

# TRAVELLING THROUGH SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISM GEOGRAPHY: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE

Prof Gustav Visser  
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*TRAVELLING THROUGH SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISM GEOGRAPHY: PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE*

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Prof Gustav Visser  
Department of Geography and Environmental Studies  
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences  
Stellenbosch University

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## BIOGRAPHY

**G**ustav Visser matriculated at Hoërskool Port Natal, Durban, in 1988. Following military service in the South African Navy Band, he completed his BA (Geography and Public and Development Management) (1993) as well as BA (Hons) (1994) and MA (1996) degrees in geography at Stellenbosch University. As a Commonwealth Scholarship holder, he obtained his PhD at the London School of Economics and Political Science in 2000. Gustav joined the University of the Witwatersrand in 2000 as postdoctoral fellow after which he was appointed lecturer in the Department of Geography at the University of the Free State in 2002 where he became professor in 2009. In 2015 he was appointed professor of geography at Stellenbosch

University. His main research interests concern identity-based consumption and urban morphological change, which are best expressed in his work on the tourism and development nexus, mainly in urban contexts. These interests have been communicated in four co-edited books and over 120 academic journal articles and book chapters. He has read close to 50 papers at various international and national conferences. Gustav currently holds a C1 National Research Foundation rating and has received generous research funding support from the National Research Foundation.

On a number of occasions he has taught and presented seminars at universities in Finland, New Zealand, the Netherlands and Sweden. Gustav maintains a keen interest in the development of the South African academic system through participation in national scholarly societies and scientific committees. In this respect, he was a councillor (2003–2005), treasurer (2005–2007) and president (2007–2009) of the Society of South African Geographers and was elected as a fellow of the Society of South African Geographers in 2014. Gustav serves on the editorial boards of eight national and international academic journals and is managing editor of the journal *Urban Forum*. In terms of the national education system, he made contributions towards the development of the South African academic curriculum as a task team member of the South African Qualifications Authority's Standards Generating Body for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (2004–2008) and the Standards Generating Body for Geography (2004–2008).



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## INTRODUCTION

A central theme for human geographers is interpreting and understanding the natural and human-made environment – a world in which geographic patterns are constantly being reworked by a range of forces (Butler, 2015; Gill, 2012). These forces include population changes, new patterns of economic production and consumption, evolving social and political structures, new forms of urbanism, and globalisation and the compression of time and space that are the product of ongoing revolutions in information technology and telecommunications. Through these processes, tourism has also become a significant force for change as an integral and indispensable part of the places in which we live, their economies and their societies (Williams & Lew, 2015). In short, the tourism system has a reach that very few are isolated from and leads to changes in the manner in which rural and urban places and spaces are (re)constructed both physically and symbolically. Annually billions of domestic and international tourists migrate across the world and present a fundamental geographic phenomenon that social scientists and planners cannot ignore as it has become an essential way in which humans engage with one another, places and environments. Tourism is geographical because its dimensions include human-environmental interaction and landscape, conservation and management of places and environments, environmental perceptions and sense of place, and spatial behaviours and human mobility (Williams & Lew, 2015). The reason why understanding tourism calls for our attention is located in the sheer scale of contemporary tourism and the pace at which it has expanded. International arrivals alone reached 1.2 billion in 2015 (United Nations World Travel Organisation, 2016). To place this figure in perspective, there were fewer than 25 million such trips worldwide at the end of the Second World War (United Nations World Travel Organisation, 2013). Similarly, tourism has become a key component of the South African economy and a reality for millions of the country's citizens in both rural and urban settings (Nunkoo, 2015).

From a historical perspective, tourism as an economic system was established in South Africa before the Second World War. South Africa was a popular destination for a range of inhabitants of neighbouring

colonial territories who visited Johannesburg for purposes of entertainment and shopping or headed to coastal resorts from Cape Town to Port Elizabeth (Rogerson, 2011). Post-war, the country remained popular among these visitors, although Ferrario (1977) noted that by the late 1960s, a saturation point had been reached.<sup>i</sup> In addition, in postindependence Africa, the white colonial tourist market started to diminish and internal political instability and growing rejection of South Africa as a place to visit from overseas tourist markets led to diminished tourist numbers (Rogerson, 2011). As a consequence, it has been argued that from the 1970s through to the late 1980s, of all the sectors of South Africa's economy, tourism was the "most affected by apartheid and subsequent international sanctions" (Visser & Rogerson, 2004, p. 201).

