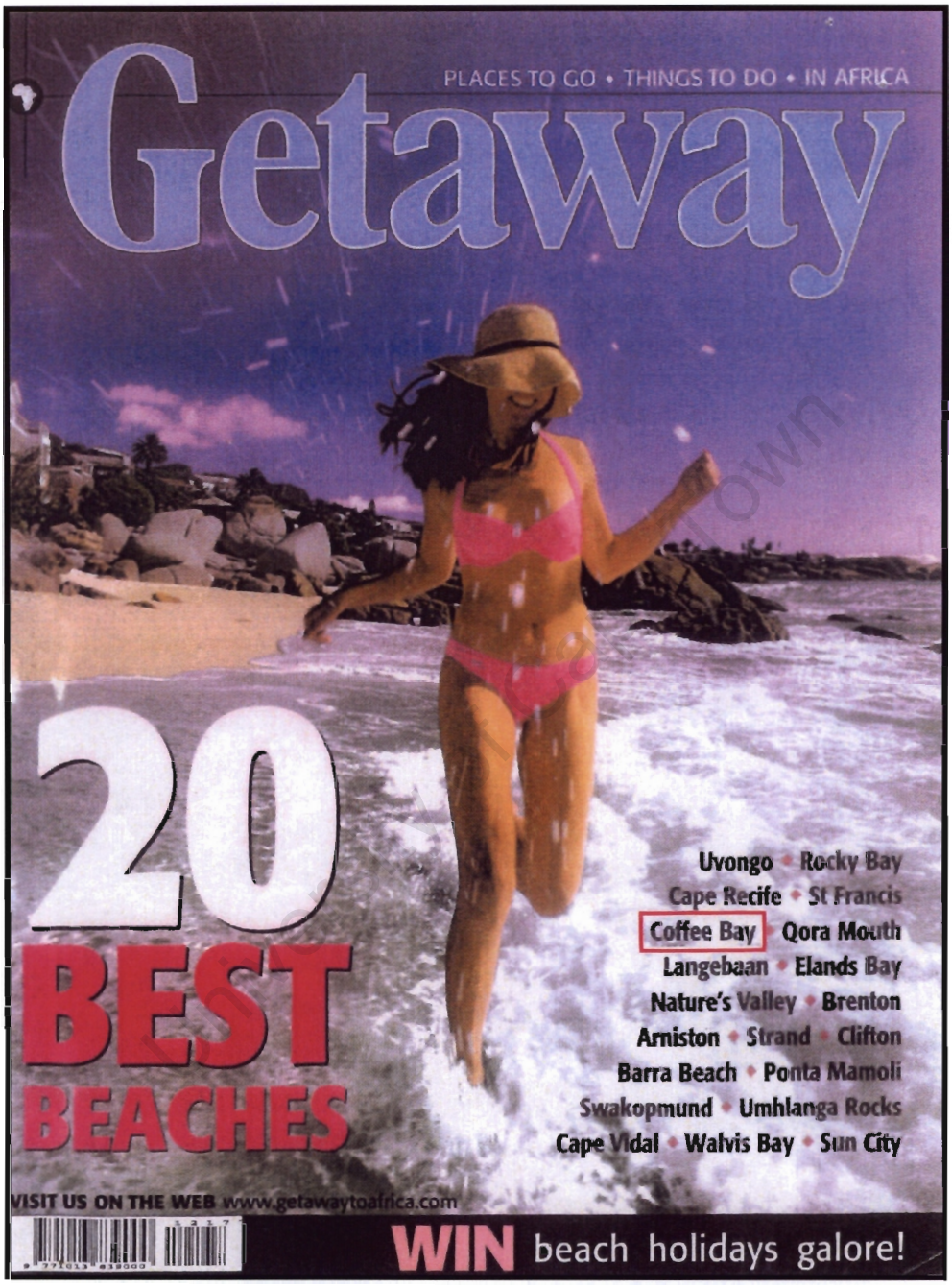


Figure 7.15: This front cover of *Getaway* magazine's December 2003 issue highlighted Coffee Bay as having the best beach in South Africa. As Travel writer Don Pinnock asserted, "There will be contenders, pretenders and usurpers, of course, but deep in the rolling hills of the Wild Coast near Coffee Bay is the beach that shames them all". While the beach itself, Mdumbe Beach, is in fact half an hour from Coffee Bay, Pinnock's connection to the small seaside resort was clearly made. (*Getaway*, December 2003:79)

which had been made into a handy brochure for the hotel, "This is the best advertisement we could have possibly asked for!"

The paradox as Dann (1999:160) writes is that, "the richer the portrayal of 'undiscovered' places of travel, the more likely it is that they will be transformed into 'discovered' tourist destinations". By carefully re-visioning Coffee Bay as an undiscovered, uninhabited paradise to lure a new generation of voyagers to its shores, paradise itself became populated: first with the independent backpackers associated with what Cohen (1972) describes as "explorers"; then with what Aziz (cited in Scheyvens, 2002:149) labels as the "institutionalised" backpackers who were merely following in the footsteps of their more adventurous predecessors; and, finally, once safety was again assured, by both the "individual" and "organised" "mass tourist" represented by the "white" South African holidaymakers and the mostly Dutch international bus tour groups who now frequent the KwaTshezi Hotel.

As the tourist landscape evolved, however, so too did the etymology of "wild". At the beginning of the 1990s, due to the political problems engulfing Transkei, Coffee Bay was seen as "wild" because it was "dangerous" and "unsafe"; then, following the fall of apartheid and reintegration into South Africa, Wild Coast Tourism attempted to recast the former homeland's coast and sea itself as "wild nature"; subsequently, with the emergence of the new backpacker market, "wild" was reclassified as "undiscovered", "untouched" and "African". Finally, by the beginning of the new millennium, Coffee Bay, having been rediscovered and reinvented, regained its popularity as the ideal tourist dreamscape.

8

Conclusion:

Coffee Bay a Paradise Confused?

Throughout this study I have placed the visual at the centre of the tourism performance of Coffee Bay. Through detailed readings of tourist photographs and travel brochures, supplemented with oral testimonies and archival research, I have mapped the making and remaking of the Coffee Bay touristscape. In order to understand these images it is imperative that they be considered firmly within their historical context and so, as I have analysed the brochures' images, I have also tracked political developments in the region.

In the course of the last three chapters this study has examined the relationship between visual representations of Coffee Bay and the changing patterns of tourism in Coffee Bay from 1945 to the present. From this journey of [re]discovery of Coffee Bay's pasts I have been able to trace its development over three separate periods - 1945 to 1969, 1970 to 1989, and 1990 to 2005 – during which time three different groups of tourists inhabited its space: the cottage owners, the hotel guests and the backpackers. With each new wave of tourists, Coffee Bay's beach was renewed as it readjusted and repositioned itself to meet their needs (Dening, 1980).

As discussed in Chapter 5, the cottage owners confected the beach with their dreams and imaginings of a lifestyle of leisure and innocence in which their

modest holiday cottages epitomised the utopian dream of summer living. In Chapter 6, as Transkei became "independent" and Coffee Bay grew in popularity, it became the "pleasure periphery" for white South African families in search of their idealised vacationscape: a place with "empty beaches", "huge shores" and "quiet sea pools", that was also "trouble free", "normal" and "uncomplicated" (The Department of Commerce, Industry and Tourism, 1982:50-51). In Chapter 7, following the resort's decline, Coffee Bay was rediscovered by a new generation of tourists – the foreign backpackers – for whom Coffee Bay embodied the ultimate tourist nirvana: an unspoilt, uninhabited "Garden of Eden".

In this final chapter I therefore want to further underscore the relationship between the tourist performance, as narrated by tourist photographs and travel brochures, and the making of place, as enacted by the tourists.

Making Place, Dominating Space

As made evident by this study, the tourism performance of Coffee Bay since 1945 has contextualised the meta-narrative of white male domination and control. Through the performance of leisure activities, as captured by the camera, white men enacted the "theatre of Imperial ideology" (Landau, 1998:153). Assuming their positions as the dominant gender, the men visibly inhabit and control the space of the beach while, by and large, the women remain just outside the photographer's viewfinder. Through the photographic separation of men and women, the women were erased from the public sphere of Coffee Bay's beach life. While the photographer/s muted the women by framing them out of the picture, their photographs simultaneously expressed the hierarchy of social structural relationships and ideologies encoded in the space of the beach.

When women finally entered the tourist space, it was as part of the ideal white South African nuclear family presented by the Lagoon Hotel's first colour brochure (see Figures 6.2-6.4). In the promotion of wholesome family fun, as

Marshment (1997:19) notes, women's sexuality was not denied so much as domesticated. Through the stylistic representation of the iconic "bathing beauty" of the TDC's 1982 "Sun, Solitude and the Sea" brochure (see Figure 6.5) women were then presented as the promise of the pleasure to be had in the tourist space. With the advent of the backpackers, the young women in bikinis or skimpy dresses, while not coded as erotic, still conform to contemporary definitions of sexual attractiveness. From 1945 to today, the gender paradigm has thus been strategically used to inform Coffee Bay's place identity and to "produce and reproduce asymmetrical relations of power and authority" between men and women (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003:7).

