A History of Tourism, Leisure and Adventure in the Antarctic and Sub-Antarctic, c.1895 to Present

by
Wouter Pierre Hanekom

Thesis presented in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of History in the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at Stellenbosch University

Supervisor: Prof Sandra Scott Swart

April 2014

Plagiarism Declaration

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that the reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe on any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Signature:

Date:

Abstract

This thesis deals with the nature and historical development of tourism and leisure activities that have been conducted within the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic regions from 1895 to present. First, it traces the brief history of human involvement with the Antarctic continent, which culminated in a surge of ostensibly scientific exploration with jingoistic overtones which has become widely known as the 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic exploration. These explorers' adventures, taken up by the popular press and promoted by jingoistic governments, popularised a particular conception of the continent to the point where people imagined going to see it for themselves, vicariously reliving their heroes' adventures in the form of tourism. The rise of formal governance on the Antarctic is then traced and used to explain how this provided for regular tourist activities to commence since the mid-1960s. The changing nature of tourism to the region is surveyed, as well as its impact on the environment. Finally, Marion Island, South Africa's Sub-Antarctic Island, is discussed through the lens of tourism and leisure. Tourism has not been permitted on the island, so it offers a useful comparison with other sub-Antarctic islands that do allow tourists to visit. The thesis also deals with masculinity, as the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic were male dominated environments for the majority of human interaction with these regions. The thesis argues that the accumulation of knowledge in these areas by scientists has (perhaps counter-intuitively) led to the creation of the tourism industry, which would not have been able to flourish without the constant human presence secured by the scientific bases scattered around the Antarctic. Finally, this thesis offers a form of auto-ethnographic historical investigation, as an insider/outsider dichotomy (between "scientist" and "tourist") was explored through embedded research, where scientists and support personnel are viewed as insiders on the one hand, and tourists are regarded as outsiders on the other.

Opsomming

Hierdie tesis handel oor die aard en historiese ontwikkeling van toerisme en ontspannings aktiwiteite wat binne die Antarktiese en sub-Antarktiese gebiede onderneem is vanaf 1895 tot die hede. Dit behandel eerstens die kort geskiedenis van menslike betrokkenheid op die Antarktiese vasteland, wat uitgeloop het op 'n oplewing van oënskynlik wetenskaplike eksplorasie met nasionalistiese konnotasies wat wyd bekend geword het as die ‘Helde Era’ van Antarktiese verkenning. Hierdie ontdekkingsreisigers se avonture, soos weerspieël in die populêre pers en bevorder deur nasionalistiese regerings, het 'n bepaalde opvatting van die vasteland gewild gemaak. Soveel so dat dit mense beweeg het om as toeriste die gebied te besoek en op die wyse hul helde se avonture te herleef in die vorm van toerisme. Die opkoms van die formele beheer van die Antarktiese vasteland word dan nagespeur en gebruik om aan te dui hoe dit teen die middel 1960’s tot aktiewe toerisme in die gebied aanleiding gegee het. Die veranderende aard van toerisme na die streek, sowel as die impak daarvan op die omgewing word ondersoek. Ten slotte, word Marion Island, Suid-Afrika se Sub-Antarktiese eiland bespreek deur die lens van toerisme en ontspanning. Toerisme word nie op die eiland toegelaat nie, wat hom leun tot 'n nuttige vergelyking met ander sub-Antarktiese eilande wat wel toerisme toelaat. Aangesien die meerderheid van die menslike interaksie met Antarktieka en die sub-Antarktiese eilande deur mans gedomineer is, handel die tesis ook oor manlikheid. Die tesis argumenteer dat die opbou van kennis in hierdie gebiede deur wetenskaplikes (miskien teen-intuïtief) gelei het tot die skepping van die toerisme-bedryf, wat nie in staat sou gewees het om te floreer sonder die konstante menslike teenwoordigheid, wat deur die wetenskaplike basisse versprei oor die Antarktieka verskaf is nie. Ten slotte, bied hierdie tesis 'n vorm van ń etnografiese historiese ondersoek in die vorm van ń binnestaander / buitestaander teenstelling (tussen "wetenskaplike" en "toeris"), waar wetenskaplikes en ondersteunings personeel as binnestaanders, en toeriste, as buitestaanders beskou word.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to express my undying gratitude to my supervisor, Prof Sandra Swart. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without her patience, guidance, academic prowess and inspiration. Also, I would like to thank the members of our department's post-graduate research group, History Friday Mornings or HFM, for their valuable insights and comments on various chapters throughout the writing process. Your support has meant a great deal! HFM was founded by Prof Swart in 2010, and has been a valuable platform for its members to bounce ideas off one another. Our little discourse community can serve as an example for other history departments within Southern Africa to promote invigorating historical discussions and scholarship.

I would also like to thank all the lecturers in the History Department of Stellenbosch University for their support and interest in my work, and the valuable lessons they have taught me in the field of history since my Honour's year. They are Professors Grundlingh and Nasson, Doctors Ehlers and Visser. Also, thanks to Dr. Sarah Duff, Schalk van der Merwe, Chet Fransch and Glen Thompson for their support and advice. To Leschelle Morkel and Melvin Daniels, your friendly assistance through my years at the History Department it greatly appreciated.

A special thanks to Dr. Lize-Marie van der Watt, who did her PhD on Antarctica, for reviewing some of my work, as well as forwarding any sources that apply to my thesis. Dora Scott, former researcher for the Antarctic Legacy Project, your help navigating the online archive is appreciated. Your guidance was instrumental in the completion of this thesis. Thank you to Evert Kleynhans from the SANDF archive and Niels Muller from the DIRCO archives for their friendly assistance. To Mr. Gibbs, curator of the Pretoria Boys High School Museum, your assistance in helping me finding some rare finds, as well as the private tour meant a great deal.

I am grateful to the National Research Foundation for funding this project under the Antarctic Legacy Project. I sincerely hope that others could also be as privileged to work on Antarctica and Marion Island. There is still a lot of work to be done on tracing South Africa's involvement with these very special places. To John Cooper, without whom I would not have been able to travel to Marion Island, your friendship and inexhaustible knowledge on the Prince Edward Islands has made the writing of the Chapter on Marion Island a much less daunting task. The eleven day round-island trip that we undertook on Marion Island is a memory I will

cherish forever. Also, to everyone who were involved in the M68/M69 takeover, thank you for the most unforgettable experience of my life.

To my parents, Eric and Polla, your love and encouragement in my studies never failed to inspire me. Thanks also to my brother Theuns and sister Adéle for their support. To all my friends, you know who you are, appreciations. Last, but certainly not least, to my girlfriend, colleague and partner, Anri Delport, your sympathetic ear, invaluable insights have helped me immeasurably in completing this thesis. Thank you for holding my hand in the darkest of times, for all the coffee you fed me in the latter stages of completing my thesis, and never failing to believe in me.

Table of Contents

Table of Figures

List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

ALP	-	Antarctic Legacy Project
ASOC	-	Antarctic and Southern Ocean Coalition
ATCM	-	Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings
ATCP	-	Antarctic Treaty Consultative Parties
ATS	-	Antarctic Treaty System
BAS	-	British Antarctic Survey
CCAMLR	-	Convention on the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources
CIB	-	Centre for Invasion Biology
CRAMRA	-	Convention on the Regulation of the Antarctic Mineral Resource Activities
CRO	-	Commonwealth Relations Office
CSIR	-	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
CTAE	-	Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition
EIA	-	Environmental Impact Assessment
FID	-	Falkland Islands Dependencies
FIDS	-	Falkland Islands Dependencies Survey
HMS	-	Her/His Majesty's Ship
HMSAS	-	Her/His Majesty's South African Ship
ICSU	-	International Council of Scientific Unions
IGY	-	International Geophysical Year
IPY	-	International Polar Year
NP	-	National Party
NGO	-	Non-Governmental Organization
NRF	-	National Research Foundation
SACAR	-	South African Committee for Antarctic Research
SANAE	-	South African National Antarctic Expedition
SANAP	-	South African National Antarctic Programme
SCAR	-	Special (later Scientific) Committee on Antarctic Research
US	-	United States
USA	-	United States of America
USSR	-	Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics
WWII	-	World War Two

Chapter 1:

Introduction and Literature Review

Known as 'the last great wilderness', Antarctica had continued to capture the imagination of travellers since the late nineteenth century. Built on numerous expeditions that sought to conquer the last continent to be explored by humankind and with the holy grail, to reach the 'South pole', the first two decades of the twentieth century are remembered as the 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic exploration.[1] Undeniably cold and desolate, the Antarctic environment has been viewed in two distinct, yet differing ways: either as 'undesirable' or with a sense of romanticised awe. The former view depicts Antarctica as the coldest, windiest, driest, least accessible, and generally the most unpleasant of all the seven continents.[2] Captain Robert Falcon Scott, who died with his team on 17 January 1912 after becoming the second man to reach the pole, wrote in his diary: "Great God! This is an awful place".[3] The latter, more optimistic point of view, describes the Antarctic region as an unpolluted wildlife sanctuary dedicated to free scientific inquiry and international cooperation. It also celebrates a region free of weapons and military conflict, due in large part to the unique treaty which has governed human presence in the region since 1959, namely the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS). These views on Antarctica will be examined and explained. Antarctica has a relatively brief human history, the first landing on the continent having taken place in 1885 by a Norwegian whaling expedition.[4] However, it has been actively visited, discussed and studied on a global scale since the end of the nineteenth-century.

The aim of this thesis is to trace the history of "non-scientific" and non-military human involvement in the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic from the period that came to be known as the 'Heroic Age' to that of the modern era and in particular, the rise of tourism and leisure activities. However, it will make reference, quite extensively, to scientific research and researchers, as one cannot write a history on Antarctica or the sub-Antarctic without placing it in relation to science. However, the early tales of 'scientific discovery' are not devoid of adventure and leisure pursuits, as these early explorers and scientists did indeed practise leisure

[1] T. Griffiths: *Slicing the Silence: Voyaging to Antarctica* (New South Wales, New South Books, 2007), 11.
[2] P.H.C. Lucas: 'International Agreement on Conserving the Antarctic Environment', *Ambio*, 11, 5 (1982), 292.
[3] M.J. Landis: *Antarctica: Exploring the Extreme, 400 Years of Adventure*, Kindle edition, location 1995.
[4] Lucas: 'International Agreement on Conserving the Antarctic Environment', 292.

activities. The thesis will ask whether and how the so-called 'Heroic Age' ignited interest and fascination within the wider global population. It prompts the question of whether tourism originated as an expected progression from the convergence of increased contact with the Antarctic, coupled with improved technology, and the rise of tourism in the post-World War II era. Although isolated by its geographical position, this thesis will investigate whether occurrences in global politics have had a direct impact on the continent.

Furthermore, a greater understanding of tourism and the manner in which it is governed is explained through using the rise of the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), the collection of organisations that are responsible for governing Antarctica, as a lens through which increased knowledge and contact with the continent had stimulated public opinion and knowledge on the last continent to be explored, which would inspire people to travel there to see it for themselves. This thesis seeks to illuminate how the Antarctic environment is perceived by humans, as well as the impact they have on the environment, and *vice versa*. The relationship of humans to their physical environment is not merely incidental, as viewed through the lens of environmental history, but rather central to our understanding of human history itself.[5]

Finally, the history of human interaction with the Prince Edward Islands (PEIs), which consist of Marion and Prince Edward islands, is scrutinised, placing emphasis on the islands through a South African perspective, from annexation of the islands in 1948 to the present. This thesis also explains why there is no tourism allowed on the islands and compares the PEIs with other sub-Antarctic islands that do allow tourism. Furthermore, the leisure activities practised by the team members who visit the island for 13 months at a time will be surveyed, as well as the changing role of human interactions with the isolated environment of Marion Island.

This thesis is the first to look at leisured and tourist activities in the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic regions from the South African perspective. More than fifty years after the signing of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959, South Africa is still the only country on the African continent that is a signatory and member of the Antarctic Treaty. Leisure studies in general in South Africa has been largely absent until relatively recently, and therefore this thesis attempts to probe the lacuna in scholarship, which holds promising possibilities for future study.

[5] M.V. Melosi: "Mainstream Environmental History" in K. Coulter and C. Mauch (eds): *The Future of Environmental History*: *Needs and Opportunities*, 33.

Literature Review

Writing a history thesis on the continent with the briefest human history and with no indigenous human population or national identity seemed a daunting task at first. Especially when one considers that this thesis is written from the South African perspective, with a scarcity of secondary sources from which to draw, it seemed even more daunting. With the only semi-permanent human inhabitants being scientists, it is only logical that the majority of literature dealing with the Antarctic reside within the 'hard sciences'. However, the continent has not been ignored by the 'social sciences'. Researching human involvement with the region within the social sciences tends to be multi-disciplinary as well as transnational, especially when one considers the number of countries that have a stake in the continent through their involvement with the Antarctic Treaty (AT). The aim of this literature review is to orientate the thesis within current historiography rather than to give an extensive account of that historiography. There has been a surge of historical writing on the continent in the last few decades which were inspired by the centenary of what has become known as the 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic exploration, especially works reflecting on 'heroes' such as Robert Falcon Scott and Roald Amundsen, who were the leaders of the first two expeditions to reach the South Pole.

There are a number of diaries written by the explorers of the heroic age, which have subsequently been published and serve as a valuable insight into their experiences. Following the half-centenary and centenary after their expeditions, their diaries have been republished.[6] Also, a plethora of books have been published on the so-called 'Race to the South Pole', about Scott and Amundsen's expeditions, which have either destroyed or rebuilt the reputations of these two explorers. The most prolific and thought-provoking work in this regard was produced by Roland Huntford in 1979 and 1985.[7] His *Scott and Amundsen* book juxtaposed the two most famous of Antarctic explorers by famously destroying Scott's long-standing reputation as a British hero and elevating Amundsen's leadership skills and practical use of sledge-dogs as the ultimate Antarctic explorer. Scott, who had held an iconic heroic status since his death in the

[6] See for example: R.F. Scott: *Scott's Last Expedition: The Journals of Captain RF Scott* (London, Beacon Press, 1957). Scott could obviously not publish this himself, as he and his team perished on their return journey from the pole, only 11 miles from safety. See also, E.H. Shackleton: *South! The Story of Shackleton's Last Expedition 1914-1917* (Dogma, 2013); A. Cherry-Garrard: *The Worst Journey in the World: Antarctica, 1910- 1913* (Skyhorse Publishing Inc., 2013); D. Mawson: *Mawson's Antarctic Diaries* E. Jacka and F. Jacka (eds) (Allen and Unwin, 1988); R. Amundsen: *The South Pole* (Oranienborg, R. Amundsen, 1912) (Translated by A.G. Carter).

[7] R. Huntford: *Scott and Amundsen: The Last Place on Earth* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979) and R. Huntford: *Shackleton* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1985).

Antarctic up until Huntford's book, had been used as an example of true British heroism and masculinity in dire times such as the two World Wars. However, Huntford's work had probed every aspect of Scott's character, leadership skills and decisions to the extent of debunking his heroic status, while celebrating Amundsen's. Huntford also revisited Shackleton's Transantarctic expedition, and heralded Shackleton as a true example of a masculine British hero, despite not completing the expedition due to their ship being crushed in the pack ice, but ensuring his entire crew's safety by a daring rescue attempt, by sailing on a small rowing boat 1,300 kilometres from Elephant Island to South Georgia. Huntford's 1979 book also led to the filming of a television mini-series, *The Last Place on Earth*, in 1985 which was broadcasted mainly in Europe and the United States.[8] The series was based on Huntford's book, and starred a range of British and Norwegian character actors re-enacting the two respective expeditions. Like Huntford's book, the point of view was put forth that Amundsen's success was attributed by far superior planning, whereas Scott's reliance on man-hauling instead of sled dogs ultimately resulted in the death of him and his companions.

Scott's reputation was in turn defended by authors such as Solomon and Fiennes.[9] Solomon defended Scott by explaining that an unforeseen change in the weather and the infamous 'blizzard' were to blame for Scott and his team's death. Thus, the environment was to blame for the polar party's death and not Scott's tactics. Ranulph Fiennes whole-heartedly defended Scott with some authority. Fiennes has a great deal of polar experience. He was the first to traverse the Antarctic unsupported in 1992, along with Dr Mike Stoud and is also the first person to reach both poles by surface means. Fiennes argues that Scott was unfairly dealt with by Huntford, especially if one considers that Huntford had never set foot in Antarctica and does not have any comprehension with regards to the effects of cold temperatures on ones decision-making processes. The purpose of this thesis, however, is not to pass judgement on any explorer or expedition within the period known as the 'Heroic Age'. Rather, it will postulate that the early explorers of Antarctica and their subsequent published diaries have popularised the continent to the point of travellers being willing to travel there themselves. This is evident in the marketing of tours to the Antarctic. Almost all travel brochures pertaining to the region mention the 'Heroic Age' or some of its 'Heroes', alluding to the fact that one can

[8] T. Griffiths: *The Last Place on Earth*. Television Series. Directed and written by T. Griffiths (London, Central Independent Television, 1985).
[9] S. Solomon: *The Coldest March: Scott's Fatal Antarctic Expedition* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2001); and R. Fiennes: *Captain Scott* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 2003).

follow in the footsteps of these explorers. Some of these diaries have been published numerous times over the last century, suggesting that there is a market for 'heroes'.

Although little is written by historians, there is no lack of secondary sources relating to Antarctic governance and tourism to the region.[10] The continent had been subject to a formal governance regime since 1959 under the Antarctic Treaty, of which South Africa was one of the original signatories. These sources stem from a variety of scholarly disciplines, ranging from international law, environmental studies, geographical studies, psychology, history, tourism studies and the hard sciences. There are also two dedicated journals that deal with the polar environments, namely the *Polar Record* and the *Polar Journal.* Polar history, however, has not yet become established as a subfield of history, although extensive research has been done on the poles in other sub-disciplines such as tourism history and socio-environmental history, in which this thesis is located. However, only a small number of sources relating to Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic by South Africans has been produced.[11]

Sources and Methodology

This thesis is positioned within the field of socio-environmental history as well as the history of tourism and leisure, given the intimate relationship between the environment and tourism. Tourism development and the use of an area generate environmental impacts, and it is essential that these relationships be understood in order to plan, develop and manage the resources concerned adequately.[12] Current debates around sustainable development (tourism), environmental change, heritage and conservation also merit a study of the history of Antarctica from the perspective of tourism studies.

As a critical history this study would add to South African historiography by offering a view of the past that includes tourism to Antarctica and the leisure activities conducted within it as an under-researched area of historical study, especially in the South African context. Also,

[10] See for example: P.H.C. Lucas: 'International Agreement on Conserving the Antarctic Environment', *Ambio*, 11, 5 (1982), 292-295; P.J. Beck: *The International Politics of Antarctica* (London, Croom Helm, 1986); K. Dodds: *Pink Ice: Britain and the South Atlantic Empire* (London: I.B Tauris, 2002); C.C. Joyner: *Governing the Frozen Commons: The Antarctic Regime and Environmental Protection* (Colombia, University of South Carolina Press, 1998); P.A Berkman, M.A. Lang, D.W.H. Walton and O.R. Young (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011); and J. Vogler: *The Global Commons: Environmental and Technological Governance* (J. Wiley and Sons, 2000).

[11] S.M.E. van der Watt: 'Out in the Cold: Science and the Environment in South Africa's Involvement in the Sub-Antarctic and Antarctic in the Twentieth Century' (PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2012); T.J.M. Rousset: '"Might is Right": A Study of the Cape Town/Crozets Elephant Seal Oil Trade (1832-1869)' (Masters Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2011).

[12] L.J. Lickorish and C.L. Jenkins: *An Introduction to Tourism* (Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann, 1997), 86.

South Africa's sub-Antarctic Marion Island will be examined with regard to its human history and how leisure activities are pursued on the island. The study would furthermore provide a new contribution to the disciple of socio-environmental history by fusing the realms of tourism as well as environmental history, which is fitting as eco-tourism has become ever more prevalent in contemporary tourist trends.

This thesis makes extensive use of an array of sources, including oral interviews, archival sources, and secondary sources produced on Antarctica, tourism, environmental history, governance and technology. As far as the feasibility of the research is concerned, the candidate holds a scholarship linked to the NRF-funded *Antarctic Legacy Project,* which is administered by the DST-NRF Centre of Excellence for Invasion Biology (CIB).

With regard to sources pertaining to the Antarctic, there is a wealth of sources available, as social science research on the Antarctic has been ignited recently by several coinciding factors. One of these factors includes the centenary of the various expeditions to Antarctica during the 'Heroic Age', most notably the centenary of the conquering of the South Pole, by Amundsen and Scott. One often finds that histories of particular events are revisited and reinterpreted once they approach their centenary years. The fascination that people have with the commemoration of historical events at centennial celebrations has become known as the 'cult of the centenary'.[13] Another factor includes the issue of global warming, and Antarctica as a form of 'last chance' tourism. In other words, to visit the continent before the ice melts, which is an exaggerated view, but it is prevalent in marketing strategies. Lastly, the rise of tourism studies and historical work done on tourism, it was only a matter of time before these academics cast their gaze southward, to the last continent to be subjected to tourism. Writings on Antarctica tourism have particularly escalated since the mid-1990s, with the dramatic increase of tourism in Antarctica.

Archives

The archival research conducted for this thesis was a blend of the 'old school' manner of historical research, as well as the useful new online supplementary archives. The Antarctic Legacy Project (ALP) had two mandates, one being undertaken by the University of Cape Town (UCT), and the other by the University of Stellenbosch (US). UCT was charged with digitising all the archival documents that deal with South Africa's involvement with Antarctica

[13] See R. Quinault: 'The Cult of the Centenary', *Historical Research*, 71, 176 (October 1998), 303-323; and W.P. Hanekom: 'The Simon van der Stel Festival: Constructing Heritage and the Politics of Pageantry', *Historia*, 58, 2 (November 2013), 22.

and the sub-Antarctic, while US was responsible for collecting relevant information from people's private collections that have visited these places. The US wing of the ALP conducted many oral interviews, scanned people's personal photographs and diaries so as to create an online archive dedicated to telling (and showing) people's experiences with the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic.

There are numerous archival documents relating to South Africa and the Antarctic, although finding these in certain archive repositories requires extensive digging. The majority of these can be found at the South African National Archives, the South African National Defence Force (SANDF) archives as well as the Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO) archives, all located in Pretoria. The author could only find two documents in the Cape Town Archives Repository (KAB). Most documents housed in this repository only deal with the years prior to the formation of Union in 1910. The four colonies that came to form South Africa were far more interested in each other than casting their gaze southwards. The archival material procured by the author were instrumental in shaping a dialogue on the Antarctic and the Prince Edward Islands, as very little secondary sources comment on South Africa's involvement with the region.

Visiting Marion Island

The author travelled to Marion Island on the M68/69 take-over voyage from 12 April to 18 May 2012.[14] This was to be a historic voyage, as it was the final time that the *SA Agulhas* would travel to Marion Island, or indeed South Africa's other bases in Antarctica and Gough Island, under the auspices of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT). The departure from the Cape Town Harbour included much 'pomp and ceremony', and was a fitting send off for a ship that had served South African interests in Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic for more than thirty years. My voyage was made possible by the South African National Antarctic Programme (SANAP) and the National Research Foundation (NRF), who funded this thesis, and the Centre for Excellence in Invasion Biology (CIB), to whom I am forever grateful for allowing me to have the most unforgettable experience of my life, quite aide from opening windows into the understanding of the history of polar tourism that would have been otherwise unattainable. As historian Adrian Howkins wrote, 'by the simple act of going to the

[14] M68/69 refers to the scientific teams that over-winter on the island, in this case the sixty-eighth and sixty-ninth teams to do so.

places we write about, we are presumed to have a certain authority over them'.[15] This proved true, as the voyage to Marion Island gave me invaluable insights and first-hand experiences that are difficult to access through either academic or popular writing. For instance, one can read about people's experiences through freezing temperatures or walking though katabatic winds from the comfort of your home, office desk or even poolside, but the sensory experience is totally lost in any written form of transmission. One memory that will never escape me is walking from Grey-Headed Albatross Ridge hut back to base for six-and-a-half hours with an average wind speed of one hundred kilometres an hour reaching a maximum of almost two hundred kilometres an hour. Such an experience gives a visceral understanding to the term 'roaring forties', permitting a clearer understanding of the environment.[16] It also opened doors in oral interviews and understandings of life on Marion Island. The voyage put me in touch with people who have frequented the island for over thirty years, and afforded me invaluable insights into what Marion Island means to the people who study it. Within any ethnographic study, strong emphasis is placed on exploring the nature of particular social phenomenon, instead of setting out to test hypotheses about them. Furthermore, the analysis of data that involves categorical interpretation of the meanings and functions of human actions, the product of which mainly takes the form of verbal descriptions and explanations. Therefore, any ethnographic study can prove to be far more revealing of the reality of a society. Moreover, in a sense all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being a part of it.[17]

Experiencing a 'round-island' is the 'ultimate' experience one can have on Marion Island, a kind of 'rite of passage'. Once being round the island, you get a sense of being inducted into a secret society. You get to experience everything the island can throw at you, something that only a few selected people with the appropriate permits can experience. Famously, or infamously, some people who have over-wintered on Marion Island have never set foot off the catwalks around the base. A 'round-island' on Marion is without a doubt the most physically, and perhaps mentally, exhausting hiking route in South Africa, although no

[15] A. Howkins: '"Have you been there?" Some Thoughts on (not) Visiting Antarctica', *Environmental History*, 15 (July 2010), 515.
[16] The 'roaring forties' refers to the belt around the globe stretching from 40 to 50 degrees south of the Equator, in which Marion island resides at 46 degrees south.
[17] P. Atkinson and M. Hammersley: 'Ethnography and Participant Observation' in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds): *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London, Sage, 1994), 248-249.

amount of money can afford you the experience as a tourist. John Cooper[18] and I walked around Marion Island counter-clockwise from 22 April to 2 May in 1912, through weather that could only be described as abysmal. As Donald Worster once noted, 'it is time we bought a good set of walking shoes, and we cannot avoid getting some mud on them.'[19] We certainly followed this advice, although we had steel-reinforced gumboots instead of walking shoes. I unwittingly bought a new pair of hiking boots before my voyage to Marion, only to be derided by fellow passengers telling me that they would not last a 'round-island'. This was to initiate an understanding of vernacular knowledge and insider/outsider group dynamics that helped inform my theoretical understanding of this project. Fortunately DEAT did supply us with the gumboots necessary for such an endeavour. The round-island proved to be a most rewarding experience with regard to learning about the history of the Island and about the environmental regulations, about which Cooper has written extensively.

Structure and Chapters

The structure of this thesis is predicated on its core concern with the different ways in which humankind had interacted with the Antarctic. Although some of the time-periods overlap, they are in roughly chronological order to highlight how the continent was perceived by its alien human occupants and stakeholders over time. Chapters two to four follow a chronological path, while Chapter five which offers an overview from 1948, when South Africa annexed the Prince Edward Islands (PEIs) to the present, in order to offer an in depth case-study.

[18] John Cooper is a world famous ornithologist, now retired, who specialised in Albatrosses, particularly on Marion Island, which host the largest breeding population of Wandering Albatrosses in the world. He has travelled to Marion Island more than 35 times and has published numerous historical works on the Island as a non-guild historian.

[19] D. Worster: 'Appendix: Doing Environmental History', in D. Worster (ed.): *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988), 289.

Figure 1: Photo of author with inquisitive king penguin, taken by Karl Loots at Ship's Cove, Marion Island (19 April 2012).

Source: (WP Hanekom Private Photo collection)

Chapter two reviews the 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic exploration. Although much has been written about this episode of Antarctic History, very little work has been done linking the so-called 'Heroic Age' to modern day tourism in the region. The Heroic Age will be argued to have been the springboard from which public interest was garnered for Antarctica, and thus, the eventual willingness to travel to what is the most isolated continent on the planet. In fact at the height of the heroic age, when Scott and Amundsen were on their way to the Antarctic to race for the South Pole in 1910, the first mention was made of a possible tourist vessel travelling to the frozen continent. However, it is not until 1958 that the first seaborne tourist vessel travels to Antarctica, and regular trips only commence from 1966 onwards. The reasons for this delay will be examined, along with a brief history of the first Antarctic explorers who served as the first ambassadors for the 'last great wilderness' on Earth.

Chapter three traces the history of governance in the Antarctic region. An overview of various institutions which effectively govern all human activities on the Antarctic. The

Antarctic Treaty System (ATS) will first be examined, as it serves as the main international body which has the final say in what policies and activities are to be pursued on the frozen continent. The Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research will also be scrutinized, which serves as an advisory body on all matters that deal with Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic islands. This chapter will probe the effectiveness of the abovementioned organisations as well as any policies and protocols which they endorse.

Chapter four survey various tourist and leisure activities that are conducted in Antarctica and Marion Island in particular as it is South Africa's only annexed territory within the greater Antarctic region. It will show a definite change over time in the range of activities, which is strongly aligned with the change of technology. Also, statistics on the growth of tourist numbers to the region and possible reasons that explain the various stages of sporadic growth will be examined. Both the benefits and the drawbacks that tourism has on the Antarctic environment. On the surface, it appears that tourism could only be viewed pessimistically by environmentalists. However, this thesis will test historically the hypothesis that the rise of tourism in the area has had some positive outcomes. One example includes the 'cleaning up' on the part of research stations, such as the immediate area surrounding the American McMurdo base which was in an appalling condition until regular tourist visits to the area.

Chapter five investigates the history of human involvement with the Prince Edward Islands (PEIs) with particular focus on Marion Island, the larger of the two islands, which is the only one occupied by humans. The chapter will firstly give an overview of human involvement before annexation by South Africa in 1948. This section provides context to the limited contact that the island has had with humankind before effective occupation by South Africa. The chapter seeks to describe leisure activities pursued by the research base staff, something which has not been written on. Furthermore, Marion Island, which does not permit tourism, is compared to other sub-Antarctic islands that accommodate tourism. Finally, chapter six serves as the conclusion, which reviews the arguments put forth in the thesis. Also, it proposes three possible directions of future study that could be conducted within the realm of Antarctic and sub-Antarctic history.

Chapter 2: Ego-tourism? The 'Age of Heroes' and the Creation of an Antarctic Tourism Industry, c. 1895-1917

> The ice was here, the ice was there, The ice was all around;
> It cracked and growled, and roared and howled, Like noises
> In a swound![20]

Until the late nineteenth century, the Antarctic continent had been as remote as the moon. In fact, it is part of the public mythology that even today large tracts of the moon are better known than Antarctica. Polar explorers were the astronauts of their day, literally stepping off the edge of the map and into the unknown, racing each other for their nation's honour. Thus, the period which came to be labelled the 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic exploration could be regarded as an Edwardian 'space race'.[21] The term 'Heroic Age' was coined shortly after it transpired by the British, following the perceived heroic deeds by Scott and Shackleton. There seemed to be an increasing and pressing need to know the unknown and to know it *first*. This period was the twilight of High Imperialism, which had witnessed a scramble by European powers to colonise and conquer by proxy rival western powers doing so. The Antarctic would prove to be iconic as both the public and scientists of this period manifested a hunger to inscribe cultural meaning onto this piece of land that seemed in some sense a *terra nullis*.[22] Antarctica, unlike any other continent on Earth, had no human inhabitants until it was 'colonised' by outside powers. Yet, it was not the *tabula rasa* it may have at first appeared, in the sense that the continent had been theorised and mythologised in the human imagination more than two millennia before it was even seen. Instead, it offered a space to project ideologies of heroism to foment national jingoism in a period of peace.

This chapter examines this fundamental era as it fashioned an enduring western understanding of Antarctica as a place for heroes. It will trace modern global tourism's links to this era in two ways: through its history and marketing. This so-called (and highly

[20] S.T. Coleridge: 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner', *The Lyrical Ballads* (Bristol: 1798).
[21] BBC Time Shift Documentary, 'Antarctica: Of Ice and Men', 2011.
[22] BBC Time Shift Documentary, 'Antarctica: Of Ice and Men', 2011.

commodified, as this chapter will argue) "Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration" saw various countries send scientific explorative expeditions to the Antarctic following the Sixth International Geographical Congress of 1895 held in London to Ernest Shackleton's return from his Imperial Trans-Antarctic Expedition in 1917. The London Congress called for all 'capable' nations to send 'scientific' expeditions to the last continent to be explored. By 1895, almost nothing was known about the biota on the coast or the interior of the continent, as no one had overwintered on the continent by that stage.

