

Cultural Tourism and Identity

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Cultural Tourism and Identity

Rethinking Indigeneity

Edited by

Keyan G. Tomaselli



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PREFACE*

Whatever 'cultural studies' may be, this book is in the end an offshoot of anthropology. Anthropology developed as an attempt, via fieldwork, to create rigorous models of the political, social, cultural and economic prerogatives of small-scale colonised societies in the interests of ruling or converting them. However, the fascination of exploring the Other grew through the mirror these studies offered on human nature. The justification was that we would understand ourselves better in the West.

With time, anthropological classics were widely diffused, re-issued and studied while skilful popularisers such as Margaret Mead made the connection themselves. Amongst the population groups that benefited from an increasingly benign and sentimental Western view were the hunting and gathering populations of arid southern Africa. These groups were depicted as remnants of the way of life that had prevailed thousands of years before the coming of agriculture. Here we can point to the non-scientific books of Laurens van der Post, close friend of the current Prince of Wales, to the films of the American John Marshall, the US equivalent of Jean Rouch, and by the 1970s the academic but accessible writing of Richard Lee and others, who created a very positive, seductive picture of Bushman life.

This has in turn given way to a wonderful phrase quoted by Alexandra von Stauss in this book, that of 'canned anthropology'. The instincts that appealed to readers of anthropology and audiences for ethnographic film now find a new outlet in something called cultural tourism where Western tourists go to exotic lands to discover how 'different' people live, obviously in bite-sized doses from which they can easily retreat to their creature comforts for the most part. However, for the Other, there is the appeal of cash and sometimes this odd process is cloaked in what is labelled 'development' which holds out the promise of a better material life so they are tempted to participate as well.

This book looks mainly at how this plays itself out in a number of venues involving groups colloquially known as 'Bushman' in the Kalahari Desert of Southern Africa, and with regard to Zulu cultural performances,

* Portions of this Preface are gratefully acknowledged as the work of the book's anonymous reviewer.

where somewhat more conventionally touristic experiences, in KwaZulu-Natal occur. Some of these encounters are truly dire and many are practical failures. Amongst these was the combined ostrich raising and Bushman culture attraction strategically situated between Oliver Tambo Airport and the Sun City casino and resort.

The semiotics of interchange is in the foreground. The chapter by Nyasha Mboti foregrounds the range of ideological, theoretical and methodological assumptions that justify this book. The final chapter by Dyll-Myklebust draws all these strands together in her Public-Private-Community Partnership (PPCP) model.

ACRONYMS

CCMS – Centre for Communication, Media and Society
CPA – Communal Property Association
DTEC – Department of Tourism, Environment and Conservation
DLA – Department of Land Affairs
JMB – Joint Management Board
KTP – Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park
NGO – Non-Governmental Organisation
NRF – National Research Foundation
PPCP – Public-Private-Community Partnership
SABC – South African Broadcasting Corporation
SAHRC – South African Human Rights Commission
SANParks – South African National Parks
SASI – South African San Institute
TFPD – Transfrontier Parks Destinations

WHAT IS THIS BOOK ABOUT?

This book addresses three interrelated themes:

- Researching the San¹ in the context of cultural tourism (Chapters 1–4);
- Reflections on cultural tourism involving San and Zulu people (including development perspectives) (Chapters 2, 3, 5–12); and
- Practical thoughts / methodologies for cultural tourism ventures, especially lodge-community partnerships, learned especially from our research in the Kalahari (Chapters 9–13).

These three themes cohere with regard to social and cultural issues relating to tourism and how tourist ventures collaborate with performative indigenous communities, and:

- How such performative communities are constituted by the state, tourism ventures, tourists and researchers;
- How these communities interact with tourism ventures and researchers.

The above relations are examined via the development of innovative auto-ethnographic, action research and lived methodologies, which cut through often alienating conventional scientific practices that are more often than not incomprehensible to beneficiary communities.

The different authors cast different perspectives on the same objects of study, and often the same subjects/hosts with whom we have been interacting in the Northern Cape, and Namibia and Botswana, and KwaZulu-Natal since 1995. The brief assigned to the different authors, whose narratives span the same period of time, was to write in compelling auto-ethnographic vein about the nature of their respective encounters with their diverse subject communities, and to find ways of communicating their experiences in forms of theorised diaries and different narrative styles. These forms of writing were to directly engage readers and take them along with the authors in often turbulent voyages of discovery in making sense of an accumulation of experiences, facts and insights along

¹ The arguments over naming of this group are legion. Here, we use the terms by which our sources refer to themselves. 'Bushman' and clan names are preferred by them as a means of lexically undermining the politically correct naming, San, which is a Nama word that means forager, and in its pejorative sense, bandit.

the way. For example, where the autoethnography of my earlier two books (2005, 2007) examined relations between researcher and researched, this book goes deeper, with Chapters 7 and 11 drawing on existentialism in examining encounters and experiences as academic tourists. What is learned is then theorized in Chapter 13.

All the authors attempt a response to the above issues in different ways. Development studies often involve the analysis of development expectations, and ask about failure. At Ngwatle, Botswana, some of our sources would discuss their ideas for the settlement's development, and show us proposals and training documents given them by development agencies. They wanted to discuss these with us, wondering why so little was happening so slowly. Failure is often linked to implementation delay and to the use of opaque research methods. Our work over the decades has directly addressed this conundrum. Chapter 3 explains how and why our object of study changed over the years. Many of the chapters below reveal how new perspectives can open up new development approaches which are intelligible to all stakeholders.

Jeffrey Sehume in Chapter 7 offers an intensely personal yet critical narrative on how a single experience changed his position gleaned from common sense conclusions reached by implacable critics of the cultural tourism enterprise. His self-reflection is written as a critical existential narrative of his visit to Kagga Kamma, "the Place of the Bushmen". Brilliant Mhlanga in Chapter 11 excavates existential and ontological dimensions of the indigenous and how they make sense of development (in the context of tourism). Vanessa McLennan-Dodd and Shanade Barnabas (Chapter 10) discuss how local people, the supposed beneficiaries, make sense of development. They examine the frustrated cry from a Khoisan intellectual, "What's all this Western development-type stuff"? Kate Finlay and Barnabas in Chapter 5 explain the historical underpinnings driving the cultural myths that permeate all of these concerns.