Pratt (1992:38) describes this patriarchal vision of society as a "naturalising" process, in that "natural history asserts an urban, lettered male authority over the whole of the planet". Thus, with the Darwin/Linnaean system of racial ranking dictating that the "urban, lettered [white] male" sat at the top of the hierarchy of evolutionary progress, the region's indigenous people – the black Transkeians – were placed at the bottom. Therefore, as we have seen throughout the course of this study, despite Transkei's status as first a black reserve and then an "independent" homeland, the black Transkeians have remained at the margins of the Coffee Bay beach. Identified with nature, they were cast from the tourist space and consigned to their place in the "wild". Spatially, black Transkeians only come into prominent view as the defining Other of the tourist's notion of Self. Depicted as "primitive", "uncivilised" and "traditional" black Transkeians, thus became the antithesis of the "modern", "civilised" tourist and tourist space.

The implicit framing of the black Transkeians, both within and outside the view of the images examined by this study, is at the heart of these epistemologies of difference. With the marked exception of the cottage owners' photographs, which erased them from the confines of Coffee Bay's touristscape altogether, photographic representations of black Transkeians suggest a harmonious life

within the reserve/homeland based on the notion of cultural continuity. This was achieved through a variety of ways, principally through the representation of the black women. Pictured in their "traditional" dress, they became the "cultural marker" of the Transkei and also of authenticity. With the female form associated with beauty and pleasure, representations of the woman were utilised simultaneously to "aestheticise and tame the 'Other' as the object of the tourist gaze" (Marshment, 1997:31) and to exoticise and feminise the landscape. Given no individual identity, they symbolise the collective "primitive culture". To underline their "primitiveness", the "natives" were then pictured as geographically distant from modernity. Thus, imaged as "uncivilised", "primitive" "natives", the black Transkeians were presented as the very antithesis of Western civilisation as exemplified by the Coffee Bay touristscape.

One of the main characteristics of the photographs studied is that the pictures of the black Transkeians show adult males by themselves, whereas women and children appear in groups. The photographic separation of the men and women, however, fails to acknowledge the existence of social relations between or the home life of the black Transkeians. Marshment (1997:29) observes, "It is not only technology that, therefore, defines modernity of the tourists but social relationships themselves". The one exception was the Wild Coast Tourism Board's 1995 brochure (see Figure 7.1) when for the first and only time a black couple were shown not only as enjoying social relations, but moreover, as holidaymakers themselves. Their entry into the touristscape was, however, short lived. With the emergence of foreign backpackers, the black Transkeians were recast as "cultural markers" for the Transkei/Wild Coast. In most cases when black people were pictured in the inner sanctum of the tourist domain they were cast in servile positions. Thus, the representation of black Transkeians as the polar opposite of the civilised, modern tourists not only naturalised and reinforced the Western paradigm of white masculine power and dominance of the touristscape, but also upheld the colonial fantasy of leisure.

Making Place, Dividing Space

From the outset of this study, Coffee Bay's beach as Dening's (1980) site of "cultural contact" has also been a site of "cultural contestation". This contestation of space, however, was not limited to relationship between the tourists (the "voyagers") and the black Transkeians (the "islanders"), but also between the various tourists who inhabited the touristscape. While initially the lines of the cultural battlefield were drawn along informal class divisions, in latter years this division became more expressive of differences between the various tourist typologies.

With the Nenga River snaking its way to sea through the middle of the small seaside resort, a natural division was created between the two opposing settlements on either bank of the river. During the late 1940s this division marked the cultural and social divide between the cottage owners, colloquially referred to as "campers", who inhabited the west bank of the Nenga and the more "elite" holidaymakers who stayed at the then Ocean View Boarding House on the east bank. This class division was reiterated by accommodation offered by the opposing boarding houses. While the Ocean View laid claim to its modernity by accommodating its guests in contemporary and civilised surrounds, the Coffee Bay Boarding House held on to the a more "primitive" past by accommodating guests in rondavels, the "traditional" homes of the black Transkeians.

Following the resorts' collapse and its subsequent reinvention as an off-the-beaten path destination for backpackers, a further divide was created. This time, however, it was the Bomvu River that delineated the tourist space with two backpacker hostels built on its west bank. Again this division is highlighted through the style of accommodation, with the backpackers sharing communal dorm rooms or camping. Thus, the Coffee Bay beach became split into three different social spaces.

In the "socialisation of space and time" (Appadurai, 1996:178) of Coffee Bay, each of the individual tourist groups have [un]consciously set about the quotidian task of social [re]production. Thus, while the tourists have gone to Coffee Bay to escape the structures of the modern world, they have inadvertently recreated a feeling of structure. When viewed through the lens of conventional social standings, Coffee Bay's under-class is represented by the backpackers, the middle-class by the cottage owners and the upper-class is embodied by the hotel guests. In terms of the wider tourism discourse's "tourist" versus "traveller" debate, however, this hierarchy becomes inverted. Seeing themselves as pursuers of "authentic" travel experiences, the backpackers deem themselves to be the higher class of tourists known as "travellers", while the upper-class hotel guests, as part of the "mass" hordes of the "institutionalised", have become the hated low-class "tourists". The cottage owners, however, do not view themselves as belonging to either group and instead lay claim to being "locals".

Making Place, Colouring Space

The one thing that all the different groups of tourists who have inhabited Coffee Bay's vacationscape since 1945 have had in common is their "whiteness". First were the white cottage owners who confected the small seaside settlement with their holiday cottages, followed by the white South African hotel guests who sought pleasure in the Transkeian periphery, then the white foreign backpackers who came in search of the new "Garden of Eden", followed by the return of white South African hotel guests and finally by the white international tour groups. As noted in Chapter 7, from both personal observations and available demographic information, it is evident that the tourists who have frequented (and who continue to frequent) Coffee Bay are predominantly white. What this brings into sharp focus is that the tourists who visit Coffee Bay exist in relation to pre-existing socially constituted categories of difference. But, why is this so? How is it that in the "new" South African "rainbow nation" the Coffee Bay

touristscape has continued to exist as a virtual "island of white" (Kennedy, 1987)? While the tourist establishments such as Coffee Shack backpackers, for example, break down their survey information by nationality and age, they do not sort their statistics by gender, race or class. Therefore, additional research involving both the backpacker hostels and both hotels is required to track and understand this phenomenon more closely.

On the basis of the archival and fieldwork research I have presented here it is therefore reasonable to assert that Coffee Bay attracts white, middle-class tourists. But what does the tourist profile tell us when considered in terms of the commodification of Coffee Bay/Wild Coast in travel brochures and photographs? While the representational paradigm of Coffee Bay in travel brochures and photographs over the years has transcended the full gamut of Dann's (1996) genres of paradise, the common thread connecting them has been the dehistoricising of the black Transkeians and the geographical region in which they reside. Setting up the region and its inhabitants as the embodiment of authenticity, however not only upholds the secular fantasy of colonial leisure, but also creates the conditions which produce "historical amnesia" in modern times (Berger, 1980:213). Still, while history has been replaced with nostalgia, it must be noted that it is this very sense of nostalgia that attracts the tourists to a destination in the first place.

With these types of images generating tourist income in Coffee Bay, should a new representational paradigm be sought? A related issue that arises in seeking the answer to this question is: If, as made evident by this study, photographs and travel brochures serve the interests of those who hold power, who has ownership of the means of the tourist performance in Coffee Bay? Who is doing the representing? And who has control of the tourist space?

In the main the major tourist operations in Coffee Bay – the hotels and backpacker hostels – are in the hands of white owners/managers. The one minor exception is the KwaTshezi Hotel, a business in which the Tshezi people hold a

30 percent stake. However, the partnership with the white co-directors Ed Batty and Gareth Dart, who hold the balance of the shares in the business, has not run smoothly. Since the hotel opened in late 2002, the Tshezi shareholders have not been paid their R4500 annual rentals and the workers at the hotel have not been paid their wages for some months[1] (*Daily Dispatch*, 13 July 2005). While I have given voice to some concerns around the issue of white control of the industry, the issues surrounding the socio-cultural and economic impacts of tourism in Coffee Bay on black Transkeians have not been the focus of this particular study. This would be a worthwhile focus of any future analyses of tourism in Coffee Bay.

Making Place, Naming Space

During the colonial era a major form of controlling and dominating the African landscape was the naming of places, sites and objects. In naming their conquered territories, colonialists not only staked their claim over foreign spaces and foreign bodies, but also inscribed "in an enduring way their presence on their surroundings" (Low & Lawrence-Zúñiga, 2003:13). Paul Carter (1987:xxii-xxiv) reminds us that it is mostly in the act of place-naming that "space is transformed symbolically into a place, that is, a space with a history". The naming of Coffee Bay (and the Transkei) therefore refigured the space as a landscape replete with a European history and made it a place that could be inhabited and possessed by the metropolitan imagination. Therefore, before concluding this study I would like to reflect upon the most enduring of Coffee Bay's tourist myths – the myth of its naming.