Apartheid legislation also circumscribed the potential of domestic tourism as the majority of the population did not have spatial mobility or access to a range of leisure activities and spaces or accommodation, which were deemed the exclusive preserve of the white population. The restrictions that apartheid placed on the mobility of most South Africans significantly curtailed the ability of the national tourism system to develop to its full potential (Rogerson & Visser, 2004). As a result, the broader tourism system represented a fraction of the national economy and did not hold much government policy prominence in any planning frameworks. In retrospect, the first postapartheid national government noted that tourism had largely been a lost opportunity (Cassim, 1993; Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996). Post-apartheid, however, international tourist arrivals now stand at around 10 million annually, and tourism as an economic driver for development has received considerable policy prominence, growing to constitute a significant part of the South African economy, accounting for 9.5% of gross domestic product and 10% of all formal employment (Department of Tourism, 2014). Correspondingly, there has been a groundswell of academic interest aimed at better understanding the national tourism system.

The aim of this paper is to provide a brief review

<sup>i</sup> From the late 1950s to early 1960s, white tourists from neighbouring colonial territories numbered approximately 172 000 annually (Ferrario, 1977).

of the role of geographers in the development of South African tourism geography scholarship. This aim is achieved through three sections of review and analysis. First, attention is drawn to the early development of tourism as a research focus in South African geography and its subsequent development. The second section deals with some of the most recent themes in national tourism geography scholarship. The final part of the paper – and key contribution – considers new avenues of research for South African tourism geography, alongside some challenges that it will face in the future.

## THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISM GEOGRAPHY

Allison Gill (2012) notes that like many other forms of scholarship in geography, tourism geography has evolved as a distinct subfield of inquiry within the discipline, although contributions of tourism geographies are perhaps more readily acknowledged in the multidisciplinary realm of tourism studies. On the whole, geography has made a very significant contribution to the study of tourism with most of the tourism studies leaders in fact being trained geographers (Butler, 2015; Coles, 2009). Approaches to the investigation of tourism mainly followed the paradigmatic shifts of geography as a whole. The 1930s witnessed a number of descriptive works, appearing in mainstream geography journals, although issues of leisure, recreation and tourism were viewed as marginal economic activities (Gill, 2012). Various evolving paradigms in geographic inquiry were reflected in the work of tourism geographers, with positivism dominating geographic approaches in the 1960s through the 1970s, later followed by behaviourism and humanist research approaches. The 1980s and 1990s witnessed a range of geographic topics in tourism applying political economy approaches (Ioannides & Debbage, 2014; Mosedale, 2014). Changes in the global economy and the vastly elevated levels of travel relocated the analysis of the various components of the tourism system closer to the academic mainstream (Hall, Williams & Lew, 2014). In both developed and developing countries, tourism was increasingly seen as part of economic diversification strategies or as a new driver for economic growth and development (Telfer & Sharpley, 2008).

An important paradigmatic shift that repositioned tourism into the social sciences mainstream was the 'cultural turn'.

In response to the rapid growth of the consumer society, the cultural turn emerged slowly in the 1980s and by the 1990s was having a significant effect

on scholarly perspectives within the humanities and the social sciences that resulted in a shift from the dominance of politics and economics to that of meaning and culture (Gill, 2012, p. 7).

Tourism was increasingly viewed as an integral component of economic and political development and no longer as an ephemeral activity outside of everyday life. In addition, over the past decade research in tourism studies has shown an increasing trend towards more theoretically informed application (Gill, 2012). It has been observed that current research in tourism geography is trying to keep abreast of accelerated transformations in the production and consumption of tourism and leisure that bring into play an array of niche tourism products, ranging from slum tourism to medical tourism. In fact, Lew (2015) recently recorded in excess of 130 types of tourism, not even including different spatial contexts. In analysing the different types of tourism in countless localities, geographers have played a central role. Many of these characteristics have been echoed, if rather belatedly, in South African tourism geography research.