Yet, although the relationship between the 'Heroic Age' and Antarctic tourism seems tenuous at first, however, this chapter will trace the linkages. The idea of Antarctica as a tourist destination was suggested as early as 1910, practically at the height of the 'Heroic Age', although it was not until 1966 that regular tourist cruises were established. The first tourist aircraft to visit Antarctica departed from Punta Arenas in Chile on 23 December 1956 and overflew the South Shetland Islands and northern half of the Peninsular. The first tourist ship, the *Les Eclaireurs*, an Argentine naval transport carrying paying passengers, visited the same area twice in January and February 1958.[23] These early efforts at tourism took several years to take root and the global tours to Antarctica only became popular in the late 1970s. But, despite the gap that exists between initial exploration of the Antarctic and regular Antarctic tours, as this chapter will demonstrate, the 'Heroic Age' has been used to shape the public perception of the meaning of the frozen continent and this discursive understanding has had a powerful legacy.

Antarctica the 'Imagined': From Theoretical Space to 'Space Race'

The Antarctic was untouched by humankind until the late nineteenth century, making it the least impacted environmental region on earth. However, the continent had been theorised by the Ancient Greeks as early as 600 BCE. Their attempts at understanding the stars started a revolution of ideas that eventually led to the concept of *Terra Australis Incognita*, or the 'Unknown Southern Land'. Aristotle was the first to theorise the idea of the frozen southern continent through his concepts of symmetry, equilibrium and cyclic repetition. He divided the

[23] S.V. Scott: 'How Cautious is Precautious?: Antarctic Tourism and the Precautionary Principle', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 50, 4 (2001), 967; & J. Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment: A History of Tour Operator's Concern for a Vulnerable Part of the World', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, (2), 2000, p. 47.

world into five climatic zones. Two temperate areas were separated by a sweltering zone near the equator. The remaining two regions were the two cold inhospitable regions, 'one near our upper, or northern pole, and the other near the southern pole'.[24] The Ancient Greeks named the Arctic, *Arktos*, after the constellation of the bear and subsequently, they dubbed the Antarctic, *ant-Arktos*, following their concepts of symmetry and thinking that there was something balancing out what was at the top of the world.[25] Aristotle believed these regions to be impenetrable and girdled with ice, and although no humans could survive in the frigid zones, inhabitants in the southern temperate zones could exist. He termed these 'theoretical' people *antipodes*, meaning feet opposite. Aristotle was correct in stating this at the time, yet it would take more than two millennia of human development for him to be proven wrong, as humans would successfully penetrate the '*ant-Arktos*'. Antarctica the 'Imagined' has lured the adventurous and ambitious, men who sought this geographic Grail for its promise of wealth and fame.[26]

The ancient Greek theory of the Southern Continent survived the fall of Rome, yet the original concept of inhospitable, ice-covered land did not. Rather, medieval thinkers conjured a more enticing vision of a vast, rich, even inhabited, landmass on the Earth's high southern latitudes. This myth would inspire several exploratory voyages in the centuries to come.[27] The pack ice of the Southern Ocean and the veil of fog that almost perpetually shrouds it deterred exploration until speculation about a tropical *Terra Australis* situated near the South Pole inspired Britain to send Captain James Cook to unveil the truth about the mythical continent in 1768. The Antarctic thus began as an idea, however, its exploration would be intentional, not accidental, and it would remain a domain for intellectuals, as it was they who first theorised it and it would be them who would validate the frozen continent's existence.[28]

On 26 August 1768, Captain James Cook set sail southward from England on the *Endeavour* along with 94 men, including two botanists, two artists and three astronomers. On 3 June 1769, as instructed, Cook opened a sealed envelope that contained secret instructions

[24] M.J. Landis: *Antarctica – Exploring the Extreme: 400 Years of Adventure* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2001), location 129 of 4533. (Kindle edition)
[25] BBC Time Shift Documentary, 'Antarctica: Of Ice and Men', 2011, and J.N. Boothe: *The Storied Ice: Exploration, Discovery and Adventure in Antarctica's Peninsular Region* (Berkley California, Regent Press, 2011), location 108 of 10013. (Kindle Edition)
[26] M.J. Landis: *Antarctica – Exploring the Extreme*, location 129 and 86 of 4533. (Kindle edition)
[27] J.N. Boothe: *The Storied Ice: Exploration, Discovery and Adventure in Antarctica's Peninsular Region* (Berkley California, Regent Press, 2011), location 118 of 10013. (Kindle Edition)
[28] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 232.

after they had passed the transit of Venus. They were to proceed southward to 40 degrees latitude and search for *Terra Australis Incognita*.[29] The motives for Cook's secretive voyage were mixed. Science was only part of the impetus driving his ships, as politics (an enduring Anglo-French rivalry) was the storm behind his sails. The French could not be left to explore the south unmatched. The instructions for the voyage were kept secret so as to prevent the French from becoming aware of this.[30] This secrecy hints towards the intense nationalism that came to characterise human interest in Antarctica.

Although Cook was not successful with this first voyage, he attempted a second. He settled on two ships, renamed *Resolution* and *Adventure*, and once again set sail south bound.[31] On 17 January 1773 Cook crossed the Antarctic Circle, a place no human had ever penetrated and it was thought that few or none would do so again.[32] After crossing the Antarctic Circle, Cook had searched the vast Southern Ocean for more than a year until his fortune was to change. Early on the morning of 30 January 1774, a brilliant band of light stretched across the horizon. As Cook approached the pack ice's edge he counted 97 distinct ice hills which he claimed, 'looked like a ridge of Mountains, rising one above the other, till they were lost in the clouds... and seemed to increase in height to the south'.[33] It is widely contested by polar historians whether this was in fact a glimpse of Antarctica that Cook saw, or if it was a mirage. However, it is the first time in history that anyone had travelled that far south that the fabled *Terra Australis Incognita* passed from theoretical space to an almost certainty. Yet, in terms of its significance, the continent would still be shrouded by a veil of unimpressive fog, as Cook's writing claimed after he had returned: 'Should anyone possess the resolution and the fortitude to [push] yet further south than I have done… I make bold to declare that the world will derive no benefit from it'.[34]

Since the first alleged sighting of the continent, human presence in the furthest southern region of the globe was intermittent. Ships could travel to the edge of the pack ice, but sails alone were not enough to break through it. The technological advancement of steam power made travel into the pack ice possible for the first time. Also, decades of Arctic exploration had developed ship designs and materials that could withstand the crushing pressure of the

[29] M.J. Landis: *Antarctica – Exploring the Extreme*, location 281 of 4533. (Kindle edition)
[30] R. Huntford: *Scott and Amundsen: The Last Place on Earth* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979), 5.
[31] M.J. Landis: *Antarctica – Exploring the Extreme*, location 294 of 4533. (Kindle edition)
[32] J.N. Boothe: *The Storied Ice*, location 462 of 10013. (Kindle Edition)
[33] Landis: *Antarctica – Exploring the Extreme*, location 356 of 4533. (Kindle edition)
[34] R. Fiennes: *Captain Scott* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 2003), 4.

pack ice. A desire to revive the whaling industry brought commercial ships back to the Southern Ocean from 1892. Rapid European imperialism was exhausting the potential dominion of land claims, hence desire mixed with curiosity as explorers and whalers sought to ascertain whether Antarctica could be exploited in any meaningful way. The mere fact that the region was geographically unknown was a compelling argument for some kind of scientific reconnaissance, as curiosity of what might exist proved to be overwhelming.[35] The reasoning behind this was simply that any discovery in the region would be a first and, after even the remotest corners of Africa had been explored or conquered, the great white continent lay deserted, never to have had any human interaction. As Frederick A. Cook, who was a surgeon and anthropologist on the Belgian Antarctic Expedition, the first of the "Heroic Age", claimed in his book when writing on the significance of Antarctic exploration, 'Science demands it, modern progress calls for it, for in this age a blank upon our chart is a blur on our prided enlightenment.'[36] This view holds science as an excuse for nationalism, as knowledge has always been bound up in views of national identity and belonging.[37] Although Antarctica had no indigenous peoples or any institutions, forms of local knowledge or ideologies, nationalism was to be imposed on the continent by 'patriotic science'.

Early sealers and whalers could be regarded as *ad hoc* explorers of the Antarctic – although they were not cast as heroes. In fact, from 1821-22 until the late 1830s, sealers, searching for new hunting grounds, were responsible for every significant addition to the map of Antarctica and the surrounding sub-Antarctic islands.[38] Exploration for these more pragmatic men of the sea was a means to an end, namely profit. Although these men were the first to spend such substantial amounts of time in the Southern Ocean, they kept their maps and knowledge fairly secret as it would be commercially irresponsible to give up their respective discovered whaling grounds and sealing beaches. Great Britain, France and the United States sponsored major expeditions as early as the 1830s that held the exploration of Antarctica as a primary objective, although it was also profit driven, in terms of whaling and sealing, instead of being scientifically motivated.[39] However, this was ignored in the popular historical

[35] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 234.
[36] F.A. Cook: *Through the First Antarctic Night: A Narrative of the Voyage of the 'Belgica' among Newly Discovered Lands and Over an Unknown Sea about the South Pole* (New York, Doubleday Page and Company, 1909), 203-204.
[37] S. Dubow: *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility and White South Africa 1820 -2000* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 2006), 277.
[38] J.N. Boothe: *The Storied Ice*, location 931 of 10013. (Kindle Edition)
[39] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 233-234.

narrative in favour of 'heroes'. The doomed and romantic adventures of the upper classes made for better stories than those of pragmatic sealers and sailors.

A Slice of the Ice: The 'Scramble for Antarctica'

The possibilities for human presence in the Antarctic shifted drastically as the nineteenth century was reaching its final years. The Sixth International Geographical Congress (1895) and first International Polar Year (IGY), which will be elaborated on in the following section, determined that the greatest piece of geographical exploration still to be undertaken was the exploration of the Antarctic continent. A combination of revolutionary technology, international consensus about its scientific significance, national competition and a century of experience in the area reinvented the Antarctic as a new frontier.[40] However, the nature of human interaction with the region has changed over time, as it has with other regions across the globe: from an environment of exploitation, to one of exploration and adventure to one of scientific research and now tourism as well.

The spirit of the so-called Heroic Age is reflected in the words of Isaiah Bowman as read to the American Philosophical Society in New York:

> Among a membership pledged to 'the mutual communication of their discoveries'... there cannot fail to be great interest in the Antarctic Continent, the seventh and last to be explored. That interest is heightened no doubt by the defiance with which Antarctic elements obstruct the inquisitive spirit of man. In the magnitude of the forces of ice-cap and wind and encircling water and that 'sullen barrier' of pack-ice that guards the outer seas of Antarctica, it is as if we had a transplantation of some great cosmic agency that has wrought a continent of incredible inhospitality at the South Pole as a symbol of outer worlds of mystery beyond the reach of man.[41]

The statement reflects the fascination that the Antarctic has inspired in knowledge brokers. Furthermore, it reveals that the harshness of the environment can be viewed as a catalyst for this fascination. The Antarctic is personified to a degree by acting as an antagonist against humankind's curiosity and indeed that of science. The language used evokes a sense of the necessity for hyper-masculinity in the frozen virgin land, indeed as only men were allowed to 'brave' the continent in the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth century, where the

[40] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 4, (1986), 234.
[41] I. Bowman: 'Antarctica', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 69, 1 (1930), 19.

overcoming of the elements in this hazardous environment were not only testament of the individual's masculinity, but also a measure of the bravery of the nation as a whole. For example, the race between Scott and Amundsen to the South Pole could also be viewed as a race between Britain and Norway, yet the race seemed to sublimate imperial conquest to an elemental struggle to survive or simply between two men competing. Appeal with survival and all it implies about the linked fragility of masculinity and nation endures till the present in both academic and fictional retellings of the Heroic Age of Antarctic exploration, as this chapter will contend.[42]

Whereas most of the Arctic had been explored by the onset of the Heroic Age in Antarctica, the twentieth century was devoted to unveiling the secrets that the southern continent holds, which was still a 'terra incognita' and an object of much speculation. Also, the turn of the century seemed to be a favourable time for Antarctic exploration, as Eduard Brückner had discovered climatic periods which supposed that the end of the nineteenth century would be a period of warmer temperatures. This would result in atypical advantageous ice conditions which would allow ships to sail further south than they had been able to in the past.[43] Therefore, environmental factors were also at play during the Heroic Age, allowing explorers to enter the frigid conditions of Antarctica with a diminished severity, coupled with their newfound knowledge about climatic conditions.

The Sixth International Geographical Congress (1895) as the Starting Point of the "Heroic Age"

The beginning of the 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic exploration started with the Sixth International Geographical Congress in 1895. Significantly it transpired in a relatively non-bellicose period for Europe, when military heroes (the nineteenth nation state's usual standard bearers) were scarce. After the Napoleonic Wars, there was little demand on the Royal Navy as a fighting force, and Polar expeditions were taken as a means of usefully employing officers and men.[44] Naval glory (and promotion through the ranks) was therefore to be found in exploration, as

[42] E. Glasberg: 'Who Goes There? Science, Fiction and Belonging in Antarctic', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 34 (2008), 642.
[43] C. Lüdecke: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1904-04): A challenge in times of political rivalry', *Polar Record*, 39, 208 (2003), 35.
[44] R. Huntford: *Scott and Amundsen*, 117.

there were no battles to be fought.[45] However, political relations at the end of the nineteenth century between the British Empire and other European states, most notably Germany, were determined primarily by competition in colonialism and the threat of the ever expanding German Navy to Britain's long-held status as the world's paramount maritime power. By the end of the nineteenth century the 'Scramble for Africa' had been in progress for almost two decades, and colonisable regions of the globe were becoming rarer. After Germany had developed into the most powerful industrial nation in Europe, again surpassing the British, the Reich claimed a 'Platz an der Sonne' (a place in the sun) in competing for the last regions of the Earth.[46] It is this escalating sense of competition for naval hegemony at the end of the nineteenth century which served as a catalyst for the exploration of the final unexplored region on earth, Antarctica.

Apart from the desire to conquer the continent in the name of naval superiority and nationalism, it was also considered invaluable as a place for scientific study. The Sixth International Geographical Congress which was held in London from 26 July to 3 August 1895 set the stage for the first meaningful discussions in an international collaborative scientific inquiry into this last unexplored continent. John Murray, editor of the reports of the *Challenger* expedition, stated at the congress that all 'civilised nations' should be interested 'in a matter of so much importance for the intellectual progress of the human race. No nation should stand before ourselves in the matter of oceanic research'.[47] At the congress, a committee was appointed to draw up a resolution in favour of Antarctic Discovery. The following resolution was put forth:

> That the Congress record its opinion that the exploration of the Antarctic Regions is the greatest piece of geographical exploration still to be undertaken. That, in view of the additions to knowledge in almost every branch of science which would result from such a scientific exploration, the Congress recommends that the scientific societies throughout the world should urge, in whatever way seems to them most effective, that this work should be undertaken before the close of the century.[48]

These words marked the advent of the so-called Heroic Age as a global effort to explore the continent and to reveal some of its mysteries. Sir Clements Markham, who became president

[45] BBC Time Shift Documentary, 'Antarctica: Of Ice and Men', 2011.
[46] Lüdecke: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1901-04)', 35.
[47] Lüdecke: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1901-04)', 35.
[48] J.N. Boothe: *The Storied Ice*, location 1775 of 10013 (Kindle Edition) and C. Lüdecke: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1904-04)', 37.

of the Royal Geographical Society (RGS) in 1893 served as a great advocate of British Antarctic exploration. With his role as president he initiated his so-called 'Antarctic crusade'.[49] He would play a vital role in garnering support among European nations to undertake a scientific expedition. Even though the Geographical Congress in London in 1895 was emphasized by the recommendation for the exploration of the Antarctic, Markham did not succeed in arranging an expedition in the years immediately following the Congress as Whitehall remained uninterested and no public interest in the issue existed. Funds were therefore to be raised privately. Markham proposed a coalition between the RGS and the Royal Society, and from 1898 this coalition of private rather than state interests paved the way for the British National Antarctic Expedition.[50]

The state was, however, drawn in as Murray and Markham demanded a collaborative effort with the Royal Navy. Indeed, Markham saw the expedition as invaluable training for the navy in peacetime. Furthermore, he argued that if such an expedition could not be brought to fruition, loss of national prestige and of glory would result. This was indeed a valid argument in a time of growing political rivalry amongst European powers. Both Great Britain and Germany were both eager to launch the first expeditions, however, it was Belgian naval officer Adrien de Gerlache who was the first in charge of a scientific expedition to the Southern continent on the *Belgica* expedition of 1897-1899. This voyage would not only boast an international crew of seamen and scientists, but was also the first expedition in history to overwinter in Antarctic waters.[51] This is significant as it is the first time that a physical presence had been maintained in Antarctica throughout an entire year. This 'milestone' would see scientific 'over-wintering' as a crucial new norm and improved technology and funding would make a permanent scientific presence in Antarctica possible.

The decision to include the Royal Navy saw Lieutenant Robert Falcon Scott be appointed for the overall command of the expedition on 25 May 1900. When Scott introduced himself in a letter to Erich von Drygalski, the German geophysicist, he wrote, 'I am, as you possibly know, a naval officer with no ice experience and can only hope that zeal for service will to some extent counterbalance my defective knowledge of the unexplored regions to which

[49] G.E. Fogg: 'The Royal Society and the Antarctic', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of* London, 54, 1 (2000), 90, and Lüdecke: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1904-04)', 36.
[50] Lüdecke: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1901-04)', 40.
[51] C. Lüdecke: 'Parallel Precedents for the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A. Berkman, *et al* (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2011), 254.

we are bound.'[52] Although Scott was heralded as one of the "greatest Antarctic explorers", his self-acknowledged inexperience in such conditions would consequently cost him and his party their lives and later, after World War II, his reputation as an explorer and a leader, especially when compared to Roald Amundsen and Ernest Shackleton, would be held in disrepute.

Exploration or Exploitation?

Previously, human involvement in the region had been restricted to the coastlines of the continent and was vastly more exploitative than explorative during the whaling and sealing years. As early as the mid-eighteenth century is was becoming widely known that Antarctica was a great source of whale oil, which was used primarily in the making of soap. It had subsequently grown into a lucrative yet dangerous industry, due to the environmental conditions of the seas of the Southern Ocean. However, it was fortunate for the cause of scientific discovery that it paid to catch in Antarctic water. The whale oil trade was thus used to pay for knowledge, combining real exploration with economic exploitation, which proved to be a tradition of polar exploration.[53] Thus, exploitation was in fact used to fund exploration, which was the precursor to science, as science was the precursor to tourism, as this thesis will argue. The exploration of Antarctica was not weighed solely in the name of adventure, as serious business pursued for definite and important reasons by those 'rare men who combine physical strength and courage with the scientific imagination'.[54] Furthermore, adequate technology, an international consensus about its significance, national competition, and nearly a century of experience in the Arctic all combined to make Antarctica the new centrepiece for discovery by the West. When the next International Geographical Congress proclaimed 1901 as 'Antarctic Year', exploration of the last great wilderness had already been underway.[55]

The *Belgica* Expedition of 1897-1899, undertaken by Belgium, was the first purely scientific expedition exploring the west coast of the Antarctic Peninsula and inadvertently overwintered in the Bellingshausen Sea. The British *Southern Cross* expedition of 1898-1900, also known as the *British Antarctic Expedition*, deposited Carsten Brochgrevink at Cape Adare to spend the first winter on the continent. At the beginning of the twentieth century, the

[52] Lüdecke: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1901-04)', 41.
[53] I. Bowman: 'Antarctica', 28.
[54] I. Bowman: 'Antarctica', 29.
[55] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness, 234.

floodgates opened for what was to become known as the Heroic Age of Antarctic exploration. Great Britain, Scotland, Germany, Sweden, France, Japan, Australia and New Zealand all cast their gaze southward, sponsoring major scientific expeditions, with Great Britain and Germany sending several. The colonies of what would become known as the Union of South Africa in 1910, on the other hand, kept their gaze within their borders as they were still preoccupied with the war in South Africa (1899-1902). No other phase of Antarctic exploration has matched the Heroic Age in terms of the intensity of the adventures, which was due to primitive technology and a lack of knowledge about the great white continent. Antarctica was to become the greatest and most unique explored region on Earth, not only for its technological sophistication but also for its purposes and intellectual forces that propelled it and explained it.[56] Admiral Richard Byrd, the first American polar explorer noted that, 'the Pole in the centre of a limitless plain... One gets there, and that is about all there is for the telling, it is the effort to get there that counts.'[57] The penetration of Antarctica not only required the development of special ships and steam power (or later, aircraft), but also suitable discourses that could both explain the project to the public and justify it to its funders – in short, project significance into the icy nothingness.

Boys Own Adventure – by Men

The "great tales" of Anglophone Antarctic adventure, such as those of Scott and Shackleton, were consciously couched as closing chapters of the sagas of Western discovery. They came to be reinvented as stories of survival by individual upper-class men against two enemies: the hazardously hostile landscape and dangerously devious foreigners. Robert Peary stated on behalf of the age, 'It is a source of satisfaction that the last two great physical adventures, the winning of the North Pole and the South Pole... should have been won by brute physical soundness and endurance, by the oldest and most perfect of machines – the animal machine – man and the Eskimo dog'.[58] The holy grails of "discovery" like the attainment of the South Pole or traversing the continent were primarily waged in the name of personal and national prestige by fundamentally enduring the most inhospitable environment on Earth. This chapter argues that early exploration in Antarctica, which built the foundation myth of the tourist industry, was quite the inverse of exploration on any other continent, as it was as though the

[56] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 235.
[57] Byrd quoted in S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 238, 238-239.
[58] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 235.

objective was not to struggle to advance a goal, but to discover a goal that would justify struggle.

The Janus-face of Heroism

> For scientific discovery give me Scott; for speed and efficiency of travel give me Amundsen; but when disaster strikes and all hope is gone, get down on your knees and pray for Shackleton.[59]

This observation, made famous by Sir Edmund Hillary, world-renowned explorer who was the first to traverse the Antarctic continent, was frequently used among self-styled 'old Antarctic hands' about the highly individualised 'heroes' – the three most famous Antarctic explorers. A tellingly vast number of historical accounts have been published on the exploits of Roald Amundsen, Captain Robert Falcon Scott and Sir Ernest Henry Shackleton, both popular and academic.[60] The purpose of this section is not to rehearse that which has been written about already extensively nor to offer an historiographical overview of the shifting foci. Instead an enduring focus on the individual and the pervasive trope of hagiography was discovered. Thus, this thesis highlights the discursive elements deployed in inventing iconic 'heroes' whichwould subsequently grasp the imagination of would-be tourists, even a century after their respective expeditions.

The popularity of these three Antarctic explorers is evident in the fact that their respective huts are among the most visited sites during the Antarctic tourist season. These historic huts are powerful symbols of past human endeavour and, as such, are extremely attractive destinations to potential tourists.[61] Each of these explorers kept extremely detailed diaries and journals of their experiences. They succeeded in portraying such an alien place as not so unfamiliar. In fact, their accounts allowing readers, across time and space, to get a

[59] D.N.T. Perkins *et al*: *Leading at the Edge: Leadership Lessons from the Extraordinary Saga of Shackleton's Antarctic Expedition* (New York, American Management Association, 2012), 189.

[60] See for example, F.A. Cook: *Through the First Antarctic Night 1898-1899: A Narrative of the Voyage of the 'Belgica' among Newly Discovered Lands and Over an Unknown Sea about the South Pole* (New York, Doubleday Page and Company, 1909); Turley, C.: *The Voyages of Captain Scott: Retold from 'The Voyage of the "Discovery"' and 'Scott's Last Expedition'* (Mead, Dodd, 1915); R. Huntford: *Scott and Amundsen: The Last Place on Earth* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979); R. Huntford.: *Shackleton* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1985); S. Solomon: *The Coldest March: Scott's Fatal Antarctic Expedition* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2000), R. Fiennes: *Captain Scott* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 2003).

[61] E.J. Stewart *et* al: 'A review of Tourism Research in the Polar Regions', *Arctic*, 58, 4 (2005), 387.

visceral feel of "their" Antarctica, inspiring a familiarity and personal relationship with the "hero" through the intimacy of first-person narration.[62]

A minor cult of the personality was created through celebrity appearances. In South Africa, for example, Scott visited a South African school in Pretoria in 1910 before embarking on his final disastrous voyage to the Antarctic.[63] *The Pretorian,* Pretoria Boys High school magazine reflects upon his visit:

> Many boys, the boarders being in full force, spent a memorable evening listening to Captain Scott, the Antarctic Explorer, and future discoverer of the South Pole. The slides were good and the lecture was good, but what fascinated above all was the quite directness and forcibleness of a man that had spent his life on the sea and in facing real hardships, and who was willing to begin all over again.[64]

In the 1960s and 1970s, Scott's story was also taught in South African primary schools as an example or a lesson of bravery and dealing with challenging situations, often being depicted as the epitome of being a hero[65] Scott's death, the romance of loss and the subsequent remembrance by society served as a link between the rest of the world and the Antarctic, especially during and between the two Great Wars, when human presence in Antarctica would be diminished.

[62] S.V. Scott: 'How Cautious is Precautious? Antarctic Tourism and the Precautionary Principle', *The International and Comparative Law* Quarterly, 50, 4 (Oct. 2001), 967.
[63] J. Illsley: *Pretoria Boys High: The Story of a South African School, 1901-2001* (Pretoria, Pretoria Boys High School, 2000) 38-39.
[64] *The Pretorian: Magazine of the Boys High School Pretoria* (Term III, September 1910), 3.
[65] Interview with Jolene van der Merwe, Stellenbosch (4 August 2013).

Figure 1: Photo of Scott's statue in Christchurch, New Zealand

Source: Illustrated at the Pretoria Boys High School Museum (24 July 2013)

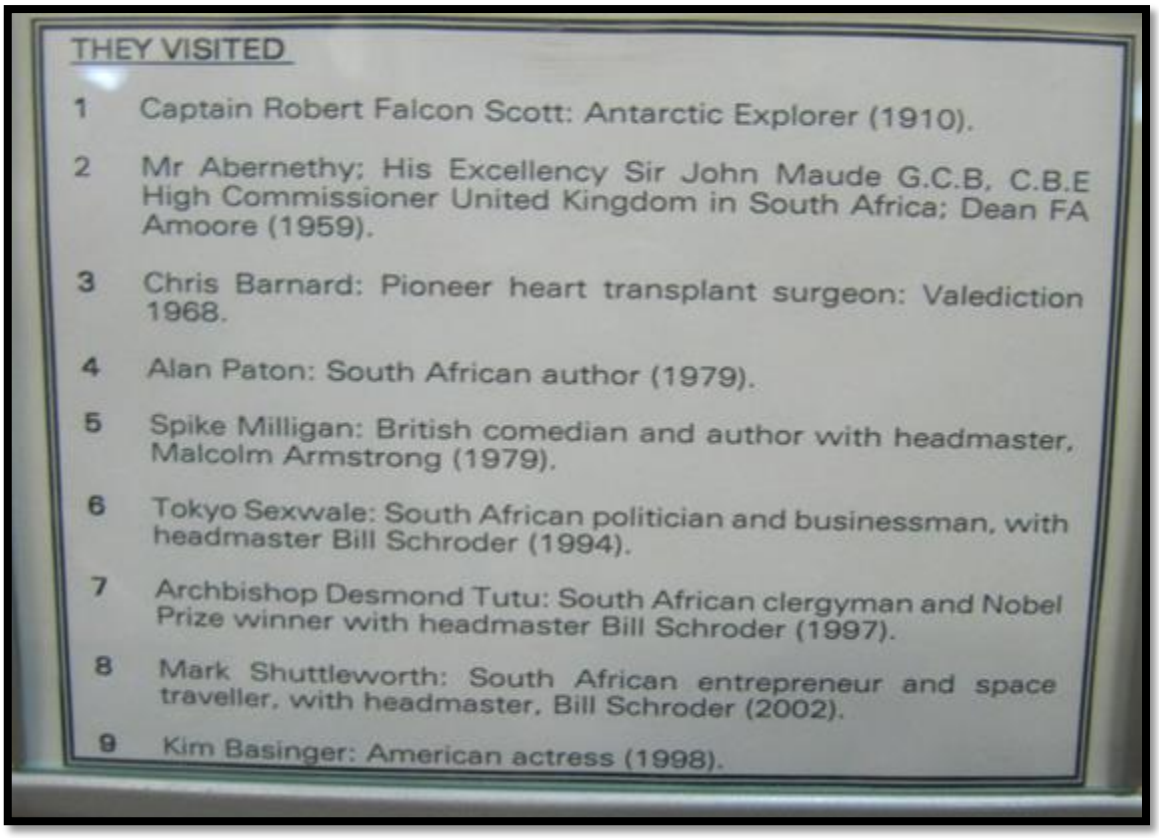

Figure 2: List of famous people to have visited Pretoria Boys High School, Scott listed as being the first and only one for half-a-century.

Source: Illustrated at the Pretoria Boys High School Museum (24 July 2013)

The vast majority of photos, diaries, literature and moving pictures that were produced during the period led to public knowledge and brought the most remote corner of the globe into the homes and lives of ordinary people. These explorers, with their well-recorded and well-publicised expeditions, made the most inaccessible continent on the planet accessible for ordinary people, through films, articles and photographs. As this chapter will demonstrate, these would later be instrumental in shaping the 'tourist gaze'. This tourist gaze is the product of the 'discursive determinations' of socially constructed seeing. Such 'scopic regimes' are shaped by interested parties – those with a vested – pecuniary or political – interest in colouring the vision and controlling the focus of that seen by the tourist. Seeing is socio-culturally

framed.[66] As Berger observed: 'We never look just at one thing; we are always looking at the relation between things and ourselves.'[67] The tourist does not see neutrally through a transparent lens – but rather through a constructed window that refracts rather than reflects the world. Tourists gaze upon their sites of visitation through a shifting filter of ideas, skills, desires and expectations, which is in turn framed by social class, gender, nationality, generation, education and personal experience. The power of the visual gaze within modern tourism is intrinsically linked with and enabled by various technological innovations, including cameras, digital images, television and so forth.[68] Following our argument – that the 'Heroic Age' was the starting point for tourism – the 'tourist gaze' is a useful tool to describe the increasing tourist numbers, although regular tours started almost two generations after the 'Heroic Age'.

Racing for the Frozen Grail: Amundsen and Scott

Although there were many expeditions launched from Europe during the "Heroic Age", none were so widely reported both contemporaneously and currently a century later than the *race* between Scott and Amundsen. Amundsen led a five-person party of expert Nordic skiers and dog-sledders with a single goal, namely getting to the pole first. Amundsen planned and executed their plan brilliantly, albeit secretly. Contrastingly, Scott lead a complex and multi-faceted Antarctic expedition with 33 explorers and scientists, most of whom were focused on other scientific research projects that had nothing to do with reaching the pole. In spite of failing to reach the pole first and perishing on their return journey, or perhaps because of it, Scott and his expedition party were instant heroes.[69] This section aims to evaluate how the respective memories of Scott and Amundsen had changed over time and how their prevalence in both academic and popular discourse on Antarctica has affected the tourist gaze. In examining how Scott and Amundsen were remembered, one learns less about the explorers and far more about those remembering.[70]

The object of Scott's second expedition was ostensibly predominantly scientific. It was his ambition that the *Terra Nova* expedition should be the most completely equipped expedition

[66] J. Urry and J. Larsen: *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London, Sage, 2011), 2.
[67] J. Berger: *Ways of Seeing* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972), 9.
[68] Urry and Larsen: *The Tourist Gaze*, 2.
[69] For a comparison of the two expeditions see E.J. Larson: 'Poles Apart: Scott, Amundsen and Science', *Endeavour*, 35, 4 (2011), 129.
[70] P. Roberts: 'Heroes for the Past and Present: A Century of Remembering Amundsen and Scott', *Endeavour*, 35, 4 (2011), 142.

for scientific purposes connected with the Polar Regions, both in terms of men and material. Thus, Scott's objects were foremost scientific, including the completion and extension of former discoveries, but the Pole was a prize that could not be ignored. Scott intend to reach the South Pole by a long and arduous journey, but here again his intention was, as far as possible, to achieve scientific results on the way, especially hoping to discover fossils which would shed light on the former history of the great range of mountains which he had discovered previously. On 13 September 1909, Scott published his plans for the British Antarctic Expedition of the following year. His appeal resulted in £10,000 being collected as a nucleus fund. These funds were procured both privately and by contributions of the Royal Geographic Society. Then the British Government made a grant of £20,000 and additional grants soon followed from the Governments of Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.[71]

As soon as Scott's plans were made known to the public he was besieged by men anxious to go with him. A total approximately 8,000 men volunteered. The fact that the applications were so numerous was evidence of public interest shown in the expedition, unimaginable a decade before.[72] This was a result of the publicity that Scott, and other polar explorers, had enjoyed as exemplars of their respective nations. As jingoistic doggerel from the time trumpeted:

> At the Pole, at the Pole, at the Pole,
> Britannia's pretty sure to reach her goal;
> Her ever-conquering legions,
> Will annex those distant regions,
> And make a new dominion of the Pole.[73]

Scott's journal entries (which he knew would not be private) reveal an enduring refrain that for him the journey to the Pole was not a race. He wrote, 'I don't know what to think of Amundsen's chances. If he gets to the Pole, it must be before we do, as he is bound to travel fast with dogs and pretty certain to start early. On this account I decided at a very early date any attempt to race must have wrecked my plan, *besides which it doesn't appear the sort of thing one is out for*'.[74] His latter point (italics own emphasis) reveals Scott's unwillingness to

[71] C. Turley: *The Voyages of Captain Scott: Retold from the 'Voyage of the "Discovery"' and 'Scott's Last Expedition'*, 204-207.
[72] Turley: *The Voyages of Captain Scott*, 211.
[73] R. Huntford: *Shackleton* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1985), 41. (Quote from *The Referee*).
[74] Turley: *The Voyages of Captain Scott*, 324.

concede defeat, and to hint towards the significance of his scientific work. He was, in short, a gentleman.