In *Place Names in the Transkeian Territories*, Reverend Basil Holt (1959), a one time Coffee Bay regular, details two opposing accounts of how Coffee Bay acquired its name. The first, by Mr Tings Robinson, was copied from a short

[1] I personally witnessed a strike staged by the workers during one of my last research trips to Coffee Bay in February 2005.

article in the *Daily News* and subsequently published by the Umtata *Territorial News*, 13 January 1949. Mr Robinson explains:

> I have been asked how this place [Coffee Bay] got its name and this is how it came about. In 1863 my grandfather by the name of Wilson – late of Her Majesty's Navy and Country Tipperary in Ould Ireland – was trading in Pondoland when a Native arrived from another trader in T[h]embuland with a message that a ship was ashore near his place.
>
> A few ox wagons were got together and Wilson, with some cronies, trekked down to where the boat was. A raft was made and they went aboard to find her empty of crew but her holds packed full of rum, raw chocolate and coffee beans from the Far East.
>
> This cargo was duly loaded. The story goes that for three months these hard old pioneers camped on the beach where they fished and drank all day.
>
> When the rum was finished they packed up the rest of the goods and trekked inland once more.
>
> In the meantime, several casks of green coffee beans had been opened by mistake for rum and simply thrown away – one presumes – in disgust. The beans took root and the result was that hundreds of coffee trees grew on the beach front. (Holt, 1959:17)

The second account recorded by Holt (1959:17), appearing in the same paper a few days later on 27 January, was a response by Lieutenant Colonel W.H.C. Taylor, who disputed Mr Robinson's version of events:

> The late Mr H. Preston – a real reference library – informed me that many years ago a party of campers saw something floating in the waves.
>
> When they fished it out they found it was a large cask containing coffee beans. They divided the contents between them.
>
> I remember Mr Preston telling me that when the cask was broached there was a fine layer of dust on the beans showing how water tight the cask was. The campers [then] called the place "Coffee Bay".

While most contemporary guidebooks (including my own) submit to Mr Robinson's theory of an 1863 shipwreck which deposited its cargo of coffee beans on the beach, in all my research I have been unable to uncover documentation of any ship abandoned or wrecked at that time near Coffee Bay. Those that have been documented include: the *Sao Joao* (1952), *Sao Bento* (1554), *Santo Alberto* (1593) and, as mentioned earlier in this study, the *Oceanos* (1991). The only ship that was wrecked along the coast in 1863 was the *Medusa*, which went down on the 10 November near present day East London, too far south to have been Mr Robinson's ship. (Turner, 1988; Uys, 1993)

Long time Coffee Bay resident and local history aficionado Deryk Lang (2005, pers. comm.) scoffs at such theories: "The ships [that sailed down the coast] only carried roasted beans and roasted beans don't germinate". A more likely explanation, Deryk argues, is that when the three small rivers that flow into the sea near the small bay – the Nenga (place of the whale), Mapuzi (place of the pumpkins) and the Bomvu (red) – flood the sea turns a murky brown; hence the name Coffee Bay. As he says: "I couldn't accept that story. So I thought the [flooding] rivers were the most rational explanation".

Seeking clarity, I consulted the latest edition of the *New Dictionary of South African Place Names* (Raper, 2004:58), which is somewhat vague:

> Coffee Bay (EC 3129 CC). Holiday resort in the Mqanduli district, T[h]embuland, 80 km south-east of Viedgesville, at 31 58S, 29 09E. Named after the hundred of coffee trees which grew from beans scattered either by shipwreck, or plunderers or campers.

Thus, unable to substantiate or refute any of these claims it appears that the myth of Coffee Bay's naming will continue to live on. Pinnock (2003:80) put it best when he wrote, "As to the Coffee in Coffee Bay, well that's a puzzle lost to history".

*****

What has been made evident throughout this study is that tourist representations are a powerful form of cultural domination. While seemingly innocuous, tourist representations such as photographs and travel brochures are encoded with meanings that publicly legitimise "the official distributions of power and privilege by making them appear commonsensical" (Kaspin, 2002:322). Far from diluting cultural myths and racial stereotypes instilled by colonialism and apartheid, the tourist representations examined by this study have reinforced them. In depicting the black Transkeians as "exotic", "primitive" and "traditional" and the African landscape as "wild" and "untamed", tourist representations of both Coffee Bay and Transkei/Wild Coast have positioned them as the polar opposite of the "modern", "civilised" tourists and their vacationscape. The constant repetition and recirculation of these images not only validates them, but also lends credibility to modern-day tourist myths. Kaspin (2002:332) writes that this form of mythology persists because "it is fundamentally about the self – unknowable, unseeable, unshapeable, except in relation to an imaginary opposite to draw it – me – into focus". Hence, in the tourists' search for authentic experiences that are different from their everyday life "[s]eeing the real becomes incidental as long as the myth and associations with an imagined memory for a lost past are visible" (Buntman, 1999). As such, tourist representations have served to naturalise the interests of successive waves of white tourists, but have also served to mystify the nature of Coffee Bay.

Just as the explorers of the past made spatial history in their mapping and applying of names to their discoveries (Carter, 1987:xxvi), Coffee Bay's tourists made spatial history in inhabiting the beach and filling it with their imaginings. By the same token, in tracing the tracks of the tourism performance of Coffee Bay through time and space, I too, like a latter day explorer, have made spatial

history by re-presenting the past. But as Dening (1980:30) argues, "In re-presenting the past, in re-constructing the different, there is no avoiding our present or ourselves". As I cast my gaze back down on the Coffee Bay beach from my position sitting high on the Mapuzi cliffs, I realise that in the end in my reproduction of the past, what I have in fact encountered is myself.

Appendix 1

Tuppy Trow (nee Davis), Personal Interview

12 October 2004

Q. Were you born in Coffee Bay?
A. I've lived there all my life.

Q. When you say that you have lived their all your life were you born in Coffee Bay?
A. I was born in the Transkei about 22 miles – as it was then – from Coffee Bay. I was born on a trading station called Wilo. And I spent my childhood there then I was sent away to boarding school. Then I went back and then I got married [Tuppy was married in 1957] and I lived there again for 27 years.

I have literally been going to Coffee Bay all my life. You would have loved it there back then, there was nothing there. There was that hotel – the Ocean View.

Q. What era are you talking about?
A. I was born in 1935. I can remember going down there picnicking because there were no buildings – nothing. Then my father built our house which was a little cottage behind the Lagoon Hotel when I was 7 and I have been going there since. That was in 1942.

Q. When you say that in your earliest memories there was not much there? What do you remember being there?
A. There was the Ocean View, there was the Lagoon Hotel [then known as the coffee Bay Boarding House] and there were five little cottages [excluding the Trow's]. And there was a shop of course. There was nothing there on that side where Deryk is [where the backpacker hostels are today], that is where we used to have picnics on. There was nothing – nothing, nothing, nothing! And Deryk was the first one to build that house there. Then of course that other guy [Karl]. But that whole thing on that side is comparatively new. Because Deryk of course got citizenship when it [Transkei] became independent. And from then on evolved all that mess over that side [of the river]. It was beautiful indigenous

bush and it has just been hacked up and there is nothing of it left there [now]. It is terrible. I mean that was a forest reserve.

I was 7 when my father built that house. He built it during the war. He was a very sociable man, and he built this huge house because he wanted his children to party at home. Which is exactly what happened – everybody arrived. I mean we had the most wonderful childhood there, because that was kind of the going, because we had a piano, because we had this big room and we had parents who would rather have us at home than wandering around. That was where the whole social life of Coffee Bay happened! Then it changed as the hotels changed. I mean the Lagoon was being built. The Ocean View was never terribly so huge – that was never encouraged. The "campers" as we were known crossed the river… they were sort of the elite over that side.

I remember the Lagoon was always there but it consisted of Kaffir huts – there was a row of them I remember that terribly well. We actually used to go down there and they had a big square room which was their dining room/kitchen – also made out of mud and dung. I can remember going down there for dances as children. But apart from that there was nothing. And then it evolved that you know the hotels got better and better and bigger and bigger and of course we got older too and all got married. So where we live now in the house, that is the original house – we've built on to it, added on, improved it and what have you.

Q. Do you actually own the house?
A. We don't have title to it. We're actually returning there next year [2005] – starting a bed and breakfast there. But we can't get permission because as you should know the laws of 1936 still hold, they have never been rescinded. You are only supposed to build those places to the value of £500 – what can you build for £500! But as you know all the stories about the illegal cottages all along the Wild Coast – it is in a state of flux now. Nobody knows [what is going to happen]. I mean we've been to the Minister of Land Affairs and we are still waiting for a reply. So you know, things have changed, we do want to develop, we do want to create jobs, but we just get no reply. And when I approached the DA member for that area, when I said to him this is what we want to do, we don't want to do it illegally, we want to do it legally. And he said "Mrs Trow there is no problem, the Transkei is part of South Africa". And I said, "I am well aware of that fact". Then he asked, "Do you have title deeds?" – "No!"…. "Oh!"….. And you can't get yah or nah out of anybody. So you see all of that there in Coffee Bay is illegal buildings. There is no house there built for £500. There just isn't. In fact there isn't one anywhere along the Wild Coast.

But no we are not illegal… How we came to build there as I said there were the two hotels, there was a shop on the other side of the Ocean View and a couple of other buildings. How we came to build there in 1942 was, through our next door neighbour [Frank Altenkirch] who owned one of those existing five

cottages – camps as they were called then. And my father wanted to build in Coffee Bay and my father was a great friend of this man. So when he [Frank Altenkirch] said to my father: "Harold I've got a big piece of land here, come and build a house", he [Tuppy's father] went and built a house.