For much of the previous century, tourism was not part of local academic or public discourse. In fact, it was only towards the 1970s that tourism started to find some sort of footing in national research circles. Academic interest in the South African tourism system during the apartheid period was typically focused on descriptive accounts of the white tourism resource base (Ferrario, 1977). In South African tourism scholarship, the first postgraduate engagement with tourism came from E. Muller's 1971 master's thesis in geography, titled *Tourism versus Land Use: A Geographical Study of the Lagoon Region George-Knysna*, completed at the former Rand Afrikaans University (now the University of Johannesburg). The first doctoral dissertation, titled *The South African Tourism Industry, Geographical Patterns and Influences on Regional Development*, was completed by J.N. Steyn in 1972 at Stellenbosch University. Muller's investigation pitted the value of deploying tourism as an economic activity against more traditional land uses, while Steyn investigated the tourism industry as a regional development driver. Ferrario's (1977) doctoral work at Berkeley in the United States of America proposed methodologies for evaluating tourism potential in South Africa. These themes pointed towards key issues in future South African tourism scholarship generally and tourism geography in particular – tourism as a developmental agent and/or alternative in various types of places.

The early history of tourism and tourism research in South Africa was not about development for South

Africa as a whole; “its focus has been the economics of white elite leisure” (Baskin, 1995, p. 114). The first peer-reviewed academic tourism geography paper, “Perspektief op die Suid-Afrikaanse toeristebedryf” (Perspective on the South African tourism industry), was published in the *South African Geographer* (Steyn, 1971). Generally, the discourse that developed implicitly focused on white leisure tourism; geographers such as Ferrario (1977, 1981, 1986a), Hugo (1975, 1980), Steyn (1972, 1976), Taylor (1975), Wilson (1992) as well as Wilson and Hattingh (1992) played an important role in establishing what might now be termed ‘tourism geography’. Most of this research typically had nature-based tourism and recreation products as investigatory focus.<sup>ii</sup> Despite a mainly white leisure tourism research focus and given the political context of the time, some of the most novel studies undertaken during the late apartheid period featured the first investigations into the black domestic leisure, recreation and tourism markets (for example, Ferrario, 1986b, 1987; 1988; Grobler, 1985; Magi, 1988, 1989a, 1989b, 1989c; Steyn, Wilson & Hattingh, 1992) and the use of tourism as a developmental tool in remote, underdeveloped homeland areas (Joubert, 1980). Other useful contributions related to the critical analyses of multinational hotel and casino developments under South Africa’s apartheid regime’s gambling legislation (Crush & Wellings, 1983; Rogerson, 1990).

Late- and immediately post-apartheid investigations focused mainly on exploring nature-based tourism as well as gauging the size of the domestic and international markets for such tourism products (Visser & Rogerson, 2004). Much of the pioneering South African tourism geography contributions must be understood as generally isolated works relative to mainstream geographical discourse, with no overarching theoretical or policy framework to bind them as a coherent statement concerning the potential and impacts, both conceptually or practically, for geography and other disciplines (Visser & Rogerson, 2004).

This institutional (both academic and policy) lacuna was finally addressed through the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1996) and *Tourism in GEAR: Tourism Development Strategy 1998–2000* (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1998). Other influential policy contributions that followed framed much of tourism geography scholarship, including the former Department of

Environmental Affairs and Tourism’s *Unblocking Delivery on Tourism Strategy by Government Departments* (2000), *Responsible Tourism Manual* (2002) and *Responsible Tourism Handbook: A Guide to Good Practice for Tourism Operators* (2003). Drawing on the notion of responsible tourism, these documents outlined the key policy foundations for developing the tourism industry. It was recognised that tourism is a key activity for national economic development and a crucial stimulus for achieving the developmental objectives of the South African government (Visser & Rogerson, 2004).

Against this backdrop, a small number of geographers and their research students set out on describing and analysing the South African tourism system as well as assessing its potential for achieving the policy objectives of the national government. This can be seen as a first phase in postapartheid tourism geography. Several research clusters emerged in terms of the changed post-1996 policy environment in South African tourism. These can be discussed in terms of the overarching themes of (1) studying the responses to and impacts of government intervention and of the shifting policy environment; (2) analysing a set of threats to the development of tourism in South Africa; and (3) demonstrating the sector’s potentially important role as an economic driver of the postapartheid economy. It was argued that in the international context, one of the most distinguishing aspects of the South African national tourism policy frameworks was their strong commitment towards tourism assuming a developmental role (Rogerson & Visser, 2004, 2007; Visser & Rogerson, 2004). More particularly, the tourism geographies of the late 1990s and early 2000s placed major emphasis upon employment creation and enterprise development in support of the country’s previously neglected communities. Among these objectives were strategies to develop niche markets in South Africa that would not only be globally competitive but would also provide opportunities for inclusion of communities disadvantaged under apartheid (Rogerson & Visser, 2011, 2014; Visser & Hoogendoorn, 2011).