Chapter 5 examines questions such as: Who is it that the tourists have come to meet, to talk to, and to spend time with? How are they constructed by the international media and what and who do the tourists find in reality? Lauren Dyll-Myklebust and Kate Finlay (Chapter 9) introduce action research – getting involved – in their analysis of lodge-community relations. They critique the instrumentalism of corporate communication and explain why development is such a fraught practice (especially in the Third World). They also consider ways in which approaches to corporate communication and cultural studies can be meshed in finding a method useful to all stakeholders at !Xaus Lodge. The history of the ≠Khomani and

Mier land claim as it relates to !Xaus is documented in this key chapter that discusses outcomes and deliverables. The problem of instrumentalist conceptions of quantitative science (and positivist policy) is that this approach may overshadow expressive articulations provided by qualitative analysis. People reside experientially in the latter discourse, but are excluded from the former, de-personalized and reduced to numbers. If planning is about people then people need to inhabit planning procedures. And, we need to study the ways that people make sense of structures.

The later chapters develop explicit bodies of practice from the overall study with regard to the !Xaus lodge-public-private-community partnership, rounding off the book as a whole. The final chapter additionally draws together within the rubric of conventional scientific writing the various unconventional strands (or fragments) that characterise the earlier chapters. Dyll-Myklebust not only provides a theorised outcome, but she takes us into new developmental territory by explicitly linking participatory communication studies with discussion on indigeneity.

Thus, other than the contextual chapters, the stories told here are not always goal-oriented in terms of pre-determined scientific categories, let alone outcomes. Rather, we invite our readers to join us in learning about how we made sense of situations and conditions as we went along, and what our subject communities/hosts wanted from the interactions. We also learned from our three anonymous academic referees. How they responded to this new way of presenting and discussing research is imperative to the final outcome of the book as a whole.

Our overall goal was to find a new paradigm that would mesh critical analysis with business strategies that would be of benefit to all stakeholders. The final chapter examines issues of cultural tourism theory and practice. This book is ultimately the story of how failure can become development success.

We are often asked about the voices of those subjected to the research gaze. Ninety-nine percent of published research is about the researched. In contrast, the nature of the researcher *encounter* with their subjects is usually muted. Many of our other outputs from the overall 18 year project directly privilege the voices of the researched (see Mary Lange's *Water stories* [2007] and *Water Stories and Rock Engravings* [2011]; Bregin and Kruiper's *Kalahari RainSong* [2004] and Kruiper's *The Sacred Art of Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper* [2001]. Videos from the project which offer informant voices include *Voice of our Forefathers* (Hart 2009) and *Vetkat* (Reinhardt 2003), as do many theses arising out of the project. This book's concern

with how researchers make sense balances well with the overall project. Too often, academics assume the *a priori* validity of their theories and methods and fail to interrogate themselves on whether these match the experiences of their subjects. Much of this book has been relayed to our subjects, who are in agreement with our approach.

Apart from academics and students, other likely readerships include tourism bodies like provincial departments, business enterprises, and practitioners. Indeed, many of the chapters published here were intensively studied in earlier drafts by lodge operators and park officials in drawing up their business plans. A third readership will be tourists wanting to know more about those whom they are visiting. Finally, our subjects themselves are a key constituency via their representative NGOs and as is relayed by us to our informants via fireside dissemination, translation and informal discussion.

CHAPTER ONE

“DIE GELD IS OP”¹ – STORYTELLING, BUSINESS AND DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

Keyan G. Tomaselli

Confusion typifies fieldwork. Nothing is predictable. Two veteran Ngwatle hunters were frightened of a lizard, as Suzanne Berry, one of our research party, watched nonchalantly as a puff adder basked in the sun. (Field notes, Ngwatle 2009)

Storytelling around the campfire on warm days and bitterly cold nights is largely associated with indigeneity. The term ‘indigeneity’ as it is used here refers to remnant peoples on the margins of industrialized societies who are located primarily within an oral consciousness. Such people know few metaphors; they recite their experiences through fables, folklore and feelings. Things are what they are – concrete, known, explainable. Stories deeply rooted in mythology, framed through what is already known, underpinned by spiritual realms, provide the necessary understandings for birth, life, illness and death.

This chapter introduces readers to the journey that we will be taking in this book, how it came about, who the main story-tellers are, and why they are involved. The next three chapters will deal with conceptual frameworks, methods and the how of the doing.

One of the narrative strategies we will be using is the indented quotes taken from our field notes. The intention is to create for readers a sense of texture, of being-there, to envelop them in the experiences as best we can.

Storytelling in Modernity

The young boys at Ngwatle took delivery of the photos they had exposed on disposable cameras last year. Some of the photos are aesthetically sophisticated for beginners. Two years ago they took photos they thought *we* wanted.

¹ Afrikaans: “The money is finished”.

Last year they took photos *they* wanted. Students will learn from these kinds of visual methodologies... (Field notes, Ngwatle, July 2008)

Modernity's inheritance of oral traditions is found in homes across the world in radio and TV, in televangelism and in pop music. These media have reinterpreted the bardic function of medieval societies where roving bards travelled the countryside telling stories, updating the news, and offering social critique (see Fiske and Hartley 1978). Such stories were usually idiomatic, often drawing on myth and mythology, explaining how things came to be. Myth² offers assurance, an already there-ness, what we all take for granted (Barthes 1972). Adam Bok, for example, told us a story at the Witdraai Bush camp of how the leopard got its spots by being stung by bees (Field notes, July 2007). The zebra, we learnt, got its stripes from the tortoise, the great artist of the Kalahari (Field notes, July 2009). These explanations are passed from generation to generation; they have no authors, and are taken for granted. Belinda Kruiper, the wife of the acclaimed artist, Vetkat Kruiper, told us the story of her life, love and experience over a period of many years. Her stories live on in many articles, theses, and books. Her autobiography is consolidated in *Kalahari RainSong* (2004), compiled by Elana Bregin. Bregin assumed the role of bard in this relationship. Belinda's story mobilizes myth, but is also critical of policies, procedures and programmes. Academics are kinds of bards who collect stories, re-package them theoretically, and then circulate them in print form.