But, then one day after he had built it the Magistrate came and said: "Whose house is that?" And Uncle Frank said: "That is Harold's place". "I want to see him" [the Magistrate then demanded]. So my father went and saw him and he [the Magistrate] said to him: "If you put your foot across the threshold of that house, I will raise it to the ground". And my father had built it and worked so hard to make it so that we could have our first Christmas there. But we didn't dare set foot in it after that after that. It was built. It was finished. It was ready. But we couldn't go in it.

Then one day we had a Member of Parliament visit who happened to be a friend of my fathers' and he took [our problem] it to parliament. And as a result of that cottage – our cottage, an illegal cottage that was on the ground that belonged to our neighbour – they allocated all the rest of the plots along the Wild Coast, not only in Coffee Bay. All up [the coast], those plots were allocated. Now that was 1942 or 1943. But that is a very important historical point, I think. But then of course that is when they made the law and said you may build, you have to reside in the Transkei, you have to only build for £500. You had to fit that criteria and it was strictly for recreation, you may not live there for longer than 3 months at a time. All those laws still exist today. You show me one cottage that meets all those prerequisites – there is not one!

Q. What kind of tourists visited Coffee Bay in the 1940's?
A. None, none. There were the odd ones at the two hotels, but I mean the two hotels were so crummy.

Q. Then when would you say that tourism began to develop?
A. You know it has been such a gradual evolvement. At first the Ocean View was rebuilt and that attracted more people. Then the Lagoon was rebuilt and that attracted visitors, but there was nothing... Oh but when the backpackers started that was really interesting. When did that start?

Me: 1996 the first backpackers opened.

Tuppy: Is it true that there are 12,000 of them that go through there a year? That was a figure that somebody bandied about.

Me: I don't know off hand if that figure is accurate, but yes both hostels are very busy.

Q. So what about the 60's-70's, what type of tourists came then? Were they as has been suggested to me hippies?
A. We definitely didn't get any hippies there before the backpackers. Not that I remember. There was nowhere for them to stay. No, no I can definitely say no. Oh you might have had the odd one.

Q. Tell me about independence, how did that effect your living there?
A. Well you know about Poqo? That was the big tribe of the Transkei. It was the military wing of the PAC. And that was terrible. It did terrible damage to tourism in the Transkei. People just wouldn't go there anymore. In fact people used to ask us, "Why are you going there?"

I mean we go there every single year for Christmas – we will still be going there this Christmas. We went there all through the Poqo years. The Poqo were terribly anti-white and they murdered people.

There were the coups when Matanzima was in power – you know that is why Coffee Bay got the tarred road. He had a house there. The one behind the shop he bought. That is why there was a helicopter pad. That was when the Kaiser was president.

Q. When you say you left Coffee Bay, when exactly was that?
A. We never left Coffee Bay. We have always had our place there, but I went away to school and university and then I got married in 1957. Then we left our trading station in '83 and then we still went on trading at Qingqolo Station then we sold that business in 1991. That is when we came here [Cape Town].

Q. Why did you leave the Transkei?
A. Because I wanted to travel to civilisation. I had lived on a trading station all my life. And when I married my husband I said "when we retire I want a little bit of culture and art." And still I am going back again!

Q. So how would you describe Coffee Bay now in comparison to how it was when you were younger?
A. There are just so many more people. It used to be sparsely populated with two hotels and then the Kaffirs. And that was it. Hardly any people at all. And now it is positively corrupted!

Appendix 2

Deryk Lang, Personal Interview

13 January 2004

Q. How did your family end up in Coffee Bay?
A. They were stonemasons and carpenters. They came here with the 1820 settlers and they moved here and settled here permanently given a grant by the chief. So they had settled and built by 1841.

Q. How were they received by the local people?
A. They lived in perfect harmony with them except when in 1845 when they had the general uprising. The male folks had to jump on their horses and ride out, because the women and children were never considered in danger from the various tribes. In fact there were recorded case were a woman said she had just got her baby out could she feed her baby. And they said well take one of the cows here and you milk it and you feed your baby. So it was really quite a gentleman's war. The men from puberty they jumped on their horses, a lot of them were warned so they jumped on their horses and they rode out.

Q. When did they come back?
A. About 1843 to 1845.

Q. What was it that attracted your family here in the first place?
A. They were settlers, [and] like the all settlers they came out here because the British government [wanted] to have sort of a little buffer state around them. So the Boer farmers helped them a lot they took them from the ships and they were allocated land. But most of these people were not farming stock and it was they couldn't make a living out of farming particularly in that region which is so subject to droughts. So a lot of them decided to move out and do other things. There were three brothers that came out and the one went to Cape Town and they lost track of him, and the other two brothers came up to this region [Coffee Bay].

Q. Have you grown up here your whole life?
A. Yeah, obviously the Langs have – or some of us – but mostly the sons, some of them remained to run the businesses. Then I didn't leave to go work in the white society. I first started trying to live and start trading on my own. But then I met some people who were – I was 17 at the time – from the platinum division and they heard me speak [Xhosa]. So they came over to me and said [asked] what am I doing here? [They offered Deryk a job]. So from 18 to 62 and a-half-years of age I worked as their PRO [Public Relations Officer] for the whole of the Transkei.

Q. What did the position involve?
A. I had to .... Well basically trying to say to people [black Transkeians] "go to work" and get them to the mines. We used to put them [the workers] on trains or buses [and send them to the mines in South Africa].

Q. How has Coffee Bay changed over the years?
A. Nothing's changed. First of all it was against the law [setting up a business], the moratorium dating back to 1993 to stop any development in 1km of the high water mark. And it is still in place today. We would like to build a few more toilets for the backpackers and we're battling like hell to get permission. Now when the Transkei became independent I became a Transkei citizen, I specifically [chose to become a citizen] because it is the land of my birth and the land of my parents.

Q. When did the first hotel set up here?
A. The first hotel...oh there were hotels in virtually all of these towns.

Q. How did Coffee Bay start up as a tourist place?
A. Well I can recall Coffee Bay had had two hotels: the Ocean View was a little building and could accommodate maybe 12 to 16 people and they had six very badly built rondavels.

Q. What was the attraction then for people to come to Coffee Bay?
A. There was one little shop here and the hotel belonged to the shop owner. Then ultimately there was another one built: Lagoon Hotel.

Q. How did Coffee Bay change from a family holiday getaway to a backpacker place?
A. The backpackers are very, very new. I had about four rooms here that I used to rent out to people who didn't want to stay in the hotel. They would pay me just a nominal fee. Then Karl [Bomvu] about 15 years ago got permission to build a house here. I knew virtually nothing about backpacking. Karl was the one that started the idea. He said let's try to have your place and my place and that is how the backpackers started. That was about 9 years ago.

Q. Why do you think Backpackers are attracted to Coffee Bay?
A. Because they want to feel Africa. This [Coffee Bay] is out of the way and is still probably amongst the most tribalised areas [in South Africa].

Q. What has been the impact of backpacker tourism?
A. Well it coincided with the mine stopping. And they shut down all recruiting in the Transkei. Now the guys had to go and stand in queues at the mines trying to get employment – that cut the earnings down from this region by three quarters, so the standard of living has dropped tremendously. I am trying to start self-help cottage industries.

Q. How do you attribute the growth in Coffee Bay's popularity with backpackers?
A. Word of mouth. Other than *Coast to Coast* magazine there is no advertising.

A very high percentage of the people who have come here wanted to see Africa and they didn't want to see townships and umpteen of them say this is the first time they have felt like they are in Africa is here. And I think that has been the biggest drawcard. Because every day they have got a community based activity and you'll find that every evening there is a group that will come in here for a half an hour [who perform]. And they are not coming here for the abseiling or for having a walk on the beach, because there are beaches all over South Africa and there is abseiling elsewhere which is much more adventurous than here – so they are not coming here for hiking and walking. But it is also a safe destination compared to an awful lot of places in South Africa. They feel safe. They don't mind walking two girls from here to wherever. That's a big plus.

Q. Do you feel that the fall of apartheid led to an increase in tourism in the area?
A. In spite of South African hotels and the hospitality trade saying: 'The Transkei is a very, very dangerous destination. Don't go.' Even the tourists ask us when they are driving from East London to Durban and going right around the northern end of Lesotho to get to Durban – double the journey. There are some people that are going to tell you today: 'Whatever you do, if you've got to drive through the Transkei don't stop. Your life's in danger.'

Appendix 3

Deryk Lang, Telephone Interview

22 June 2005

Q. What do you recall of the day the Oceanos sunk off the Wild Coast near Coffee Bay?
A. I remember first hearing the [sound of] aircraft and choppers above the house at around 5 am [in the morning]. So I turned on the radio to frequency 19 and was told that there was a ship going down off the coast.

The rescue effort was co-ordinated from The Haven [another Wild Coast resort about 40km south of Coffee Bay], but it was three minutes longer for them to fly [the survivors] there [The Haven] and then back [to the ship] again. And the ship was on its side and thought it was going to roll over, so they thought it was faster to bring them here [to Coffee Bay].

So we drove up to the golf course [where the survivors were airlifted to]. First they dropped out the fuel drums and the people. We then ferried them down to the [Ocean View] hotel.

In between I went home to go get all the blankets and clothing I could find. Would you believe that I got every single item back? [Even his favourite coat] I had this very good sheep skin coat which I also gave to one of the passengers. I didn't think I would see it again. But six months later a courier delivered it to me all the way from France I think. They'd even had it dry cleaned!