There were approximately 16 kilograms – a mountain in polar sledging terms, where every bit counts – of rock specimens that were still on their sledges when their bodies were discovered in the last tent in November 2012. Whether or not this testifies to Scott's heroic commitment to research and discovery or his poor qualities as a leader charged with ensuring the survival of his men at all costs depends on the interpreter and is debatable issue. Yet, at the time, his stature as 'martyr to science' became a key component of his historic legend, while Amundsen was castigated for merely dashing to the Pole, thus contributing little to the annals of scientific or geographical knowledge.[75] Scott also mentions that it was 'the work that counts, not the applause that follows'.[76] His position on racing for the pole may have been quite different had he learnt earlier of Amundsen's plans. However, it was too late to divert from his plans that had taken so long to prepare.[77] Furthermore, recognising the challenge posed by Amundsen, Scott wrote in his diary, 'If the [polar] journey comes off, nothing, not even the priority at the Pole, can prevent the Expedition ranking as one of the most important that had ever entered the Polar regions'.[78] Science would write their names into the history books even if the Norwegians reached the Pole first. Thus, Scott elected to serve science first, and not the 'race'.

When Scott and his contingent of British explorers reached the South Pole on 17 January 1912 they had passed through a special geography and they were about to enter a special kind of history. After learning that the Norwegians led by Amundsen had beaten them to the Pole, Scott wrote in his diary, 'The Pole. Yes, but under very different circumstances from those expected... Great God! This is an awful place and terrible enough for us to have labo[u]red to it without the reward of priority'.[79] As physical adventure the experiences of the *Terra Nova* expedition are matched by Ernest Shackleton's *Nimrod* and *Endurance* expeditions and by the exploits of Amundsen. Yet, the story of Scott's Polar Party dominates Antarctica literature and history. One explanation for this is that, even as he knew death was certain and drawing nearer, Scott left a legacy of writings, a diary and letters that elevated Antarctic

[75] S. Barczewski: 'Two Weeks in the Spring of 1912: Captain Scott at the Crossroads of Tradition and Modernity', *Endeavour*, 35, 4 (2011), 139.
[76] Turley: *The Voyages of Captain Scott*, 324.
[77] Turley: *The Voyages of Captain Scott*, 324.
[78] Larson: 'Poles Apart: Scott, Amundsen and Science', 134.
[79] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 231.

exploration above the category of simple adventure, or even science. In doing so, he created for it a moral universe. An inevitable comparison of Scott to Amundsen proves to be problematical. While Amundsen succeeded as a practical explorer, Scott triumphed as a moralist. Whether Scott is depicted as hero or quixotic, attitudes toward Captain Scott seems to reflect the contemporary state of British self-esteem and changes with each generation, as Pyne has noted.[80]

Attitudes towards Amundsen have been the inverse to that towards Scott, particularly in Britain, as the two explorers are almost exclusively juxtaposed to one another. Shortly after the two respective expeditions, even before the world knew of Scott and his party's fate, Amundsen was slammed in the British press. With regard to the tactical 'secrecy' that he elected to use, the British press expressed their distaste: "From the English point of view he may not have 'played the game'; we cannot forget the secrecy under which for months he shrouded his intention to steal a march on the man who had for years been making his preparations to attain the coveted goal".[81] *The Times* used the headline 'Captain Amundsen's Achievement' almost satirically, as it criticises him briefly before praising British accomplishments in the Antarctic.

Huntford's 1979 book, *Scott and Amundsen*, which was the first to criticise Scott academically, his leadership and decision-making on their arduous journey was met with substantial resistance from both the British public and especially Robert Falcon Scott's son, Sir Peter Scott. In September 1979 Peter Scott sought to restrain the book's publishers Hodder and Stoughton, from publishing *Scott and Amundsen* by issuing an injunction to the High Court. Furthermore, he claimed damages for libel and breach of contract and for infringement of copyright. Huntford agreed to make a donation to a charity of Sir Peter's choice and make a payment to him for costs. In addition, it had been agreed that library copies and any future editions of the book would contain a statement by the author saying that the material made available by Sir Peter, 'must under no circumstances be interpreted as approval of anything in the book, from which he totally dissociated himself and which he did not, moreover, see before

[80] S.J. Pyne: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 1 (1986), 231.
[81] *The Times*, 'Captain Amundsen's Achievement' (9 March 1912), 5.

printing'.[82] Huntford conceded that, '[he] greatly regret any distress that [his] treatment of the subject ha[d] caused to Sir Peter and others'.[83]

Some academics have responded to criticism of Scott by their own apologia for Scott's failure. In Scott's final message to the public in his diary he writes, 'No one in the world would have expected the temperatures and surfaces which we encountered at this time of year'.[84] Scott may have had a point, as researched by the meteorologist Susan Solomon in her book *The Coldest March*.[85] Solomon contends that only one year since detailed Antarctic climate data started being recorded in the 1980s shows temperatures as cold as those Scott and his team encountered. Not only did this drain the men's strength by requiring them to burn more calories to keep even minimally warm, but it caused the ice surface to acquire a sandpaper-like texture that prevented the sledges from gliding smoothly. This forced the men to deplete their rapidly diminishing reserves of strength in order to drag them forward.[86] The point this section is aiming to make, is not whether Scott was either a great leader or that his stubbornness caused the death of him and his entire party, but rather that the debates surrounding his failed expedition has kept the Heroic age, and by extension, the Antarctic, alive in public memory and discourse. People would pay large sums of money to experience this extreme environment for themselves.

More Heroic Failure: Shackleton's 1914-1917 *Endurance* Expedition

Prior to the exploits of Amundsen and Scott in their legendary 'race' for the pole, Shackleton had been further south than any other on the British Antarctic expedition (1907-1909) aboard the *Nimrod*. It was his intention to reach the pole and plant a British flag on it on this expedition, but was forced to turn back a mere 97 miles of his goal due to 'the stress of circumstances', which included scurvy, frostbite and severe exhaustion. Following this defeat, Shackleton turned his focus to crossing the continent, as he was certain that Scott and Amundsen would in fact reach the Pole on their attempts. Thus, after hearing of the Norwegian success he started

[82] *The Times*, 'Action over Scott book settled', 29 March 1980, 3.
[83] *The Times*, 'Action over Scott book settled', 29 March 1980, 3.
[84] R.F. Scott: *Scott's Last Expedition: The Journals of Captain RF Scott* (Beacon Press, 1957), 442.
[85] See S. Solomon: *The Coldest March: Scott's Fatal Antarctic Expedition* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2000).
[86] S. Barczewski: 'Two Weeks in the Spring of 1912: Captain Scott at the Crossroads of Tradition and Modernity', *Endeavour*, 35, 4 (2011), 140.

to make preparations for what he called 'a last great journey, so that the first crossing of the last continent should be achieved by a British Expedition'.[87] Shackleton's words reflect the pervasive sense of nationalistic competition that accompanied the heroes into the new frontier. However, alongside the protestations of nationalist glory or imperial jingoism, existed an enduring sense of personal glory and individual celebrity.

Shackleton has suffered far less controversy than Scott. Shackleton has been described as 'determinedly active, a doer, self-confident, quick in emergency and he mixed easily in any society... when grappling with practical problems of arduous travelling and guiding his men to overcome natural forces he was unsurpassed, and gained the full confidence of those under his command.'[88] The abovementioned quotation was written by Sir Vivian Fuchs in the mid-1970s at a time when Scott was starting to be criticised widely. Fuchs would, in fact, complete Shackleton's dream of being the first person, together with Sir Edmund Hillary, to successfully cross the Antarctic continent via the South Pole in 1958, the same year the first ship-borne tour sailed to Antarctica.[89]

Although South Africa donated funds to the 1958 expedition as a member of the Commonwealth, the country never sent a team to traverse the Antarctic continent. However, a multi-cultural group of South-Africans to cross the continent was proposed by W. Matthee in 1997 by formally asking current President Nelson Mandela's office for permission, but the venture never materialised, probably due to lack of funding and the securing of evacuation contingency plans and an Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) as required by the Madrid protocol, which will be commented on in the next chapter.[90] Indeed, very few attempts at crossing the continent have succeeded.

On Sunday 24 October 1915 the fate of the *Endurance* would be sealed. Following months of periodic bouts of extreme pressure exerted by the pack ice on the ship during the winter months, it finally succumbed to the overwhelming pressure. Shackleton wrote that the

---

[87] E.H. Shackleton: *South: The Story of Shackleton's 1914-1917 Expedition* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920). Location 12 of 5487 (Kindle Edition).
[88] V. Fuchs: 'Shackleton', *The Geographical Journal*, 141, 1 (March 1975), 14.
[89] See V. Fuchs and E. Hillary: *The Crossing of Antarctica: The Commonwealth Transantarctic Expedition, 1955-1958* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1959), and http://www.sirvivianfuchs.com (Accessed 7 November 2012); and J. Splettstoesser: "IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment: A History of Tour Operator's Concern for a Vulnerable Part of the World", *International Journal of Tourism Research*, (2), 2000, 47.
[90] DIRCO BTS 12/2/7 vol. 36. Antarctic Crossing by a Multi-Cultural South African group: Letter of Reply from the President, 24 April 1997; and South African Crossing of the Antarctic Continent (9 January 1997).

ship sustained terrific pressure on the front port side with the heaviest shocks occurring under the fore-rigging. It had been the worst squeeze that they had experienced in the ten months they had been caught in the pack-ice, and it eventually succumbed and was crushed beyond repair.[91] Thus, Shackleton's ship, ironically named *The Endurance*, failed to endure and was eventually crushed to pieces by billions of tons of pressure on the moving pack ice in October 1915. Worsley, the captain of the *Endurance*, paints a bleak picture when he wrote:

> Two massive floes, miles of ice, jammed her sides and held her fast, while the third floe tore across her stern, ripping off the rudder as though it had been made of matchwood. She quivered and groaned as rudder and stern-post were torn off, and part of her keel was driven upwards by the ice. To me, the sound was so terribly human that I felt like groaning in sympathy, and Shackleton felt the same way. It gave me a horrible feeling that the ship was grasping for breath. Never before had I witnessed such a scene, and I sincerely hope I never may again.[92]

Even though the expedition did fail to reach its goals, there was still a sense of accomplishment, or rather, 'victory in defeat'. Following this, his leadership energies were focussed devoted to ensuring the safety of the party. Shackleton performed an epic rescue of his entire team when he and a few members rowed a relatively small boat, *The James Caird*, 1300 kilometres from Elephant Island to South Georgia to gain assistance from a whaling station there.[93] Due to their epic rescue attempt, Shackleton and the rest of his polar party all survived their expedition.

In the 1990s the story of Shackleton was rediscovered in a blaze of publicity as 'a hero of our time', presumably after Huntford's 1985 book, heralded Shackleton as the ultimate Antarctic explorer, the exact inverse of what he did to Scott's public image. Most of these narratives, both popular and academic, treats Shackleton's public persona as one that exemplifies discourses of whiteness and masculinity within the discourse of adventure. Recent re-enactments of the journey of *The James Caird* confirms and enriches the ideal of the 'heroic explorer'. Subsequently, Shackleton has been roped in by the adventure travel industry as well as by business managements consultants strongly invested in ideals of white men's leadership.[94] Furthermore, in a field heavily invested in stories of heroism, Shackleton increases the desirability of hard adventure, as one travel journalist commented:

---

[91] E.H. Shackleton: *South*, 40.
[92] F.A. Worsley: *Endurance: An Epic of Polar Adventure* (New York, WW Norton and Co, 1999), 20.
[93] V. Fuchs: 'Shackleton', *The Geographical Journal*, 141, 1 (March 1975), 17.
[94] R. Farley: 'By Endurance we Conquer: Ernest Shackleton and Performances of White Male Hegemony', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8, 2 (2005), 231.

> Is it the romance of the tale that appeals to adventure travellers? 'There's absolutely no question. The whole Shackleton story is a great one. All of our passengers know it'… Accordingly, [adventure travel operators] are expanding into Antarctica and South Georgia (where Shackleton famously completed his epic 1916 self-rescue mission after venturing 800 miles in a 22-foot boat). The price? About $10,000.[95]

In essence, Antarctic tourism is not so much bound to the deeds that the explorers of the Heroic Age performed, but more so to the way they are remembered.

Remembering the 'Heroes'

Until the end of the World War II, Scott's image was projected as that of an unfaltering and selfless hero in Anglophone countries. These pro-Scott attitudes were used to inspire, particularly the British in times of war and suffering. Sir Clements Markham, friend of Scott and the intellectual driving force behind the heroic age had this to say of Scott and the fate of his Polar Party:

> There are few events in history to be compared, for grandeur and pathos, with the last closing scene in that silent wilderness of snow. The great leader, with the bodies of his dearest friends beside him, wrote and wrote until the pencil dropped from his dying grasp. There was no thought of himself, only the earnest desire to give comfort and consolation to others in their sorrow. His very last lines were written lest he who induced him to enter upon Antarctic work should now feel regret for what he had done.[96]

A bronze bas-relief was erected in St. Paul's Cathedral in memory of Scott's party in 1915, following the news of the ill-fated explores' icy death. The inscription read:

> In memory of Captain Robert Falcon Scott, C.V.O., R.N., Dr. Edward Adrian Wilson, Captain Lawrence E.G. Oates, Lieut. Henry R. Bowers, and Petty Officer Edgar Evans, who died on their return journey from the South Pole in February and March, 1912. Inflexible of purpose, ste[a]dfast in courage, resolute in endurance in the face

[95] B. Miller: 'Selling Danger', *Seattle Weakly* (23 November 2000), 22.
[96] C. Turley: *The Voyages of Captain Scott: Retold from the 'Voyage of the "Discovery"' and 'Scott's Last Expedition'*, 204-205.

> of unparalleled misfortune. Their bodies are lost in the Antarctic ice. But the memory of their deeds is an everlasting monument.[97]

The language used to describe Scott and his polar party is evident in almost every account written about their deaths for the most part of the twentieth century. However, when the inflamed sentiment of their great sacrifice started to diminish, some critics of Scott's leadership, strategy and even the content of his diary have been met with some criticism.[98] However, Scott's image, whether positive or negative, still manages to popularise Antarctica, and by remembering him, people remember the unforgiving environment that led to his death. His hut is one of the most visited sites in Antarctica.

Mainstream perceptions of the Antarctic are often dominated by some persistent visions of a place populated by penguins and seals, a blank space on the map ripe for heroic exploration or a pure expanse of unmarked whiteness. However, it is a continent of living social struggle, cultural production, political contest, and environmental scrutiny.[99] As Van der Watt and Dodds have argued, Antarctic histories were not only about Antarctica per se, but also about colonialism, nationalism and masculinity.[100] When addressing the implications of social theories with regard to researching men and masculinities there are two social theories that are generally used. The first is 'direct gender hierarchy' theories that emphasise the social primacy of male dominance and the second, 'structural inequality' theories, that are more concerned with the social structural relations of gender inequality. Recently there has been a similar movement in both traditions, moving away from sex-gender towards gender as a social construction including factors such as economic patterns, social sanctions, culture, psychology and so forth.[101] However, for the purpose of studying human relations in Antarctica, we will focus on the 'direct gender hierarchy' for commenting on male behaviour and dominance in the unconventional setting for studying human interaction with one another and with the environment.

---

[97] 'Tribute to explorers: A Captain Scott Memorial in St. Pauls', *The Times* (21 August 1915), 9.
[98] See Roland Huntford, *Scott and Amundsen* (London, Weidenfeld, 1979) and Stephanie Barczewski, *Antarctic Destinies: Scott, Shackleton and the Changing Face of Heroism* (London: Continuum, 2007).
[99] V. Rosner: "Comparative Perspectives Symposium: Gender and Polar Studies: Mapping the Terrain", *Signs*, 34, 3 (Spring 2009), 489.
[100] See K. Dodds, *Pink Ice: Britain and the South Atlantic Empire* (London, I.B Tauris, 2002) and L.M.E. van der Watt: "Out in the Cold: Science and the Environment in South Africa's Involvement in the sub-Antarctic and Antarctic in the Twentieth Century" (PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2012), 8.
[101] O.G. Holter: 'Social Theories for Researching Men and Masculinities: Direct Gender Hierarchy and Structural Inequality' in M.S. Kimmel, J. Hearn and R.W. Connel (eds): *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* (London, Sage Publications, 2005), 15-16.

Furthermore, the complexity of the idea of masculinity in the Antarctic is exacerbated as gender studies are usually relational, that is, looking at male gendered identities in relation to females and *vice versa*. This proves impossible for our focus period as females are completely absent from the continent at this time. However, most of these men were European and have therefore have been conditioned in societies with constructed gendered norms. Thus, in this case, it is not so much a question of male dominant micro-societies but of female-absent ones. Also, the environment in which these men interacted is utterly different to any region on Earth with its extremes in temperature, wind speeds and terrain. Generalised theories on masculinity therefore cannot be used in their traditional sense, but have to be ameliorated in order to explain the social implications that were at play. Thus, the early years of human interaction with Antarctica, including the period which came to be known as the 'Heroic Age', was completely devoid of women and can be regarded as a homosocial environment.[102]

Hyper-masculinity and Hypothermia

The hyper-masculine is blatant on the early history of the Antarctic continent and in Antarctic policies. Thus, Antarctica can prove to be a valuable source in exploring hegemonic masculinities, as argued by Van der Watt.[103] In Antarctica, like other extreme environments, the 'dominion over nature and the ability to survive in a challenging landscape' became and still remain key signifiers of masculine fitness.[104] As pioneers of the ice, the hegemonic masculine figures of Scott, Amundsen and Shackleton were elevated to the status of 'heroes' by the other 'masculinities'. In contemporary masculinity studies, the masculine is always plural. That is, as a set of social performances and practices, numerous masculinities arise in various cultural, social and geographic contexts, and at different historical moments and thus, masculinities are subject to negotiation and redefinition.[105] This is quite evident in how Scott's status as 'hero' has changed over time. As Segal states, "[Men] are all contained by the force

[102] M. Francis: "The Domestication of the Male? Resent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity", *The Historical Journal*, 45, 3 (Sept. 2002), 639.
[103] L.M.E. van der Watt: "Out in the Cold: Science and the Environment in South Africa's Involvement in the sub-Antarctic and Antarctic in the Twentieth Century" (PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2012), 209-210.
[104] M.P. Hogan and T. Pursell, "The 'Real Alaskan': Nostalgia and Rural Masculinity in the 'Last Frontier,'" *Men and Masculinities*, 11 (October 2008), 67-68.
[105] M.P. Hogan and T. Pursell, "The 'Real Alaskan': Nostalgia and Rural Masculinity in the 'Last Frontier,'" *Men and Masculinities*, 11 (October 2008), 66.

of, and their *fantasy* relation to, a dominant hegemonic ideal of masculinity as tough, heterosexual, authoritative, successful...".[106]

It was humankind's driving curiosity about scientific problems still unsolved that moved explorers such as Byrd, Wilkins and Mawson to match Antarctic defiance with calculating skill and courage. It was this curiosity, paired with technical training, which led to the development of radio communication and, resultant of that curiosity, it was possible to stand on the civilised regions of the globe and hear Byrd, while at the same time Wilkins and Mawson could hear the same message thousands of miles away on the same desolate continent. Thus, the rapid technological advancements of the twentieth century made the untameable Antarctic environment all the more accessible to the outside world, which would eventually lead to the rise of tourism to earth's 'last great wilderness'. The likes of Byrd, Mawson and Wilkins brought the Antarctic to the clubs, the schoolrooms, the family fireplaces the world around.[107]

Moreover, the general public in Antarctic exploring nations would be far more interested in an expedition of which they could have almost daily radio reports than in one that vanishes for several years, returning with news that blazes for a week, and then drops in the gulf of forgetfulness. For example, had it not been for the support and regular articles published in the *New York Times* and the triumph of radio communication, then Admiral Byrd's expedition would have been impossible and public interest in it short-lived. By the end of the 1920s, the American Geographical Society had compiled two volumes which expedition leaders have described as an 'explorer's bible', namely the *Problems of Polar Research* which had thirty contributors. These volumes included virtually all the leading polar explorers up to that point in time which described both the Arctic and Antarctic region by region. These books and maps pooled knowledge of practically all living explorers of the time. It was thought that modern large-scale exploration, to be worthwhile, had to be scientific and not merely 'a blind and adventurous wandering into the unknown'.[108]

[106] L. Segal: "Back to the Boys? Temptations of the Good Gender Theorist", *Textual Practice*, 15, 2 (2001), 239.
[107] I. Bowman: 'Antarctica', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 69, 1 (1930), 22.
[108] Bowman: 'Antarctica', 23-24.

Conclusion

The nature of human interaction with the region has changed over time, as it has with other regions across the globe: from an environment of exploitation, to one of exploration and adventure to one of scientific research and now tourism as well. This chapter has shown that the Heroic Age was the starting point from which tourism originated. There are a number of attributes of the Heroic Age that could be regarded as initial markers which led to regular tourist activities in the region, none more so as the first ever proposed tourist cruise to the Antarctic in 1910, although the first ship-borne tour only sailed in 1958, almost half a century later – the same year Fuchs would, in fact, complete Shackleton's dream of being the first person, together with Sir Edmund Hillary, to successfully cross the Antarctic continent via the South Pole in 1958. The tales of explorers such as Amundsen, Scott and Shackleton were immortalised through their well-publicised diaries and the glory associated with their exploits – both in victory and defeat. Their acts of chivalry captured the hearts of the global citizenry through extensive press coverage and thereby popularised the last explored region on earth to a point where people would imagine going there themselves. Prospective tourists, by travelling to the Antarctic, could win a little place in the pantheon of heroes, gaining glory by association. Arguably, were it not for the initial "conquering" of Antarctica by the intrepid explorers of the Heroic Age or the familiarisation that ensued through a constant human presence in the form of scientific research stations by the respective member nations of the Antarctic Treaty, then tourism to the 'last great wilderness' would have taken another form – unable to package heroism for tourist consumption. This concept of "ego-tourism", technology (which permitted safe passage), the rise of a leisured middle class eager to add travel to their conspicuous consumption and a slickly packaged romance of the heroic conquest all worked together to invent the Antarctic tourist industry.

Chapter 3: Governing the Frozen Continent: The Rise of the 'Antarctic Club'

Antarctica, commonly understood as the world's last great wilderness, and the last frontier of human exploration on the planet, is unique in the manner in which it is governed. The continent has been untouched by humankind until the late nineteenth century, and, as such, has a remarkably brief anthropogenic history.[109] Today, the continent plays host to various human activities under the auspices of science and tourism. Scientists can be found on the continent all year round, while tourists are a migratory seasonal species, frequenting the region in its summer months, from October to March. Antarctica is the planet's most environmentally protected region as the environment is believed to be pristine, especially when one compares it to other regions on the globe. Science and governance have gone hand-in-hand on this continent, as its formal governing structures were formulated in the wake of the large–scale scientific enquiry into the region by the International Geophysical Year (IGY) of 1957-1958. The Antarctic Treaty (AT) was the first meaningful attempt on a global scale to settle territorial disputes and instil effective governance over the Antarctic. Another international non-governmental organisation, the Scientific Community on Antarctic Research (SCAR), which forms part of the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), is charged with helping to identify and coordinate scientific investigations in Antarctica. The organisation also responds to requests from ATS meetings for scientific and technical advice, as well as observing and taking part in the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (ATCMs).[110] Thus, Antarctica is not only a continent of ice and penguins, but also one of acronyms.

This chapter will trace the evolution of governance on the frozen continent, and provide context for the reasoning behind the need for having effective governance on the only continent without an indigenous or permanent population. The outbreak of World War II may be argued to be the starting point, or at least the catalyst that sparked a need for settling disputes on

[109] P.H.C. Lucas, 'International Agreement on Conserving the Antarctic Environment,' *Ambio*, 11, 5 (1982), 292. To be clear, here I am referring to the continent only, as the anthropogenic history of the area goes back at least a century before that with the sealing and whaling era.
[110] L.A. Kimball, 'Antarctica: 'The Challenges That Lie Ahead,' *Ambio*, 18, 1 (1989), 77.

Antarctica, as three countries with overlapping claims, namely Argentina, Britain and Chile, were entangled over a dispute over the validity of their claims.[111] Another factor which necessitated the need to settle disputes on Antarctica was the growing interests shown by the United States and the Soviet Union and their tension-besieged relationship during the Cold War, with the threat of nuclear missiles being launched an ever present issue.[112] Furthermore, it will argue that, were it not for the continued presence of scientific and support personnel at the various scientific stations scattered across the continent and the formal governing structures that 'manage' the continent, then tourism to the Antarctic would not have taken the form it did.

During the period which has become known as the "Heroic Age", explorers from a number of countries undertook expeditions to Antarctica, some of them with and some without the authority of their governments. Even though the divide exists between private and publically funded expeditions, all of them had national mandates. Many of these early explorers claimed to have taken possession on behalf of their countries, of the areas they have discovered. By the 1930s, seven states, namely: Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, New Zealand, Norway and the United Kingdom, had laid formal claims to parts of the Antarctic. Following the Heroic Age, global interest in the Antarctic subsided due to the World Wars and the intense rebuilding period following both as well as the great depression. However, since the 1950s, Antarctic matters were once again pursued with renewed impetus. For the first time, issues of governance and ownership of the frozen continent were being actively contested. The boundaries of the claims of three of the seven countries that had laid formal claims to Antarctic territories overlapped.[113] This caused great concern for potential political disputes and the effect this might have on the Antarctic environment.

Pre-Antarctic Treaty Geo-Political Disputes in Antarctica (1939-1959)

In the period stretching from the outbreak of World War II in 1939 to the signing of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959, Antarctica had, once again since the "Heroic Age", become a contentious issue among states with vested interests or which had once been active on the continent. Howkins makes a valid argument for "doing environmental history" with respect to

[111] A. Howkins: 'Frozen Empires: A History of the Antarctic Sovereignty Dispute between Britain, Argentina, and Chile, 1939-1959' (PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, May 2008), 2.
[112] A. Howkins: 'Science, Environment and Sovereignty: The International Geophysical Year in the Antarctic Peninsula Region', in R.D. Launius, J. Rodger-Fleming and D.H. DeVorkin (eds): *Polar Science: Reconsidering the International Polar and Geophysical Years* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2010), 261; and A. Howkins: 'Frozen Empires: A History of the Antarctic Sovereignty Dispute Between Britain, Argentina, and Chile, 1939-1959' (PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, May 2008), 168.
[113] D.L. Garrison and D.B. Siniff, 'An Antarctic Perspective,' *BioScience*, 36, 4 (April 1986), 240.

Antarctic sovereignty disputes. He suggests that due to the relative simplicity of the environment, human-nature-culture relations interactions are more easily understood in Antarctica than other places where population numbers are infinitely more and where the environments are much more complex. Human actions, human understanding and the material environment are instrumental in understanding pre-ATS disputes over the Antarctic, however, more importantly the Antarctic environment as well as the ever changing perceptions of that environment due to increased contact by human beings should be at the centre of any meaningful understanding of the disputes.[114] These perceptions about the continent, as well as improved technological advancements have drastically changed human interactions with the Antarctic, where the dispute, along with other political developments, have made it a continent for science, and later, one of tourism as well.

During the Second World War, the possibility that Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic territories might be used as havens by enemy interests sparked action by the United Kingdom, France, Australia, Argentina and Chile to take protective measures in the areas of their responsibilities. Even though the motives for the establishment of stations and patrols on the continent and sub-Antarctic islands were political, some of the activities made contributions to scientific knowledge.[115] South Africa was not involved in these activities as it had no territorial interests to protect in the region. South Africa only gained sovereignty over Marion Island a few years after World War II, in 1948.

The most noteworthy of these 'protective' measures were undertaken by Chile, Argentina and Britain at the onset of World War II. Both Chile and Argentina advanced sovereignty claims to the Peninsula region of the Antarctic continent, directly southward of South America. Britain also announced their intension of sovereignty claims on parts of the same region, including the Falkland Island Dependencies. These claims were the only ones in the Antarctic that overlapped within one another, which led to an active three-way dispute that would last from 1939 to 1959. The three rival claims were supported by the three respective countries sending expeditions to Antarctica, constructing bases, launching diplomatic initiatives, distributing cultural propaganda, allotting legal protest notes and searching for historical antecedents. These three countries wanted to appropriate the Antarctic environment

[114] Howkins: 'Frozen Empires', 4.
[115] E.F. Roots: 'Background and Evolution of Some Ideas and Values that have Led to the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A Berkman *el al* (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011), 72.

itself for their own political ends, as the dispute was essentially a contest over 'environmental authority'.[116]

In the 1940s and 1950s, as a result of the Antarctic territorial dispute, Anglo-Argentine relations were characterised by a pivotal shift away from a declining trade-based relationship to one based on geopolitical competition in the South Atlantic.[117] Over the course of the sovereignty dispute, Britain's claims to 'environmental authority' was challenged by Argentina and Chile's claims to 'environmental nationalism'. Instead of giving way to the South American challenge, Britain proceeded to double its efforts to maintain a sovereign presence in Antarctica. However, as the three countries learned more about the reality of the Antarctic environment, their political perceptions of the region reformed.[118]

Britain's Operation Tabarin (1943-1945) was aimed to restore British Antarctic interests in the Antarctic region by means of removing rival marks of sovereignty, for example plaques, and deploying naval forces in the region as well as funding expeditions to Antarctica. Operation Tabarin was funded by the Churchill government on the basis of representations of Argentina as a perilous place committed to overturning British sovereign claims to the region. Despite severe financial difficulties facing the British government resulting from World War II, funding was secured so that Operation Tabarin could establish permanent bases in Antarctica during the 1943-1944 season. However, with the end of the war, the operation was transformed into a civilian organisation dubbed the Falkland Islands Dependency Survey (FIDS), financed by the Colonial Office and committed to protecting the sovereign claims of the British state in the region.[119]

The culmination of the effective settling of the three-way dispute between Britain, Argentina and Chile with the signing of the Antarctic Treaty in 1959 was an instrumental factor in the ability for paying passengers to be afforded the luxury to travel to Antarctica. Presently, the British are among the top two nationalities in terms of numbers, along with the United States, who travel to Antarctica as tourists. Furthermore, Argentina and Chile host the two ports, Ushuaia and Punto Arenas respectively, which are responsible for over 90 percent of all ship-borne tours to the Antarctica and Sub-Antarctic Islands. Clearly, one could infer that had the conflict not been subdued by negotiations and the eventual signing of the AT, the first ship-borne cruise of 1958 would likely not have transpired.

---

[116] Howkins: 'Frozen Empires', 2.
[117] K. Dodds: 'Geopolitics in the Foreign Office: British Representations of Argentina 1945-1961', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19, 3 (1994), 273.
[118] Howkins: 'Frozen Empires', v.
[119] Dodds: 'Geopolitics in the Foreign Office', 273.

The 'Antarctica Question' and the United Nations

In February 1956, the Indian delegation to the United Nations proposed that the eleventh General Assembly should also serve as a platform to discuss the 'Antarctic Question'. In doing so, the Indians hinted that they favoured some form of trusteeship as they believed that national sovereignty in Antarctica represented outdated remnants of European colonialism. They highlighted concerns at the political consequences of the continuing sovereignty dispute that existed between Britain, Argentina and Chile in the Antarctic Peninsula region as well as their fears that cold war rivalries may spread southwards. India was particularly concerned that nuclear weapon testing in the Antarctic could pose a serious threat in destabilising global weather patterns and stop the monsoon.[120]

The seven claimant states severely criticised the Indian proposal and feared that a United Nations resolution would be unreceptive to their respective claims. Furthermore, some of these states also dreaded the possibility that sovereign territories would be placed under United Nations control.[121] Their exclusive 'Antarctic Club' was now under threat. Contrastingly, the two superpowers, United States and the Soviet Union, neither of which had territorial claims in the Antarctic, yet both reserving rights to the whole of Antarctica, showed some sympathy with the Indian proposal.[122] The two states suggested that some sort of trusteeship may offer a feasible political future for Antarctica. However, the Indian proposal highlighted the competing visions for the political future of the Antarctic. Although the India's 'Antarctic Question' did not make it to the United Nations, at least not till the early 1980s, their inquiry and proposal did have a tangible impact upon the history of Antarctica in the second half of the 1950s. The improbable alliance between the disputing parties of the 'Old Commonwealth' and Latin America to the Indian proposal brought some sense of cohesion, and the countries discovered that they could work together for a common cause. In this manner, opposition to the Indian proposal helped lay the foundations for the Antarctic Treaty of 1959, more than the proposal itself, as the twelve signatories 'suspended' their differences in order to focus on what they had in common.[123]

---

[120] A. Howkins, 'Defending Polar Empire: Opposition to India's Proposal to Raise the "Antarctic Question" at the United Nations 1956,' *Polar Record*, 44, 228 (2008), 35.