## CONTEMPORARY ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISM GEOGRAPHY

A second phase of tourism geography has developed over the past decade. Many recent contributions reviewing this period of South African tourism (Hoogendoorn & Rogerson, 2015; Rogerson & Visser, 2011, 2014) detail the contours of local engagements with the tourism system. The aim here is merely to

<sup>ii</sup> Sufficient interest in nature-based tourism led to the establishment in 1993 of the Centre for Ecotourism in the geography department at the University of Pretoria.



provide a brief outline of the broad themes with which South African tourism geographers have engaged. It has been suggested that at the most general level, recent South African tourism geography scholarship focuses on four domains of investigation (Visser & Hoogendoorn, 2011). However, it is important to note that the main thrust of the earlier tourism geography has remained, with the key policy frameworks of the late 1990s and the objectives still relevant to the current tourism geography discourse. The four key themes that have attracted considerable investigatory attention concern responsible tourism, pro-poor tourism impacts, tourism as a vehicle for local economic development and the role of small, medium and micro enterprise development in the tourism sector (Hoogendoorn & Rogerson, 2015). The four themes have been addressed through two different types of investigation, namely (1) the location of the research investigation and (2) tourism products and new tourism niches.

### *Location of research*

In 2003, Visser highlighted that one of the most challenging issues concerning the South African tourism space economy was that it was highly uneven and consequently the potential extent of inclusive development was uneven as well. Subsequently, many studies have investigated this issue, leading Hoogendoorn and Rogerson (2015, p. 104) to observe that “at the national scale, considerable attention has been devoted by geographers to tourism policy issues and in exploring the unevenness of the tourism space economy”. These issues have been investigated in both rural (e.g. Brooks, Spierenberg, Van Brakel, Klok & LuLukhozi, 2011; Ferreira, 2011) and urban contexts (through the development of new types of tourism niche markets – see below). The most important locational aspect of current research is that the focus has shifted to tourism in South Africa’s urban places (Rogerson & Visser, 2014). This can partly be attributed to those places in which the tourism system has expanded most over the past decade.

The four themes of responsible tourism, pro-poor tourism impacts, tourism as a vehicle for local economic development and the role of small, medium and micro enterprise development were often overlooked in urban areas, but now that urban places are major focal points for tourism development, they have become a location of the majority of investigations (Rogerson, 2013a).

### *Tourism products and niches*

In current tourism geographies, a host of examples could be noted: game lodges and parks received much attention in the early 2000s (Hoogendoorn & Rogerson, 2015). The development of tourist accommodation such as second homes (Hoogendoorn & Visser, 2015; Visser & Hoogendoorn, 2015) and guest houses (Hoogendoorn, Grant & Fitchett, 2015) has seen sustained analysis. A welcome addition to this genre of literature has been hotels (Ferreira & Boshoff, 2014; Rogerson, 2013a, 2013b, 2013c; Rogerson & Sims, 2012). Further recent additions to tourist accommodation literature have been reflections on timeshare accommodation (Pandy & Rogerson, 2013a, 2013b).