Q. How many of the survivors were taken to Coffee Bay?
A. 88 people.

Q. You said the Ocean View was reopened to accommodate the survivors...
A. No it wasn't officially opened. We forced it open. We put them there at the hotel until the bus came to fetch them and take them to the Haven. So they were only there from around sun up until 11 am when the bus came.

Q. What was Coffee Bay like at this time?
A. At the time there were only two or three [white] people living in Coffee Bay. It was a scary place. People used to drive through the Free State to avoid going through Transkei – it was dangerous.

Q. You worked for Rustenburg Platinum mining, how long did you do that for?
A. From the age of 18 to 62 years of age.

Q. When was the recruitment office open in Coffee Bay?
A. We had 18 offices all over Transkei. The one in Coffee Bay opened around 1965 or 66.

Q. How many people did you employ?
A. We employed around 500 to 1000 people a week.

Q. When did the recruitment office shut down?
A. Eight and a half years ago all recruitment in Transkei stopped. With all the changes [the fall of apartheid] people weren't happy about the mines. … So I would rather not comment on this.

Q. Well what was the effect of the closure on the region?
A. Well we have a much higher unemployment rate now!

Appendix 4

Dave Devitt, Telephone Interview

22 June 2005

Q. Your family I believe was very much involved in the creating the golf course, what do you remember of it?
A. That actually wasn't the original golf course. The original course was between Harrison's trading station at Hole in the Wall and our family's trading station at Mabehana. It was a seven green course. But the local chief decided to turn one of the green's into his garden. So it was decided to move the course elsewhere. This is how it ended up in Coffee Bay.

Q. I've read about an annual Easter golf tournament can you tell me about that?
A. From the 1950s to 1967 the Ocean View ran the Easter tournaments. They were really popular especially during the 1950s when all the traders from all around would come down for it. But the tournament stopped in 1967.

Q. Didn't your family run a tournament as well?
A. Yes. In the 1990s my brother and I ran tournaments. But it was for people form Umtata. There was usually only around 40 players – no bigger. But then we stopped them in 1995.

Q. Why did you stop?
A. There was just too many problems at that time.

Appendix 5

Julie Davis (nee Trow), Willie Davis, Terri Trow & Jason Krain
Personal Interview

10 November 2004

Q. Where were you (Julie & Terri) born?
Julie: Qingqolo Trading Station. About 90-100kms from Coffee Bay and Umtata.

Q. How much time did you spend in Coffee Bay growing up?
Julie: We went there mostly at Christmas and some weekends as well.

Q. What are your first memories there?
Julie: Oh I don't really remember. I mean it has always been part of our existence.

Q. Then what is that you did when you went there?
Julie: Swimming, lots of walking… and lots of socialising actually. Lots of being with your cousins.

Terri: That's why we spent Christmas there – it was a really a family get-together.

Julie: Everyone didn't stay with us, but certainly our cottage was the centre of activity.

Q. In those early days there were you aware of the tourists?
Julie: Ja

Q. So what sort of people were coming through as tourists?
Terri: Backpackers.

Julie: But the backpackers only came much later.

Terri: Well I am a lot younger than you! .... Well I suppose people from the [Lagoon] hotel. Yes I remember you are right. I can remember as a kid people staying at the hotel. So it was hotel people and obviously people that were staying with friends at their cottages.

Julie: The [Lagoon] hotel was quite an integral part of the social life in those days. Everybody used to go there – parents, children.

Q. Which hotel are you referring to?
Julie: The Lagoon. I remember it being more the Lagoon at that stage.

Q. But didn't the Lagoon close?
Terri: But it closed and stopped and started a couple of times. The Ventresses ran it well when they owned it. I think that was the last really…. The Ventresses had it for decades.

Julie: I remember – I am not good with years, but it would have been after '76 the doctors took over. But it was at the demise of Matanzima – when did the regime come to an end? That was mid-80s [86 – Kaiser Matanzima retired]. Because he gave a lease to the doctors or at least it was George [Matanzima] that gave a lease to the doctors. And the doctors paid for the furniture and fittings. And when he fell out of power [George Matanzima lost power during the 1987 coup], it was taken back [by the Transkei Development Corporation] and the TDC would not pay the doctors out for the furniture and fittings.

Q. So who were the "doctors?"
Julie: Haserman or something like it??

Terri: It was the Hasermans. I'm sure of it because it was the same family that she worked for down in PE.

Q. I was told that the army at one stage took over the Lagoon hotel – is there any truth to that?
Julie: I think that the only time that could have happened was that perhaps they might have just used it as a shelter.

Q. What do you think that the tourists that visited Coffee Bay during the homeland period [late-70s] were coming for?
Willie: It was for the Wild Coast's beauty.

Jason: I think it has to do with the whole allure of the Wild Coast – undeveloped, the ocean and the dagga.

Q. Was dagga always an attraction for tourists? When did that really start?
Julie: I don't know, but I remember as a teenager being offered it.

Willie: It wasn't something that was usually taken by the Europeans. Not at that time.

Q. So are you saying that this was during the 80s?
Willie: Yes

Julie: In my mind it was really only in the late 80-90s that we were aware of it. But I can't say whether or not it was there before.

Jason: I would say that dope smoking began in the 70s. You could always get it, but it was not as obvious as it is today.

Q. Growing up there were you aware of the political problems in the region?
Terri: When I was in high school which was the late 80s – around 1986 to 1990 – people in Durban where I went to school thought it [Transkei] was in deep, dark Africa. It was not far away, but most of them had never set foot in Transkei. I mean they had been overseas, but hadn't come past or through [Transkei]. And if they had to go to Cape Town they drove the long way [around Lesotho]. I remember that clearly. It was to the extent that people used to ask if there were wild animals. I had that actual question!

Julie: But how did that start?

Willie: First of all the Transkei became seen as dangerous because Poqo started and then there were the murders at Bashee. Then the Pondoland trouble started. The stigma started then. In those days we weren't allowed to just go driving in the Transkei. During the Pondoland trouble you couldn't go driving through there unless you were escorted.

Q. What period are you talking about?
Willie: It was 1959-60-61.

Julie: Was this only in the Pondoland area?

Willie: It only affected Pondoland. But the stigma then spilled over and the whole of the Transkei was a bad place.

Julie: But when did you have to get escorted? …. I can't remember.

Willie: If we look at it from the point of view of the activist – 90% of the activist with the ANC came from the Transkei. So when the ANC really started becoming active and things that happened like all the bombings – this is when the root of the trouble started. And security took over and there were army road blocks.

Then they got to the point where they arrested every male between the ages of 18-25 years in Pondoland. Now people who came here would drive through that. There was all this activity and there were huge [army] convoys. So that was when it started.

Jason: People started thinking we can't really be travelling [through the Transkei] because there was this heightened awareness. That is where it comes from.

Willie: Because remember during the Matanzima period they blocked off diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Jason: When was that?

Willie: It was '78, '79… But anyway that is where the stigma started. It started with the Pondoland trouble and it never actually recovered.

Q. You said there was a curfew, when was this? And was this all of Transkei.
Julie: The whole Transkei

Terri: I remember when we were leaving Durban we had to leave by certain times.

Jason: It was around '83, '84. It was for a long time.

Q. What happened that the curfew was introduced?
Willie: Crime

Terri: But it was a political thing.

Willie: No. Matanzima brought it in because of the crime.

Q. So obviously you did notice that there was a decline in tourism?
All: Oh ja. Ja.

Julie: So I would guess that that happened [tourism declined] late 80s.

Willie: Tourism also was affected by availability [i.e. hotels closed]. The hotels were taken over by the Matanzimas etc., so there was nowhere really where the tourists could come to.

Julie: Also I think when one considers tourism in Coffee Bay – would we be considered tourists?

Q. When I talk of tourists I am talking about people who come not necessarily just come from South Africa and beyond, but also other parts of the Transkei who didn't actually own a place there.
Julie: I would say that for a while the local tourists [Transkeians] also declined.

Q. What do you remember of the Kaiser?

Willie: Didn't know he was there.

Q. But wasn't the road to Coffee Bay tarred because he had a place there?
Willie: Well ja…

Q. When did you notice that things started to pick up again?
Julie: I think with the advent of the backpackers. There was an upgrade – there were more people from everywhere else.

Q. But what was that like for you?
Terri: The backpackers – that was an invasion!

Appendix 6

Roy Sparg, Personal Interview

25 March 2005

Q. When did your family build their cottage in Coffee Bay?
A. We got the cottage here in 1947, but my family has been in the Transkei for a long time.

Q. [Noticing all the fishing photographs hanging on the walls I ask] I see your family love fishing?
A. Yes. My dad [Dave Sparg] especially. He even kept a diary of all his catches. Most of these pictures are his - some of them go back to the 1940s and 50s.

Q. Were these of fishing competitions?
A. Some of them are. There used to be a lot of fishing competitions, but not anymore.

Q. Why is that?
A. Well tourism dropped off, but also the area has been overfished.

Q. What about these pictures of people racing, what are they of?
A. That's the White Clay Cross Country Challenge. It is an annual race that we started in 2001. When we first started we only had 36 competitors but last year [2004] we had 151 competitors. So it's getting bigger every year.