In July 2007, at !Xaus Lodge we interacted with a new kind of storyteller, a highly literate entrepreneur from the business community. I had known Glynn O'Leary for many years. Previously the owner of Cape Town's Six Street Studios, he had also served on the board of the National Film and Video Foundation and consulted for the Department of Communication. He is an astute accountant with an unusually sophisticated aesthetic receptivity and sense of public service. Adding to his entrepreneurial bow, he briefly chaired Afri-tourism, but when the company went sour in mid-2004 he established Transfrontier Parks Destinations Ltd. O'Leary is a storyteller *par excellence*. His spellbinding oratory entrances audiences, sponsors, business partners, municipal officials, donors, development agencies and students. His even-handed and finely measured delivery

² I refer to 'myth' in the semiotic sense, in which it "refers to recurring themes, icons and stereotypes which claim common recognition within a cultural group with a shared ideology" (Tomaselli, 1999:66).

lacks animation, it lacks gesture, it lacks fable, it even often lacks metaphor. But like the oratory of storytellers of old, it has rhythm, is concrete, revealing, and explanatory. It is textured, nuanced and ironic. It is theoretical, accessible and useful. O’Leary’s narratives are couched in the discourse of business: every difficulty has a solution; every frustration is a learning experience; every disappointment contains the seeds of an opportunity. His critique is never negative, always looking to add value, to bridge over pitfalls. “*Die geld is op*” (the money is finished) was one such story he related at the campfire at the staff quarters at !Xaus Lodge in July 2007, on the morning after the first batch of guests had arrived. “*Die geld is op*” became the refrain in his story about bureaucratic intransigence, lack of vision and developmental inertia. O’Leary’s riveting story-telling ability secures an empathetic rapport with !Xaus’s ≠Khomani stakeholders who recognise someone with whom they can relate.

O’Leary refuses to purchase a 4x4 or a satellite phone: relying rather on his driving skills, his Colt *bakkie*,³ and his spade to get him out of the sand. Should the bakkie fail, O’Leary will have considered himself to have failed also. Layers of signification are overlaid upon layers, stories embedded in hidden transcripts, messages and sub-texts are everywhere, below, above, and in and on the sand.

When I first started working in the film industry in 1974, I remember the managing director of my company telling me, “I expect the impossible immediately; miracles take a little longer.”⁴ O’Leary had set himself the impossible in the task of rescuing a government-funded poverty alleviation project. Could he perform a miracle? His co-investors most certainly had staked their respective life’s assets on the outcome. My own career had taken me from urban and economic geography and sociology into the film industry, and eventually back to academia (Tomaselli 2007). Following the start of my field research in visual anthropology, O’Leary invited me to document the development of !Xaus Lodge in the KTP.

Apart from providing me with a clear focus for my own research interests in which cultural and media studies meshed with visual anthropology, geography and tourism, this opportunity also connected with another interest, that of development communication (see Servaes 1999; Melkote and Steeves 2001; Hemer and Tufte 2005). Having been approached by

³ 2x4 pick up van.

⁴ The phrase was attributed to Anton Rupert, managing director of Rembrandt, one of the country’s huge conglomerates. Rupert later became a prime mover in the establishment of Transfrontier Parks such as the one in which !Xaus is located, integrated as it is with Botswana.

O'Leary in early 2006 to become a strategic partner in the !Xaus project, I constituted an international team of researchers from a variety of disciplines, to contribute to a unique and challenging research opportunity.

The project involved all the dimensions of my and my students' previous Kalahari research. The cohorts of students who had been working with me since 1995 were mesmerized by the San/d. They revelled in the novelty that attracted their interest: the risks involved in working in the desert, the unpredictability, even the extreme winter cold. Lions, leopards, hyenas and snakes added to the sense of excitement, helping us to theorize our research practices in the form of an absurd play about just what it was that we thought we were doing (Lange 2007).

Postmodern archaeology was another discourse we developed to explain how 'we' the researchers related to 'them', the researched (Lange *et al.* 2007). This relationship between Self and Other in which we try to understand how the Other makes sense of Us, became a prime method of analysis (McLennan-Dodd 2003; Dyll-Myklebust 2009). The Kalahari is a different world, the mystique of which is saturated with the writings of Laurens van der Post (1958, 1986). It is a place where the 'Bushmen's' visual legacy is primarily known through coffee-table books on ancient rock art.

A pervasive interpretive underpinning of the West's relation to the Bushmen is found in the leanings of early anthropology on Jungian psychology (see Finlay and Barnabas, in this volume). This perspective argues that European Man had lost his elemental innocence, one still supposedly recoverable from those "mysterious Africans" who later became known as 'Bushmen' (see Wilmsen 1995).

We had previously studied the Kagga Kamma Game Reserve venture, discussed by Jeffrey Sehume in this volume. At that stage we had little idea of how to proceed. We did know that the Park had been subjected to sustained critique from both journalists and academics (see e.g., Buntman 1996; Buntman and Bester 1999; Weinberg 1997). The visual imperialist thesis that underpinned Barbara Buntman's analysis appeared to have been conducted without actually talking to, or interviewing, either management or the #Khomani located there. Buntman and Rory Bester later criticised Paul Weinberg's (1997) photography of the #Khomani as being complicit in promoting the #Khomani as spectacle (see Weinberg's response 2000).

It seemed to us that academic research often excluded the very people subject to its critique. We sought to engage the subjects of the tourist, academic and photographic gazes, as well as tourists themselves. On our 1999 visit we found a video in the library at Kagga Kamma, sent to the Park as a

courtesy by its director. The video documents some of the ancestors of the ≠Khomani then living in the Park. The documentary had never been screened to the staff, so we held a viewing which included guides and tourists. I conducted a discussion on this and another video that we had taken with us (Tomaselli 2001: Chapter 6).

This exercise revealed to us that cultural tourism ventures often forget or neglect the very people on whom brands are constructed. They are simply treated as photographic models, often imaged/depicted purely for marketing purposes. The personalities presented in pamphlets and websites often feel undervalued as individuals and personalities in their own right. It is the personalities that the tourists actually meet and befriend, while it might be the pictures-sans-the personal that attracted them to the resort. As Sol Worth (1972) once remarked, a photograph is someone's statement about the world. Our work at !Xaus thus sought to activate the relationship between the publicity and the (indigenous) people who provided personality to the !Xaus brand/product/community.