[121] Howkins, 'Defending Polar Empire', 35.

[122] Although the USSR were far from decided on their future involvement with Antarctica.

[123] Howkins, 'Defending Polar Empire', 35-36. The twelve original signatories include Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America,

The politics of Antarctica were dominated by three inter-related issues in the mid-1950s. India's proposal responded to all three these issues, namely: The Anglo-Argentine-Chilean sovereignty dispute in the Antarctic Peninsula, growing rivalry between the two superpowers, and rapidly advancing scientific research.[124] Before 1956, India had virtually no contact with the science and politics of Antarctica. One could argue that their proposal had less to do with any intrinsic interest in the continent and more to do with ideology as India remained fiercely antagonistic against colonialism and all its forms after gaining political independence from Britain in 1947. Thus, their initial proposal to the United Nations hinted toward the idea that sovereignty claims in Antarctica formed part of the outdated politics of colonialism, as well as that the Cold War should be kept out of Antarctica.[125]

The Strategic Importance of the Antarctic Region for South Africa: The Fear of the 'Reds' in the White Continent

South Africa was one of the original signatories to the Antarctic Treaty and the second country of the original twelve to ratify the Treaty. To this day, South Africa is in fact still the sole African state that forms a part of the only governing body that presides over Antarctica. This begs the question why it was deemed necessary by the country that it be so intimately involved in Antarctica? The question was first addressed by the South African government in 1956 following a call from the Foreign Office in London at a meeting held by the various representatives of the Commonwealth discussing various issues regarding Antarctica. The following quote was sent from London to South Africa by their representative there, requesting South Africa's views on the strategic importance of the South-Pole region:

> The Foreign Office representatives said that the strategic importance of the Antarctic had changed as a result of the interest which the Soviet Union had begun to show in that region. It was unlikely that the Soviet Union's in the Antarctic was restricted to meteorological research. The British military authorities had at first regarded the Antarctic as of little strategic importance, but they had now changed their views. Discussions were now being held in the United Kingdom in order to ascertain, in light of the present developments, the strategic importance of that region. They would be grateful to learn the views of the other Commonwealth Governments regarding this matter.[126]

In May 1956, the Lieutenant General and Chief of the General Staff in Parliament addressed the Secretary of Foreign Affairs on the issue of the strategic importance of the

[124] Howkins, 'Defending Polar Empire', 36.
[125] Howkins, 'Defending Polar Empire', 36.
[126] KG/GPR/2/2, Die Strategiese belang van die Suidpoolstreek, 'Polar Research', Cape Town, 26 April 1956.

'South-Pole' region for South Africa. Their primary concern was that of the Soviet Unions' growing interest in that region. This was during the period when the Apartheid regime shared fears of communism with Western aligned capitalist countries, a fear which became known in South Africa as 'Die Rooi Gevaar' (The Red Peril). The main reasoning behind their fears with regard to the Soviet Union and Antarctica lay in the fact that the region was adjacent to the major oceans and that in times of conflict and war, the Southern tip of South Africa would play an invaluable role between the East and West. Therefore, they felt that the Antarctic region would be of great strategic importance for South Africa and their 'allies' against communism. Furthermore, it was deemed crucial that if any possibility of enemy-aligned (communist) countries should get a foothold there, that it should be nullified, as it would be possible for them to establish navy and other bases there, even if they pose to be purely scientific.[127]

Another factor that provided impetus to the South African government to become involved in the region was that it was well known there were also strategic resources in Antarctica, such as whale oil that was already being harvested. Again, in another document, reference was made to the Russians, where the South African government stated that it is a fact that Russia obtained its wealth in industrial material from their Arctic regions and have mastered the technology for obtaining mineral resources in polar conditions. Thus, the government of South Africa were convinced that as a result of their intensive research and activities in the Arctic region, Russia had transformed the Arctic to a region of global strategic importance. It was therefore vital that South Africa become involved in Antarctica as soon as possible in order to maintain a presence there, before the Russians 'take over'.[128]

The International Geophysical Year of 1957-1958

A critical change that marked a new direction for future Antarctic relations was cultivated by the International Geophysical Year of 1957-1958. During the IGY, many scientific research stations were set up by countries that had interests in the frozen continent. Scientific endeavours under the 1957/58 IGY program led to an understanding of the fragile nature of the Antarctic environment and its significance as a regulator of the climate of a large part of the Southern Hemisphere. Furthermore, the IGY brought about a new spirit of cooperation with regard to Antarctic affairs. The years prior to this large-scale scientific collaboration had been marked by increased competition, where conflicting claims gave rise to international tensions and

[127] KG/GPR/2/2, Die Strategiese belang van die Suidpoolstreek, 'Polar Research', Cape Town, 9 May and 28 May 1956.
[128] KG/GPR/2/2, Die Strategiese belang van die Suidpoolstreek, 'Polar Research', Cape Town, 9 May 1956.

attempts to consolidate sovereignty were equally matched by rigorous attempts to rebut and deny those claims. Essentially, the IGY brought a truce for the first time in the form of an understanding that activities during this period would be purely scientific and free of implications for claims of sovereignty.[129]

With regard to Antarctica, the pre-IGY periods are showcased as ones of conflict and tension between countries with political and economic interests in the continent, whereas the post-IGY era is mostly portrayed as one of harmony and where science is able to flourish peacefully. This portrayal, however, can be read as a misconception.[130] As a result of Cold War rivalries and contentious issues on territorial sovereignty, the IGY, in practise, could be regarded as having a two-faced personality. On the one side, it was branded by international cooperation, the sharing of scientific data and the exchange of scientific personnel. On the other, more Machiavellian side, the IGY played host to a worldwide stage upon which nations competed with one another in demonstrating their scientific proficiency. In turn, the performance of science became a recognised ploy in broader struggles over Antarctic sovereignty, especially because scientific outcomes often had strategic implications.[131]

Early in 1955, Britain proposed a Commonwealth Trans-Antarctic Expedition (CTAE), which they hoped to be jointly funded by Commonwealth countries. The United Kingdom Government had already approved the project in principle and were considering their financial and other support. However, at first, Commonwealth interest appeared to be 'lukewarm'. The cost of the expedition was estimated at £300,000 of which approximately one third of the funding was expected from private contributors, as many expeditions in the 'Heroic Age' relied greatly on private money. The Commonwealth Relations Office (CRO) would give no indication of the extent of the United Kingdom's Government contribution initially, as they wanted to know beforehand what they could expect from other Governments before showing their hand. The Canadian Government indicated that they were already deeply involved in the Arctic and that they were not anxious to divert their interests. However, they were prepared to divulge any technical advice. Australia considered the project of doubtful scientific value and also referred to the extent at which they were already involved in Antarctic ventures. Public opinion in New Zealand, on the other hand, was strongly in favour in participation.[132] The co-

[129] Lucas, 'International Agreement on Conserving the Antarctic Environment', 293.
[130] A. Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A Berkman *et al* (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011), 61.
[131] Howkins, 'Defending Polar Empire', 283.
[132] KG/GPR/2/2, Proposed Trans-Antarctic Expedition, 'Polar Research', 29 January 1955.

leader of the expedition would be the famous New Zealand born adventurer, Sir Edmund Hilary, together with Britain's Sir Vivian Fuchs.[133] The Commonwealth Transantarctic Expedition was successfully completed in 1958 during the IGY, the first time humankind would do so since the first and only unsuccessful attempt by Ernest Shackleton in his 1914-1917 expedition. The Commonwealth Relations Office still remained hopeful in 1955 that the Union Government of South Arica would not completely disassociate themselves from the project. The CRO felt that even a symbolic contribution would serve to demonstrate the collaborative nature of the expedition and Commonwealth solidarity in Antarctica.[134]

With increased knowledge being accumulated about the final continent to be explored and scrutinised by scientific enquiry, the realisation dawned on many that Antarctica was in fact not the frozen 'El Dorado' that they had previously believed. This gave way to shifting attitudes that would have significant political implications and a major impact on the political history of the Antarctic.[135] The IGY would also have an impact on tourism to the region. Through international scientific research and a level of cooperation and completion that ensued, it became clear that there was not real commodities or minerals that could be extracted, at least at the time. This, in turn, may have subdued further vehement sovereignty disputes and played a decisive role in Antarctic Nations agreeing upon 'freezing' sovereignty claims and henceforth regarding Antarctica as a continent of science and peaceful pursuits as set out by the Antarctic Treaty of 1959. Although the AT made no mention of tourism, the IGY had succeeded in establishing a constant human presence in the region, contributing invaluable knowledge on the environment, and making the continent 'safe' for the rise of tourism. Tourism would also become the only 'commodity' produced on the continent, as every other endeavour in Antarctica is undertaken at great cost. While knowledge accumulation through various events, such as the IGY and the CTAE, showed how science, and not an extractive industry, was most useful in paving the road for tourism.[136]

The Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research

Apart from being one of the catalysts for the creation of the Antarctic Treaty, the International Geophysical Year of 1958-1959 also led to formation of the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research (SCAR), a subsidiary of the International Council of Scientific Unions (now

[133] See the Book published on their expedition: V. Fuchs and E. Hillary: *The Crossing of Antarctica: The Commonwealth Transantarctic Expedition, 1955-1958* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1959).
[134] KG/GPR/2/2, Proposed Trans-Antarctic Expedition, 'Polar Research', 29 January 1955.
[135] Howkins, 'Defending polar empire, 283-284.
[136] Correspondence with L.M.E. van der Watt (16 September 2013).

International Council for Science). Initially dubbed the Special Committee on Antarctic Research, SCAR was established in 1958 to coordinate scientific research in Antarctica in response to the IGY. During these two critical years of large-scale international cooperative scientific investigations, SCAR was charged with the monitoring of the state of conversation, and scientific advice on these conversations.[137] However, with the idea of setting up the Special Committee on Antarctic Research in 1957, several of the participating countries were initially opposed to or hesitant concerning a strong internationalist thrust into Antarctica. The Australian government objected because it felt this might lead to occupancy on its claimed territory.[138] However, SCAR was founded from a desire by scientists to continue the international collaborative research into the Antarctic after the IGY, and held its first meeting in The Hague on 3-5 February 1958.[139]

Despite the fact that SCAR is a non-governmental organisation, it has been intimately linked to the governmental discussions at the Antarctic Treaty since its first meeting in 1961. Member states of the AT recognised at an early stage that in order to govern Antarctica it would be useful to have sound scientific advice. In the final report of the first Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meeting (ATCM), the first four recommendations all dealt with science and Recommendations I-IV were specifically dedicated to SCAR.[140] SCAR's primary role had always been to develop and coordinate international scientific research pertaining to the Antarctic, however, it has also provided independent advice to Treaty Parties in many scientific and environmental questions, initially through national government delegations. However, only in 1987 did SCAR attain the status of observer and the right to attend ATCMs and to submit information and working papers.[141]

The Antarctic Treaty System

Following the Heroic Age, which saw limited involvement by nine countries, namely Belgium; the United Kingdom; Germany; Sweden; France; Japan; Norway; Australia; and New Zealand; an increasing number of countries had become involved in the Antarctic. The scope of contact

[137] Lucas, 'International Agreement on Conserving the Antarctic Environment', 293.
[138] Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', 60.
[139] C.P. Summerhayes: "International collaboration in Antarctica: The International Polar Years, the International Geophysical Year, and the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research", *Rolar Record*, 44 (2008), 327.
[140] D.W.H. Walton: 'The Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research and the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A Berkman *et al* (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011), 78.
[141] Walton: 'The Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research and the Antarctic Treaty', 75.

had increased so much that some countries began to lay forth claims to certain regions where they were most active, namely Argentina, Australia, Britain, Chile, France, Norway and New Zealand.

Post-World War II political discussions on Antarctica had been argued to be influenced by the adoption of the United Nations (UN) Charter in San Francisco in 1945, at least to some extent. Regional solutions became a sanctioned and encouraged means of conflict moderation, which is explicitly addressed in Article 52 of the UN Charter.[142] The reasons for the signing of the treaty can also be better understood when viewed in the broader post-1945 Cold War context. The Cold War escalated and it was feared that Antarctica would also be drawn into the conflict. Indeed, during the 1950s the USA and other nations with dealings in Antarctica became fearful of the Soviet Union's intentions to enter Antarctica. In July 1959 the USA state Department's Henry Dater stated that:

> Because of its position of leadership in the Free World, it is evident that the United States could not now withdraw from the Antarctic … National prestige has been committed … Our capacity for sustaining and leading an international endeavour there that will benefit all mankind is being watched not only by those nations with us in the Antarctic but also by non-committed nations everywhere. Antarctica simply cannot be separated from the global matrix. Science is the shield behind which these activities are carried out.[143]

The ATS which effectively governs the Antarctic follows the Antarctic Treaty which was signed by the governments of Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the Soviet Union (now Russia), the United Kingdom and the United States of America. These twelve states recognise in the treaty that it is 'in the interest of all mankind that Antarctica shall continue forever to be used exclusively for peaceful purposes and shall not become the scene or object of international discord'.[144] Furthermore, the treaty and its signatories recognise the considerable contributions to scientific knowledge resulting from international cooperation in the scientific investigation in Antarctica. Thus, the treaty encourages the establishment and the firm foundation for the continuation and development of such cooperation on the basis of freedom of scientific investigation in Antarctica as applied during the International Geophysical Year accords with the interest of science and the progress of all humankind.[145] Concerning the negotiations prior to the signing

[142] M. Jacobsson: 'Building the International Legal Framework for Antarctica', in P.A Berkman *et al* (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011), 2.
[143] P.J. Beck: *The International Politics of Antarctica* (London, Croom Helm, 1986), 64-65.
[144] SANDF KG/GPR/2/4, (Vol. 1) 'The Antarctic Treaty', Antarctic Research, 9 December 1959.
[145] SANDF KG/GPR/2/4, (Vol. 1) 'The Antarctic Treaty', Antarctic Research, 9 December 1959.

of the AT, no less than 60 secret meetings were held before the formal conference opened in October 1959, culminating in the signing of the treaty on 1 December of the same year.[146]

Scholarship and popular writing on the AT have since the inception of the ATS been led by a misguided view that the IGY and the AT simply succeeded because politics was entirely set to one side. According to another, contradictory view, both the IGY and the advent of the AT were a matter of politics all the way. However, as the cold war archives opened, recent scholarship has proven that there was a great deal more politics at play than previously thought. There continues to be a special kind of give-and-take which exists between politicians and scientists whereby the latter are provided with funds to do the research, however in doing this research they also perform a political task, namely advancing prestige and the national interest of their own country in the geo-political arena. In doing so, they can in turn influence the growth of science. That being said, the rhetorical import of research activities may be more important to politicians than their actual scientific value. The future of the AT was by no means certain when it was founded, nor was it an easy process in fostering consensus between the 12 original signatories. As an Argentinian ambassador recalled at a symposium held in Ushuaia, Argentina in March 1995: "some delegates were in favour of freedom of science, others were against it; some supported the freezing of sovereignty, some did not; some wanted a treaty for 30 years, other a more permanent treaty; some said yes and some said no to observers, and so on".[147]

The AT is not without its pitfalls, and certain groups remain suspicious of this exclusive 'Antarctic Club'. Two alternative governing methods to the AT have been suggested; one holds the notion of the Antarctic as part of the heritage of humankind, from which stems the idea that it should be placed under the auspices of the United Nations. The other alternative is one of Antarctica as a world natural park, which was proposed by international environmentalist non-governmental organisations. Even though the above-mentioned concepts have been ruled out as alternative management or governing entities for Antarctica, they have contributed to some accommodation of the AT to wider internationalist and environmental conservation principles.[148]

South Africa and the ATS

[146] Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', 61.
[147] Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty' 60.
[148] Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', 60.

Early in 1966 a small newspaper in Southern California was surprised almost to the point of apoplexy, to quote the terminology used by the South Africa's Consulate-General in San Francisco, at the news that the country had procured certain equipment from the United States for use in Antarctica. The editor of the newspaper wrote the following:

> Beset with manifold domestic problems, the news that the Republic of South Africa is sponsoring a polar expedition to the Antarctic seems most ludicrous… perhaps the South African Government's next move will be a bid to join the so-called 'nuclear club' – as ridiculous as if Ethiopia's Haile Selassie insisted on accompanying Charles de Gaulle to Moscow this summer.[149]

Unfortunately for the editor's credibility as a well-informed journalist, he was in fact referring to South Africa's Seventh Expedition to Antarctica and not, as he fondly imagined, the country's first and probably only expedition. Also, South Africa had also already joined the 'nuclear club' when their nuclear reactor at Pelindaba went critical during 1965. Thus, some people found it strange that the Republic could be so actively involved in Antarctic research even to the extent of maintaining a permanent base in the region at considerable cost and effort in terms of money and manpower.[150] However, quite the inverse was true as South Africa has had a long connection with Antarctica, as long as most other countries.

In the 1970s scientists established that Antarctica was joined to the east coast of South Africa and Mozambique approximately two hundred million years ago. The geographical events that dragged the two continents apart have left so clean a break that they could be reassembled with less than 17,500 square miles of mismatch, an area only slightly larger than Denmark. Together, Africa, Australia, India and South America made up the ancient supercontinent of Gondwanaland. The first stage of the rifting was the split between Africa and Antarctica, where Antarctica remained at the same altitude while Africa and South America moved northward.[151] Thus, geographically speaking, South Africa has a connection with Antarctica which stretches back further than most countries that are part of the ATS today. South Africa's interest in Antarctica are still shaped to some extent by its geographical proximity, but in terms of political, defence and economic factors.

---

[149] DIRCO BTS 102/2/7 vol. 21, South Africa's Interest in Antarctica: A Brief Survey of Post-War Developments, December 1966.
[150] DIRCO BTS 102/2/7 vol. 21, South Africa's Interest in Antarctica: A Brief Survey of Post-War Developments, December 1966.
[151] 'Geophysics: Antarctica fitted into South Africa', *The Times* (1 April 1970), 10.

In a document issued by the Department of Foreign Affairs in 1966, South Africa's interests in Antarctica are rooted in the country's proximity to the continent and embraces in outline four spheres. First, South Africa's presence in Antarctica was guided by the issue of national security. The document argues that a modern jet aircraft could reach South Africa from Queen Maud Land (where the country's scientific bases have been located since the 1958) in less than four hours and a guided missile within a few minutes. Furthermore, it was feared that in the event of any disruption of transit though the Suez Canal, the passage between the Cape and the Antarctic Coast would be a vital lifeline between East and West, and the country would obviously be concerned about who holds access to the Antarctic coast on the other side.[152] The fear of who held the coast on the other side of the Southern Ocean could be regarded as being reserved against the Soviet Union, or as they were know during the Apartheid Era, "Die Rooi Gevaar" (The Red Peril).

Second, Antarctica may provide an essential staging post for air communication, both for the Republic and for other countries in the Southern Hemisphere. Third, Antarctica was seen to have a potential commercial value. By that stage, the mineral resources of the continent were still largely of an unknown quantity and their exploitation would no doubt present problems. It was South Africa's wish, given their proximity to Antarctica that they be able to share in the potential economic wealth of the continent if technological and other developments should result in the Antarctic being thrown open to commercial exploitation. Finally, in terms of meteorology, Antarctica was regarded as the 'breeding ground' of much of South Africa's weather and meteorological data which is invaluable in predicting weather changes.[153]

The obscure continent was brought to the world's attention in the 1980s. The commencement of the minerals treaty negotiations in 1982 attracted the attention of the international environmental movement and the world community in the United Nations, which began to question the legitimacy and effectiveness of the current system of governance for Antarctica. For the UN community, the conclusion of the 15-year law of the sea negotiations gave impetus to their interest in the next global commons. For the environmental community, the prospect of mineral development in Antarctica exacerbated the threats to the unique Antarctic environment posed by the steady growth in human activities in the southern Polar Regions since the late 1960s. Many of the environmentalists advocated that Antarctica be

[152] DIRCO BTS 102/2/7 vol. 21, South Africa's Interest in Antarctica: A Brief Survey of Post-War Developments, December 1966.
[153] DIRCO BTS 102/2/7 vol. 21, South Africa's Interest in Antarctica: A Brief Survey of Post-War Developments, December 1966.

declared a World Park, effectively making it off limits to all mineral development.[154] The reason for this is that Antarctica serves as a baseline for pollution studies around the globe, where studies are focussed on taking vital measurements of carbon dioxide and other pollutants that could affect the world's climate and agriculture. In the 1980s, in a world of scarcity of resources, Antarctica loomed as a possible treasure cache of offshore oil as well as krill, a tiny shrimp with the protein equivalent of beefsteak, which is the primary diet of whales. Even Antarctica's fresh water was thought to prove a valuable resource, in the form of icebergs, if someone figures out how to tow them.[155]

In the mid-1980s a bid to increase international control over scientific experiments in Antarctica as well as their effects on the environment was defeated after two weeks of private discussions between the 18 consultative Treaty members of that time.[156] On 2 June 1988, the parties to the Antarctic Treaty concluded the fourth major international agreement governing activities in the southern Polar Regions, namely the Convention on the Regulation of Antarctic Mineral Resource Activities (CRAMRA).[157] CRAMRA's decision-making institutions and procedures provide a workable system for taking decisions and establishing a scientific, environmental and technical advisory body.[158]

In 1991 the Antarctic Treaty Parties passed the 'Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty', which has five main provisions. First, it designates Antarctica as a natural reserve, devoted to peace and science, and provides for an indefinite ban on mineral extraction on the continent, except for the purposes of scientific research. Second, it promotes the protection of Antarctic biota. Third, strict limitations are enforced on disposal of wastes in Antarctica and the discharge of pollutants into Antarctic waters. Fourth, the application of environmental impact assessment procedures must be undertaken with regard to both scientific programmes and for non-governmental or tourist activities in Antarctica. Finally, it designates the requirements for response to environmental crises, including the development of joint contingency plans. The 'Protocol' became effective after it had been ratified by all of the signatory Parties in 1998.[159]

---

[154] Kimball, 'Antarctica', 78.
[155] 'To Exploit or to Preserve: The Great Scientific Laboratory', *The Star* (23 March 1981), 6.
[156] *The Times* (21 October 1985), 4.
[157] Kimball, 'Antarctica', 77.
[158] Kimball, 'Antarctica', 80.
[159] J. Splettstoesser, 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment: A History of Tour Operator's Concern for a Vulnerable Part of the World,' *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2 (2000), 50.

The success, or rather the longevity, of the AT can be attributed to the dual function of science, including its status as a sort of symbolic capital in the political arena. Science can therefore be seen as an 'arm's length' function that reinforced rather than undermined the multinational intergovernmental political management regime of the ATS.[160] This thesis argues for an added dimension, namely that of tourism. Regular and relatively safe tourism activities in Antarctica can be attributed to the successful partnership between science and politics. It is no coincidence that regular tourist activity in the region commenced briefly after the ratification of the AT, and the first ship-born and air-borne tourism coincided with the IGY.

In the decade immediately after the ratification of the AT, at least four related factors gave rise to scientific collaboration in the Antarctic. Firstly, due to new and improved technological developments, it was promising to pursue new research agendas. Secondly, there was a shift from description and observation to a pressing need for explaining processes, for instance the changes in the mass balance of glacial ice sheets. The need for explaining issues, not only in the natural sciences, but also in the social sciences gained impetus in the 1960s. Thirdly, an epistemic differentiation endued with regard to the disciplinary landscape within the sciences, with glaciology becoming more important. Lastly, the mission orientation of science in the blast radius of reformulations of economic and environmental motives for research was also imperative, which allowed glaciology to play a vital role in advancing the understanding of environmental change.[161]

Governing from afar: The Internet and Antarctic Governance

The ATS may have had their hands full governing the remotest continent on the globe with its extreme environmental conditions and the distance which exists between most ATS member-states and Antarctica, not to mention the cost of travelling there. However, technological advancements, most notably that of the internet, have brought Antarctica closer to home in certain ways. Naturally, the Antarctic treaty and most of its ensuing recommendations and related treaties were formed before the internet's widespread use. Conveniently, many of the treaty's provisions and other ATS agreements are particularly well suited for internet technology.[162] For instance, one of the fundamental elements of the AT (Article III, paragraph

[160] Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', 60.
[161] Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', 61.
[162] J.E. Gudgel: 'E-Governance in Antarctica: Internet Technology's Role in Administering a Global Commons', *IEE Internet Computing* (November/December 2006), 66. http://www.computor.org/internet (Accessed 6 Mei 2013)

1[c]) states that all data collected within the AT area should be transparent and made freely available to all.[163]

Conclusion

The evolution of science, and its connected evolution of technology, has been a key factor in the cooperation and shared responsibility for the management of Antarctica and its environment, as well as recognising the role the Antarctic plays in global processes.[164] Furthermore, knowledge interests of scientists and the symbolic-instrumental interests of politicians have been relatively convergent in Antarctica, which is precisely what made the IGY and the ATS regime that ensued possible in the first place. The convergence was made possible due to some very unique geopolitical conditions combined with new advances in technological capabilities in the 1950s.[165] These geopolitical conditions and technological advancements can also be argued to have been the catalysts needed for the commencement of regular tourist activities to the Southern Continent in the latter part of the 1950s. Perhaps it was this special set of conditions that were needed for people willing to go to the Antarctic, and ship operators to be able to take paying passengers as tourists. One evident reason why it took so long since the first proposed ship-borne tour to the Antarctic in 1910 to be realised only in 1958 was the two World Wars and geo-political instability. However, one can also argue that even though the World Wars had a direct inhibiting effect on human interests in the Antarctic, it indirectly had a positive effect due to major advances in science and technology, which would prove crucial in opening up the continent. Other factors preventing people (other than scientists and governments) gazing south would include factors such as the Great Depression, which was most devastatingly felt in 1929-1932. However, it is certain that a constant human presence in Antarctica through advances in science and technology had finally opened up the Antarctic continent for relatively safe tourist activities.

[163] SANDF KG/GPR/2/4, (Vol. 1) 'The Antarctic Treaty', Antarctic Research, 9 December 1959.
[164] Roots: 'Background and Evolution of Some Ideas and Values that have Led to the Antarctic Treaty', 69.
[165] Elzinga: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', 65.

Chapter 4: Ego-Tourism Revisited? Antarctic Tourism and Leisure

> "Inflexible of purpose, ste[a]dfast in courage, resolute in endurance in the face of unparalleled misfortune. Their bodies are lost in the Antarctic ice. But the memory of their deeds is an everlasting monument".
>
> Memorial to Scott, August 1915.[166]

> "Is it the romance of the tale that appeals to adventure travellers? The price? About $10,000."
>
> Tour Guide, November 2000.[167]

This chapter will survey various tourist and leisure activities that are conducted in Antarctica. First, however, tourism and leisure will be defined and placed into historical context, as it applies to the Antarctic. The leisure industry in Antarctica, as this chapter will argue, challenges the very definition of conventional tourism. The reason for this is that the Antarctic is the only continent that does not have an indigenous human population and therefore, people who travel there are all tourists in a sense. Yet, there is a distinct difference between the range and nature of interaction with the Antarctic environment by scientists and paying tourists. This chapter will show a definite change over time in the range of activities, which, it will contend, is strongly aligned with the change of technology. Also, statistics on the growth of tourist numbers to the region and possible reasons that explain the various stages of sporadic growth will be examined. Furthermore, the view of both tourists and tour operator will be taken into account and the power relationships that are negotiated between them.

The International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO) is one of the more recent international organizations which regulate human activities in the Antarctic. It focusses primarily on tourism and operates as a self-regulatory body. IAATO is a member organisation which was founded in 1991 to advocate, promote, and practice safe and environmentally

[166] 'Tribute to explorers: A Captain Scott Memorial in St. Pauls', *The Times* (21 August 1915), 9.
[167] B. Miller: 'Selling Danger', *Seattle Weakly* (23 November 2000), 22.

responsible private-sector travel to the Antarctic.[168] The reasons for the founding of IAATO will be discussed, as well as its functions, limitations and membership.

The Rise of Leisure – Paid Vacations and Technological Advancements

The prospect of a 'leisure society' relies on a distinct contrast being drawn between the realms of work and leisure, where work is represented as drudgery, approached with a grudging of that which must be done. Therefore, it contains little intrinsic satisfaction, and is undertaken to obtain the money which allows needs to be satisfied outside work. In this duality of work and leisure, the individual is seen as undertaking work instrumentally as the price which must be paid for pleasure to be enjoyed outside of work.[169] However, the ability to be able to embark on vacations is a relatively recent phenomenon, as it largely depended on paid leave from work. From the 1930s and fast-tracking in the post-World War II period, paid vacations became understood as a right of citizenship bound up within a European standard of living, which formed part of a new 'social contract'. Unlike the United States, for example, where modern vacations developed as a 'privilege' afforded to salaried and waged workers as part of their employment 'package', access to vacation time in most of European states had been politically secured. The vast majority of Europeans were guaranteed as much as five weeks of paid vacation by virtue of their status as citizens, rather than as a result of employee 'benefits'.[170] Naturally, paid vacations became the norm in both political legislature in countries across the globe and for companies, as we know from our contemporary society. Thus, in terms of tourism, and more specifically, Antarctic tourism, the advent of paid leave was instrumental in allowing for tourists to travel to Antarctica. This may be a reason why the first proposed Antarctic cruise with paying tourists in 1910 was delayed, with the first cruise only in 1958.[171]

One may regard leisure time as the major opportunity and recreation as the major means that people possess to express themselves creatively, to exercise artistic skill and pursue cultural interests as they please.[172] However, this ability to pursue cultural interests though leisure and tourist practices are much more tied up with material objects and physical

[168] http://iaato.org/about.html (30 May 2011)
[169] J. Clarke and C. Critcher: *The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Britain* (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1985), 2-3.
[170] E. Furlough: 'Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40, 2 (April 1998), 249.
[171] S.V. Scott: 'How Cautious is Precautious?: Antarctic Tourism and the Precautionary Principle', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 50, 4 (2001), 967.
[172] N.P. Miller and D.M. Robinson: *The Leisure Age: Its Challenge to Recreation* (Belmont, Wadsworth, 1963), 14.

sensations than traditionally assumed. Haldrup and Larsen argue that contemporary tourism performances involve, and are made both possible and pleasurable, by objects, machines and technologies, as opposed to emphasising cognitive human processes such as thinking, imagining, interpreting and representing. Such a representation has been blind to the fact that 'non-humans' such as objects and technologies enable human agency and are crucial in making leisure and tourism geographies 'happen-able' and 'perform-able'. Thus, the cultural-centric view with regard to tourism and leisure has wrongly portrayed it as a purely human accomplishment.[173] This is even more applicable to Antarctica than any continent on Earth, as it was the last to be touched by humankind due to its geographic position and the severity of its climatic conditions. Thus, technological advances in communication, transport, clothing and navigation were essential for the growth of the tourism industry in Antarctica.

Contextualising Tourism in Antarctica: What kind of tourism?

For the purposes of studying tourism in Antarctica, a definition on tourism must be refined to fit the unique environment in which tourist activities occur. Due to the uniqueness of the manner in which the Antarctic is governed as well as its limited 'human history' and relatively pristine environment which is believed to be fragile, a general definition for tourism would not suffice. It seems that no matter how one chooses to look at Antarctica, it is impossible to do so without involving science in your study. As this thesis seeks to illuminate non-scientific endeavours in the Antarctic under the umbrella of tourism, one cannot seek to define tourism to the Antarctic without placing it in relation to science, the 'other' significant human activity in the region.