Q. When is the race held?
A. On the last Saturday in August.

[We are interrupted as Roy is called to attend some clients. Before he leaves me he gives me some photographs and allows me to look through his father's fishing diary. In the diary which begins in January 1949 and ends in December 1993, I notice that his father has tallied off his catches in 1970 as 7569 and 3456.]

Appendix 7

Arthur Ventress, Telephone Interview

8 June 2005

Q. When did your family move to Coffee Bay?
A. We moved their in 1951 to take over the Ocean View. We leased it from Mr Scutter who owned it and the trading store. The hotel [boarding house] was then one of three free hold hotels on the Wild Coast.

Q. Who took over the Ocean View when your family left?
A. Gerber then a few others. And at one stage my eldest brother Graham who had been helping run the Lagoon went back to Ocean View and ran it in direct opposition to us for three or four years.

Scutter then sold the Ocean View to the Transkei Development Corporation who ran it for some years. K.D. [Kaiser Matanzima] also owned it for a time. Just prior to him handing over power to his brother in the early to mid 1980s he decided he liked the Ocean View and decided to take it over. Supposedly he purchased it, but I don't think he ever did. Anyway, he ran it unsuccessfully. Then when he fell out of power he sold it off at an auction to the Xhosa Development Corporation.

Q. Didn't Kaiser live in the house just near the Ocean View?
A. Yes KD lived in the house behind the shop. It used to be Mr Scutter's residence. When he sold the hotel to the Transkei Development Corporation it was not sold. The shop was run by the Transkei Development Corporation for a while then it was taken over by a black woman named Sarah who was a very capable woman. Her husband worked on the mines. She took up with a waiter at the Lagoon named Sunny…. Anyway, Sarah became very religious. Then she somehow disappeared and KD was in Coffee Bay for weekend and he wanted something from the shop. So he instructed that the shop be opened and he had it broken into. He then summoned Sarah's husband back from the mines to run it.

Q. When did your family take over the Lagoon?
A. We took it over in 1960. We basically demolished the old Coffee Bay Hotel as it was known then and changed the name to Lagoon. Our father then eventually retired and Dudley and I took over running it. We then ran it until 1981 when we gave the lease over the Transkei Development Corporation.

So I pretty much grew up in Coffee Bay. I was five or six when my family moved there. I was there then until I was 38 as a bachelor and met my wife.

Q. When was the Lagoon's heyday?
A. The late 60s early 70s. Business was booming. Business was great. Coffee Bay was really on the map. It was a flourishing little village that was a popular fishing spot. The Lagoon ran at a very high occupancy around 72 or 75% throughout the year. Our guests were predominantly Transvaal people who came back year after year. We looked at our guests as friends. We had some guests that had been staying with our family for 20 years – that is they followed us across from the Ocean View. Everyone knew us. We were on first name terms with everyone.

But when they started talking about making Transkei an independent homeland people started getting nervous. It was a new thing. It was a black government and that scared people. We sent out circulars to all our regular guests to let them know that things would change, but suddenly our occupancy rates dropped dramatically.

Q. Why did you leave?
A. Under government policy we didn't have title deeds to the land. You had three year leases on the cottages – we had a cottage there which we still have – and we had a seven year lease on the hotel. Very few properties had title deeds. So there was a certain amount of risk. We were there on the whim of the government.

When Transkei was made a black homeland in 1976 there were 12 resorts/hotels on the Wild Coast. We weren't forced out but we were the last or second last to sell out. We sold to the then SA Bantu Trust and the [Transkei] Development Corporation then took over the running of the Lagoon.

That wasn't the reason we left though. The main reason we left was that business had dropped off dramatically. Basic services had dropped off as well. There used to be a daily bus service from Umtata to Coffee Bay that brought us bread, milk and meat and all perishables. But when it was handed over to the [Transkei] Development Corporation they ran it inefficiently. Apart from the odd accident, the bus just didn't run regularly. Drivers would stop along the way at local shebeens and would never show up. And we would be waiting to feed our guests.

But the most important reason was that the telephone more often than not stopped working. This was about time when the [Transkei] Development Corporation took over the Ocean View. People just couldn't get through to us and that was how we made our bookings. The [Transkei] Development Corporation installed a radio at Ocean View and set up a central communications office in Umtata that took bookings for all their hotels and resorts down the Wild Coast. People would call them wanting to book and stay with us and they would be told to phone us and then they wouldn't be able to get through. These things forced us out.

Q. When was the road to Coffee Bay tarred?
A. The new road was built in 1983 or 1984. In the old days before the road was built of the river flooded we would be marooned because you couldn't get across to the main road. We would have all these guests we had to feed, so we had to make a plan. We would swim across the river to bring all the perishables bread, meat and cigarettes for our guests. That was until they built the new road.

KD had the road built. The story goes that he got a puncture on the road one time when he was going back to Umtata and he said "This is not good enough. I must get the road tarred!"

At first we thought that this was great. But then as it turned out it brought too many people [black people] down from Umtata. They took over everything and generally wrecked the place. They smashed bottles everywhere. Coffee Bay was just not geared up for that amount of people – there weren't even any ablutions. But these [black] people would come down for the weekend and slept anywhere. It was unhygienic. We basically had to go around and clean up after them after we left.

Q. Did you see the Lagoon when it fell into disrepair?
A. Yes. It was heartbreaking to see the decay. Being out in the sticks, every brick in that hotel was made by hand on site. So it was very upsetting to see the hotel fall apart – but you know what happened don't you?

KD took over the Lagoon as well. But when he took it over he managed it unsuccessfully and so it fell out of grace. Then the [Transkei] Development Corporation decided it wasn't economically viable, so they closed it for a while and put a guard there to look after it. But then the local people [black Transkeians] including the headman occupied it and decided to use it as their offices. The [Transkei] Development Corporation eventually had them kicked out, but when they left they stripped it taking all the windows and the doors!

Appendix 8

Ed Batty and Gareth Dart, Personal Interview

12 November 2005

Q. When did you take over the hotel (Lagoon Hotel now known as KwaTshezi)?

Gareth: We found the hotel in 2000. It was pretty run down and was being used by locals.

Ed: What is it you're studying?

Me: Basically I am researching the anthropology of tourism in Coffee Bay.

Ed: Yes there have been quite a lot of anthropological changes in Coffee Bay.

Q. In what way?
Ed: Prior to the formation of the Bantustans, the Wild Coast was extremely popular with the domestic tourist market. Previous to the Transkei becoming an independent homeland the same can be said for Coffee Bay. It attracted a lot of domestic tourists. [But the] Independence era ruined tourism on the Wild Coast. White owned land went back to the government. Then the black managers of the hotels ran them downhill – standards such as the quality of food dropped. This continued for over 17 years. So the Lagoon went from the most popular hotel to closing down. Prior to this hotels on the Wild Coast usually ran at about 80% occupancy.

Q. What do you believe was the problem?
Ed: When Kaiser Matanzima took over the hotel [Lagoon Hotel] there were two major negatives [for tourism in Coffee Bay/Wild Coast]: safety and roads [i.e. access/quality]. You know most people still think that, so by the time the road [to Coffee Bay] was tarred the damage had already been done. And under the Transkei government the roads deteriorated further.

Q. How has tourism changed then?
Ed: What is happening now [with tourism on the Wild Coast] is a process of rediscovery. The Wild Coast is divided into three distinct areas: Port St Johns to the northern border with [Kwa-Zulu]Natal; Trennery to close to East London; and then Coffee Bay in the middle. It [the Wild Coast] is still seen to be too far away, but it is attracting a new market – namely foreign tourists and conferences.

Q. I noticed that on your web site you offer specials for backpackers, is that right?
The research we conducted before taking over the Lagoon showed that there was a need for a higher class of backpackers in Coffee Bay. However, what actually happened was the opposite of what the research found – the hotel was too posh for backpackers. KwaTshezi therefore got a bad reputation with backpackers because it was too nice!

Appendix 9

Karen Anderson, Personal Interview

17 January 2004

Q. When did the hotel open?
A. There are a lot of different versions of where it [the hotel] started. There were a lot of farms in the area, but everyone got chased out. I know for a fact that this [the Ocean View] hotel never closed [The Ocean View did in fact close in 1989 and then reopened officially in 1992], whereas the Lagoon Hotel did close. At that time the Ventresses were there. That was the popular one.

The Ocean View has always been run by the TCDC (now ECDC).

Q. Did this used to be a family holiday resort village?
A. Absolutely. This [Ocean View] was almost like a self-catering sort of set-up then, you brought your own booze, and you brought everything else yourself. But when it's changed I don't know.

Q. What/when did the trouble start?
A. All I know was that everyone was given ultimatums "you either leave or you're forced to leave – that's your options." The Ventresses just closed the doors and they went. I think it was early 80s if I'm not mistaken. As I said there are very different versions of the history of the Transkei, a lot of political parties have different versions as well – which most of the time the versions don't even come together.

The ANC used to hide their ammunition here; it was kept in these caves. Obviously it is also a bit contradictory because the UDM is very strong here – it used to be here as well, yet the ANC hid their ammunitions here. But as I said that is when most of the whites as such left. People like Deryk Lang stayed, but he is considered as a leader.