Tourists are often noticeably self-reflexive about their experiences. Ultimately, the Kagga Kamma experiment was terminated for a variety of reasons, not least the lack of methods, theory, support mechanisms and strategic partnerships that !Xaus Lodge was ten years later able to mobilize. The tragedy is that the moment the Park's management had entered into agreement with the local municipality; the beneficiaries criticized the project on a national television programme that was to have commemorated this new phase. The issue for us, over a decade later, concerns what was learnt in the period between the Kagga Kamma and !Xaus experiences. How can these and other ventures benefit from this knowledge?

Testing the Edge, Methods and Risk

Belinda and Glynn exchanged their passion for the Lodge and the Kalahari. Belinda talked about the spirit of the Kalahari and the Bushmen and Glynn and Gillian explained their motivation by saying it's coming from their heart. As I heard them talk I noticed they think they talk about the same thing. But I think it's a different concept; spirit stands for the essence, by which someone is driven. Like the Kalahari, spirit determines the behaviour and actions of the Bushmen. Driven by heart is following your own feelings, not only acting and behaving rationally. 'Spirit' is a more profound level – it is nature-driven – while 'heart' is more person or culture driven. Anyway, Belinda and Glynn are both passionate and believe in this project. (Van der Oever 2007:10)

For us, the research danger – the edge if you like – was the researchers' Self-Other relationship with O'Leary and his company. The pull of action and advocacy research – to take sides – was overwhelming from the start. Whose stories would we respond to, act on, and mediate? Management's? Workers? The marginalized? SANParks? The provincial Department of Environment and Tourism? How would we triangulate all sides of a story in which the self-excluded, excluded, or ill-advised presented themselves as victims? What were the subtexts of the stories of exploitation? How did the interacting parties explain these? Who exactly was being exploited?⁵

The common assumption is that business and/or the state act as monolithic blocs aligned against the poor, the weak, and the unrepresented. The stories told here fracture this perception and reveal the kinds of machinations that so often bedevil development projects. Identifying the antagonists and protagonists becomes less easy when one breaches the defensive no-entry signs erected by institutions whose own behaviour seriously questions assumptions of rationality like 'economic man' and the supposed efficiencies that characterize good business practice. Few spaces in economic or social theory account for this kind of anomalous behaviour. We needed to innovate our own specific methods. We needed to examine the mess and confusion of everyday life, to get our hands dirty, to work with, and not merely write about, the people with whom we interacted. This is the reason I have included snippets of unedited field notes under headings within chapters. These notes act as an impressionistic narrative before being subjected to theoretical processing. Scientific writing eliminates texture, thick descriptions, context, disjuncture and the disorder of quotidian existence (see Dyll 2004:28; Tomaselli *et al.* 2008: 349). The inserts offer a counter-veiling discourse that remind readers of the experiential mess so often smoothed over by neat, clean theory. The question for us, was what could be learned from all the muddle and uncertainty as we fumbled along?

In considering our research from 1995 we had stumbled onto what seemed to be an appropriate method, which we later learned was called auto-ethnography. This is a well known, if not entirely accepted approach that enables academics to tell stories – reporting on scientific research – in forms that can be understood by ordinary people, professionals and also

⁵ The relationship with O'Leary's company was devised over many months of negotiation on how the researchers would retain their autonomy. Amongst the mechanisms agreed on was that i) the team would cover its own costs; ii) that the operators would fully disclose all information requested, including negative guest responses and financial data; and iii) respond to researcher queries when required.

by our largely a-literate subject communities (see Ellis and Bochner 2000; Holman-Jones 2005). That this approach has purchase is evidenced by the growing number of academic papers and books on its application (Denzin 1997; Chamberlin 2004). Development workers in the field, especially in the most remote parts of Botswana, told me on reading my article “Red is Cold: Blue is Hot” (2001) that they found in it the liminality that characterizes their quotidian experiences in Africa: normal rules do not apply, nothing is as it seems, things often appear in reverse, there are always multiple subtexts concealed within the primary text. Making sense of these experiences requires a suspension of convention, of disbelief, an analysis of the uncanny and an interrogation of the noumenal. The ‘noumenal’ is that which science is currently unable to comprehend – something scientifically unexplainable (Kant 1989).

Our auto-ethnographies are only partial narratives, in which leverage of researchers’ feelings of guilt and loyalty are always tested to the limit by some of our ever-opportunistic sources/hosts/subject communities. But !Xaus management, not being academics, also had their preferred expectations of us. Alertness on our part was crucial. Writing a hagiography of O’Leary was an ever-present concern. Caution was necessary. Yet he was uncanny at being able to pre-empt our most pressing of concerns before we had even asked the questions.

Conventional research methods are often found wanting when researchers find themselves enmeshed in local interpersonal and intra-community politics. Such methods exclude, suppress or hide the role of the scholars in doing research. A reassuring objectivity is offered by subjecting the data to numerical methods, in which the personalities, the experience, and the risky edge are suppressed. This approach pretends that the people doing the research are absent from their practices, they are not there; they are flies on a wall (see Chapter 9 for a critique of this alienating/alienated positivist framework).

Well, we know that we are present, that we are flies in the soup (content/experience/reality) and that – no matter how we conduct ourselves – we are shaping outcomes as we go along (see Crawford 1992). For example, the directors of Transfrontier Parks Destinations had studied my publications on cultural tourism more closely than any student or academic peer. They had shaped some of their business decisions on what they had read. They had intensively studied *Kalahari RainSong* (2004) and my analyses of Belinda Kruiper’s role as an organic intellectual amongst the #Khomani before offering her a key position at the Lodge (Tomaselli 2007). The researcher is always present in his/her observations, s/he cannot be

wished away in a fruitless attempt at creating the illusion of objectivity. If nothing else, this is the prime social implication of Albert Einstein's Theory of Relativity.