The dictionaries date the first appearance of the word 'tourists' in 1800, and 'tourism' in 1811. However, during the first 150 years of its existence, tourism had not been able to attract the attention of historians. It would only surface as an off-shout of social history which surfaced during the 1960s. With the rise of social history, it has now become common knowledge that history is not merely made at the courts, on battlefields, in the cabinets or the general staffs, the system prescribed by court historians has largely been adapted to cultural and intellectual history, even though the intention was to break with this tradition.[174] Travel is one of the most ancient and common aspects of human life and it can be traced back to mythical times. People have always travelled and yet, how does one justify historically isolating

[173] M. Haldrup and J. Larsen: 'Material Cultures of Tourism', *Leisure Studies*, 25, 3 (July 2006), 275-276.
[174] H.M. Enzensberger: 'A Theory of Tourism', *New German Critique*, 68 (1996), 119-120.

something called tourism from something that has always existed, as if it were a unique phenomenon? Travel, at first, was a necessity, biological or even economic in nature. The nomadic peoples had to trek due to geographic or climatic reasons. The desire to travel was also never a reason for ancient expeditions of warfare. The first human being who travelled of their own will were merchants, and yet again, for economic reasons. This is evident in the fact that the ancient word for 'traveller' in Hebrew is synonymous with 'merchant'.[175]

Tourism studies are commonly acknowledged as a separate research domain, which is multidisciplinary by nature. Thus, researchers from a wide range of disciplines, namely anthropology, geography, economics, demography, health sciences, ecology, psychology, environmental sciences, law, political sciences, management studies and history have studied aspects of tourism. The phenomenon of global tourism is made up of an intricate system of cause and effect chains running back and forth across spatial and sequential scales and across disciplinary boundaries. The tourism system cannot be understood properly by deconstructing it into its constituent parts, as it is a 'complex system'.[176] Within the perspective of a chaos perspective on tourism, tourism operates in a non-linear and chaotic manner, furthering the idea of tourism as a complex system. The chaos perspective conceptualises tourism as being driven by discrete individual actions or 'chaos markers'.[177] The inhospitableness and remoteness of the Antarctic environment coupled with the unique regulatory framework marks the development of tourism in the region particularly prone to surprise and volatility. The volatility of the environment may be regarded as a 'chaos marker', lending some agency to nature.

Any adequate conceptualisation of tourism stresses an all-inclusive approach that involves the relationships between tourism, leisure and other social practices and behaviours related to human movement.[178] Such an assessment is noteworthy in any analysis of contemporary human mobility given the extent to which the time-space convergence has made it less difficult for those with sufficient time and economic budgets to move over time and space. Tours which once took two or three days to accomplish can now be completed as a

[175] Enzensberger: 'A Theory of Tourism', 122.
[176] B. Amelung and M. Lamers: 'Scenario Development for Antarctic Tourism: Exploring the Uncertainties', *Polarforschung*, 2-3 (2005), 134.
[177] Amelung and Lamers: 'Scenario Development for Antarctic Tourism: Exploring the Uncertainties', 135.
[178] T. Coles, C.M. Hall and D.T. Duval: 'Mobilising Tourism: A Post-disciplinary Critique', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30, 2 (2005), 32.

daytrip.[179] The same can be said for travel to Antarctica. During the Heroic Age one could only travel by ship which could take a few months. Today, one can take a flight from Cape Town and be standing on a blue ice runway five and a half hours later. Convergence through physical travel is further complemented by convergence in communications.[180] Ideas on improved communication and how it relates to Antarctic travel will be developed later in this chapter. It is clear that such shifts in technological advancements in both mobility and communications have implications for a wide range of human activities both within and outside of tourism.

Generally, a tourist may be defined as 'a temporary leisured person who voluntarily visits a place away from home for the purpose of experiencing a change'.[181] In this view, anyone who travels to Antarctica is a tourist, which is true to a certain extent, and no human can claim to be from the Antarctic, the only continent without an indigenous human population. On the other hand, a definition specifically suited to Antarctic tourism, as it is a destination unlike any other on Earth, was developed by Hall in 1992, where he defined it as 'all existing human activities other than those directly involved in scientific research and the normal operation of government bases'.[182] Enzenbacher defines Antarctic tourists as 'visitors who are not affiliated in an official capacity with an established National Antarctic Programme'.[183] Furthermore, those included under the label of tourists in Antarctica are fare-paying passengers, private expeditions, and adventurers aboard either ship or airborne vessels. On the other hand, off-duty research and base personnel, tour operator staff, media, and distinguished visitors such as parliamentary members are considered to fall outside the abovementioned definition, although it is acknowledged that they may engage in some tourism activities during their time spent on the continent. According to Stewart *et al*, *a* contentious area that exists within these definitions is whether they can be used for the over-flight passengers who travel to view Antarctica from the air, but do not physically arrive there.[184] However, one has to assert

[179] S. Gössling and C.M. Hall: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change' in S. Gössling and C.M. Hall (eds): *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships* (London and New York, Routledge, 2006), 2.
[180] See D.G. Janelle and D. Hodge (eds): *Information, Place and Cyberspace: Issues in Accessibility* (Berlin, Springer-Verslag, 2000).
[181] S. Gössling and C.M. Hall: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change' in S. Gössling and C.M. Hall (eds): *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships* (London and New York, Routledge, 2006), 2.
[182] C.M. Hall: 'Tourism in Antarctica: Activities, Impacts and Management', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30 (1992), 4.
[183] D. Enzenbacher: 'Tourists in Antarctica: Numbers and Trends', *Polar Record*, 28, 164 (1992), 17.
[184] E.J. Stewart, D. Draper and M.E. Johnston: 'A Review of Tourism Research in the Polar Regions', *Arctic*, 58, 4 (December 2005), 384-385.

that over-flights should be included, as these passengers pay to view the continent and they contribute directly to polluting the Antarctic airspace.

Eco- Nature Based Tourism

The relationship between tourism and the environment has been the object of scientific research for approximately forty years. Tourism started to grow rapidly in the post-World War II era in the 1950s. Then, it was merely seen as an economic sector with great potential for national economies. This opened up opportunities for recreation and leisure for large parts of the population in the industrialised world. However, it was not until the rise of the green movement in the 1960s and 1970s that environmental impacts of tourism were realised. Yet, these were generally local in character and focussed on problems such as erosion problems or beach crowding. The evaluation of environmental impacts during the 1960s and 1970s were fundamentally based on aesthetic judgements and questionable scientific methods.[185]

Eco or nature tourism has become one of the chief tourist activities in recent years. The term 'eco-tourism' emerged in the mid-1980s, however, it was not as yet understood in its contemporary meaning of 'responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of all people'.[186] Tourism has gained a much more positive reputation among social scientists and environmental conservationists, especially since the 1990s. This is due to an expanding group of new tourism companies, often in partnership with nongovernmental organisations, for instance IAATO in Antarctica, now claiming to being less damaging to the environment and on indigenous peoples, even as they strive for profit. These companies label their excursions variously as 'ecotourism', 'community-based tourism', cultural tourism', or plainly 'alternative tourism'.[187] Initially, ecotourism was proposed as a means to deal with negative environmental effects of mass tourism by encouraging small groups of tourists to act in environmentally friendly ways. However, some researchers have argued that this micro-solution to the macro-problem of tourism could only produce an unstable and hence evolving, relationship, due to this inherent discrepancy between size and scale.[188] Furthermore, Wheeler contends that these 'solutions' remain essentially theoretical, as they are

[185] Gössling and Hall: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change', 13.
[186] Gössling and Hall: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change', 2. The term eco-tourism has many different meanings and is a subject of much contestation. In the case of Antarctica, by merely travelling there you already put the environment at risk.
[187] A. Stronza: 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30 (2001), 274.
[188] C. Ryan, K. Hughes and S. Chirgwin: 'The Gaze, Spectacle and Ecotourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27, 1 (2000), 148-149.

not practical answers for the future and indeed are likely to fuel the problems they are seeking to solve. Wheeler further makes a distinction between 'mass tourism' and 'responsible tourism' also known today as ecotourism. There is yet another distinction made by the perpetrators of the aforementioned tourism types. The former is practised by tourists, and the new, sensible tourist has become known, or elected rather to become known as a traveller. He makes a valid point when he suggests that the so-called aware and educated individual travellers, in their rush to escape the mass tourist, are forever seeking the new, the exotic, the unspoilt and even the vulnerable. Inevitably, however, they are inescapably paving the way for the package tour, as the sensitive traveller is the perpetrator of the global spread of tourism. This begs the question who, in the long term, is responsible for the most damage, the mass tourist or the eco-tourist, opening up and popularising new regions to visit.[189]

During the evolution of ecotourism development, three continuing dimensions are evident, in that tourism is nature based, educative and sustainable.[190] Advocates for ecotourism have also suggested that tourism can be educational for tourists, and that the right kind of touristic experiences can result in increased environmental awareness among tourists. In the past, few scholars have analysed how tourists' attitudes actually do change as a result of particular kinds of experiences.[191] One interviewee claimed that after her voyage to Antarctica, she realised just how substantial our carbon footprint as humans really is. Since her voyage, she is much more conscious about what the purchases. This was due to the environmental lectures provided on nearly all Antarctic cruises. She stated: 'For instance, if something has unnecessary packaging, I will not purchase it. I consolidate car trips to save fuel, I take shorter showers, I recycle everything that can be recycled, I don't buy paper towels anymore, the list goes on and on.'[192] One cannot assume that this is the case for all eco-tourists to the Antarctic or other regions on the globe, however, the educative nature of eco-tourism certainly does have an impact on travellers, albeit in varying degrees.

For people who do not have the luxury or funds to travel to Antarctica, they can live vicariously through documentaries, photos and stories written on the Antarctic. This phenomenon has come to be known as 'armchair tourism'. The cliché of 'a picture being worth

[189] B. Wheeler: 'Tourism's Troubled Times: Responsible Tourism is Not the Answer', *Tourism Management*, 12, 2 (June 1991), 91-92.
[190] C. Ryan, K. Hughes and S. Chirgwin: 'The Gaze, Spectacle and Ecotourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27, 1 (2000), 149.
[191] Stronza: 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives', 278.
[192] E-mail interview with Erin Frisone-Craig (13 September 2013). Erin and her husband eloped to Antarctica to get married in the 2012/13 austral summer.

a thousand words' is a perfect fit for the promotion of places as tourist destinations. Thus, visual images are a powerful element of tourist destination marketing. Photographs of scenery, landmarks and icons dominate all forms of tourism promotion and they are dispersed via travel brochures, television commercials as well as internet media.[193] The pulling power that particular visual images have on a tourist's behaviour is gaudily displayed wherever tour busses pull up at famous sites, for example:

> Older people still experience the need to translate images into observed reality. When they travel they want to see the Eiffel Tower or the Grand Canyon exactly as they saw them first on posters. An American tourist… does more than see the Eiffel Tower. He photographs it exactly as he knows it from posters. Better still, he has someone photograph him in front of it. Back home, that photograph reaffirms his identity with that scene.[194]

Ceballos-Lascurain defined ecotourism as:

> Travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring, and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations (both past and present) found in these areas.[195]

Modes of Travel

The modes of transport used in international tourism changed fundamentally with the rise of civil aviation in the 1960s. Flying abroad was an option only available to the wealthy in the 1960s and 1970s, but since then aviation has became one of the most popular means of transport in international travel, with growth rates in the order of 5-6 percent per annum from 1970 to 1993, and 7.1-7.8 percent per annum from 1994 to 1996. Approximately 40 percent of all international tourists travel by air, although that number is severely less in Antarctica.[196] In 1977 the Antarctic tourism industry expanded to include 'flight-seeing', that is, overflying the continent without landing. Both Qantas and Air New Zealand operated aircraft annually until the crash of an Air New Zealand DC10 on Mount Erebus on 28 November 1979, killing all 257 passengers. Shortly after, tourist flights were terminated, but resumed in the 1994/95 season and have continued annually since then. Overflights peaked in the 1999/2000 season with 3,412 tourists choosing this form of travel.[197] Overflights ceased to operate in the region after the

[193] O.H. Jenkins: 'Photography and travel Brochures: The Circle of Representation', *Tourism Geographies*, 5, 3 (2003), 305.
[194] E. Carpenter: *Oh What a Blow That Phantom Gave Me!* (New York, Holt Reinhardt and Winston, 1972), 6.
[195] H. Ceballos-Lascurain: 'The Future of Ecotourism', *Mexico Journal*, 1 (January 1987), 14.
[196] Gössling and Hall: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change', 4.
[197] D. Landau and J. Splettstoesser: 'Management of Tourism in the Marine Environment of Antarctica: The IAATO Perspective', *Tourism in Marine Environments*, 4, 2-3 (2007), 200; and Amelung and Lamers, 135.

2007/08 season, presumably because of the global recession and the costs involved of this mode of travel.

Antarctic Tourist Season	No. of Passengers on Overflights
1997/8	3,146
1998/9	3,127
1999/2000	3,412
2000/1	2,041
2001/2	2,082
2002/3	1,552
2003/4	2,827
2004/5	2,030
2005/6	1,165
2006/7	1,046
2007/8	613

Figure 1: Number of passengers for Overflights in Antarctica

Source: (Peder Roberts, 'Science and commerce on the high seas: the international waters of the Antarctic between the world wars,' paper presented at the 5th SCAR History Workshop, Washington DC, 3 December 2009.)

Travel to the Polar Regions has grown substantially since the early 1990s, which was accompanied by a surge of focus on academic inquiry. Polar tourism research appears to cluster around four main avenues of inquiry, namely: tourism patterns, tourism impacts, tourism policy and management as well as tourism development.[198] Tourism demand and behaviour are principally strong components of research on tourist patterns. These patterns include aspects such as the motivation, demographics, and number of tourists. Furthermore, their routes, destinations, activities pursued, sources of information, attitudes, knowledge, skills, and the composition of the travelling group are also scrutinised. Until the early 1990s, the total number of tourists who had visited Antarctica was difficult to determine with certainty due to the fact that reporting procedures were not uniform. However, some organisations made reasonable estimates. [199]

[198] E.J. Stewart, D. Draper and M.E. Johnston: 'A Review of Tourism Research in the Polar Regions', *Arctic*, 58, 4 (December 2005), 383.
[199] Stewart, Draper and Johnston: 'A Review of Tourism Research in the Polar Regions', 385.

Global Environmental Change

Global environmental change (GEC) threatens the very foundations of tourism through climatic change, modifications of global biogeochemical cycles, land alteration, the loss of non-renewable resources, unsustainable use of renewable resources and gross reductions in biodiversity. The scale and rate of these changes have increased dramatically because of anthropogenic actions within which tourism is deeply embedded.[200] There are two ways in which anthropogenic impacts on the environment can have a global character. The first way hints towards the 'global', which refers to the functioning of a system. In this view, the oceans and climate have the characteristic of a global system and both influence and are influenced by tourism production as well as consumption. The second type of GEC happens when a change occurs on a worldwide scale or represents a significant fraction of a global resource.[201] Both these types of change are significant for tourism.

Breaking the Ice: The Fall of the Soviet Union and the Rise of Antarctic Tourism

When tracking tourist numbers to the Antarctic, there exists a definite and resounding boom which occurred with the advent of the 1990s. The reason for this very apparent boom lies within a significant political event, namely that of the fall of the Berlin wall and the demise of communism. In fact, the reason for the abrupt influx of tourist to Antarctica has a lot to do with its Northern counterpart, the Arctic. With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the effective end of the Cold War, Russia had little use for their sizeable fleet of icebreaker ships that had been patrolling the Arctic. These icebreaker ships, which are the ideal ships to travel to Antarctica, were leased at competitive prices to Antarctic tour-operator companies, allowing the availability of these vessels for ship-based polar tourism to increase rapidly.[202] This allowed tourists travelling to Antarctica to do so in relative safety and comfort. This consequently pushed the number of tourists from a few hundred per season to more than 10 000 within a period of five years.[203]

---

[200] Gössling and Hall: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change', 1.
[201] B.L. Turner *et al* (eds): *The Earth as Transformed by Human Action* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990).
[202] R.K. Headland: 'Historical Development of Antarctic Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21, 2 (1994), 271.
[203] E.J. Stewart and D. Draper: 'The Sinking of the MS *Explorer*: Implications for Cruise Tourism in Arctic Canada', *Arctic*, 51, 2 (June 2008), 224; and *The Cape Times*, "Adventure Tourism Heads South: New Playground for the Rich – Antarctica" (3 January 1997), 2.

The International Association for Antarctic Tour Operators

The history of human involvement in Antarctica had mainly been one of exploration, exploitation and science until the 1950s. The first tourist aircraft to visit Antarctica left Punta Arena in Chile on 23 December 1956 and overflew the South Shetland Islands and northern half of the peninsular. A suggestion for an Antarctic cruise had been made as early as 1910 by Thomas Cook, although the first ship that ventured to the Antarctic with paying tourists on board was the *Les Eclaireurs*, an Argentinean naval transport, which visited the same area twice in January and February 1958. Thus, the history of tourism in the Antarctic is a relatively short one, compared to tourism in the Arctic. Reasons for the delay of the onset of Antarctic tourism include political and geographical differences, and also a need for suitable vessels to travel to earth's last great wilderness. [204]

After a relatively sluggish start of ship-borne tourism in the late 1950s and 1960s in Antarctica it has now become a regular presence. Tourist numbers from the 1950s through the 1970s were limited, with fewer than 1,000 tourists visiting the Antarctic in the austral summer. Though, from the mid-1980s onward, annual tourist numbers began to rise and by 1992-93 had risen to 6,704.[205] Only a minute percentage of this figure is contributed with South Africans, as there are on average approximately 120 South Africans that travel to Antarctica each season.[206]

Recognising a need for the standardisation of operating procedures that would protect the vulnerable environment, tour operators initiated codes of conduct in the 1980s. These codes of conduct lead to the formation of International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators (IAATO) by the then existing seven tour operators in 1991.[207] Since 1991, management of tourism in Antarctica has been the combined responsibility of the Antarctic Treaty Parties and IAATO. With the rapid growth of tourism to the region from the late 1980s, the management strategies developed by IAATO comprised establishing categories of membership that are tailored to accommodate size of vessels as well as carrying capacity.[208] The founding members

[204] S.V. Scott: 'How Cautious is Precautious?: Antarctic Tourism and the Precautionary Principle', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 50, 4 (October 2001), 967; and R.K. Headland: 'Historical Development of Antarctic Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21, 2 (1994), 272, 275.

[205] J. Verbitsky: 'Titanic Part II? Tourism, Uncertainty, and Insecurity in Antarctica' in A. Brady (ed.): *The Emerging Politics of Antarctica* (New York, Routledge, 2013), 223.

[206]Interview with Hans van Heukelum, owner of Unique Destination who organise and market Antarctic Tours, Cape Town (Wouter Hanekom, 2 September 2013).

[207] J. Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment: A History of Tour Operator's Concern for a Vulnerable Part of the World,' *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2 (2000), 47.

[208] D. Landau and J. Splettstoesser: 'Management of Tourism in the Marine Environment of Antarctica: The IAATO Perspective', *Tourism in Marine Environments*, 4, 2-3 (2007), 185-193.

were: Adventure Network International, Mountain Travel Sobek, Paquet/Ocean Cruise Lines, Salén Lindblad Cruising, Society Expeditions, Travel Dynamics and Zegrahm Expeditions.[209] The main impetus behind forming a global, non-profit industry association was two-fold. Firstly, the signing of the Antarctic Environmental Protocol in early 1991 by the Antarctic Treaty nations established rigorous standards beyond those already outlined in the Antarctic Treaty of 1959, which designated Antarctica as a 'natural reserve dedicated to peace and science'. The protocol provided a framework for the continued protection of the Antarctic environment. Secondly, by amalgamating, the companies were able to pool resources and lobby their national governments to develop substantive regulations and guidelines compatible with the best practices that were already being followed in the field.[210] The objective of IAATO was to act as a united voice to advocate, promote and practice safe and environmentally responsible private-sector travel in the Antarctic. Since the inception of IAATO, the Antarctic Treaty Parties passed Recommendation XVIII-1 in 1994, which expanded the guidelines of tourist operators into a standardised and formal version.[211] Furthermore, no records of tourist numbers and activities were collected during the industry's formative years, but from 1992 an important function of IAATO has been to collect accurate statistics on behalf of the US National Science Foundation's Office of Polar Programs. Each year's tourism statistics are presented at the annual ATCM, as well as projections for the following season's activities.[212]

When the Antarctic Treaty was written and signed in 1959, two issues, namely tourism and mineral resources, were not addressed as issues as there was no activity in either subject at the time. Very little was known about mineral types their distribution across the continent, and the first tourist expeditions had only just been undertaken, but it was not foreseen to become an active industry. However, the next few decades saw a change in the prevalence of tourism and minerals as actively discussed issues.[213]

In the 1970s there had been a distinct increase in the number of tourist cruises by the *Lindbald Explorer* and the *World Discoverer*. The member parties of the Antarctic Treaty System agreed that some form of regulations should be ratified in order to ensure that tourism activities would not negatively influence the fragile environment. However, the recommendations that were passed did not have any legally binding force. Very little mention

[209] http://iaato.org/bylaws#article3 (Accessed 1 February 2012)
[210] http://iaato.org/history-of-iaato (Accessed 1 October 2013)
[211] Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 47.
[212] Landau and Splettstoesser: 'Management of Tourism in the Marine Environment of Antarctica', 200.
[213] Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 48.

of tourism is made in the South African archives before the 1990s. Only one was found in 1986. The Director-General of Foreign Affairs in South Africa proposed to establish a task group to investigate Antarctic Tourism and non-governmental expeditions and to prepare a document to be referred to the Antarctic Executive Committee.[214] This was facilitated by a growing prevalence of articles of Antarctic tourism in the South African media.

By 1990 tourist companies took it upon themselves, without any pressure from the Treaty Parties, to instigate a set of codified guidelines, formalising what had already been in use for several tourism seasons. These self-imposed Guidelines became the standard for conducting tourism ventures on Antarctica at the time and they were eventually formally adopted by all new operators who entered the market for Antarctic tourism. Thus, in 1991, the seven tour operators conducting tours to Antarctica agreed to act as a single organisation to advocate, promote and practise environmentally responsible private-sector travel to the Antarctic. This marked the birth of the International Association of Antarctica Tour Operators, now widely known as IAATO.[215]

The first order of business for IAATO was to adopt the existing Guidelines that the original operators had been practising for tourism visits to Antarctica. These guidelines were formalised into brochures to member operators and presented to passengers in briefings on tour vessels. These Guidelines were made available in the four languages of the Antarctic Treaty, namely English, French, Russian and Spanish, due to the multi-national nature of tourists on these vessels. The Guidelines were eventually also translated into German and Japanese due to the relatively high number of tourists from these countries. Furthermore, Comparable Guidelines for Tour Operators were made available to member companies of IAATO for use in informing expedition staff and crew about safe environmental practices. The members of the newly found IAATO wrote Bylaws to provide rules for membership as well as procedures for its operations. A newsletter was also begun so that members and other interested parties on the mailing list would stay informed of its activities. Annual meetings were scheduled so that tourism activities and work could be discussed more comprehensively with the US Antarctic Program in support of its science projects and to ensure that procedures for station visits and environmental safeguards in general were being adhered to.[216]

---

[214] DIRCO BTS 102/2/9 (Vol. 6), Correspondence by Director-General of Foreign Affairs: Antarctic Tourism and non-governmental expeditions, 20 June 1986.
[215] R.K. Headland: 'Historical Development of Antarctic Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21, 2 (1994), 275-276; and J. Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 48-49.
[216] Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 49.

Tour operators of the member companies of IAATO recognised that the 1991 'Protocol on Environmental Protection to the Antarctic Treaty', also known as the Madrid Protocol, called on Treaty Parties to act as though the Protocol was in force, even though it was only ratified in 1998 by all of the signatory Parties. Thus, the tour operators began to address the question of environmental assessments soon after the Protocol was signed in Madrid in 1991. Since then, IAATO members have either conducted environmental audits or initial environmental evaluations (IEE) in order to assess their *modus operandi* and to ascertain whether remedial practices may be required. These findings are then presented at ATCMs by the IAATO delegation or by Treaty Parties.[217]

In 1992, only one year after IAATO was formed, it had become recognised as a responsible organisation for Antarctic tourism and as such, an IAATO delegation was formally invited to the Antarctic Treaty Consultative Meetings (ATCM), starting with ATCM XVII in November in Venice, Italy. Their first invitation was only valid for the workshops. However, since 1994 IAATO has had a regular presence at full ATCMs. Delegates from IAATO have delivered numerous information papers at these meetings. Included in these papers were annual reports of activities, safety and contingency plans, educational practises, environmental evaluations, and the like, on order to keep Treaty Parties informed about their activities and to respond to issues of concern to the Parties. A major Recommendation was ratified by the Treaty Parties at the XVIII ATCM in Kyoto in 1994 that addressed the issue of Guidelines for Visitors and Tour Operators that the tour operators have been observing for a number of years. Recommendation XVIII-1, 'Guidance for visitors to the Antarctic' and 'Guidance for Those Organising and Conducting Tourism and Non-Governmental Activities in the Antarctic' was formalised into treaty language and adopted at the next annual IAATO meeting in July 1994. This document has become a vital part of briefings to passengers and crew on all vessels conducting tours in the Antarctic. Furthermore, it has become the standard for environmental practices amid tour operators. The various points of Recommendation XVIII-1 are now presented on a series of slides in briefings to both passengers and crew on ships.[218]

Communications among vessels

A vital feature of tourism in Antarctica since the early 1990s it the potential crowding of popular sites of interest as well as the over visitation of sites. These were relatively new

[217] Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 50.
[218] Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 49.

concerns at the time due to the boom in the number of tourists visiting Antarctica since the end of the Cold War. IAATO resolved this matter by making a 'Vessel Call Data' sheet available to its members, which lists all vessels operating in Antarctica for the coming tourist season as well as the vessel's radio call sign, telex, fax and phone numbers, and responsible contacts, such as the captain and expedition leader. This information would prove especially useful if the ship runs into any trouble in the treacherous waters of the Southern Ocean. Technology therefore plays an integral part in the responsible and safe operation of tourism (and other) activity in Antarctica. Member companies of IAATO have agreed to inform all tour vessels of their schedules, itineraries and other relevant information in efforts to avoid visits to the same site at the same time, for example. This decision was made to ensure minimal potential impacts on the wildlife in the vicinity of interest sights. In addition, these measures ensure that there is not a constant stream of tour vessels in popular areas. Last-minute changes in schedule due to unfavourable weather conditions or the ice are transmitted directly to any other IAATO member ships that might be in the area.[219]

In efforts to standardise operations, IAATO members have compiled a manual for expedition leaders. The manual relates to safety, guidelines, emergency contingency plans, information on landing sites and the training of staff. All tour operators had their own manuals for their respective operations for some time, however, IAATO members felt that it would be best to compile a standardised version that all members could adopt for their individual use. Proprietary content would be left to the individual company, as long as it does not negatively affect safety or environmental issues.[220]

Antarctica as a Unique Tourist Destination… at a Unique Price

Antarctica may be considered a unique tourist destination in many respects. Firstly, the Antarctic is a remote continental landmass that is surrounded by the Southern Ocean, and is therefore a long haul destination by definition. In addition to the remoteness of the area are the treacherous weather conditions and the presence of sea-ice, which limits the accessibility of Antarctica for tourism. Only a handful or air links are operated for tourism purposes due to the dangers associated with landing on rock-surface and blue-ice runways. The vast majority of tourists travel to Antarctica by ship, yet ships can only reach Antarctica five months per year and their range is usually limited to the Antarctic Peninsula. Due to the extreme climatic

[219] Splettstoesser, 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 50.
[220] http://iaato.org/past-iaato-information-papers (Accessed 27 October 2013); and Splettstoesser, 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 51.

conditions in Antarctica, any tour to the region necessitates extensive preparation, including the procurement of proper insurance, permits, clothing, logistics and experienced tour guides. Any shortcomings in planning, unexpected weather changes, sea-ice or icebergs can compromise the whole expedition, or operations of other parties in the area as the closest vessels will be recruited to assist.[221]

Another fact that sets Antarctica apart from any other tourist destinations is that no single sovereign government is in place for the continent. As discussed in the previous chapter, Antarctica is governed by the Antarctic Treaty System (ATS), which includes the Antarctic Treaty and its additional Conventions, Protocols and Measures. Tourism is regulated by the 1991 Madrid Protocol, which has made the undertaking of an environmental impact assessment for the organisation of any Antarctic activity originating from an Antarctic Treaty nation a prerequisite. Since the ratification of the Madrid Protocol in 1998, a number of both voluntary and binding procedures have been added to the ATS on matters such as codes of conduct, pre-trip and post-trip notification, compulsory insurance and contingency planning, as well as site specific guidelines.[222]

[221] Amelung and Lamers: 'Scenario Development for Antarctic Tourism', 134.
[222] Amelung and Lamers: 'Scenario Development for Antarctic Tourism', 134.

ANTARCTICA
2013.14 Dates & Rates

UNIQUE DESTINATIONS
Tel: +27 (0) 21 462 7032 **Fax:** + 27 (0) 21 462 7036
Cell: 073 145 2191
E-mail: uniquedest@mweb.co.za
www.uniquedestinations.co.za

Page	OCEAN DIAMOND	Days	Itinerary	Triple	Twin Obst. View	Single Porthole	Twin Window	Single Obst. View	Suite	Balcony Suite
42	Nov. 14 - Dec. 02, '13	19	Falklands, South Georgia & Antarctica	$9,495	$13,795	$19,695	$14,595	$19,695	$18,995	$24,595
37	Dec. 01 - Dec. 11, '13	11	Antarctic Explorer	$4,995	$7,295	$10,395	$7,695	$10,395	$9,995	$12,995
37	Dec. 10 - Dec. 20, '13	11	Antarctic Explorer	$5,295	$7,495	$10,795	$7,995	$10,795	$10,295	$13,595
37	Dec. 19 - Dec. 29, '13	11	Antarctic Explorer	$6,595	$9,295	$13,295	$9,795	$13,295	$12,495	$15,995
37	Dec. 28 - Jan. 07, '14	11	Antarctic Explorer	$6,595	$9,295	$13,295	$9,795	$13,295	$12,495	$15,995
37	Jan. 06 - Jan. 16, '14	11	Antarctic Explorer	$6,595	$9,295	$13,295	$9,795	$13,295	$12,495	$15,995
38	Jan. 15 - Jan. 28, '14	14	Crossing the Circle	$8,795	$12,395	$17,895	$12,995	$17,895	$16,595	$21,595
37	Feb. 13 - Feb. 23, '14	11	Antarctic Explorer via Cape Horn	$5,295	$7,495	$10,795	$7,995	$10,795	$10,295	$13,595
38	Feb. 22 - Mar. 08, '14	15	Crossing the Circle	$6,995	$10,395	$14,895	$10,995	$14,895	$13,995	$18,595

Page	SEA SPIRIT	Days	Itinerary	Triple	Main Deck Suite	Classic Suite	Superior Suite	Deluxe Suite	Premium Suite	Owner's Suite
44	Nov. 02 - Nov. 23, '13	22	Falklands, S. Georgia & Antarctica via Buenos Aires	$13,995	$15,895	$16,995	$17,995	$21,895	$23,795	$29,995
37	Nov. 22 - Dec. 03, '13	12	Antarctic Explorer	$7,495	$8,495	$8,995	$9,695	$11,595	$12,995	$15,995
45	Dec. 02 - Dec. 18, '13	17	South Georgia & the Antarctic Peninsula	$14,995	$16,995	$18,595	$19,995	$23,995	$26,595	$32,995
43	Dec. 17 - Jan. 05, '14	20	Crossing the Circle via Falklands, South Georgia	$18,595	$20,995	$22,595	$24,695	$29,795	$32,495	$39,995
37	Jan. 04 - Jan. 15, '14	12	Antarctic Explorer	$9,995	$11,395	$12,295	$13,495	$15,995	$17,595	$21,595
37	Jan. 14 - Jan. 25, '14	12	Antarctic Explorer	$9,995	$11,395	$12,295	$13,495	$15,995	$17,595	$21,595
39	Jan. 24 - Feb. 07, '14	15	Antarctic Peninsula East and West	$12,995	$14,395	$15,595	$16,795	$19,995	$21,795	$26,995
37	Feb. 06 - Feb. 17, '14	12	Antarctic Explorer	$7,995	$8,895	$9,995	$10,995	$12,995	$13,995	$16,995
38	Feb. 16 - Mar. 02, '14	15	Crossing the Circle	$11,395	$12,795	$13,995	$15,495	$18,495	$20,595	$24,995
37	Mar. 01 - Mar. 11, '14	11	Antarctic Explorer	$6,995	$7,995	$8,595	$8,995	$10,995	$11,995	$14,995

Page	SEA ADVENTURER	Days	Itinerary	Triple	Lower Deck	Main Deck Porthole	Main Deck Window	Superior	Deluxe	Suite
37	Nov. 15 - Nov. 24, '13	10	Antarctic Explorer	$4,595	$5,795	$6,395	$6,895	$7,395	$7,995	$8,995
42	Nov. 23 - Dec. 11, '13	19	Falklands, S. Georgia and Antarctica	$9,995	$12,395	$13,495	$14,595	$15,995	$16,995	$18,595
34	Dec. 10 - Dec. 19, '13	10	Antarctic Express: Cruise South, Fly North	$7,395	$9,495	$9,995	$10,695	$11,795	$12,595	$13,995
35	Dec. 17 - Dec. 24, '13	8	Antarctic Express: Fly the Drake	$7,995	$9,895	$10,395	$10,995	$11,995	$12,895	$14,595
36	Dec. 22 - Jan. 01, '14	11	Antarctic Express: Crossing the Circle	$10,995	$13,995	$14,895	$15,795	$16,995	$17,995	$19,995
34	Dec. 30 - Jan. 07, '14	9	Antarctic Express: Fly South, Cruise North	$6,995	$8,995	$9,495	$9,995	$10,995	$11,495	$12,595
43	Feb. 02 - Feb. 24, '14	23	Crossing the Circle via Falklands, South Georgia	$13,495	$17,595	$18,995	$19,995	$21,695	$22,895	$25,595

*Prices quoted in US dollars per person sharing.