Q. When did it pick up again?
A. We started here in `96. When we started the Lagoon Hotel was derelict, this ran at about 3% occupancy and I would assume that for that whole 80's/90's it was basically non-existent as far as tourism was concerned. Ja, when we started

our occupancy was very, very low and over the years I think with a lot of not marketing as such more word-of-mouth people realised that they could come back to the Transkei. They know now that it is not that dangerous that they can still come. Whereas we had phone calls in `96 that asked you "do I have to have a passport?" – You know that type of thing. So the information just wasn't there. And so from `96 up until now it's the word has gotten out – the Transkei is actually a lovely place to go you can go there.

Q. What tourists do you get here now?
A. Local. The majority are. If we have three or four international couples it is quite a lot. But out of season we are starting to get a lot of tour operators and self-drivers as well. Out of season I would say there are more internationals than locals.

Q. What do you think attracts them?
A. The coast. I think the history probably has a lot to do with it as well especially the Germans I think they are very interested of the Xhosa, not the history of the Transkei but mostly of the Xhosa culture. I think that plays a huge role. And the condition of the road that I also I really think is a benefit. The fact that we don't have a winter here.

Q. When did tourism start to pick up?
A. It probably started around 2000; I think in 2000 our tourism rate in the country was the highest. Even compared to Cape Town – it was the highest tourism rate that they have had. It took about four years to get the information out. The perception was that the roads were always too bad – the homeland [label] stuck.

That's the problem, because we deal a lot of travel agents and we deal with a lot of car hire companies who don't know either. Because as you can see there is now infrastructure here. So, they all give advice not to travel here – it's not safe. It's not that we can't help you there it is that it is just not safe.

Q. Why did your family move to Coffee Bay?
A. Karen and her husband Peter came here in 1996. Obviously just leasing, we are still leasing, we do not own. Gary (Karen's brother) joined them about a year later, I married him about a year later and now we have two children. That's how we all ended up here – we are all Joburgers, we're not from this region at all.

Q. Why did people come here years ago?
A. There's a lot of fish here. It is not exploited by boats like other places. That's probably a big reason. It is like St Lucia, fishing that is the main reason people go there. It started to become a holiday town, with the families, the father fishes and what do the rest of the family do so they go to restaurants, movies and that type of thing.

I think why South Africans come here is that it is just an affordable holiday by the coast. That's I think the main reason. It's affordable, it's not overpopulated if you compare it to Durban and Cape Town – I mean those beaches are completely packed over the season and that is where most South Africans take their holidays. All the hotels on the Wild Coast are still very affordable, prices haven't gone way up like hotels in Durban have, like hotels in PE [Port Elizabeth] or Cape Town have. But all the hotels in the Wild Coast are full over the [main tourist] season. It's safe – kids can play on the beach there is no worry that they will get lost on the beach.

Appendix 10

Clive Berlyn, Personal Interview

25 January 2004

Q. How long did you work for the Eastern Cape Development Corporation?
A. I worked for them for 28 years. The ECDC though originally started out as the Xhosa Development Corporation and then became the Transkei Development Corporation. It looked after the buses, all the hotels on the Wild Coast and also agriculture.

I worked for the Xhosa Development Corporation for only one month before it became the Transkei Development Corporation. It was then roughly in 1998 that it became the Eastern Cape Development Corporation – check their web site [the ECDC web site (www.ecdc.co.za) states that it was 1996 when it was formed].

Q. What is the timeline of the name of the tourism body representing Transkei/Wild Coast?
A. Previous to 1994 it was known as the Transkei National Tourism Board. Then in 1994 it became Wild Coast Tourism Board. Though, this was never made official even though we made up new letter heads etc. Then from 1995 to '96 we were passively reincorporated into S[outh]A[frica] Tourism. Ciskei Tourism was then more powerful so it was only natural that we joined with them. Thus by August 1996 we officially became part of Eastern Cape Tourism.

Q. What was tourism like in Coffee Bay prior to independence?
A. From 1968-1975 there was never any perceived threat to tourism in the area. The people [who holidayed in Coffee Bay] went there for because it was value for money destination.

Q. What type of tourists did Coffee Bay attract then?
A. It attracted a lot of Rhodesians. Also local people [white traders] who had holiday homes there, weekend traffic and holidaymakers from Jo'burg. It was very popular. There were lots fishing competitions and ski boat competitions.

Q. I believe during independence Kaiser Matanzima holidayed in Coffee Bay?
A. Yes he had the cottage near the Ocean View. I remember that he was always surrounded by crowds – calling [out] his clan name – 'Daliwonga'.

Q. When did crime become an issue?
A. Pre-1976 safety was never an issue. Coffee Bay was a value-for-money holiday destination that was seen as far from the maddening crowd. This carried on for a number of years, but then it slowly began to change and safety became an issue. Faction fights had been going on for generations, but it was following the military coup in the late 1980s in which people were killed that safety became an issue. People perceived that Transkei was a training camp for the ANC and PAC and that the area was a spring board from which they made their attacks.

The crunch, however, came when there was an attempted counter coup. This lead to attacks on the hotels etc. and so then the SA special forces moved in. This was in the early 1990s. The hotels then were run into the ground.

Q. How has tourism changed since then?
A. The focus of our [the Transkei Tourism Board] marketing has changed completely. After reintegration we changed our name [from Transkei Tourism Board] to Wild Coast Tourism Board. At first we focused on the South African market, but then we identified a new group which were the backpackers.

Appendix 11

Philip Briggs, Personal Email

2 August, 2004 (a)

Hi Kim,

I've actually made quite extensive use of the latest LP 'South Africa' on trips to Cape Town & Addo over the last year, and was looking at it just this morning with a view to visiting Limpopo Province soon!

Coffee Bay was pretty hairy when I visited in 1990 and we were just glad to get away - tourism was dead, hotels were closed, our car window was smashed - but the former Transkei as a whole wasn't too safe for travel in the late 80s and early 90s. I had two further editions of the South Africa guide published, but didn't actually revisit Coffee Bay for them.

Mine was the first dedicated international guidebook to South Africa – there was nothing else of the sort available at the time, the closest thing was an often howlingly inaccurate (i.e. based mainly on readers' letters) chapter in Africa on a Shoestring. There were quite a few local guidebooks, but these were very different in approach to what you'd expect from Lonely Planet, Rough Guide, Bradt et al. Two that I still have are "Travellers Companion to South Africa" by Mike Crewe-Brown (Southern Books, 1990) and "Pictorial Motoring Atlas of South Africa" By Maxwell Leigh (Struik, 1987), both of which have short and upbeat entries on Coffee Bay - very much at odds with how things actually were in 1990.

If these are of any use to you and you can't locate them in Cape Town, let me know, or if you have any other queries you can ring me.

Cheers

Philip Briggs

Appendix 12

Philip Briggs, Personal Email

3 August, 2004 (b)

Hi Kim,

I don't know a lot about Coffee Bay prior to my one visit there in 1990 – it was definitely a popular hiking/beach/chill out place in the early 80s, when I was at university a lot of people headed down there for holidays - I think its reputation for cheap and good marijuana (you could buy sacks of the stuff for next to nothing) had a lot to do with its popularity in some quarters!!!!

You're welcome to keep in touch - in fact I wouldn't mind quizzing you a bit about how it is to work with Lonely Planet, as I've yet to do any work with them.

Cheers

Philip

Appendix 13

David Malherbe, Personal Interview
15 January 2004

Q. When did Coffee Shack open?
A. February 2000.

NB – Before that it was known as Coffee Bay Backpackers and opened in 1995.

Q. Did you make many changes?
A. Ja quite a lot. There was no stone work or decking. It was all just mud and plants with just a few paths. Where the two showers and toilets are there was one bath and a toilet and basin. The kitchen was very small, horrible – it was a lot worse. It was fucking horrendous when I first came here.

Q. Where do you come from?
A. East London.

Q. But what made you come to Coffee Bay?
A. Basically I had been living in Europe for eight years. I had been surfing and working in the surf industry. I came [home] and then worked in Durban for a year. Then I was just hanging around at the Sugar Shack (East London backpackers) and we had had another backpackers called Wacky Point which was at Kei Mouth and we had to close that one down for numerous reasons – we had a lot of problems in those days. I was just doing shuttles and helping on day trips – nothing really just helping around – and this location became available. So, we always wanted something in the Transkei and [so we] just put an offer in. It was quite funny [in that] we put an offer in just before December sometime and we got phoned on a Friday, came on a Sunday and had to make a decision by 4 o'clock on Monday – it was quite rushed. Then we opened two weeks later or something like that. We had to buy vehicles and stuff like that – a shuttle and day trips vehicle – and then we started.

Q. How was business when you first started?
A. We had our first three days free thing and lucky we had a couple of other hostels and we had friends that could feed through [travellers]. It was little bit hard in that in those days there was Woodhouse (now Bomvu Backpackers) and Karl's (Bomvu owner) cousin was running it at the time and it was obviously doing very well, there was no where else – also it was the only place that was really running at that stage.