With all the above in mind, we tend to write in a reflexive auto-ethnographic style. We take our readers with us on our respective journeys of discovery, we triangulate between ourselves and our informants, and we explain what we are thinking as and when these thoughts and mile-posted insights occur. "*Die geld is op*" is O'Leary's way of explaining what he sees as a lack of vision, a restricted business plan, and how individuals, institutions and instrumentalist procedures place unnecessary brakes on what could be. (Different stakeholders had different visions for the lodge.) He wanted a research partner that would assess the nitty gritty of the !Xaus experience in terms not constrained by conventional science, instrumentalism or reductive economics.

While formal statistical surveys and econometric modelling remain crucial for macro-development planning, what is learned in casual fireside conversations with our subjects is needed for enhancement of the human dimension in policy-making and implementation. A recurring refrain from the ≠Khomani is that they are "*hartseer*" (heart-broken) when we ask about local matters. Claiming to have a sore heart as a result of research and development interactions is as much part of the culture of exchange relations (leverage, really) as it is an internalization of Western assumptions about exploitation of the 'primitive'. Taking control, exerting agency, and constructively working with researchers means having to forego the discourse of victimhood. This is a bumpy ride as coping without begging can be an uncomfortable challenge, as community members have to respond to new regimes of work, productivity and output. The conceptual terrain shifts as rapidly as does the desert-landscape.

Equally discomfiting (if exhilarating) is the 38 kilometres of dunes that need to be traversed to get to !Xaus Lodge which opened in July 2007 when a geriatric group of Americans visited. The next day they were nursing their backs, necks, artificial hips and knees.

Transforming Our Object

Gus, a young Australian boy showed us how he had invented Bushman cricket and skittles, using sticks, animal droppings and tsama melons. While on a trail he inadvertently stood on a hibernating snake. We survived the angry gymnastics of the reptile and later visited the !Xaus cultural village with some Swiss tourists. (Field notes, July 2008)

Methodological gymnastics may well be what we are doing (see Chapter 4). In this book we examine some of the epistemological problems associated with the interaction between the general social sciences field researcher, and the communities subject to this research.⁶ We are mindful of Charles Taylor's (1985) distinction between the applications of science, in which he claims that natural sciences succeed by changing what is external to them, whereas the social sciences must “transform their own object”. Cricket in the Kalahari, anyone?

The Kalahari communities have had a difficult historical relationship with the global research community. In many respects this tension stems from the conception that such societies represent in the present that which was the general condition of humanity in its pre-historic past. Although this presumption of a *conserved* condition is not of itself romantic in origin, it does nonetheless appeal strongly to that specific sense of romanticism that represents its contemporary social context as somehow fallen, degraded, degenerate, or inauthentic. The further reasoning conducted from this inference is that peoples like the Bushmen *preserve* (an active form of accomplishment on their part) one or more of the qualities lost by the rest of developed humanity, and must be therefore *conserved* (passively on their part, but actively on the part of those who alone appreciate this quality) by those who have the power to accomplish this.

This presumption, sometimes mistakenly attributed to the discipline of Anthropology as an ‘assumption’ on its practitioners’ part, is in reality a perceptual judgement (Peirce, 1903) in the normative reasoning of the functionaries of philanthropic institutions. These can range from small family endowments through the large US and West European Foundations, to the World Bank and European Investment Fund, national agencies like Britain's Department for International Development (DFID) or America's United States Agency for International Development (USAID), and the countless single-issue agencies in the NGO sector (see Francis and Francis 2010). It is worth pointing out that many theoretical representations of ‘civil society’ seem to view only the latter group as ‘civil’, to the exclusion of multilateral institutions whose functions may range more widely than those of the average NGO. This has some impact on the relation between researchers and subject-communities, in that the role of the development NGO in an area like the Kalahari tends to be focused on a specific and restricted range of issues (say, health and sanitation or heritage and

⁶ This section is adapted from the notes of Arnold Shepperson who passed away in 2006.

tourism). The organisation effectively acts as a singular *immigrant community* in the area, with identifiable individuals performing more or less strictly-defined functions in line with the proposals accepted by funding agencies.

Academics operate within a different economic regime, in which something like the Economy of Research (Peirce, 1879) rules the manner in which researchers' conduct themselves. The objective of the NGO is, ostensibly, the installation and operation of whatever developmental structures are necessary, and the training up of the community in the operation and maintenance of these. The academic, on the other hand, finds him/herself constrained by the Curriculum Vitae: the object is the production of knowledge, usually in the form of articles, monographs, and (when one has 'made it', a teaching syllabus). In this context, the knowledge does *not* transform its object, and frequently serves as a basis for those NGO operations that make it their business to conserve the authenticity of the subject communities in conformity with the objectives of smaller private endowments.

Already, there is a potential three-way clash, before any of the *other* possible actors appear on the scene. Indeed, controversies arising from these clashes frequently attract the next form of agency, which is some or other media institution; corporate media, individual film makers, travel writers, photographers, or artists promising their publishers or exhibitors poignant images of 'disappearing ways of life'. The scene is thus set for the cycle of representation and misrepresentation that has so characterised researcher relationships with Kalahari informant communities. As these images and stories circulate among readers for whom the romantic image of the dying world of authenticity has already been fixed in countless other representations of countless other communities globally, so these audiences become the labour supply of future generations of academics, journalists, film makers, activists, and other First World constituencies that continue the cycle.

But the researcher is never isolated from a broader community of inquiry that includes both past and future inquiry into the subject-matter to hand. Indeed, it is the historical fallibility of previous inquiry that leads to present inquiry, the very fallibility of which will itself motivate future inquiry. It was the fallibility of previous inquiry that worried the first set of reviewers of our research proposals in the mid-1990s and the perceived fallibility that worried the second set in mid-2000 who assessed our research proposal on !Xaus (see Chapter 3). Fallibility, however, is the essence of science, whether natural or social: the communication of the

results of individual inquiries to the community of *future inquiry* with the aim of testing the present findings against the way matters have developed over time. To pose a first query to Taylor's (1985) 'disanalogy' between social and natural sciences, the knowledge of social science research is principally aimed at transforming its discipline of conduct (see Chapter 4).

The study reported on here therefore continued from this query to consider the difference between research as Inquiry, as Advocacy, and as Representation. In all three cases, social-scientific terminology and concepts appear with more or less constant frequency. Yet the actual object being represented in each case is not the same, despite all three activities occurring in the same community and often at the same time.