New niches in recent tourism geography scholarship abound. There have been investigations into different forms of adventure tourism (Giddy & Webb, 2016; McKay, 2013), agri-tourism (Rogerson & Rogerson, 2014), fly-fishing (Hoogendoorn, 2014), birding (Rogerson, Simango & Rogerson, 2013), beer tourism (Rogerson & Collins, 2015a, 2015b, 2015c), food and wine tourism (Ferreira & Müller, 2013) spa tourism (Boekstein, 2014) and more broadly medical tourism (Dangor, Hoogendoorn & Moola, 2015). There has been renewed interest in established tourism niche festivals (Rogerson & Harmer, 2015), urban heritage and cultural tourism (Rogerson & Van der Merwe, 2016), battlefield (Van der Merwe, 2014) and business tourism (Rogerson, 2015a), conference tourism (Donaldson, 2013) as well as township and slum tourism (George & Booyens, 2014; Rogerson, 2014; Rogerson & Mthombeni, 2015), volunteer tourism (Rogerson & Slater, 2014), student tourism (Hamilton & Ferreira, 2013), Visiting Friends and Relations tourism (Rogerson, 2015b) and domestic tourism (Rogerson, 2015c) and have been highlighted as niches that require further attention. Other works dealing with conflict between host communities – both human and natural – and tourists have come to press (Jones & Lalley, 2013; Kgote & Kotze, 2013; Taru, Mukwada, Somerai & Chingombe, 2013). Other emerging themes relate to mining threatening tourism products (Leonard, 2016), whether or not tourism development is inclusive of host communities (Butler & Rogerson, 2016), the challenges of climate change for local economic development (Rogerson, 2016) and destination areas (Hoogendoorn et al., 2016).

The overarching point is that South African tourism geographers have been highly innovative and productive in investigating a range of new tourism products and niches that aim to demonstrate tourism’s relevance to a range of developmental objectives in diverse



spatial contexts. This common theme of how tourism acts or can act as an inclusive developmental agent is a feature that marks South African tourism geography as somewhat distinctive in international geography and tourism scholarship.

## SOUTH AFRICAN TOURISM GEOGRAPHY AND ISSUES GOING FORWARD

**T**he section reflects on some themes for consideration going forward as well as challenges that might hinder the future development of South African tourism geography.

Tourism geography has established itself at a number of South African university geography departments. Generally, tourism geography forms part of a broader human geography degree programme. The increasing number of researchers focusing on aspects of tourism geography has been highly productive. In contrast to Magi and Nzama's (2002) observation that tourism research in South Africa was not well developed at the start of the millennium, this field of inquiry has matured significantly over the past decade. Indeed, as reflected in recent reviews of South African tourism scholarship (Hoogendoorn & Rogerson, 2015; Rogerson & Visser, 2014), the bulk of completed work on the South African tourism system was conducted by geographers or authors who trained as geographers (viz. Butler, 2015, for international comparison). Arguably, tourism geography now constitutes the single largest subdisciplinary focus of published South African human geographical research. The work of tourism geographers has also come to dominate the local production of tourism knowledge as a whole.

Nevertheless, considerable investigatory terrain remains to be covered, shifting from established themes of interest to new issues concerning the impacts and challenges associated with tourism. Hoogendoorn and Rogerson (2015) suggest a number of new or transfigured themes for future investigation that are considerably elaborated upon here. Fields with potential for research are the conservation/biodiversity and tourism development nexuses. The guiding question is how tourism is impacting nature. Moreover, the ramifications of environmental/climate change on the South African tourism system requires attention, as does the undermining of nature-based tourism products through poaching of wildlife, with rhino poaching currently being the most prominent example. These types of investigations would be conducive to

cooperation between human and physical geographers (viz. Buckley, Gretzel, Scott, Weaver & Becken, 2015).

Innovation in tourism production and consumption is needed to consider existing but also new forms of nonleisure tourism (e.g. 'bleisure'); how these relate to domestic, regional and overseas tourist markets also requires attention. Now that urban tourism has established itself in a number of cities and towns as a viable and significant contributor to the economies of urban space, there is a need to engage more critically in the outcomes of this nexus. For example, tourism has often been deployed as a component of different forms of urban regeneration and renewal, with processes of gentrification in some instances the outcome around urban tourism nodes. A more critical discourse should be considered concerning not only who is included in these outcomes but also who (e.g. which cohort of people) and what (e.g. types of business or housing) are excluded. These issues can also be fruitfully explored in the rural context, particularly against the backdrop of the ongoing restructuring of the agricultural economy and the strengthening of the postproductivist countryside. These issues point towards the fact that despite great achievements economically and in other forms of development, much of the tourism system has not lived up to expectations.

The role of information technology and social media has largely been overlooked in local scholarship. The impact of Airbnb, Tripadvisor, Facebook and Instagram on tourism products and niche development requires urgent attention. A related issue would be investigating platforms such as Uber in providing far greater access to urban tourism sites and services, which points towards a far larger investigatory oversight.