Figure 2: Pricing list for the 2013/14 Antarctic voyages, Quark Expeditions.

Source: (Quark 2013/14 Antarctic Season Brochure)

With regard to human activities in Antarctica, one can certainly argue, albeit counter-intuitively, that its challenging climate and geographic isolation, which once deterred humans, are the very factors attracting them. This hold true for all three groupings of people that have braved to enter the last continent, namely explorers, scientists and now commercial tourists. However, both Antarctica and the Arctic are generally regarded as fragile environments, susceptible to change trough human activity and thus present substantial management challenges.[223] However, despite these perceived challenges, some believe there is 'increasing recognition that responsible tourism is an appropriate and legitimate activity that confers benefits, and in Antarctica, can be compatible with science activities.'[224] One example includes 'ships of opportunity', which assists science programmes by way of transporting science personnel and gear on tourist vessels when there is space available. Another benefit derived from Antarctic tourism ships for science is the observations of marine wildlife made by tour company naturalists on tourism cruises. These observations are in turn shared with the relevant scientists studying the observed animal.[225]

Tourist Activities in Antarctica and their Environmental Impact

Numerous changes or trends in the Antarctic tourism industry and traditional ship-borne activities have occurred as a response to the ever-evolving and competitive nature of tour operator and their clientele. These innovations include kayaking, diving, skiing, mountaineering, overflights without landings, cruising without landings, high risk adventure tourism, Russian icebreaker and helicopter operations and the list goes on.[226]

Few alien species have already set up camp on Antarctica, including the North Atlantic spider crab (Hyas areaneus) as well as various species of invertebrates and grass. For the sub-Antarctic, the story is grimmer. Humans have introduced over 200 non-native species to these islands surrounding the Antarctic, sometimes with devastating results. Rats and cats have wiped out whole colonies of seabirds, whereas rabbits and reindeer have decimated native vegetation and invading plants have altered local ecosystems irreversibly. Thus far, the Southern continent seems to have escaped such irrevocable damage, but scientists believe that

[223] Stewart, Draper and Johnston: 'A Review of Tourism Research in the Polar Regions', 383.
[224] Splettstoesser: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment', 54.
[225] Landau and Splettstoesser: 'Management of Tourism in the Marine Environment of Antarctica, 185.
[226] D. Landau and J. Splettstoesser: 'Antarctic Tourism: What are the limits?' in J. Snyder and B. Stonehouse (eds): *Prospects for Polar Tourism* (Trowbridge, CABI, 2007), 197.

it is becoming increasingly more vulnerable. Rising temperatures brought on by climate change are making it easier for non-native species to survive, while the number of tourists are on the rise.[227] The top three visiting countries to the Antarctic are the United States, Britain and Germany. All three these countries have areas that are extremely cold and can reach sub-zero temperatures. Plants that are found can easily make their may via tourists to Antarctica. It is also noteworthy that the Antarctic summer and tourist season coincides with the abovementioned countries' winter, and seeds from plants that could make their way to the frozen continent may stay well preserved on their stowaway voyage.

Most research on tourism impacts have solely looked at the destination, and therefore not at the voyage at a whole, as most modes of contemporary transport emit carbon dioxide, a major component of greenhouse gas emissions. This means that research has often examined local factors rather than the total impact of tourism in time and space by also making an allowance for the tourism generating region, as well as travel to and from destinations. Therefore, for a study of tourism impacts to be meaningful, it should be undertaken over the totality of the tourism consumption and production system, rather than just looking at the destination.[228] As mentioned earlier, GEC links separate regions and resources of the world into a global system, and thus, effects of tourism have to be treated in the same way.

One Hundred Years On: The 'Cult of the Centenary' and Antarctica

With the "Heroic Age" voyages that started at the turn of the nineteenth century, so the turn of the twentieth century delivered a number of centennial celebrations or even re-enactments of those victorious, and perhaps even more so the disastrous, voyages of the "Heroic Age". This fascination that people have with the commemoration of historical events at centennial celebrations has become known as the 'cult of the centenary'.[229] Centennial celebrations of 'Heroic Age' expeditions were rampant in the Antarctic region during the austral summers of 2011/12 and 2012/13. On the ship-based tourism front, many operators held special voyages commemorating several of these so-called 'heroes'. Aurora Expeditions offered three 26-day voyages to commemorate the centenary of Sir Douglas Mawson's Australasian Antarctic Expedition (AAE). The first of the three voyages would mark the departure from Hobart of the

[227] R. Edwards: 'Alien Species at the gates of Antarctica', *New Scientist*, 191, 2558 (2006), 16.
[228] S. Gössling and C.M. Hall: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change' in S. Gössling and C.M. Hall (eds): *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships* (London and New York, Routledge, 2006), 4.
[229] See R. Quinault: 'The Cult of the Centenary', *Historical Research*, 71, 176 (October 1998), 303-323; and W.P. Hanekom: 'The Simon van der Stel Festival: Constructing Heritage and the Politics of Pageantry', *Historia*, 58, 2 (November 2013), 22.

1911 to 1914 AAE led by Sir Douglas Mawson on 2 December 1911, exactly one hundred years to the day after he set sail for Macquarie Island. For the 2012/13 season, Bentours offered four types of cruises, including the 11-day *Antarctic Classic*, which focussed on the South Shetland Islands and the Antarctic Peninsula. Other themed cruises included the 14-day *Quest for the Antarctic Circle*, the 19-day *In the Realm of the Great Explorers*, as well as the 20-day *Spirit of Shackleton*.[230]

In terms of flight-based tourism, there were also centennial packages available commemorating 'Heroic Age' voyages. Qantas Airlines promulgated many of these flight packages. In the 2011/12 season, New Year's Eve flights were available from both Sydney and Melbourne. A 15 January flight was also available from Melbourne which served as Centenary of Antarctic Expeditions journey. This flight was marketed as highlighting the centenaries of the South Pole Expeditions of Roald Amundsen (1910 to 1912), Robert Falcon Scott's Terra Nova (1910 to 1913) and Douglas Mawson's AAE (1911 to 1914).[231]

In the austral summer of 2011-2012 a South African, James Raaff, participated in the Extreme World Races (EWR) Centenary South Pole Challenge which was held to the month a centenary after Scott and Amundsen's 'race' to the South Pole. However, the centennial event was purely a race, with no scientific parameters no return journey. Bad weather delayed the start, starting 23rd of December. Out by 4th of February. Left on the last flight out of the South Pole. Team Tri-nations (together with English and German team mates).[232] Two more South Africans participated in the race, solely representing South Africa, namely Braam Malherbe and Pete van Kets. Six nations competed in the race, with seven teams making up a total of seventeen participants, where some teams consisted of two members and others of three. Participants departed from Cape Town on 19 December to Novo in Antarctica with a Russian aircraft. [233]

However, for the centennial race for the South Pole, history would seem to repeat itself, as the Norwegian team, Framdrift, won the race, as Roald Amundsen did a century before from his ship, *The Fram*. Once again, Norway would be heralded as the dominant nation in exploration and polar racing with a commanding lead over the other 6 teams, finishing within

[230] C. Adams: 'Chilling in Antarctica', *Travel Weekly* (23 September 2011), 22.
[231] C. Adams: 'Chilling in Antarctica', *Travel Weekly* (23 September 2011), 22.
[232] Interview with James Raaff, Cape Town (4 March 2013).
[233] http://www.braammalherbe.com/extremeadventurer/south-pole-race-challenge/ (Accessed 29 September 2013); and Interview with James Raaff, Cape Town (4 March 2013).

17 days.[234] The CEO of Extreme World Races claimed that their victory was well deserved. 'Taking immense mental and physical strength to maintain a steady pace towards the finish line and complete the race comfortably ahead of our remaining teams, what Team Framdrift have achieved should not be underestimated – this is not called "the toughest race in the world for nothing!"'[235] Raaff, claimed that physically, there are probably more challenging races to partake in, but mentally, there is nothing that can prepare you for the assault. With no frame of reference to the 'real world', the icy nothingness is your only companion while skiing along. The extreme cold also takes its toll on your mentality. When the race started, the temperature was -18 degrees Celsius. Every day the temperature dropped two degrees Celsius. After twenty days of racing, the temperature was -58 degrees Celsius.[236] The race took part over a distance of 704 kilometres from Novo to the South Pole. The interviewee, Raaff, commented on the severity of the extreme cold in which the latter stages of the race was run: " … just readjusting a ski-binding, it's a process… to just stop, bend down, unclip and readjust your foot and re-clip felt like doing a tax return".[237] When asked if he would do the race again, he replied with an immediate and resounding, "No!".[238] The Centenary Polar Race was inspired by the tales of the 'Heroic Age', particularly the much publicised so-called 'race' between Scott and Amundsen. Contestants competed to test their mental and physical strength in this pantheon of heroes.

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed both the rise of tourism and the development of leisure in the Antarctic environment. Context was provided for the rise of leisure pursuits in society due to governments and companies mandating paid vacations for employees. The rise of eco-tourism and nature-based tourism was discussed, as tourists who prescribe to these forms of tourism are most likely to travel to Antarctica. The International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators (IAATO) was reviewed, as it is the only governing body that deals exclusively with tourism in the region, and serves as a self-regulating body. The phenomenon of the 'cult of the centenary' was used to describe the prevalence of specialised tours that were organised a century after the famous voyages of the Antarctic expeditions. Finally, the range of tourist

[234] http://www.breakingtravelnews.com/news/article/norwegians-win-ewr-centenary-race-to-the-south-pole/ (Accessed 29 September 2013)
[235] http://www.breakingtravelnews.com/news/article/norwegians-win-ewr-centenary-race-to-the-south-pole/ (Accessed 29 September 2013)
[236] Interview with James Raaff, Cape Town (Wouter Hanekom, 4 March 2013).
[237] Interview with James Raaff, Cape Town (Wouter Hanekom, 4 March 2013).
[238] Interview with James Raaff, Cape Town (Wouter Hanekom, 4 March 2013).

activities in Antarctica were discussed, along with the debates surrounding the environmental impacts of tourism. With the perceived vulnerability of the Antarctic environment, the policies regarding the protection of the environment in Antarctica were evaluated for their strengths and weaknesses.

This chapter challenged the theoretical underpinnings of tourism itself – as a freshly expanded understanding of tourism was necessitated by the unique environment in which tourism transpires in Antarctica. The continent is unlike any other, as it has no indigenous population, even though there is an "invented indigeneity" asserted by the scientists and base personnel living on the continent on a semi-permanent basis. They lay claim to an identity based on their historical inhabitation of space, and their distinctiveness from other "populations" (tourists or "outsiders"), as the following chapter explores in the case-study of Marion Island.

Chapter 5 – Marion Island through the Lens of Leisure and Tourism c. 1948-Present

This chapter investigates South Africa's most southern territories. Most South Africans falsely believe that this is Cape Agulhas. In fact, South Africa's most southern territory is situated in the 'roaring forties', the name given to the part of the globe between forty and fifty degrees South of the Equator, namely the Prince Edward Islands (PEIs), which include Marion Island and Prince Edward Island, with the former being the largest and only one occupied by human beings. Whereas most studies on Marion Island scrutinise the environment and biota, this chapter seeks to describe the one species that has received the least attention, namely the ones who are conducting the scientific studies. Although scientists are placed on the island to work, and they work extremely hard in difficult conditions, they all originate from a leisured society, and therefore practise leisure activities on the island as well. However, one would hardly regard it as a place of study for leisured or even tourist activities by 'normal' standards. This proves even more true if one considers the fact that the 'roaring forties' refers to the frequent gale force or even katabatic winds and general terrible weather when viewed from a prospective 'tourist' perspective. The lack of continental landmasses throughout the Southern Ocean means that all the islands in the region have relatively constant annual climates. However, the weather is often harsh with strong winds, regular precipitation and low temperatures, where twelve degrees Celsius is considered to be a warm day on Marion Island, whereas sub-zero temperatures at sea level are not uncommon at any time in the year.[239] This chapter provides a brief overview of the history of early human engagement with the environment on Marion Island. Then, South Africa's involvement with the PEIs, and in particular Marion Island are traced since annexation in 1948. Particular focus will be placed on the non-scientific activities, which illuminates a definite change-over-time due to base improvements and technological advancements allowing for these changes. Lastly, the chapter considers why no tourism is allowed on the PEIs, while it is prevalent on other sub-Antarctic islands, such as Macquarie Island, South Georgia and the Falkland Island Dependencies.

[239] 'The Physical Environment: A Rugged Land and a Tumultuous Sea', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 47-49.

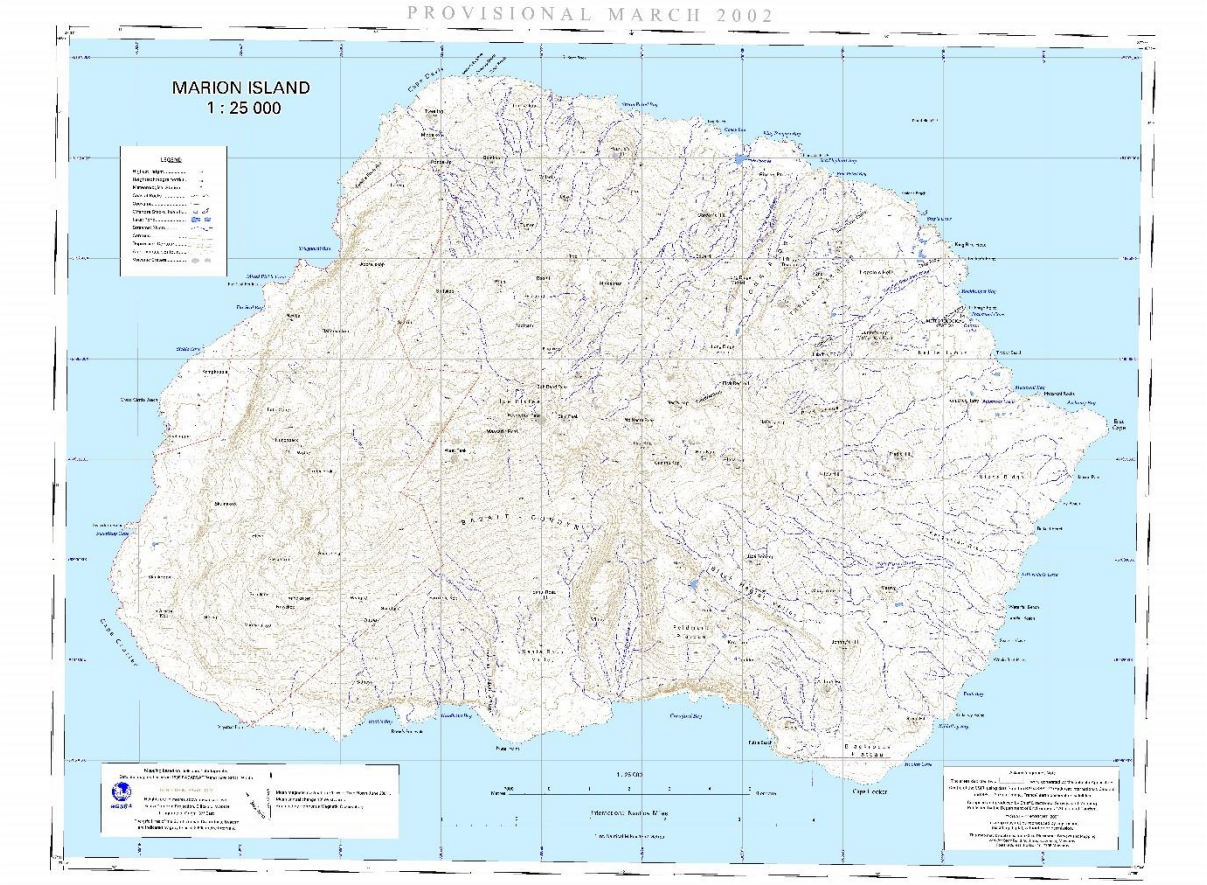

Figure 6: Map of Marion Island

Source: (Authors Private collection of Photographs)

The Earliest Humans on the Prince Edward Islands

This first known visitors to the PEIs were on-board a Dutch East India Company ship when it was blown off course into the Southern Ocean on route to Batavia (now Indonesia) on 4 March 1663. The Dutch named the one island *Dena*, and the other *Maerseveen*, after the ship that brought them there. The next time humans would visit this remote island-group would be in January 1772, over 100 years after the first reported visit. Marion de Fresne, reached the islands from Cape Town with two French frigates. The third visit was made by a man who allegedly spotted Antarctica for the very first time (although this is a disputed claim), namely James Cook. Sealers soon followed the island's discoverers.[240] It is unknown precisely who was first

[240] Here, the term 'Sealers' refers to the men who, in the nineteenth and early twentieth Century, travelled to the islands to kill and harvest seal fat, skin and meat. The term 'Sealer' when applied to the PEIs has changed

to set foot on either of the islands or when they did so. However, the year 1806 was engraved on a rock alongside several names next to Hope Stream on Prince Edward Island and is the earliest definite record of a human presence on either of the two islands.[241]

During the sealing era, numerous ships conducting scientific exploration ventured to the PEIs. The first 'scientific' party landed on Marion Island on 26 December 1873 from the HMS *Challenger*, a British research vessel. However, the next day, true to form, the weather worsened, preventing the first scientific visit to Prince Edward Island.[242] The expedition revealed quite extensive scientific investigation, ranging from detailed descriptions of the fauna, flora and terrain, magnetic observations, weather observations and so forth. However, the 'science' led to an unnecessary death of an unfortunate little white bird, nowadays affectionately known as "paddy's". 'A "sheathbill" came hopping along the rocks to meet us in the most confiding way, and was killed for his pains… they are very pretty birds.'[243] Another casualty of 'science', was a female elephant seal. 'In the first excitement, and with the idea that it was a fur-seal, she was quickly killed by blows with a stone on the nose'.[244] Fortunately, scientific research on the islands today result in no casualties. This expedition also highlighted the difficulty of manoeuvring over the terrain, which the author experienced first-hand to be true. 'We walked about in several directions, - very bad walking, spongy, boggy land, covered with coarse long grass, patches of hard moss, lava boulders scattered about, and at every step a probability of sinking up to the knees and higher in the coldest, wettest of bogs'.[245]

One of the earliest mentions of Marion and Prince Edward Islands in South African archival records was made in 1909. A South African company, the Southern Sealing Company, expressed their distress upon learning of a Norwegian expedition that were setting out to the

drastically over time. Any mention of sealers before the 1930s refer to the abovementioned practice. Since occupation by the Union of South Africa in 1948, any reference to the term 'sealer' describes scientists studying the seal populations on the island. The most 'harm' that the modern-day sealers inflict is that of tagging the seal on its rear flippers for identification and census purposes. Also, all seal pups are weighed every breeding season and some seals are fitted with GPS tracking devices to monitor their movements. Recent studies have shown that the Elephant Seals can dive up to a kilometre deep.

[241] 'The Human History of the Prince Edwards', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 52-55.

[242] SANDF NP 108 (Vol. 1) Informations, 'Extracts from "Notes by a Naturalist on the *Challenger*" by H.N. Mosely (MacMillan 1879), and 'The Human History of the Prince Edwards', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 56.

[243] SANDF NP 108 (Vol. 1) Informations, 'Log letters of the *Challenger*' by Lord George Campbell (MacMillan 1876).

[244] SANDF NP 108 (Vol. 1) Informations, 'Log letters of the *Challenger*' by Lord George Campbell (MacMillan 1876).

[245] SANDF NP 108 (Vol. 1) Informations, 'Log letters of the *Challenger*' by Lord George Campbell (MacMillan 1876).

islands with the possibility of annexing the islands. The Southern Sealing Company had already been active on the island, with several employees 'killing sea elephant and seal, and they intend to ship large numbers of penguin eggs and perhaps some guano'.[246] The Southern Sealing Company wrote to the Acting High Commissioner for South Africa in Cape Town on 22 July 1909, informing his office that they had established a settlement on the PEIs. As far as the Company knew, the Islands were 'no man's land' and they wanted to organise an interview regarding the possibility of annexation of the Islands.[247] Thus, this was the first mention of the possibility of annexing Marion Island for South Africa, although it would only become a reality in 1948.

The Southern Sealing Company noted, that from their discoveries, they were of the opinion that various valuable industries could be built on the islands and intended to extend their operations at the time. The reason for fearing Norwegian operations in the area was that they would pre-empt South Africa annexing the islands. France, who had annexed Kerguelen Island in the same Ocean a few years before had shut out all but French interests on and around the island. If Norway indeed annexed the islands and adopted the same policy as the French, then it would result in substantial financial losses for both the Southern Sealing Company and South Africa, which, on account of its geographical position, was the most suitable place from which to 'work' the islands. The Company estimated the value of seal fisheries at the islands could amount to £20,000 per annum. This figure excluded the value of sale of penguin eggs, which could be harvested from 'innumerable' penguins present on the islands. However, guano from penguins did not exist there in deposits like those of the Cape Islands, due to the heavy rain that washed away deposits. Yet, the fertilising value had doubtless been absorbed by the ground which was thought to be of considerable commercial value as fertiliser. Samples had been taken for analysis. Lastly, the Southern Sealing Company also intended to prospect for minerals on the island.[248] The earliest dealings that South Africa had with the PEIs was purely exploitative in nature, as was the norm at the time for sub-Antarctic islands. However, none of the proposed ventures came into fruition, possible due to the onset of World War I shortly after these dealings with the PEIs. As with most of Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic, the two World

[246] KAB GH 23/125/170, 'General Despatches: Exploitation of Marion Island and Prince Edward's Island', (27 July 1909).
[247] KAB GH 23/125/170 'General Despatches: Exploitation of Marion Island and Prince Edward's Island', (22 July 1909).
[248] 'General Despatches: Exploitation of Marion Island and Prince Edward's Island', KAB GH 23/125/170 (22 July 1909) and KAB GH 23/126/174 (3 August 1909).

Wars and the inter war period saw interest in the most southern reaches of the globe dwindle, with renewed impetus ensuing in the post-War era.

Operation Snoektown: Annexation and the Effective Occupation of Marion Island

South Africa's formal involvement with the PEIs dates from 1948 when the then ruling British government agreed to transfer sovereignty to the Union of South Africa. The initial reasoning behind annexing the Islands, apart from their perceived economic value, was that of weather forecasting, which was deemed as being of the greatest importance in warfare. This was viewed by the General Staff as more than sufficient to press a claim for the PEIs.[249] In 1949, a weather station was created, not only to monitor weather conditions in the Southern Ocean, but also to confirm South Africa's effective occupation of these remote islands.[250] The most common method of appropriation was through the exercise of symbolic acts, which used to be regarded as being sufficient to establish a right of sovereignty over, or valid title to a *terra nullius* or no-man's-land. However, it is believed that the formal taking of possession by symbolic acts is not adequate and finally perishes unless followed and perfected by effective occupation within a reasonable time.[251] Effective occupation refers to the practice of taking ownership of a geographical area, where the annexing country has to have a constant human presence and make use of the geographical area, in the case of Marion Island, weather forecasting and scientific investigation.

[249] SANDF NP 108 (Vol. 2) Survey of Prince Edward Islands, Correspondence, Secretary of Foreign Affairs to P. van Ryneveld, Chief of the General Staff. (20 June 1947).
[250] K. Dodds: 'South Africa: Implementing the Protocol on Environmental Protection' in D. Vidas (ed.): *Implementing the Environmental Protection Regime for the Antarctic* (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000), location 6136 of 6633 (Kindle edition).
[251] P.A Toma: 'Soviet Attitudes towards the Acquisition of Territorial Sovereignty in the Antarctic', *The American Journal of International Law*, 50, 3 (1956), 616.

Figure 7: Operation Snoektown: SA flag being hoisted on Marion Island during a parade. 1947 HMSAS Transvaal

Source: (SANDF DC 841000707)

Figure 8: Operation Snoektown: South African Annexation of Prince Edward Island. New residents shake hands/flippers with local inhabitants

Source: (SANDF DC 841000706)

The annexation of Marion Island used both symbolic acts and effective occupation to maintain an undisputed sovereignty over the PEIs. Only Marion Island would have to be occupied due to the close proximity of the two islands. On Sunday 28 December the *HMSAS Transvaal* spent the day off the North Eastern and Eastern shore of Marion Island, along the side of the Island, Transvaal Cove, where the current base is located. However, the 'landing beach' was quite impossible to approach with the ship, as it was decided that it was too dangerous to bring the ship within a mile of the shore. Land was made at dawn on 29 December 1947, despite difficult swell conditions. The deed of Sovereignty was read and signed ashore

by Lieutenant-Commander John Fairburn. One of the signatories claimed that his signature looked rather odd owing to the extreme cold. The deed was place in a brass cylinder and buried in a disused penguin burrow at the foot of the cairn, the entrance being sealed with stones. This operation was photographed in both movie and still shots, acting as proof of the event. The signatories claimed that the only opposition experienced by the landing party from the locals was a colony of rather truculent seals. The first landing of Prince Edward Island was made on 4 January 1948. Again, the South African flag was hoisted with the Sovereignty deed, signed ashore, was lashed to the base of the cairn. The flag was photographed, but due to bad lighting conditions it made them unsatisfactory. A bras plate bearing the ship's name and date was placed at the foot of the pole staff and secured with boulders.[252]

Ship (HMSAS)	Estimated Time of Departure, Cape Town	Estimated Time of Arrival, Marion Island	Estimated Time of Departure, Marion Island	Estimated Time of Arrival, Cape Town
Good Hope	23 January	28 January	15 February	20 February
Transvaal	10 February	15 February	2 March	7 March
Gamtoos	10 February	16 February	28 February	5 March
Natal	25 February	1 March	17 March	22 March

Figure 9: Sailing Programme of 'Operation Snoektown' Construction Voyages, 1948.

Source: SANDF NF 108 (Vol. 2), Survey of Prince Edward Islands, Correspondence between DESTAF and Director of S.A. Naval Forces (3 January 1948).

The process of annexation did not run as smoothly as the occupation party may have wanted. A member of the *Gamtoos* burden crew, Joseph Daniels, drowned on 29 January 1948 when their surf boat capsized of the landing beach at Marion Island. His death certificate stated that the cause of death was 'death by drowning and exposure'. Daniels was buried on the island, on a mountain slope half a mile from the camp overlooking the sea, which cost him his life, on 31 January and his grave is marked by a wooden cross today.[253] The conditions under which

[252] 'Log of Report of Proceedings by SANDF of the Annexation and Consolidation of Marion and Prince Edward Islands from 1948 to 1950', Antarctic Legacy Project Digital Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/79721 (Accessed 18 October 2013), and 'The Human History of the Prince Edwards', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 57.

[253] SANDF NF 108 (Vol. 2), Survey of Prince Edward Islands, 'Death of Joseph Daniels by Accidental Drowning: Marion Island: 29 January 1948' 30 January 1948 and 26 February 1948; and J. Marsh: *No Pathway Here* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1948), 182.

the annexation party worked on the island were tough, as they were isolated on an island with no infrastructure. Special allowances were arranged for Union Defence Force (UDF) members who were stationed on the island in early 1948. The reasoning behind this was that the members of the UDF that were detailed for duty at these islands 'suffer severe hardship from the extreme weather conditions obtaining in those regions, and in addition are cut off from civilisation for long periods at a time'.[254]

Shortly after annexation, it was arranged that some penguins be abducted from the island for the Johannesburg Zoo on the *HMSAS Natal*. The zoo requested two King, two Victoria (Macaroni) and four rock hopper penguins. The ship was to arrive on 27 March 1948 with the eight penguins. This was done despite the fact that it was understood that the penguins do not survive for long in captivity. Some rock specimens were retrieved from both Marion and Prince Edward Islands for study back on the mainland. The penguins and rocks were 'abducted' from the islands, and are the first specimens to be studied since occupation.[255] Presently, no live biota or rock specimens may be removed from the Islands without special permits and permission granted by the relevant authorities.

Four years after the occupation of Marion Island, in 1952, the future policy on Marion Island was being discussed between the heads of the Departments of Transport, Defence, Public Works and Finance to consider and make recommendations in respect of the justification for continued occupation of the island and in which Department control should be vested. The Weather Bureau had never been in any doubt regarding the importance of maintaining a fully equipped weather station on Marion Island and they regarded the opening of the station as an important milestone in its history. Furthermore, with regard to international cooperation in the Southern Hemisphere, the weather station was deemed as being of great value. Whereas several weather stations were maintained in the sub-Antarctic by Britain, Australia and France, it was thought that South Africa could lose prestige if it were to close the Marion meteorological station, which formed a vital link in the chain of island stations.[256] Furthermore, Marion Island served as a key point for strategic and security regions, as well as for direction finding in respect of a direct air line to Australia, before modern flight and navigation technology.[257] In light of

[254] SANDF (NF) GP "A" 165, 'Allowances: U.D.F. Personnel Employed or Stationed on Prince Edward Islands', (16 March 1948).
[255] SANDF NF 108 (Vol. 2), Survey of Prince Edward Islands, 'Penguins ex Marion Island', (19 March 1948); and SANDF NF 108 (Vol.2) 'From HMSAS Transvaal to DESTAF, DIRSAN Cape Town and DIRSAN Pretoria (Undated).
[256] CGS/EXT/2/8/1, Prince Edward, Heard and Marion Islands, 'Marion Island: Future Policy' (26 August 1952).
[257] CGS/EXT/2/8/1, Prince Edward, Heard and Marion Islands, 'Historical Appreciation: Marion Island' (17 August 1951).

the above reasons, it was decided that sustained occupation and retention of the PEIs would be a valuable asset for the future, as well as the possibility of extending scientific inquiry into the islands. However, one key factor of human societal interaction with the island was not merely found in their scientific investigations, but also how they relaxed. This may seem trivial at first glance, yet the manner in which team members conducted themselves through their leisure activities makes for fascinating study. Especially when one considers how isolated such an existence was, and still is today, although to a lesser extent due to advances in communication technology.

Placing Recreation in Context

Recreation is part of every individual's life. One can go as far as to say that most species within the mammalian class practice recreation from a very young age in the form of play. 'Playing' is instrumental in one's formative years as it advances mental acuity, develops muscle growth, and when performed in a group, it improves social skills and interactions. However, in the human world, as one reaches adulthood, recreational time is diminished due to ones pressing need to work and to 'make a living'. One often finds that people who overtly succeed in this phase of their life have more time to practise leisured and recreational activities. Notwithstanding the varying degrees at which people can afford to practise recreational activities in the current era, it is worthwhile to consider two alternative views on the role that recreation plays in modern life. The first view is that recreation's function is that of a balancing, compensatory, or a corrective function. This means, that recreation operates against the part of humankind's life which is work and in a therapeutic way with regard to ones tensions and strains of living. The other view is that recreation must be seen as an integrating and enriching function, culminating in a wholeness of life and growth.[258]

Following the above mentioned views, it is essential to look at recreational activities of different societies to achieve a more whole understanding of the realities that they face. It is also more revealing in 'simple' societies or those that find themselves in relative isolation, like the case of researchers on Marion Island. A plethora of scientific publications have originated from Marion Island, but indeed very little about the researchers themselves. Living on a sub-Antarctic island, completely isolated with regard to its geographical location, is unique in terms of the environmental conditions and the social interactions that transpire between the team

[258] N.P. Miller and D.M. Robinson: *The Leisure Age: Its Challenge to Recreation* (Belmont, Wadsworth, 1963), 164.

members. Humans living on this island do so for limited periods of time, usually for a period of 14 months. Fieldworkers work in severe environmental conditions and work long and hard hours. Coupled with the close proximity in which one lives together with a number of people, ranging from seven to 20 other people, leisure activities play a major role in one's demeanour and social interactions.

Life and Leisure at Marion Base

One of the earliest accounts of Marion Island, and possibly by one of the first people who set foot on the island, a seal hunter named William Dane Phelps, mentions leisure time on the island. Phelps, who lived on Marion Island for 20 months from 1818 to 1820 initially wrote, 'Having much leisure time, we provided ourselves with good feather-beds' and 'we… slept well' following 'a supper of fried [elephant seal] tongues, boiled eggs and good cold water'.[259] However, after leaving the island after nearly a year longer than his expected sojourn, his tone when addressing Marion had changed drastically as, 'Thou treeless, verdureless desolate Isle of the Ocean… I felt that it was one of the few places I had visited that I never wished to behold again'.[260] From the author's own experience as well as every person interviewed or conversation held between fellow 'Marionites', their view it quite the opposite. This may have something to do with technological advancements in both travel and infrastructure currently on the island. More importantly, the above diary extracts show how volatile the environment can be and that the ability to relax and engage in leisure activities can prove quite essential to having some normality in a relatively abnormal human environment.