The question of knowledge is two-fold: there is the knowledge that is created by the researcher and there is the knowledge that 'belongs' to the subject community. The issuing of official National Qualification Framework certificates for short tracking courses proved to be a hurdle where some a-literate ≠Khomani 'learners' were concerned since they needed to write the exam in English to qualify. Thus is indigenous knowledge possibly appropriated, packaged, and then sold back to the holders of that knowledge who only take the courses for certification purposes, and who are then disallowed official recognition even though they are an integral part of this knowledge chain. This is due to the standardization of tourism products and the "rationalization in their production"; which "are the realities of today's globalised world". "Culture and heritage" have no option but to cautiously embrace them (Ivanovic 2008:236). Moreover, the pressing issue is who is 'taking' knowledge from whom? What are the possibilities for workable strategic partnerships? Knowledge should be constructively exploited, with the people and organizations contributing to it working together as cooperating stakeholders. The intellectual alienation that results from the disqualification of the indigenous as stakeholders creates further discord, as for example, in the ridiculous demands of four ≠Khomani artists for R200 000 to burn traditional Bushmen motifs onto headboards destined for the !Xaus Lodge chalets, and for over R1000 per table placemat.

Beyond the No Entry Signs

Lauren, Karen and Kate acculturated the new students and helped them deal with situations which they might have found fretful and bewildering,

like feeling Othered when being constantly asked if they were foreigners when we spent the day at the Askam horse races. Someone asked Sertanya Reddy if she was “from Arabia.” (Field notes, July 2009)

Making sense is holistic. The now late tracker, VetPiet, for example, was known to ask tourists to ‘listen’ to the sunset, as day tu(r)ned into night. This meshed sensory reception of the aural/oral/tactile/visual was indicative of his acute oral consciousness, and one that O’Leary reveals to guests at the Lodge’s spectacular heart-shaped pan and ambient night-time environment. Perhaps O’Leary shares some of VetPiet’s penchant for transgressing no-entry signs and for listening to the visual? He tends to go where no business person has ventured, to find pathways to places which open up new vistas, and to combat impediments that might have daunted even the most stalwart of adventurers who ‘opened up’ Africa in the 18th century.

O’Leary is the Kingsley Holgate⁷ of the business world. He asked me to compile a set of workshops for business people on what can be learned from Bushman culture to inform survival strategies in the commercial environment. Perhaps the unpredictability, and taking of extraordinary risks, is what gives O’Leary his edge in business. In the space age, his motto could have been Starship Enterprise Captain Picard’s “Make it so”. While O’Leary is not one of the “hard men” of contemporary Africa, like conservationists Ian Player and Nic Steele who in the late 1950s illegally smuggled lions into Natal game parks from which they were prohibited (see Player 1998:50; Condon 2009), his kind of business vision could become a driving force in what has become known as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE). BEE in its more usual guise is driven simply by the Cartesian rationality of making shareholding deals which largely empower the already rich, that social stratum that Friedrich Engels and Karl Marx (1970:66) call the ‘new class’ in evolving capitalist societies. Class-wise, little has changed in South Africa as received economic assumptions continue to apply (Mbeki 2009). Going through the no-entry signs, driving into the unknown of the noumenal, is the metaphor for this study.

⁷ “Considered a bit of a David Livingstone - Kingsley Holgate is one of Africa’s most colourful modern day explorers. An adventurer, author, TV Personality and fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, Kingsley is often referred to as the Grey Beard of African Adventure. The Zulus call him ‘*Nondwayisa uya Shinga*’ - the Jacana, the African Lilly Trotter that stalks the rivers and lakes of Africa on long legs. Quite an apt name for someone who has become one of Africa’s greatest present day adventurers” (www.kingsleyholgate.co.za). See also Holgate (2009; 2006; 2004; Draper and Maré 2003).

Postmodernism in the Kalahari?

Sometimes our 4x4s get stuck. Extraordinarily, the low slung, ancient, rattletrap of a 2x4 bakkie/hearse that Belinda Kruiper drove to the Lodge on that hot January 2007 night to bury her husband never wavered. Vetkat's burial constituted the Lodge's pre-opening spiritual ceremony. Elsewhere I have discussed experiences I have documented, experienced, and been told about, that are scientifically unexplainable (Tomaselli 1999; see also Stoller 1984, 1992). The night-time drive to Vetkat's vigil and the burial the following morning at !Xaus was not part of the noumenal, but it was a spiritual experience for all the pilgrims on that dark desert voyage. Vetkat's corpse, Belinda and their many passengers cramped in the back bin sailed through the desert like a ship in the night. To get to the Lodge one turns left 58 kilometres from the Twee Rivieren gate on the Nossob road, and then proceed past a no-entry sign. Vetkat was always taking us through conceptual and spiritual no-entry signs, always exposing us to new realities, new vistas, and new crystals in the sand. In writing this I think of the dangers of essentialism, romanticization and postmodernism. Vetkat and Belinda always encouraged critique even as they revelled in engaging their many visitors with the enchanting discourses through which they made meaning of their lives.

My students have grown up in a digital hyper-mediated world of perfect simulacra and virtual reality. Their experiences of life occur in the computer-designed perceptual present. The real life experience offered by fieldwork, however, opens up new insights: people who lived at our research sites thousands of years ago left engravings as messages on riverbeds. Real life in history does exist, students realized. Students are always in a state of awe and wonderment at the new, enchanted with the different. On the 2009 excursion I warmed to their squeals of delight on their first sightings of an ostrich, a buck, a donkey-cart racing alongside the highway, a squirrel, a social weaver nest.

One of the recurring questions asked by students refers to the ir/relevance of postmodernism. This is heady conceptual stuff in the bush, and it seemed that the Kalahari experience was cautioning them against the more outlandish applications of this approach as students began to make sense of their bewildering daily experiences. We talked about hunger as a condition and its secondary representation in texts. Their assumptions about cultural studies and the world were turned and challenged. They seemed barely perturbed when their cell phones lost signal in the Transfrontier Park and Botswana for weeks on end (see Boloka

2001). Students learned about being in the field, fieldwork and the field itself. “What is postmodern cultural studies if not just another distracting hegemonic discourse”, they suggested. Mick Francis commented that (for its uncritical apostles) postmodernism often means not having to do any research – “just make up the analysis from other people’s narratives or one’s own” (Field notes, July 2009). Behind every image, however, there is a concrete reality inhabited by real people, whether or not they have been photo-shopped, hyper-mediated or constituted into a simulacrum.