Q. What type of travellers were coming here when you started?
A. It is hard to really say because I was new in the industry in some ways. But I would say there were slightly more – the Australian Tourism Board when I was over there categorised people (tourists) into groupies (GAP year students) and travellers. I think we've got a slightly different market in South Africa in that we do still have groupies but not like Australia where they are just overrun with them so to speak. Ours is different in that we have a lot of people who come out for three weeks, four weeks, five weeks because it [South Africa] is so accessible, our problem is that we still haven't managed to get enough people for longer length stay. Going back to that [the question] I would say that being an out of the way spot it was still also - I think the reason we have done so well and basically there were a lot of unhappy people [hostel competitors] at one stage because we probably had 70% of the Wild Coast [backpacker] market because everyone had been living on the laurels of a beautiful, untouched place and had been unprofessional. And then we came along and tried to do things to the best of our knowledge and keeping on improving since then and I still think we have 50% of the [backpacker] market or quite close to it. So, going back, the point I am getting to is that people who used to come in those days were slightly more harden people. There was only one stop in those days and a lot of people didn't stop at all between PE (Port Elizabeth) and Durban.... They stopped at Cintsa the one stop people because it was a nice little organised place and other were a little rough, unknown, scary and dangerous.

Q. So why do you think that backpackers are coming here now?
A. Because they have heard of Coffee Bay and it has become a destination. It has obviously got a very beautiful natural asset. One of the things that you have to put in perspective is that people still have to come an hour and a half each way out of their way, which is 80 extra rand which is the equivalent of a bed night. Our biggest competition is each other – Cintsa and ourselves – because people [usually] only stop once. Not that we are very competitive in that sense, but that is the way it is.

So, people basically are - it's a unique place in South Africa and in the world and what I have always said about the Wild Coast is there are many beautiful, untouched places in the world but there are not many beautiful untouched places that have quite a lot of people [black Transkeians] living there.

Yes there are many beautiful places in New Zealand and Australia and all over the world, but they have got nobody living there. I've been to incredibly remote places were there are stone-age tribes but they still don't have the feeling of this place. It is something that these people also – well they are a big presence, not a minor little presence, and their culture is still very strong and their beliefs are still strong. As you've seen there is something about this area that is different, but that is what I am feeling is different as I said there are many beautiful untouched areas but this place is primal. And I never really had intentions of living here – I just ended up here that's the way it was – but I always used to think that the Wild Coast was my favourite place in South Africa or the world in fact. I only came here because of business and in many ways I would rather be in East London because everything's more accessible and easier. So I think really there is something primal about this area – there is a natural attraction to the place but it has become a destination due to some well-run hostels.

Q. What do you perceive is the 'real Africa'?
A. I have lots of arguments with people on this because their perception is that the 'real Africa' is fucked-up, corrupt countries and to me often it takes coming to a place like this and then you return to Cape Town and you start looking at things through slightly different eyes – okay so it isn't Sydney or it is not New York, but is definitely in Africa.

It is also people's warped vision and the fact that people get stuck on the Baz Bus route and you're stuck in the hostels. The ironic thing is that you have to push [cultural] trips and things like that, yet they [travellers] are never going to see the 'real Africa' unless they go on them. And there is obviously the thing of how much easier it is coming and travelling around here and to me that's the beauty of it [South Africa] because you can be in Africa and have everything at your fingertips that you want or still have total remoteness. But they attach suffering and hardship with 'real Africa' which is as I say not always right – it is actually wrong. To me you would probably find that the tribal system is as strong here if not stronger than anywhere else in Africa and in fact the world in some ways.

Q. Comment on problem getting people to do cultural trips.
A. Another thing that the Australian Tourism Commission was saying while I was in Australia is one of the biggest problems is that it [Australia] is becoming perceived as a soft destination – too easy, too comfortable. Obviously there are a lot of places in Australia that are incredible and off the beaten track, but they need to work at pushing the people off the beaten track and getting them out there to show them that is not necessarily all easy, comfortable, soft and whatever. And I think to a large extent that this is something that South Africa needs to start considering now before it does end up going in the same sort of direction as Australia is.

Yes it is a problem. One of the areas we need to work at is actually advertising our day trips a little bit better – pushing them and promoting them a little better because I do feel that they are good value for money. I don't know where I am taking this but in summing up the cliché or idiosyncrasies of people and 'real Africa', is how do you do it.

Q. Have you had many people interested in overnight stays in the villages?
A. No there hasn't been a hell of a lot. To be very honest with you I have been trying to do it for a while and just haven't really gotten around to it. Then probably this year [2003] about five of our guests have done it through Bomvu, so I thought that we should start doing it properly. But one of the big things [problems] is if things [day trips] aren't advertised properly people don't ask.

One of the problems [with locals becoming involved] is that we are that efficient that we do take up (fulfil) a lot of the needs [of travellers] already, so there are not many needs left over for the locals to fulfil, but having said that there are still opportunities there. I think a lot of the problem is that the people who are organised leave and go to the cities and the people who are left behind are people who are unorganised and to a large extent I think that is one of the problems. The point I am making is that people sometimes just don't want it. I don't want to say it is laziness, I don't want to say it is ignorance – I don't know what it is. It is probably a combination of a lot of factors.

Education problem: That is same with the kids outside. I always have constant battles trying to get them to go to school an dyes there are a few people who haven't finished school who have been successful in the world but generally if you don't finish school you are really putting yourself at a sever disadvantage.

Personally there a few more things I would like to be doing with the community and I am let's say not doing as much as I would prefer, but that is largely because we are growing too quickly.

Government doesn't quite understand the lack of infrastructure and lack of support in the area – I think that Max and Alan would never be able to get this right by themselves without the support from us. Never mind the poor buggars on the street. These things need to be done. It is a problem, I understand the government side is also not easy – how do you provide infrastructure in areas so remote. And with some people with such a vast lack of education.

Q. So how do you perceive that the locals are receiving the tourists?
A. I think generally it is positive. Everything is tourism based here. I'm just guessing, but structured tourism businesses provide just under 100 permanent jobs and that feeds around 500-1000 people, maybe more. Never mind indirect employment such as the wood cutters, the oyster ladies, the beads, the cray fishermen, the guides and so on. Yes people are hassled a little bit but relatively little compared to many places in the world. I think that people vaguely understand that there needs to be a bit of respect.

I think that yes it is seen as positive, obviously I do believe that there needs to be more done. There must be more empowerment.

To us all hostels are all the same inside, but when you get out on the hill there you go wow this is an amazing place. One of things we encourage is for people to do the day trips, to get out because that is what separates us from the rest of South Africa and other hostels in fact. And you will still get people that either sit on their ass and won't go on the free sundowners but when you drag them and often I will get pushy and say yes you've got to go, they get up there and go "yes you were right".

Appendix 14

Coffee Shack Statistics
March 2005

Mar	Beds				Nationalities									Age						
	Camping	Dorms	Dbls	Total beds	# UK	# German	# Dutch	# USA/Can	# Scandin	# Aust/NZ	# SA	# Other	No of arrivals	Under 18	18 to 21	22 to 25	26 to 30	31 to 35	36 to 40	Over 40
1st	1	25	10	36	1	3	2	1		1	1	2	11		3	2	2	1	1	
2nd	4	21	13	38	6	6			1		4		17		8	3	4	1	1	2
3rd	2	26	11	39	1	5	1		4	1			12		2	1	3	5	1	
4th	7	24	8	39	4	5	4	1		3	1		18		3	8	1	3	1	1
5th	7	34	15	56	6	6			2		2		16		3	2	5	5	3	
6th	1	29	6	36	2	13		2	1	2			20			4	8	3	2	2
7th	1	27	10	38	3	1				1	1		6		3	3	2	2	3	
8th	3	28	14	45	8	4	3						15		2	3	7	6	1	
9th	3	25	12	40	5	1							6		4	3	1			
10th	9	21	12	42	6	5		2		4	1		18		5	5	5	3	1	3
11th	6	27	14	47	1	3			2		10		16			4	8	5		2
12th	4	30	14	48		9					2		11		4	6	9			
13th	10	35	14	59	4	6				3	2		15		4	8	10			2
14th	9	31	14	54	2		2	2		1			7		3	2	1	2		
15th	6	27	12	45	2	13		1			1		17		4	6	8			
16th	6	25	11	42	3	3		2	4		3		15			8	8			
17th	6	35	12	53	3	2				2	2		9		4	6	5	1	2	
18th	4	32	10	46	3			4	2	1	2		12		3	4	5	1		
19th	7	29	8	44	2	4	2	2	2		9	1	22		5	7	3			
20th	6	31	10	47	2	6		1			8	3	20		3	8	3	2		1
21st	14	32	10	56	3	14					3	2	22		4	7	6	1	3	
22nd	4	18	9	31	6	3	1	1	1		1		13			3	6	3	1	
23rd	4	15	1	20	5	1		2			1	1	10		2	4	2			1
24th	5	15	7	27	2	5	2				2	5	16		1	7	5	2		
25th	8	15	12	35	3	6		2			4	1	16	2		4	2	3		1
26th	15	5	8	28							10		10		3	7				
27th	13	4	7	24		3		1		1	2		7		2		4	1		
28th	8	13	2	23	3	2		1	1	1	1	2	11		3	4	3	1		1
29th	8	16	15	39	5	4	2	1		1	6	2	21	1	4	5	4	1	4	2
30th	5	31	10	46	3	2					5		10		3	3	3			
31st	6	30	10	46	10		5			1		3	19	3	3	9	2	1	2	1
Total	192	756	321	1269	104	135	24	26	20	23	84	22	438	6	88	146	135	53	26	19
Actual number of guests, not number of bed nights for the month:																	438			
Average number of guests per night for the month:																	41			
Average stay per guest (in days):																	2.9			

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