One such study had been undertaken by Floris van der Merwe, who wrote on the leisure activities of men at the South African National Antarctic Expedition. The article deals with the period between 1970 and 1993, therefore is a study directed solely at male leisure activities, as the first female to over-winter at SANAE, a medical doctor, did so in January 1997.[261] This is yet another example of the sluggish manner in which women were incorporated into the history of Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic, after being male-dominated for most of humankind's interaction with the region.

Many team members feel the need to write on their experiences, although few works like these have been published. Each of the nine field huts have 'hut books' that have the

[259] 'The Human History of the Prince Edwards', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 52.
[260] Terauds, Cooper, Chown and Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward*, 52.
[261] F.J.G. van der Merwe: 'A History of Leisure Activities at SANAE, An Antarctic Research Base (1970-1993)', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15, 1 (1998) 188.

primary function of leaving messages for the next person to visit the hut. Vital information have to be written in these books for safety reasons, such as your time of departure, where you are planning on walking and where you intend to sleep. This information is essential if a member goes missing and a search party has to be sent out. 'Comms' take place every night at a pre-determined time depending on the time of year and subsequent varying times of daylight. All team members in the field communicate their day's activities and plans for the next day to the radio operator at Marion base, again for safety reasons. However, the 'hut books' have also taken on a new role in serving as a source of entertainment. Team members write down jokes, poems and even draw maps of various routs around the island. These 'hut book' entries are a valuable source of information in illuminating the thoughts and feelings of the team members. One example of a hut book entry that the author photographed form the Swartkops hut, that anthropomorphises the hut as it speaks to its next guest:

> Come in my friend, Shut the door
> Throw your heavy backpack on the floor
> Boil the water, drink some tea
> And the wind becomes a distant memory.
>
> I am a safe and sturdy hut,
> My water is cleansing for the gut
> When the wind is gusting, please beware
> My door might fling you through the air.
>
> If your stay is lonely, and companions few
> Go chat to my chick Albie at the loo
> He'll tell you tales of the scary things he's seen
> And of his hopes for a new set of wings.[262]
>
> I hope you have a good night's rest
> And for the future journeys, all the best!
> Before you're off, please leave me clean
> For the next poor soul, stumbling in.[263]

The scientists and team members on Marion Island are not there as tourists, but yet they engage in tourist like activities such as hiking, photography, relaxation at the bar, and so forth. However, there has been very little scholarship on understanding why there is no tourism to Marion Island and yet other sub-Antarctic islands do allow for tourist visits, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

The semi-permanent inhabitants of Marion Island usually spend a period of 13 months away from home. There are a number of positions to be filled for an over-wintering team. Many

[262] 'Swartkops Hut Poem' (Photographed from the Swartkop hut book on Marion Island by author, 27 April 2012). Albie refers to a Wandering Albatross chick.
[263] Author's Private Collection of Photographs, taken 27 April 2012. This poem was found in the Swartkops Hut Book.

would argue that the four most essential positions are in fact the non-scientific ones, namely the diesel mechanic, the engineer, radio-technician and the medic. Sustained living on Marion Island would not be possible without these three positions filled. While everything at base runs from diesel generators, the diesel mechanic is instrumental in making sure that the generators operate without problems. If the generators cease to work, so do every electronic comfort at base. The engineer is also part of the 'maintenance' team for the year, fixing anything and everything that breaks down at base. Also, with the dangerous conditions some of the field-assistants work in, as well as the ever present propensity to become ill in the cold and wet conditions, the medic deals with the well-being of all the team members. The radio technician is also an essential team member, as he or she ensures that all the communication systems are operating at optimum levels. Communications are not only essential to connect the isolated team with the 'motherland', but also to communicate amongst one another when some field-assistants are at one of the nine field-huts scattered across the island.

Over-wintering on Marion Island is not something to be taken lightly. Comprehensive medical, psychological and dental tests are administered on applicants before being accepted to become a team member. Despite these exhaustive tests, some inhabitants from the island have to be evacuated due to severe medical or mental conditions. In 2005, a team member had to be evacuated only three months before being scheduled to return on the *Agulhas*. Head of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), Henry Valentine, claimed that the team-member had to be evacuated due to becoming 'emotionally over-exerted'. The man had been working as a field-assistant under Marthan Bester, the head of the 'sealing' programme. Bester claimed that it was a pity that this happened, as the man was an excellent worker. The *Sarah Baartman*, one of South Africa's state-of-the-art environmental patrol vessels was sent to evacuate the man from the island.[264] On 12 March 2013, the *Agulhas II* left Cape Town to evacuate a female team-member one month before the scheduled takeover. The team member, working as an ornithologist on the island became ill at the end of 2012 and her condition had deteriorated before the decision was made to evacuate her. No other 'cheaper' vessels were available for the evacuation, such as the *Sarah Baartman*, which was awaiting repairs in Simon's Town naval harbour. Therefore, DEAT had to settle on the *SA Agulhas II*,

[264] M. Gosling: 'Patrol Vessel's First Mission is Mercy Dash to Marion Island', *Cape Times* (3 February 2005), 6.

with a daily running cost of around R250,000, taking between three and five days to reach Marion Island.[265]

For the annual takeover, there are certain personnel present on Marion Island that are also noteworthy. The Departmental Control Officer (DCO) leads the expedition takeover, overseeing everything from coordinating with the heads of science programs, planning all the logistical matters before the voyage, making sure that the ship is loaded and more importantly, correctly loaded. For instance, there is a specific sequence in which crates are carried from the ship via helicopter to the base. Scientific equipment and personnel belongings are loaded off first, whereas the food for the following year's team members is loaded off last. The ship does not stay at Marion Island for the duration of the takeover. It in fact ventures further south for oceanographic research, and thus the sequence of packing and unloading has to be planned carefully. The DCO is also in charge of all the staff and issues arising on the takeover.[266] Also, a medical doctor accompanies the takeover to administrate over the medical centre, check that all the medical equipment is in good working condition, and deal with any medical issues that may arise with members of the takeover party. On the author's takeover, the x-ray machine was pronounced 'dead', and the x-ray machine from the ship had to be transported to and left on the island.

Like most other sub-Antarctic or Antarctic bases, it took a long time for women to be allowed to travel to the island, and even longer for them to be allowed to overwinter. Like Christie Collis mentioned, when writing on the Australian Antarctic Territory (AAT). Until 1975, the AAT was a man's world, as 'a key requirement for Australian Antarctic work was a penis'.[267] It would take South Africa another decade to allow women to overwinter on Marion Island. The first two women to over-winter on Marion Island were Marianna Steenkamp (now Smith) and Marieta Cawood. Both of them studied plant-biology, Steenkamp specialising in limnology and Cawood plant physiology in their Honours year in April 1985, when they went to Marion Island for the first time for the take-over. Steenkamp proceeded to do her PhD with Valdon Smith, who mentioned to Steenkamp that there would be an opportunity for women to over-winter on Marion Island, and that another female was to accompany her if she wanted to take the opportunity. Steenkamp approached Cawood, who agreed without hesitation. Both

[265] M. Gosling: 'SA Agulhas II sent to Marion Island', *Cape Times* (25 March 2013). http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/sa-agulhas-ii-sent-to-marion-island (Accessed 15 October 2013)
[266] Interview with Adriaan Dreyer, Pretoria (3 March 2010). Interviewer Lize-Marie van der Watt.
[267] C. Collis: 'The Australian Antarctic Territory: A Man's World?', *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 34, 3 (2009), 514.

travelled to Marion in August 1986, becoming the first two women to over-winter on this sub-Antarctic island, for a period of thirteen months.[268] With regard to the interviewing process, which ever prospective Marionite has to endure, Cawood and Steenkamp were subjected to exhaustive questioning about how they felt being the only women amongst a male-dominated society, which had been the norm on the island since 1948. Also, with regard to the physicality of some of the tasks, Cawood mentioned that if they could not do something, they would swop it with a male for something like baking bread, which the male would not enjoy. According to Cawood, they never experienced any problems on the island, as they were all there to do a job and they were professionals. However, these two women, like any man before them, also engaged in leisure activities on the island. For the Mid-winter party, which has the shortest day and the longest night in the year, they partook in the 'pub crawling' tradition. Every team member put out snacks and drinks at their respective work stations. Then everyone congregated at the biology lab, which was the furthest away from the living quarters, and worked their way from lab to lab, partying the day away. They would then end the day off by playing pool and darts and congregating in the permanent bar area.[269] Currently, the 'Maid Marion' competition also takes place on the evening of Mid-Winter. The men, most of whom have substantial beards at this stage, dress up like women, and the women have to vote for the prettiest 'girl'.[270]

The highlight of the annual social calendar on Marion Island occurs during the takeover period and has a long pedigree. The Marion Island Games usually takes place the day after the 'last day of science'. Thus, when all the scientific work had been completed, leisure activities are the focus of base life. Various events take place during the course of the Games, including table tennis, pool, darts, and the most prestigious, the boot throwing competition. The initiation 'ceremony' also takes place on the day of the finals after the Marion Island games, just after the boot throwing competition. The course is set by the outgoing team and differs slightly from year to year, but the aim of the game is to let all the first-time visitors to Marion Island get extremely cold and experience Marion Island at its worst. On the author's initiation ceremony, the initiates had to crawl on a course set under the new base through icy mud. It was impossible to run, as the course had been soaked and any attempt to run leave you stuck up to your thighs in mire. The men wore only shorts and their gumboots, while the women wore warm clothing with their gumboots. After finishing the course, as well as two bottles of sherry within one's

[268] Interview with Marieta Cawood, University of the Free State Campus (29 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie van der Watt and Dora Scott).
[269] Interview with Marieta Cawood, University of the Free State Campus (29 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie van der Watt and Dora Scott).
[270] Wouter Hanekom, Personal fieldwork notes, 2 May 2012. Marion Island.

team of eight, one had to run around the base on the catwalk to the helicopter pad. There, a man holding a fire hose with water being pumped from the freezing ocean would kindly blast the mud from your body. The average temperature that day was three degrees Celsius and the wind was relentless. To sweeten the deal, the hot water was switched off for the entire base, so the only relief was to be found in the drying rooms, where one hangs your wet clothes. In the evening there is a dinner, for which one is expected to dress smartly (you are required to pack a pair of smart clothes especially for this event). The itinerary also includes a prize giving for the various events of the Marion Island Games, as well as the take-over ceremony, where the old team officially hands over their contractual responsibilities to the new team members.[271] Thus one can infer that leisure activities play an important part on the island, as it does in society. However, there was one activity on the island, which could be viewed as a leisure activity in other parts of the world, that was not 'fun and games'.

Illegal Immigrants: The Dangerous Game of 'Cat and Mouse'

Marion Island's human history has been plagued by a mammalian illegal immigrant which has also caused much suffering for the local fauna and flora. The 'house mouse' or *Mus musculus* is the most successful unnatural inhabitant of the island. They cause major problems for bird species, especially the burrowing petrels and for plants such as 'Azorella Cushions' or *Azorella selago*.[272] The earliest sighting of a mouse was made by a member of the annexation party in 1948, claiming he had seen a 'rat', although it was not substantiated. There have not been rats on Marion Island, so it is safe to assume that it was indeed a mouse. It was known that the island was previously inhabited and that there had been shipwrecks in the past, therefore, it was not surprising that mice were found on the island.[273] The mice were inadvertently induced by 'sealers' perhaps as much as 200 years ago and are the only introduced vertebrates on the island. [274] One member wrote about his experiences with the mice:

> Towards the latter end of the time on the island it was found that field mice, which were not noticeable at first, had become a real nuisance. They carried out their depredations in full daylight as well as at night. Due to the cramped living quarters we were unable to deal

[271] Wouter Hanekom: Personal experience and field notes (4 May 2012).
[272] 'A Subtle Mosaic: The Plants of Marion Island', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 100.
[273] 'Log of Report of Proceedings by SANDF of the Annexation and Consolidation of Marion and Prince Edward Islands from 1948 to 1950', Antarctic Legacy Project Digital Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/79721 (Accessed 18 October 2013).
[274] 'Of Mice and Men', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 138.

> effectively with them. One has been brought back in spirits for any tests that may be considered necessary.[275]

At this stage, there was little knowledge on the local flora of the island, and thus the occupation party could not comment on the prevalence of invasive plants on the island. Although mice had already been active on the island, although their presence was not intentional, some illegal immigrants were purposefully brought to the island. In turn, the house mice were responsible for an even more ferocious invertebrate that caused severe damage to the bird populations on Marion Island. In 1949, domestic cats or *Felis catus* were introduced to combat rampant mouse populations on the island. Unfortunately, the introduction of cats caused more harm than good, as the initial feline population of five became feral and multiplied to a few thousand over the years.[276] In the same year, sheep were sent to the island as well as pigs, and both species were reported to be doing well. The fowls were not adapting adequately to their new surroundings, although it was thought that they would do better if they were properly housed. Trees were also brought to the island to serve as wind breaks and were planted in November 1950.[277] However, quite the inverse happened, as it was the wind that broke the trees within a few weeks of being planted. On the eighth relief to Marion Island in 1952, livestock were once again transported to the island so that the 'Marionites' could have a fresh supply of meat.[278] Although the early days of occupation led to the importing of illegal immigrants to Marion Island, it was soon realised that the harsh environment was not suitable to rear livestock. More importantly, these exotic species were deemed dangerous to the local inhabitants of the island as they brought foreign diseases and biomes to the remote island.

In 1972, at the tenth meeting of the South African Scientific Committee of Antarctic Research, hosted by the South African Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, the question of the elimination of the cats which had spread rapidly since the initial introduction of five feral cats in 1949.[279] By 1975, the estimated number of descendants of the original five cats was 2,139, which were in turn killing some 450,000 petrels each year. One of the early

[275] 'Log of Report of Proceedings by SANDF of the Annexation and Consolidation of Marion and Prince Edward Islands from 1948 to 1950', Antarctic Legacy Project Digital Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/79721 (Accessed 18 October 2013).
[276] 'The Human History of the Prince Edwards', in A. Terauds, J. Cooper, S.L. Chown and P. Ryan (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010), 66.
[277] CGS/EXT/2/8/1, Prince Edward – Heard and Marion Islands, 'Summary of the Minutes of an Inter-Departmental Meeting Held to Consider the Development of Marion Island', (3 April 1951).
[278] CGS/EXT/2/8/1, Prince Edward, Heard and Marion Islands, 'Marion Island: 8th Relief' (18 July 1952).
[279] DIRCO BTS 102/2/9/1 vol. 6, Minutes of the 10th meeting of the South African Scientific Committee of Antarctic Research (1 August 1972).

attempts to eradicate the cat population on Marion Island was to introduce the feline parvo virus in 1977 in an attempt to create an epidemic.[280] The introduction of parvo virus failed to destroy the cat population, but did succeed in decreasing the number of cats from 3405 in 1977 to approximately 615 in 1982. The last and only successful tactic used to eliminate cats on Marion Island took the form of a 'cat hunting programme', which was started in 1986. Within the first four years of the programme, 872 were shot dead and 80 trapped during 14,725 hours of hunting. Any other exotic fauna on Marion Island was also to be reported so that action could be taken with the next relief, which would be spearheaded by Professor Van Zinderen Bakker. It was agreed that the matter be left in the hands of the Department of Transport and the Public Works Department.[281] Even though mice were viewed as a pestilence, they were not excluded from leisure activities. One interviewee, Valdon Smith, claimed that, on his over-wintering year, the team members caught mice and trained them for racing down a corridor. The owners of rodent competitors would place bets on them, usually gambling away chocolates. Smith was fortunate enough to win a leather jacket in a "rat-race".[282] This goes to show that even the verminous house mouse was used as a tool in pursuit of practicing leisure through gambling.

Environmental Protection Regime for Marion Island

The matter of conservation at the PEIs has only recently been properly addresses, although the islands' seals, sea birds and surrounding seas have been protected since 1982 by South African acts and by the Convention for the Conservation of Antarctic Marine Living Resources (CCAMLR), of which South Africa is a founding signatory. In 1988, a code of conduct was adopted for persons taking part in activities at the islands, following Cooper and Condy's 1988 review of environmental conservation at the PEIs.[283]

---

[280] P.J.J van Rensburg, J.D. Skinner and R.J. van Aarde: 'Effects of Feline Panleucopaenia on the Population Characteristics of Feral Cats on Marion Island', *Journal of Applied Ecology*, 24 (1987), 63; and DIRCO BTS 102/2/9/1 vol. 6, Minutes of the 10th meeting of the South African Scientific Committee of Antarctic Research (1 August 1972).

[281] DIRCO BTS 102/2/9/1 vol. 6, Minutes of the 10th meeting of the South African Scientific Committee of Antarctic Research (1 August 1972).

[282] Interview with Valdon Smith, Stellenbosch (Interviewed by Wouter Hanekom and Dora Scott, 17 February 2013).

[283] J. Cooper, and R. Headland: 'A History of South African Involvement in Antarctica and the Prince Edward Islands', *South African Journal of Antarctic Research*, 21, 2 (1991), 81 and see J. Cooper and P.R. Condy: 'Environmental Conservation at the sub-Antarctic Prince Edward Islands: A Review of Achievements', *Environmental Conservation*, 15, 4 (1988), 317-326.

In the early 1990s the DEA&T, in association with academic experts, announced that the PEIs should be a fully protected wilderness area. In November 1995, under Ordinance Number 5592, the DEA&T declared that the islands would become a Special Nature Reserve, governed by a Management Committee, headed by Professor Steven Chown. The implication of this designation was more than a mere semantic invention. As a 'Special Nature Reserve', the PEIs would be treated according to the most stringent environmental regulations contained within the Management Plan for these two southern outposts of South Africa.[284] The draft 1995 Management Plan stated:

> The primary aim [of the MP] the conservation and sustained preservation of this unique ecosystem for all the people of South Africa and for the scientific community at large. The PEI are an integral part of South Africa's national heritage and territorial integrity; their rational and strong management will serve to offer a model to the world in keeping with the new and emerging international political order. [285]

A Five Star Hotel without the Service: The New Marion Island Research Base

In 2003, construction started on the new state-of-the-art research base on Marion Island. The project was to be a challenging one, with one of the main difficulties being logistical in nature, as a combination of harsh weather and limited availability of ships allowed for limited construction windows. Apart from the first year of construction in 2003, when the construction period was only 104 days, the average construction period for 2004 to 2006 was 150 days per year. The reason for the limited construction days could be attributed to the average temperature of six degrees Celsius and wind speeds in excess of 80 kilometres per hour and up to 150 kilometres an hour being recorded quite often. Thrown into the mix was a near constant rainfall of two-and-a-half metres of rainfall per annum coupled with regular snow and ice pellets.[286] The new base consists of seven main buildings that are all connected by covered corridors, some resembling hamster tunnels. Being a South African base, it holds true to the country's heritage, as it is the only sub-Antarctic base with a dedicated braai room, with panoramic windows. Furthermore, the new base has enough space for 80 people for the annual

[284] Dodds: 'South Africa: Implementing the Protocol on Environmental Protection', location 6165 of 6633 (Kindle edition).
[285] Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 'A Management Plan for the Prince Edward Islands' (Pretoria, Prince Edward Islands Management Plan Working Group, 1995). Obtained from John Cooper's Private Collection.
[286] 'R200m Marion Island Base Nears Completion', *The Star* (8 June 2007), 5.

takeover instead of the 62 of the former base. Apart from the extended living quarters, the base also includes two television lounges, laboratories, offices, conference room, library, medical centre, a gymnasium, sauna and Jacuzzi. The architect, Helga Raath, claimed that the design tried to incorporate distinct and separate leisure areas where the scientists could relax after a hard day's work.[287]

Environmentally sustainable building practices were also implemented, as the ecology of Marion Island is sensitive to invasive species. For example, no stone or sand was used as building materials, due to invasive species such as insects or grass seeds could easily 'taxi' along with such materials. The design comprised of ecologically friendly elements. The buildings are heated by energy derived from the diesel generators and are circulated though the base. Few windows can open, allowing for less heat to escape.[288] The base was completed in October 2010, just over two years later than originally planned. The M67 team would spend half of their year in the old base and move into the new base as the rooms were being completed. The old base would be kept as is in case of any building faults with the new base for at least one year.[289] The old base has not yet been deconstructed, although it should happen in the near future, as its lifespan is nearing its end and the climatic conditions are taking its toll on the structural integrity.

No Vacation Here: The Absence of Tourism on Marion Island

Tourism on Marion Island may be described as the case of the dog that did not bark. The Island would be a desirable place to visit by a number of prospective travellers or eco-tourists, with its almost pristine natural beauty and wide variety and numerous species of seals and birdlife. Killer whales also frequent the coast of the PEIs. Why then is there no tourism allowed to these islands, while other sub-Antarctic islands are frequented by tourists? Also, would it be an economically viable option to have tourists travel to the PEIs. What would the cost of such a trip be, and how long its duration. Would trips be organised solely to Marion Island or to other islands as well on the same voyage? The most important question to consider is how tourism would affect the environment?

Given South Africa's sovereignty over the Islands, the implementation of the Prince Edward Islands Management Plan (PEIMP) has been unchallenged, however the regulation of

[287] J. Bonthuys: 'Marioneiland Kry Nuwe Navorsings Basis: Basis van R200 Miljoen Volgende Jaar In Gebruik Geneem', *Die Burger* (11 April 2007), 20.
[288] J. Bonthuys: 'Marioneiland Kry Nuwe Navorsings Basis: Basis van R200 Miljoen Volgende Jaar In Gebruik Geneem', *Die Burger* (11 April 2007), 20.
[289] Interview with Adriaan Dreyer, Pretoria (3 March 2010). Interviewer Lize-Marie van der Watt.

tourism and tour operators remains an open challenge for the future. No tourism has ever been permitted to the Islands in any formal way, although a number of unauthorised visits by yachts and tourist vessels have occurred since the 1960s. Presently, no Antarctic tour operators deploy schedules which includes visits to the islands. However, the PEIMP acknowledges that tourism and *bona fide* educational visits should be considered. The PEIMP had completed a study of the potential Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) of tourism limited to Zone 2 of Marion Island. The PEIMP notes that the DEA&T will be advised of the merits of official proposed visits, but it does not and cannot include the implications of unplanned or unreported landings at Marion Island or Prince Edward Island.[290] South Africa's capacity to monitor tourist movements around the PEIs is severely limited and little prospect of naval resources being devoted to anything but periodic monitoring of fishing in the South Indian Ocean.

The jurisdiction of the PEIMP applies to any person who is a member of an expedition as well as any person responsible for organising an expedition from South Africa as final point of departure. Every approved visitor to the PEIs is formally contracted to the DEA&T and accepts this application of port state jurisdiction. As a non-claimant nation in Antarctica and a claimant in the sub-Antarctic, South Africa retains a unique position regarding implementation and jurisdiction of the environmental protocol. The environmental regulations governing the PEIs might at the very least serve as a model for other Southern Ocean claimant states such as Norway, Australia and France who have experienced a growth of activity around their islands in the forms of tourism and fishing.[291]

In 2000, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism released a Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) with regard to the potential of hosting tourism on Marion Island. The report assessed the bio-physical and socio-economic impacts associated with prospective tourism to Marion Island. On the basis of this assessment, recommendations were made on how to avoid or mitigate negative impacts and to optimise positive impacts of possible tourism to the island. There were a number of reasons why such a study was necessitated. During 1996 and 1997 three tour operators applied to the DEA&T for permission to visit Marion Island. Starlight Cruises proposed to visit the island in December 1996, while Zegrahm Expeditions and Gondwana Wilderness Expeditions applied in November 1997. Furthermore, at least two illegal tourist landings were made on Prince Edward Island in the

[290] Dodds: 'South Africa: Implementing the Protocol on Environmental Protection', location 6188 of 6633 (Kindle edition).
[291] Dodds: 'South Africa: Implementing the Protocol on Environmental Protection', location 6199 of 6633 (Kindle edition).

1990s. These applications were seen against the background of an increase in tourism activity to other sub-Antarctic islands, particularly those of New Zealand and Australia. The PEIMC turned down the initial requests for tourism for three reasons. One, there was insufficient information about the impacts of tourism on Marion Island, and the existing management plan did not explicitly address tourism, nor did it provide a basis on which to judge its merits. Two, facilities to house tourists in the event of an emergency were lacking at the time, as were facilities such as catwalks to mitigate impacts on vegetation. Finally, the search and rescue infrastructure on Marion Island was not equipped to deal with large groups of tourists. In the report, DEA&T made it explicitly clear that it was not using the study to develop Marion Island for tourism, but rather to plan ahead so that tourism may be regulated on a sustainable level should it ever be allowed.[292]

The terms of reference for the study were to investigate the possibilities for controlled, limited tourism to Marion Island. Also, to undertake an EIA of the impact of limited tourism at sites on the coast of Marion Island between Ship's Cove and Trypot Beach, both within two hours walking distance from the base. These areas are included in Zone two of the island. Finally, the study was to investigate the possibility of constructing facilities to house tourists in the event of an emergency, and of erecting structure such as catwalks that would limit the impact of people on the biota of the island.[293] The importance of the biota was stressed in every aspect of the study, as the PEI group is one of only six Sub-Antarctic Island groups on earth and as such, represents a significant part of an ecosystem that is very rare on a global scale. The other sub-Antarctic islands and island groups are the Ilés Crozet, Ilés Kerguelen, Heard and MacDonald Islands, Macquarie Island and South Georgia.[294] Out of the eleven impacts of possible impacts caused by either small scale or large scale tourism, ten were deemed to be negative in character. The five most important impacts of the tourism alternatives that influenced the decision of not allowing tourism to the islands were as follows, ranking in order of significance from highest to lowest: Tourism will greatly increase the risk of introducing alien plants and animals that have the potential to displace and cause extirpation of native fauna and flora; Tourism will increase the risk of introducing animals such as rats and diseases such as Newcastle's disease which affect birds and will increase the risk of an oil spill, which would impact heavily on the penguin populations of Marion Island; Tourism will disturb elephant

[292] R. Heydenrych and S. Jackson: 'Environmental Impact Assessment of Tourism on Marion Island' (Prince Edwards Islands Management Committee, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 29 March 2000), 8. Obtained from John Cooper's private collection.
[293] Heydenrych and Jackson: 'Environmental Impact Assessment of Tourism on Marion Island', 8.
[294] Heydenrych and Jackson: 'Environmental Impact Assessment of Tourism on Marion Island', 11.

seals during their breeding and moulting periods. This species is very vulnerable due to its declining world population and its already small population on Marion Island; Tourism will increase the removal of irreplaceable historical artefacts that contain evidence of the history of human use and occupation of the islands; and finally, tourism will increase trampling of waterlogged soils and widening of existing paths resulting in a reduction in vegetation cover and species diversity in certain areas. Neither of the tourism alternatives was construed to have any positive impacts of a high to very high significance. According to the EIA, the only positive impact regarding education and awareness that they do have are of a very low significance, as they will affect only a small number of people, namely the tourists themselves and the researchers on Marion Island.[295] Interviewees, when asked about their thoughts on tourism to Marion Island gave many mixed reviews. One researcher and scientist who had been working with the birds and seals on Marion Island since 2003 commented that:

> Of course you want people to experience or to appreciate that there are these places in the world, but in the same way that I cannot go to restricted zones of Kamchatka in Russia – no matter how much I want to go there; I really want to see those areas in Russia; I want to see those volcanoes, and there's all this stuff, I can't go there, and I accept that. I can't go there and I appreciate that those restrictions are there in place to protect these areas. Because if tourists overran this place, you know, then it wouldn't be what it is. So from that perspective, I believe Marion Island should not have tourism.[296]

De Bruyn also felt that, in terms of the value of science, it is of such an order to South Africa and the world as a whole, that the complications arising from tourism to the mix, would be detrimental to scientific prowess. Furthermore, from a logistical perspective, one cannot perform a sustainable tourism enterprise for the exclusive tourists would not be feasible. There is no landing strip on Marion Island and the distance from South Africa is too far for helicopter flights. There is a base now that could accommodate tourists, but someone that is paying R100, 000 to go to the island would expect immediate medical evacuation to Cape Town.[297] With regard to Marion Island and tourism, De Bruyn made and excellent point: 'Can you still justify that [a] tourist is causing any disturbance whatsoever, so that whoever can make money, and this exclusive tourist can see a penguin in a pretty place?.. So it's a difficult debate… because I don't believe that the benefit of it outweighs the cost'.[298] Thus, tourism to Marion Island in

[295] R. Heydenrych and S. Jackson: 'Environmental Impact Assessment of Tourism on Marion', 16.
[296] Interview with Nico de Bruyn, Pretoria (2 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie Van der Watt).
[297] Interview with Nico de Bruyn, Pretoria (2 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie Van der Watt).
[298] Interview with Nico de Bruyn, Pretoria (2 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie Van der Watt).

not a feasible option for the foreseeable future. However, to justify this one has to consider the other sub-Antarctic bases that do allow for tourism.

Sub-Antarctic Tourism

The growth of nature-based travel or 'ecotourism' has been substantial in the last three decades, with an increasing number of travellers that are motivated to visit natural areas such as wilderness, national parks and reserves, as well as other lands that remain in a relatively undisturbed state. Furthermore, the development of special interest tourism, with particular emphasis being placed on the environmental, educational and adventure market segments, coupled with advances in polar technology have produced a growing awareness of the potential for a substantial growth in tourists visiting the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic, tourism's last frontiers.[299] To reiterate the point made in Chapter 4, in the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic context, tourism is defined as 'all existing human activities other than those directly involved in scientific and the normal operations of government bases'.[300]

There are a number of sub-Antarctic islands that receive tourists from all over the globe. The busiest Sub-Antarctic Islands are those situated close to the Antarctic Peninsula, where travellers stop on the island en route to Antarctica, such as South Georgia and the Falkland Islands.[301] Macquarie Island also has a long history of tourism to the island. The reason for these island allowing tourism, and Marion Island does not, is that these islands all had whaling stations. These islands have been subjected to human occupation and involvement in a much greater context and for a longer period than Marion Island. Thus, there are far more invasive species present on these islands, so the conservation impact of tourism in not worsening the situation. Marion Island and especially Prince Edward Island is still very pristine relative to any of the other sub-Antarctic islands. Macquarie still has a problem with introduced rabbits and South Georgia even has reindeer. Also, islands such as South Georgia is far bigger in size in comparison to Marion Island, so proportionally, tourists affect a much smaller part of the island.[302]

[299] M. Hall and M. Wouters: 'Managing Nature Tourism in the Sub-Antarctic', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21, 2 (1994), 355.
[300] C.M. Hall: 'Tourism in Antarctica: Activities, Impacts, and Management', *Journal of Travel Research*, 30, 4 (1992), 4.
[301] 'Quark Expeditions: The Leader in Polar Adventures: Arctic and Antarctic Voyages 2013.14' (Travel Brochure for 2013 and 2014 Antarctic tourism season).
[302] Interview with Nico de Bruyn, Pretoria (2 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie Van der Watt).

Australian owned Macquarie Island does allow tourists to visit the remote island. Tourist operations are controlled by the Macquarie Island Management Plan. One of the objectives of the Management Plan is 'to permit tourist visits under strictly controlled conditions which allow visitors to experience the natural values of the island without compromising them'.[303] Recommendations for tourists to Macquarie Island states that visits will be ship-based, although limited facilities such as walkways, viewing platforms and interpretation material may be provided in selected areas to protect the wildlife, environment, historical and scientific values of the reserve. In addition to setting guidelines for the protection of scientific programmes and the safety of visitors and personnel, the Guidelines for Tourism Operations at Macquarie Island Nature Reserve set nine directives for the protection of the environment.[304]

One, all tourist operations will be ship-based with no overnight stay on the island except in an emergency, with shore visits only being permitted between the hours of 07:00 and 19:00 local station time. Two, landing and pickup of personnel will only take place at beaches designated by the department. Three, areas which may be accessed on foot will be designated by the Department and all shore parties are to be in two-way radio contact with the ship and may not be more than one hour walking time from the beach where they are to be picked up. Four, shore parties are to be organised in groups of no more than ten people including one guide with each party. Five, strict quarantine procedures will be enforced to prevent exotic species being taken ashore in equipment or clothing. Six, any food and drink items to be consumed ashore are to be unopened, pre-packed, processed food or drinks, previously approved by the Department. Seven, no food items are to be given to wildlife. Eight, all rubbish and unused food items are to be returned to the ship, with no ship-borne rubbish to be disposed in Tasmanian territorial waters. Finally, no collecting of flora, fauna, historical artefacts, geological specimens or objects of any kind are permitted.[305]

In terms of guidelines pertaining to tourists visiting penguin rookeries, manipulative experiments conducted on Macquarie Island for royal and gentoo penguins showed that guidelines should be based on the distance that allows the birds to undertake normal activity, rather than on the distance to which visitors can approach before they flee. Australia's guidelines were endorsed by the Antarctic Treaty parties and now form the basis of currently

[303] Hall: 'Case Study: Ecotourism in Antarctica and Adjacent Sub-Antarctic Islands', 120.
[304] Hall: 'Case Study: Ecotourism in Antarctica and Adjacent Sub-Antarctic Islands', 120.
[305] Hall: 'Case Study: Ecotourism in Antarctica and Adjacent Sub-Antarctic Islands', 120.

accepted best practise in Antarctica also.[306] Undoubtedly, the most serious concern surrounding tourism in the sub-Antarctic islands is the potential adverse impacts of tourism on the natural environment, as these environments contain some of the world's least human impacted biotas. Their greatest conservation asset has been their relative isolation from population centres and their extreme climatic and physical conditions. Nonetheless, it is these precise harsh conditions and corresponding beauty that are attracting visitors in ever increasing numbers, if permitted.[307]

> Some ecotour operators admit that no matter how carefully expeditions are run, the very presence of humans can affect a fragile environment. A footprint in the Antarctic moss could last for decades, a plastic pen dropped on to an isolated beach could remain there for centuries and even a minor oil spill could upset an ecosystem and kill off a rare species of plant or animal. The more ecotourists there are, the more likely it is that the environment being visited will be damaged. Ecoholidays, like mineral and scientific expeditions, will slowly and unwittingly consume one of the planet's most scarce, valuable and irreplaceable treasures: the time capsules of life that remain unpolluted by humanity.[308]

Tourism tothe sub-Antarctic is now increasing and, like Antarctic tourism, would be difficult to stop, with major economic gains at stake for both private expedition companies and the host governments of the respective islands. However, there still remain small beacons of hope for truly unspoilt environments, such as the Prince Edward Islands.