Postmodernism was forgotten as students discussed religion, walked to the Ngwatle *shebeen* (informal pub), got lost in the dark and conducted interviews with the locals for their projects. They walked a couple of kilometres back through the bush in the dark, bumping into donkeys, goats and people, apprehensively looking out for predators. This is the real popular culture of remote areas, where students learn from interactions and experience not just by reading another’s sanitized fictional theory about the banal, the sublime or the postmodern. Students and their subjects’ footprints in the Kalahari spanned pre-modernity, modernity and post-modernity. Whatever phase we traversed, it was dusty, cold or hot but always enlightening. All three phases are scrambled in the bush.

Telling Our Story

Ours is the story of achieving the impossible, the short-term resuscitation of a decaying multi-million rand public investment - !Xaus Lodge (see Chapter 9). The miracle is that the intervention was a business-led one. Every other lodge and hotel operator approached by SANParks to manage !Xaus Lodge simply walked away, incredulous at the audacity of the invitation. The Mier municipality, one of the Lodge’s erstwhile owners, had in 2006 given up on it as a white elephant. The ≠Khomani, the other collective owner, saw no value. Their immediate response was “*Eenige tyd* (at some time), but not now, “it’s much too cold there, we might visit for short periods, we don’t want to leave our families” (further south) (Field notes, April 2006). One government department suggested that the ≠Khomani sue SANParks, and claim against another government department for its structural design blunders on the dunes. As a case study !Xaus Lodge could have been consigned to the litany of expensive development projects that have failed globally: yet another interesting example to be studied by students across the world.

This book, however, is about development. It is about intercultural confusion. It is about building successful business strategies, and lodge-community partnerships. The story of !Xaus Lodge has all the elements of an old world fable: “What’s all this Western development-type stuff?”, Belinda Kruiper once asked us in a moment of extreme frustration at continuing grassroots poverty in the face of the tens of millions of rands pumped into the #Khomani Community Property Association (CPA) as development aid from state, donors and NGOs (see Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay, in this volume). Where did all the millions go? Why was no-one ever brought to book? At what stage did (and do) funders walk away from projects they had seeded?

This is partly the story of one company that did not walk away. It is the story of an abiding mission, a business mission; it is a story of commitment, of commitment to poor people and profits; it is a story of persistence, of persistence in the face of extreme adversity/perversity; it’s a story of indigenous economic and cultural empowerment, empowerment of people and processes. This is a complex narrative. The stories in this book are told by various authors; contributors to the development of the Lodge and the larger research project. Each has been encouraged to tell their stories in their own idiomatic, even idiosyncratic, style. They also discuss what development means to them and whether or not this was realized in the venture. The utterly empirical and often perplexing experience of fieldtrips has animated these researchers’ deeper appreciation of theory.

As I have argued elsewhere, the contradictions on the margins are much sharper than those at the metropolitan centres where the captains of international business think the world turns (Tomaselli 2005) and where the irredeemably greedy Wall Street and High Street bankers nearly destroyed the global economy in 2008/9. “*Die geld is op*” takes on a new resonance in light of the global economic meltdown during these years. Most importantly, ours is a story of resilience and a kind of caring capitalism few would recognize. Nevertheless, at the back of my mind is the caution about whether any economic system in a developing country such as South Africa can be truly caring.

The next chapter continues the story and again uses the metaphor of research as a journey of finding out, connecting the dots, and hopefully making sense.

CHAPTER TWO

MAKING SENSE OF THE INDIGENOUS: WHO'S LOOKING AT WHOM?

Keyan G. Tomaselli

Lokkie wanted to start a cultural tourism business. He went to the Gemsbok Park sometime in the 1970s to get Bushmen together.... The first farm was where he settled them and they had a tourism thing going there.... So Lokkie was the first who included the Bushman dance for tourists... and [the Bushmen]... taking charge themselves. But I don't think that they have been in the bandwagon of Western responsibility long enough to know that tourism is finicky, it's finicky. If you suddenly get stung by a scorpion what are you going to do? If [guests] claim insurance who are they going to claim it from? If they sue, what business, how are they going to pay for it? Lokkie wanted each one to grow into his own, and I suppose that is why his business went well and he had cars and money and everything. (Belinda Kruiper, Witdraai, July 2003)

Cultural tourism ventures involving the Southern Kalahari San come and go. Kagga Kamma, to which most of this chapter is dedicated was one of these. Lokkie Henning had secured cooperation from the community and settled Bushmen on a local farm where they displayed their homesteads. In 2003, the late Vetkat and Hans Kortman (from the community involved in Lokkie's venture) reminisced on life with Lokkie. The object of their gaze was an old photograph that the Pinetown Museum had asked us to decipher. We were conducting a photo-elicitation on the roadside: "That's Oupa Regop and Toppies and that's definitely Dawid Kruiper. This is Skallie. There is Gys", Belinda told us. Vetkat believed that the #Khomani were still "pure" in that they lived off the land. He explained that in these early days "one wore a !Xai (loincloth) when one felt like it", not for tourists' benefit. The loincloth was only later used as a marketing tool. In the early 1990s, after Lokkie's venture had dissolved, Pieter de Waal (the father of Heinrich de Waal), together with his cousin Pieter Loubser, invited the #Khomani to Kagga Kamma to interact with guests there. Belinda observed that new cultural tourism ventures will involve the "Western stuff" learnt at Kagga Kamma as well as their own development of these cultural presentations.

The metaphor used in this chapter is that of 'survival'. Who survives under what conditions? What roads and markings do we have to navigate to make a success of things? What is cultural tourism? How do we make sense of this practice?