Despite tourism being premised on the notion of interplace mobility, the modes of transport by which such mobility is achieved have largely been neglected. This omission provides considerable research potential involving all the different domestic, regional and overseas tourist types. In addition, recent events concerning visa control have opened up another investigatory frontier: the role of contradictions in the different government policy ambitions, their implementation, and the development and maintenance of the South African tourism system all require critical reflection. These issues extend to mining rights allocations in high-amenity-value areas, including all manner of tourism product types, and to local issues such as the lack of municipal service delivery and its role in tourism potential, expansion or destruction.

Furthermore, many of the current South African tourism geographies are characterised by a 'present-

mindedness' and superficiality refusing deep, grounded or sustained historical analysis. As Butler (2015), Towner (1995) and Walton (2009) point out, across tourism studies as a whole, we know remarkably little about the history of recreation, leisure and tourism. This would be of equal importance for South African leisure and tourism geographers.

Finally, there are issues that potentially challenge the contribution that tourism geography can make towards broader tourism scholarship and geographical discourse. As seen internationally (Ashworth & Page, 2011; Butler, 2015; Hall & Page, 2014), the study of tourism has recently started to shift from a strong presence in geography departments into other disciplines. There has been the development of degree programmes in subsections, units or centres, mostly within business and management departments. Although geographers have played a key role in establishing the academic analysis of the South African tourism system, the discipline's relative position as a vantage point from which knowledge is produced is starting to decrease (Visser, 2016). The focus of the kind of tourism knowledge produced is increasingly postdisciplinary (Gill, 2012). In South Africa, this drift from geography was first registered at universities such as North-West, Pretoria and Zululand (Visser, 2016). At these and a range of newly minted universities of technology, independent programmes developed, often led by former geographers but established outside geography departments as institutional and disciplinary homes (see Coles, 2009). This is partly owing to the fact that the first stages of describing and analysing different tourism products and their development potential have largely been completed. As the tourism system matures, the focus seems to have shifted towards the macro- and micro-management of the tourism system and its constitutive parts, which for the most part fall outside the core focus of tourism geography. Moreover, as is the case internationally, students interested in tourism can now follow dedicated tourism degree programmes from the undergraduate level onwards (Coles, 2009; Gill, 2012).

With respect to the tourism geography discourse, perhaps one of the failures of this rich scholarship is the inability of other branches of geography to truly acknowledge the immense impact that tourism has at various types of cultural, economic, environmental and social interfaces on the rural and urban geographies of South Africa (see Ashworth & Page, 2011; Butler, 2015; and Gill, 2012 for examples of similar concerns in other contexts). As seen elsewhere (Gill, 2012), the bulk of South Africa's tourism geographers have often published

their work not in mainstream geography journals but in mainstream interdisciplinary or dedicated tourism journals. Two issues have been at play in this regard. First, mainstream geography journals, particularly leading international ones, seemingly do not appreciate the extraordinary reach and impact of the tourism system as it relates to the focus of the myriad geographical subdisciplines (Gill, 2012). Second, tourism geographers are perhaps not framing their work in the appropriate language and discourse, and the tourism system's relevance to 'current' issues in other geographical subdisciplines such as cultural, economic, social and urban geography is not clear (Ashworth & Page, 2011).

## CONCLUSION

As was the case internationally, the systematic study of the South African tourism system is recent (for counterargument see Butler, 2015). The main thrust in tourism scholarship would only come during the late 1990s and early in the 2000s. South African tourism geographers are small in number but have generated a very substantial body of research focusing on a diverse set of tourism products in an array of locations. One of the distinctive features of the work is that unlike most developing world countries in which tourism geographies are nature based, urban-based tourism products and their various associated impacts have been the main focus. Moreover, South African tourism geographers have played a central role in the establishment and the development of a local discourse that is policy relevant and framed by the idea that tourism should act as an inclusive economic driver and agent for broader developmental outcomes. In this regard, South African tourism geography scholarship has developed a further distinction from many others – the strong emphasis on the developmental transformative power of the tourism system across space and time. Looking forward, a number of new research paths have been suggested and a few potential threats to the further development of South African tourism geography have been highlighted.

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