Conclusion

This chapter has surveyed the history of human involvement with Marion Island, with special reference made to leisure activities pursued by the researchers and support staff working on the island. The early human involvement with the island was used to place the islands remoteness and its limited contact with humankind into perspective. However, this initial contact has left the island with an invasive species, the humble house mouse, which still flourishes on the island today. South Africa's direct and continued involvement of the Prince Edward Islands since annexation in late December 1947 and early January 1948 was reviewed, as well as the reason for doing so, which were broadly focussed on the geographic proximity of the island group, the strategic importance in terms of security and weather forecasting, as well as the prestige associated with science being produced on the islands. Furthermore, the reasons for the absence of tourism on the PEIs were scrutinised, as well as comparing these to other sub-Antarctic islands that do allow controlled tourism. This chapter was a first attempt within the social

[306] L. Kriwoken and T. Maggs: 'Environment' in M. Haward and T. Griffiths (eds): *Australia and the Antarctic Treaty System: 50 Years of Influence* (Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2011), 331.
[307] Hall and Wouters: 'Managing Nature Tourism in the Sub-Antarctic', 358.
[308] D. Masson: 'Holidays to Help the Planet', *The Australian Magazine* (March 1990), 56.

sciences to grapple with ideas of tourism and leisure on the Prince Edward Islands, and could prove to be an exciting field of study for the future.

Chapter 6: Conclusions

The Antarctic and sub-Antarctic are places that were once only "braved" for the fame of discovery. Historically, they held the promise of precarious profits that were to be made in the sealing and whaling industries from the eighteenth Century. Almost every modern popular account written on Antarctica includes the words, a vocabulary of the extreme, and usually in this precise order; "coldest", "driest", "highest" and "windiest" continent "on Earth". The Antarctic environment was and remains an unforgiving one, even with the technological advances that have been developed to "tame" the frigid conditions. Although the Antarctic environment is still demanding, compared to the other regions on the globe, with modern technology and a constant human presence since 1959, coupled to shifts in the leisure industry, the continent has become a desirable tourist destination that prospective tourists pay tens of thousands of US dollars to visit. This development, part of the changing nature of human interaction with the environment, is a trend that has been explored in this thesis. One of the most remarkable socio-economic phenomena of the post-World War II-era has been the expansion of the global tourism industry. This industry has moved from relative obscurity in 1950 to one of the world's largest industries at the beginning of the twenty-first century, contributing 3.7% (approximately $ 1.28 trillion) to the global gross domestic product (GDP).[309] Tourism in Antarctica began in the 1957-8 season, coinciding with the International Geophysical Year. As it entails an engagement with pristine natural settings, Antarctic tourism can be classified as ecotourism. All tourism involves costs and benefits, and ecotourism is no exception. However, ecotourism in Antarctica is unique because, unlike other forms of tourism, stringent efforts must be made to ensure that environmentally sustainable practices are undertaken.[310] Although elements of the global environment are always changing, albeit heterogeneously across time and space, the scale and rate of change had increased dramatically due to human interaction with the environment. In this, tourism is deeply embedded.[311] This thesis reviewed a history of non-scientific human involvement in Antarctica and the Sub-Antarctic, although without casting science aside, as it is entangled in tourist practices in these regions, as this thesis has argued.

[309] D. Weaver: *Sustainable Tourism: Theory and Practice* (Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006), 1-2.
[310] Weaver: *Sustainable Tourism*', 201.
[311] S. Gössling and C.M. Hall (eds): "An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change" in *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships*, (London and New York, Routledge, 2006), 1.

Chapter one served as the introduction and literature review, placing this thesis in relation to other works that have been produced on the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic. The historiography was reviewed, placing the thesis in context, postulating a new area of research that has received little to no attention, that is, a history of South African involvement in the Antarctic environment through the lens of tourism and leisure. Such a study is necessitated, as South Africa has deep historical roots in the region, with Cape Town serving as an important harbour for even the earliest voyages of discovery, right through to the country being one of the original signatories of the Antarctic Treaty that still governs the area today.

Chapter two dealt with the period of 1895 to 1917, which has come to be known as the 'Heroic Age' of Antarctic exploration. The chapter first briefly traced Antarctica as the 'imagined', theorised by the Ancient Greeks as early as 600 BCE, more than two millennia before it had been seen with the naked eye.[312] The Sixth International Geographical Congress of 1895 is taken as the starting point of the 'Heroic Age', two years before the first actual voyage, as it was the intellectual force that blew the winds of impetus behind the sails of the respective expeditions. The term 'Heroic Age' is problematized, as it is nowadays mainly used as a marketing tool to lure tourists to the region, by fetishizing the romanticised images of heroes. The chapter also deals with masculinity, especially hyper-masculinity, which is prevalent in the tales and portrayals of the explorers. The stories of the three most famous explorers of this period, namely Roald Amundsen, Robert Falcon Scott and Ernest Shackleton were examined, not to ascertain who was the best leader or explorer, as so many historians have set out to prove (for instance Roland Huntford), but rather to comment on how they are remembered and what their legacy has meant for Antarctic Tourism.

Chapter three touched on the development of governance in Antarctica, as well as provided context for such governance, especially when one considers that it is the only continent on the globe that does not have an indigenous population. The outbreak of World War II was taken as the starting point for this investigation with numerous countries taking a renewed interest in the area since the 'Heroic Age'. The South African involvement in Antarctic governance was also highlighted, as this thesis is written from a South African perspective. Key points of Antarctic science and governance were discussed, such as the International Geophysical Year of 1957 to 1958 and the resultant signing of the Antarctic

[312] M.J. Landis: *Antarctica – Exploring the Extreme: 400 Years of Adventure* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2001), location 129 of 4533. (Kindle edition)

Treaty in 1959 and how these had laid a foundation for conditions conducive to safe and responsible tours being undertaken to the Antarctic.

Chapter four dealt more specifically with the rise of Antarctic tourism and leisure. The rise of leisure and paid vacations was discussed in order to explain how human beings were able to spend time away from home and travel great distances at great cost to visit the last frontier of humankind on planet earth. A theoretical basis on tourism and leisure was contextualised, particularly how it relates to the unique environment of the Antarctic. Furthermore, the rise of ecotourism or nature-based tourism was discoursed to shed light on the changing nature of tourism and why environments such as the Antarctic has become a desirable place to travel to. Finally, the range of activities and the changing nature of activities due to technological innovations are discussed. Furthermore, the founding of the International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators (IAATO), which serves as a self-regulatory non-governmental organisation which officiates over tourism in the region, was discussed.

Chapter five investigated South Africa's sub-Antarctic islands, the Prince Edward Islands (PEIs), and in particular Marion Island, the only one of the two islands that is inhabited by humankind. The history of human contact with the island was reviewed, followed by the annexation and effective occupation by the Union government of South Africa in 1948. The theory of recreation was explored, as well as how it relates to the researchers who occupy the island for thirteen months at a time, in total physical isolation from the rest of the world. Life and leisure on the island was examined, as well as why there is no tourism allowed to Marion Island. Lastly, other sub-Antarctic islands that do allow tourists were contrasted to Marion Island as well as how they manage tourism.

A further study of human-interrelationships on Marion Island in social history could find valuable information in the hut books as well as further interviews with members from both sides of the gender and racial coin. As mentioned earlier, Antarctic or sub-Antarctic scientific bases are relevant places to study human interactions as they transpire in almost complete isolation for extended periods of time in extreme natural environments. While much attention has been given in the hard sciences to the study of these environments, the human beings who live and work and play in these environments have enjoyed less publicity. Social scientific enquiry from South Africa into the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic has been largely neglected in the past, and there is significant archival sources that would bolster historical scholarship. Doing a new breed of ethnographic history showing change over time would prove to be extremely rewarding, as opposed to socio-anthropology that takes snapshots of a society at one particular time. This avenue of enquiry calls for more inter-disciplinary cooperation, as

between both the 'hard' and the social sciences, as this would better serve a holistic and informed understanding of the interactions between human beings and these extreme and often confined environments. For this very reason Antarctic base life is used as a basis of study for future ventures into space.

Another path that is open for exploration is a comparative study of all the sub-Antarctic island histories and the prevalence or absence of tourism on these islands. Although this will prove a daunting task, it will greatly contribute to academic enquiry into the sub-Antarctic islands. Such a study will without a doubt be fruitful in terms of taking lessons from each other and applying them to both the environment and the humans working in and travelling to these areas.

A final point of departure for another research project that would extend the findings of this thesis, would be a more specific study on South Africans travelling to the Antarctic. An average of 120 South Africans travel to Antarctica every year, and although this represents only a minute percentage of the number of tourists per season, their voices have not made it to the annals of history. Such a study would have to take place over a number of years, and tourists would have to be interviewed prior to departing as well as on their return to gain any meaningful insight on the effect that travelling to the Antarctic has had on them. Once the data has been gathered, comparative studies could also be done with similar studies concentrating on tourists from other countries.

This study sought to break the ice, so to speak, for future histories to be written from the South African or southern African perspective regarding tourism and leisure studies, not only on Antarctica and the sub-Antarctic, but also within the region. Southern Africa is a highly regarded tourist destination, and offers a plethora of activities spanning all the conceivable forms of tourism. By studying leisure activities in isolated places, such as the Antarctic and sub-Antarctic, one opens a lens into understanding broader society. Furthermore, by studying the Antarctic one is reminded of the fragility of one of the most pristine environments on Earth, which in turn evokes a desire to evaluate the fragility of one's own environment, as all the world's environments are inextricably linked. Thus, through a special blend of tourism history and socio-environmental history, this study sought to open a new dialogue between humans and their natural (and cultural) environments.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Archival Collections

Antarctic Legacy Project Online Digital Archive

'Log of Report of Proceedings by SANDF of the Annexation and Consolidation of Marion and Prince Edward Islands from 1948 to 1950', Antarctic Legacy Project Digital Archive. http://hdl.handle.net/10019.1/79721 (Accessed 18 October 2013).

Cape Town Archives Repository (KAB)

General Despatches. Exploitation of Marion Island and Prince Edward's Island. GH23/125/170 and GH 23/126/174.

Department of International Relations and Cooperation (DIRCO)
BTS

BTS 102/2/7 vol. 21
BTS 102/2/7 vol. 36.

International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators (IAATO) online digital archive http://www.iaato.org

"IAATO Overview of Antarctic Tourism: 2009-10 Season and Preliminary Estimates for 2010-11 Antarctic Season and Beyond". Information Paper Submitted by the International Association of Antarctic Tour Operators (IAATO). IP 113.

South African National Defence Force Archives, Pretoria (SANDF)

KG/GPR/2/2
KG/GPR/2/4, (Vol. 1)
CGS/EXT/2/8/1
(NF) GP "A" 165
NP 108 (Vol. 1 and 2)
DC 841000706 and 841000707

Private Collections

Wouter Hanekom

WP Hanekom Private Photo Collection and field notes

John Cooper

Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 'A Management Plan for the Prince Edward Islands' (Pretoria, Prince Edward Islands Management Plan Working Group, 1995).

Heydenrych, R. and Jackson, S.: 'Environmental Impact Assessment of Tourism on Marion Island' (Prince Edwards Islands Management Committee, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 29 March 2000), 8.

Newspapers and Magazines

Die Burger
Seattle Weekly
The Australian Magazine
The Cape Times
The Pretorian: Magazine of the Boys High School Pretoria (Term III, September 1910).
The Star
The Times
Travel Weekly

Brochures

'Quark Expeditions: The Leader in Polar Adventures: Arctic and Antarctic Voyages 2013.14' (Travel Brochure for 2013 and 2014 Antarctic tourism season).

Published Primary Manuscripts

Cherry-Garrard, A.: *The Worst Journey in the World: Antarctica, 1910-1913* (Skyhorse Publishing Inc., 2013).

March, J.H.: *No Pathway Here* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1948).

Mawson, D: *Mawson's Antarctic Diaries*, E. Jacka and F. Jacka (eds) (Allen and Unwin, 1988).

Scott, R.F.: *Scott's Last Expedition: The Journals of Captain RF Scott* (Beacon Press, 1957).
Shackleton, E.H.: *South! The Story of Shackleton's Last Expedition 1914-1917* (Dogma, 2013).

Shackleton, E.H.: *South: The Story of Shackleton's 1914-1917 Expedition* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1920).

Unpublished Primary Manuscripts

R. Heydenrych and S. Jackson: 'Environmental Impact Assessment of Tourism on Marion Island' (Prince Edwards Islands Management Committee, Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 29 March 2000). Obtained from John Cooper's private collection.

Interviews

Interview with Nico de Bruyn, Pretoria (2 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie Van der Watt, 2 March 2010).

Interview with Marieta Cawood, University of the Free State Campus (29 March 2010) (Interviewed by Lize-Marie van der Watt and Dora Scott).

Interview with Valdon Smith, Stellenbosch (Interviewed by Wouter Hanekom and Dora Scott, 17 February 2013).

Interview with James Raaff, Cape Town (Wouter Hanekom, 4 March 2013).

Interview with Jolene van der Merwe, Stellenbosch (Wouter Hanekom, 4 August 2013).

Interview with Hans van Heukelum, owner of Unique Destination who organise and market Antarctic Tours, Cape Town (Wouter Hanekom, 2 September 2013).

E-mail interview with Erin Frisone-Craig (Wouter Hanekom, 13 September 2013).

Personal Communication and Correspondence

Correspondence with L.M.E. van der Watt (16 September 2013).

Communication with John Cooper (22 April to 2 May 2012 and 12 September 2012)

Academic Journal Articles

Amelung, B. and Lamers, M.: 'Scenario Development for Antarctic Tourism: Exploring the Uncertainties', *Polarforschung*, 2-3 (2005), 133-139.

Barczewski, S.: 'Two Weeks in the Spring of 1912: Captain Scott at the Crossroads of Tradition and Modernity, *Endeavour*, 35, 4 (2011), 137- 141.

Bowman, I: 'Antarctica', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 69, 1 (1930), 19-43.

Ceballos-Lascurain, H.: 'The Future of Ecotourism', *Mexico Journal*, 1 (January 1987), 13-14.

Coles, T., Hall, C.M. and Duval, D.T.: 'Mobilising Tourism: A Post-disciplinary Critique', *Tourism Recreation Research*, 30, 2 (2005), 31-41.

Collis, C.: 'The Australian Antarctic Territory: A Man's World?', *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 34, 3 (2009), 514-519.

Cooper, J. and Condy, P.R.: 'Environmental Conservation at the sub-Antarctic Prince Edward Islands: A Review of Achievements', *Environmental Conservation*, 15, 4 (1988), 317-326.

Cooper, J. and Headland, R.K.: 'A History of South African Involvement in Antarctica and at the Prince Edward Islands', *South African Journal of Antarctic Research,* 21, 2 (1991), 77-91.

Dodds, K.: 'Geopolitics in the Foreign Office: British Representations of Argentina 1945-1961', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 19, 3 (1994), 273-290.

Edwards, R.: 'Alien Species at the gates of Antarctica', *New Scientist,* 191, 2558 (2006), 16.

Enzenbacher, D.: 'Tourists in Antarctica: Numbers and Trends', *Polar Record*, 28, 164 (1992), 17-22.

Enzensberger, H.M.: 'A Theory of Tourism', *New German Critique*, 68 (1996), 117-135.

Farley, R.: 'By Endurance we Conquer: Ernest Shackleton and Performances of White Male Hegemony', *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 8, 2 (2005), 231-254.

Fogg, G.E.: 'The Royal Society and the Antarctic', *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of* London, 54, 1 (2000), 85-98.

Francis, M.: "The Domestication of the Male? Resent Research on Nineteenth- and Twentieth-Century British Masculinity", *The Historical Journal*, 45, 3 (Sept. 2002), 637-652.

Fuchs, V: 'Shackleton', *The Geographical Journal,* 141, 1 (March 1975), 14-18.

Furlough, E.: 'Making Mass Vacations: Tourism and Consumer Culture in France, 1930s to 1970s', *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 40, 2 (April 1998), 247-286.

Garrison, D.L. and Siniff, D.B., 'An Antarctic Perspective,' *BioScience*, 36, 4 (April 1986), 238-242.

Glasberg, E.: 'Who Goes There? Science, Fiction and Belonging in Antarctic', *Journal of Historical Geography*, 34 (2008), 639-657.

Haldrup, M. and Larsen, J.: 'Material Cultures of Tourism', *Leisure Studies*, 25, 3 (July 2006), 275-289.

Hall, C.M.: 'Case Study: Ecotourism in Antarctica and Adjacent Sub-Antarctic Islands: Development, Impacts, Managements and Prospects for the Future', *Tourism Management*, 14, 2 (April 1993), 117-122.

Hall, C.M.: 'Tourism in Antarctica: Activities, Impacts and Management', *Tourism Recreation Research,* 30, 4 (1992), 2-9.

Hall, M. and Wouters, M.: 'Managing Nature Tourism in the Sub-Antarctic', *Annals of Tourism Research,* 21, 2 (1994), 355-374.

Hanekom, W.P.: 'The Simon van der Stel Festival: Constructing Heritage and the Politics of Pageantry', *Historia,* 58, 2 (November 2013), 19-39.

Headland, R.K.: 'Historical Development of Antarctic Tourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 21, 2 (1994), 269-280.

Hogan, M.P. and Pursell, T.: "The 'Real Alaskan': Nostalgia and Rural Masculinity in the 'Last Frontier,'" *Men and Masculinities*, 11 (October 2008), 63-85.

Howkins, A.: 'Defending Polar Empire: Opposition to India's proposal to raise the "Antarctic Question" at the United Nations 1956,' *Polar Record*, 44, 228 (2008), 35-44.

Howkins, A.: '"Have you been there?" Some Thoughts on (not) Visiting Antarctica', *Environmental History*, 15 (July 2010), 514-519.

Jenkins, O.H.: 'Photography and travel Brochures: The Circle of Representation', *Tourism Geographies*, 5, 3 (2003), 305-328.

Jones, M.: 'From "Noble Example" to "Potty Pioneer": Rethinking Scott of the Antarctic, c. 1945-2011', *The Polar Journal*, 1, 2 (2011), 191-206.

Kimball, L.A.: 'Antarctica: The Challenges That Lie Ahead', *Ambio*, 18, 1 (1989), 77-82.

Landau, D. and Splettstoesser, J.: 'Management of Tourism in the Marine Environment of Antarctica: The IAATO Perspective', *Tourism in Marine Environments*, 4, 2-3 (2007), 185-193.

Larson, E.J.: 'Poles Apart: Scott, Amundsen and Science', *Endeavour*, 35, 4 (2011), 129-136.

Lucas, P.H.C.: 'International Agreement on Conserving the Antarctic Environment', *Ambio*, 11, 5 (1982), 292-295.

Lüdecke, C.: 'Scientific collaboration in Antarctica (1901-04): A challenge in times of political rivalry', *Polar Record*, 9, 208, (2003), 35-48.

Pyne, S.J.: 'Heart of Whiteness: The Exploration of Antarctica', *Environmental Review*, 10, 4, (1986), 231-246.

Pyne, S.J.: "Review", *Environmental History*, 4, 4 (October 1999), 589-591.

Roberts, P.: 'Heroes for the Past and Present: A Century of Remembering Amundsen and Scott', *Endeavour*, 35, 4 (2011), 142-150.

Quinault, R.: 'The Cult of the Centenary', *Historical Research*, 71, 176 (October 1998), 303-323.

Rosner, V.: "Comparative Perspectives Symposium: Gender and Polar Studies: Mapping the Terrain", *Signs*, 34, 3 (Spring 2009), 489-494.

Ryan, C., Hughes, K. and Chirgwin, S.: 'The Gaze, Spectacle and Ecotourism', *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27, 1 (2000), 148-163.

Scott, S.V.: 'How Cautious is Precautious?: Antarctic Tourism and the Precautionary Principle', *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, 50, 4 (2001), 962-971.

Segal, L.: "Back to the Boys? Temptations of the Good Gender Theorist", *Textual Practice*, 15, 2 (2001), 231-250.

Splettstoesser, J.: 'IAATO's Stewardship of the Antarctic Environment: A History of Tour Operator's Concern for a Vulnerable Part of the World', *International Journal of Tourism Research*, 2 (2000) 47-55.

Stewart, E.J., Draper, D., and Johnston, M.E.: 'A review of Tourism Research in the Polar Regions', *Arctic*, 58, 4 (2005), 383-394.

Stewart, E.J. and Draper, D.: 'The Sinking of the MS *Explorer*: Implications for Cruise Tourism in Arctic Canada', *Arctic*, 51, 2 (June 2008), 224-228.

Stronza, A.: 'Anthropology of Tourism: Forging New Ground for Ecotourism and Other Alternatives', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 30 (2001), 261-283.

Summerhayes, C.P.: "International collaboration in Antarctica: The International Polar Years, the International Geophysical Year, and the Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research", *Polar Record*, 44 (2008), 321-334.

Toma, P.A.: 'Soviet Attitudes towards the Acquisition of Territorial Sovereignty in the Antarctic', *The American Journal of International Law*, 50, 3 (1956), 611-626.

Van der Merwe, F.J.G: 'A History of Leisure Activities at SANAE, An Antarctic Research Base (1970-1993)', *The International Journal of the History of Sport*, 15, 1 (1998) 188-193.

Van Rensburg, P.J.J., Skinner, J.D. and Van Aarde, R.J.: 'Effects of Feline Panleucopaenia on the Population Characteristics of Feral Cats on Marion Island', *Journal of Applied Ecology*, 24 (1987), 63-73.

Wheeler, B.: 'Tourism's Troubled Times: Responsible Tourism in Not the Answer', *Tourism Management*, 12, 2 (June 1991), 91-96.

Books and Chapters in Books

Atkinson, P. and Hammersley, M: 'Ethnography and Participant Observation' in N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln (eds): *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (London, Sage, 1994), 248-261.

Bastmeijer, K. and Bastmeijer, C.J.: *The Antarctic Environmental Protocol and its Domestic Legal Implementation* (Kluwer Law International, 2003).

Beck, P.J.: *The International Politics of Antarctica* (London, Croom Helm, 1986).

Berger, J.: *Ways of Seeing* (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1972).

Berkman, P.A., Lang, M.A., Walton, D.W.H. and Young, O.R. (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2011).

Boothe, J.N.: *The Storied Ice: Exploration, Discovery and Adventure in Antarctica's Peninsular Region* (Berkley California, Regent Press, 2011). (Kindle Edition)

Carpenter, E.: *Oh What a Blow That Phantom Gave Me!* (New York, Holt Reinhardt and Winston, 1972).

Clarke, J. and Critcher, C.: *The Devil Makes Work: Leisure in Capitalist Britain*. (London, Macmillan, 1985).

Coleridge, S.T.: 'The Rime of the Ancient Mariner', *The Lyrical Ballads* (Bristol: 1798).

Cook, F.A.: *Through the First Antarctic Night 1898-1899: A Narrative of the Voyage of the 'Belgica' among Newly Discovered Lands and Over an Unknown Sea about the South Pole* (New York, Doubleday Page and Company, 1909).

Dodds, K.: *Pink Ice: Britain and the South Atlantic Empire* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2002).

Dodds, K.: "South Africa: Implementing the Protocol on Environmental Protection" in D. Vidas (ed): *Implementing the Environmental Protection Regime for the Antarctic* (Dordrecht, Kluwer Academic Publishers, 2000).

Dubow, S.: *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility and White South Africa 1820 -2000* (Cape Town, Oxford University Press, 2006).

Elzinga, A.: 'Origin and Limitations of the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A Berkman, M.A. Lang, D.W.H. Walton and O.R. Young (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011).

Fiennes, R.: *Captain Scott* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 2003).

Fuchs, V. and Hillary, E.: *The Crossing of Antarctica: The Commonwealth Transantarctic Expedition, 1955-1958* (Boston, Little, Brown, 1959).

Gössling, S. and Hall, C.M.: 'An Introduction to Tourism and Global Environmental Change' in S. Gössling and C.M. Hall (eds): *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships* (London and New York, Routledge, 2006).

Gössling, S. and Hall, C.M.: *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships* (London and New York, Routledge, 2006).

Griffiths, T.: *Slicing the Silence: Voyaging to the Antarctic* (New South Wales, New South Books, 2007).

Kriwoken, L. and Maggs, T.: 'Environment' in M. Haward and T. Griffiths (eds): *Australia and the Antarctic Treaty System: 50 Years of Influence* (Sydney, University of New South Wales Press, 2011).

Holter, O.G.: 'Social Theories for Researching Men and Masculinities: Direct Gender Hierarchy and Structural Inequality' in M.S. Kimmel, J. Hearn and R.W. Connel (eds): *Handbook of Studies on Men and Masculinities* (London, Sage Publications, 2005).

Howkins, A.: 'Science, Environment and Sovereignty: The International Geophysical Year in the Antarctic Peninsula Region' in R.D. Launius, J. Rodger-Fleming and D.H. DeVorkin (eds): *Polar Science: Reconsidering the International Polar and Geophysical Years* (Basingstoke, Palgrave MacMillan, 2010).

Huntford, R.: *Scott and Amundsen: The Last Place on Earth* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1979).

Huntford, R.: *Shackleton* (London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1985).

Illsley, J.: *Pretoria Boys High: The Story of a South African School, 1901-2001* (Pretoria, Pretoria Boys High School, 2000).

Jacobsson, M.: 'Building the International Legal Framework for Antarctica', in P.A Berkman, M.A. Lang, D.W.H. Walton and O.R. Young (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011).

Janelle, D.G. and Hodge, D. (eds): *Information, Place and Cyberspace: Issues in Accessibility* (Berlin, Springer-Verslag, 2000).

Johnston, M.E.: 'Impacts of Global Environmental Change on Tourism in the Polar Regions' in S. Gössling and C.M. Hall (eds): *Tourism and Global Environmental Change: Ecological, Social, Economic and Political Interrelationships* (London and New York, Routledge, 2006).

Joyner, C.C.: *Governing the Frozen Commons: The Antarctic Regime and Environmental Protection* (Colombia, University of South Carolina Press, 1998).

Landau, D. and Splettstoesser, J.: 'Antarctic Tourism: What are the Limits?' in J. Snyder and B. Stonehouse (eds): *Prospects for Polar Tourism* (Trowbridge, CABI, 2007).

Landis, M.J.: *Antarctica – Exploring the Extreme: 400 Years of Adventure*. (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2001).

Lickorish, L.J. and Jenkins, C.L.: *An Introduction to Tourism* (Oxford, Butterworth-Heinemann, 1997).

Lüdecke, C.: 'Parallel Precedents for the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A. Berkman, M.A. Lang, D.W.H. Walton and O.R. Young (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2011).

Melosi, M.V.: "Mainstream Environmental History" in Coulter, K. and Mauch, C. (eds): *The Future of Environmental History*: *Needs and Opportunities*. (Munchen, Rachel Carson Center Perspectives, 2011).

Miller, N.P. and Robinson, D.M.: *The Leisure Age: Its Challenge to Recreation* (Belmont, Wadsworth, 1963).

Perkins, D.N.T., Holtman, M.P. and Murphy, J.B.: *Leading at the Edge: Leadership Lessons from the Extraordinary Saga of Shackleton's Antarctic Expedition* (New York: American Management Association, 2012).

Roots, E.F.: 'Background and Evolution of Some Ideas and Values that have Led to the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A Berkman, M.A. Lang, D.W.H. Walton and O.R. Young (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institute Scholarly Press, 2011).

Solomon, S.: *The Coldest March: Scott's Fatal Antarctic Expedition* (New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2000).

Terauds, A., Cooper, J., Chown, S.L., and Ryan, P. (eds): *Marion and Prince Edward: Africa's Southern Islands* (Stellenbosch, SUN Press, 2010).

Tin, T., Liggett, D., Maher, P.T. and Lamers, M. (eds): *Antarctic Futures: Human Engagement with the Antarctic Environment* (London, Springer, 2014).

Turley, C.: *The Voyages of Captain Scott: Retold from 'The Voyage of the* "*Discovery*"*' and 'Scott's Last Expedition'* (Mead, Dodd, 1915).

Turner, B.L., Clark, W.C., Kates, R.W., Richards, J.F., Mathews, J.Y. and Meyer, W.B. (eds): *The Earth as Transformed by Human Actions* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990).

Urry, J. and Larsen, J.: *The Tourist Gaze 3.0* (London, Sage, 2011).

Verbitsky, J.: 'Titanic Part II? Tourism, Uncertainty, and Insecurity in Antarctica' in A. Brady (ed.): *The Emerging Politics of Antarctica* (New York, Routledge, 2013).

Vogler, J.: *The Global Commons: Environmental and Technological Governance* (J. Wiley and Sons, 2000).

Walton, D.W.H.: 'The Scientific Committee on Antarctic Research and the Antarctic Treaty', in P.A. Berkman, M.A. Lang, D.W.H. Walton and O.R. Young (eds): *Science Diplomacy: Antarctica, Science, and the Governance of International Spaces* (Washington D.C., Smithsonian Institution Scholarly Press, 2011).

Weaver, D.: *Sustainable Tourism: Theory and Practice*. (London, Butterworth-Heinemann, 2006).

Worsley, F.A.: *Endurance: An Epic of Polar Adventure* (New York, WW Norton and Co, 1999).

Worster, D.: 'Appendix: Doing Environmental History', in D. Worster (ed.): *The Ends of the Earth: Perspectives on Modern Environmental History* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1988).

Theses and Dissertations

Howkins, A.: 'Frozen Empires: A History of the Antarctic Sovereignty Dispute Between Britain, Argentina, and Chile, 1939-1959' (PhD dissertation, University of Texas at Austin, May 2008).

Rousset, T.J.M.: '"Might is Right": A Study of the Cape Town/Crozets Elephant Seal Oil Trade (1832-1869)' (Masters Dissertation, University of Cape Town, 2011

Van der Watt, S.M.E: "Out in the Cold: Science and the Environment in South Africa's Involvement in the sub-Antarctic and Antarctic in the Twentieth Century" (PhD Dissertation, Stellenbosch University, 2012), 8.

Documentaries

BBC Time Shift: 'Antarctica: Of Ice and Men' (London, BBC, 2011).

Griffiths, T: *The Last Place on Earth*. Television Series. Directed and written by T. Griffiths (London, Central Independent Television, 1985).

Internet Sources

<http://www.coolantarctica.com "Antarctica History - The Heroic Age of Antarctic Exploration 1900-1922" (Accessed 31 July 2012).

http://www.sirvivianfuchs.com (Accessed 7 November 2012)

http://iaato.org/about.html (30 May 2011)

http://iaato.org/bylaws#article3 (Accessed 1 February 2012)
Gudgel, J.E.: 'E-Governance in Antarctica: Internet Technology's Role in Administering a Global Commons', *IEE Internet Computing* (November/December 2006), 66.

http://www.computor.org/internet (Accessed 6 Mei 2013)

http://www.braammalherbe.com/extremeadventurer/south-pole-race-challenge/ (Accessed 29 September 2013);

http://www.breakingtravelnews.com/news/article/norwegians-win-ewr-centenary-race-to-the-south-pole/ (Accessed 29 September 2013)

http://iaato.org/bylaws#article3 (Accessed 1 February 2012)

http://iaato.org/history-of-iaato (Accessed 1 October 2013)

http://iaato.org/past-iaato-information-papers (Accessed 27 October 2013)

M. Gosling: 'SA Agulhas II sent to Marion Island', *Cape Times* (25 March 2013). (Accessed 15 October 2013)

http://www.iol.co.za/news/south-africa/western-cape/sa-agulhas-ii-sent-to-marion-island