While tourism is generally accepted as a 'good thing' the perceptions of its significance are frequently vague, abounding with amorphous definitions and ambivalent agendas. Under closer scrutiny, however, critiques have evolved that unbundle some of the conceptual factors that influence research and analysis. Arguments about the growing significance of tourism occur at different levels:

- **Ideological:** a belief that every country should develop a tourism-economic sector.
- **Political:** supra-national agencies, such as the World Bank and governments have developed tourism development policies supported by bureaucratic apparatuses.
- **Economic:** planning procedures and practices place great store on tourism.
- **Social/personal:** people expect to meet and/or to be tourists at some point in their lives.
- **Theoretical:** planners and researchers conceptualise tourism as a social phenomenon. Few African governments, however, possess the intellectual and bureaucratic mechanisms needed to shape policy creation, implementation and evaluation strategies.

Public tourism development (itself conditioned by the above decision set) should be, simultaneously:

- **Poverty reducing (aiming at elimination);** or, in the weak case, equality enhancing.
- **Community-led;** or, in the weak case, grown from community consultation using participatory communication strategies, culturally sensitive cultural audits and appropriate media production.
- **Culturally sensitive;** host-guest interactive, and thereby sustainable.
- **Ethically sound;** or, in the weak case, eco-friendly.
- **21st century friendly;** utilizing low cost Information and Communication Technology (ICT) solutions to known tourism industry communication barriers and problems.
- **Evidence-based (what we know works);** rather than faith-based (what we think works) information intelligence systems.¹

¹ Thanks to Garth Allen for these insights.

Plans have yet to be systematically developed in southern Africa which set out the theoretical, empirical and practical challenges posed by such an agenda, set within realistic time scales and budgets and within risk and uncertainty management procedures. This book addresses some of these issues as far as cultural tourism in the Kalahari (and to a lesser extent, Zululand) is concerned. Cultural tourism is a growing sector of all economies and involves both formal entrepreneurial responses via tourism capital and under-resourced and remote villages, where such activities are little more than *ad hoc* survival strategies. Through cultural tourism visitors are briefly encouraged to take on the persona of 'pop anthropologist', usually facilitated by 'a guide in the know', who is able to bridge ontological divides between observers and observed by commodifying guest-host relations. This set of relations underpinned our study from the mid-1990s.

Survival, Ethics, Business

Strange that from all the donations and payments nothing seems to be left! The Bushmen in Andriesvale live from day-to-day, selling craft along the road frequented by tourists. Quite a few of these people spend their daily earnings on alcohol. They ignore Sisen (the craft foundation) the only visual result left from development aid. (Van der Oever 2007:6)

The survival I write about here is twofold: firstly, that of a particular group of Kalahari Bushmen. Secondly, the studies published here involve analysis of survival in a business sense, specifically with regard to the formal tourism sector. Cultural tourism is considered by its critics to be politically incorrect, the subject of gross exploitation of the indigenous who use both reconstructed and real sites to present their performative selves as a way of earning a living. Cultural Tourism is also "the fastest growing type of tourism in the world" (Ivanovic 2008: xvii). My first book on the topic, *Where Global Contradictions are Sharpest* (2005), partly examined how the 'Bushman' leverage the global success of the *Gods Must be Crazy* (1980, 1989) films in responding to tourist fascination by setting up informal cultural village ventures. It also deals with the impediments sometimes imposed by well-meaning organizations with which they have to contend in pursuing entrepreneurial tourism activity.

Writing in the San/d: Autoethnography Amongst Indigenous South Africans (2007) opens up a postmodern approach to understanding 'San' ethnography, locating the voices of the subaltern as primary. It fractures

observer-observed, researcher-researched, host-guest dichotomies. During a visit to the Ju/'hoansi in Eastern Bushmanland,² Namibia, in 1996, I concluded that resistance against political correctness was the principle followed by some settlements in their struggles to engage in informal cultural tourism ventures with a local lodge and Namibian safari companies. In fact, schisms were evident everywhere as constituencies within the Ju/'hoansi supported by one or other development agency contested each other's position with regard to the merits of tourism as a development strategy (see Barnard *et al.* 1996; Marshall 1996). Different Ju/'hoansi constituencies had formed alliances with their respective local and international backers, each promoting their own respective strategies. The options were stark: farming vs. wildlife-based tourism, assimilation vs. cultural essentialism and agency vs. dependency.

For us, the questions were: Who is looking at Whom? Who is Them and who is Us? Who is in control of Whom during the encounter? Do these kinds of distinctions hold in a world that has encouraged the return of the repressed, who now legally claim original indigenous knowledge, first people's status, and elemental culture? How do such peoples, confined to the geographic margins of a globalised world engage tourist, environmental and economic discourses, process and practices? The continuing image of the Bushmen popularized in the five *Gods* films and its endless derivatives is a Western construction which served them poorly in the pre-information age. However, such images of primitivity in the postmodern era might serve them much better. In the postmodern world image is commodity; performance has value; authenticity is exchangeable, and myths have resonance.

The advertising of destinations "creates images of place" thus redefining "social realities" (Hall 1996:178). Tourism delivers feelings, sights, sounds and aromas of place, space and race; tourism promises the exotic, the unusual, and in the wild, it offers serenity, a return to a peaceful, pristine and perfect unspoiled Eden. The inhabitants of the tourist Eden are often people like the Bushmen, the Masaai, the Zulu and the Himba. Such communities are at once both the (African) Other and the (Western) Same. They are like us, but they are not like us; they are represented as ethnic, biological and cultural residues of the developed world's past.

² This area is now called by the Ju/'hoansi name Eastern 'Otjozondjupa' (Biesele 2006:135).

Indigenes embrace tourists briefly as these visitors pass through usually expensive liminal³ experiences which temporarily remove them from the stresses that typify the developed world. Many of Jamie Uys's films are characterized by the desire of its central (white) characters to escape to the wilderness, an idyllic Eden before the Fall, away from the stresses of urban life (Tomaselli 2006). A comfortable Edenic recuperation in these films is an attraction for citizens of the industrial urban world.

Drive Left, Stop Right: Cultural Studies Which Way?

Belinda talked more about telepathic ways of influencing people involved in !Xaus Lodge; a sort of 'telepathic management'. For example when she had to visit the family of Vetkat in Botswana, she couldn't be at the Lodge for the people; she explained that her spirit was here. (Van der Oever 2007:11)

On one of our travels to Kagga Kamma in early April 2001 we passed two white road workers carefully painting stop signs on a national highway between Ceres and Touws Rivier. These road markings were of interest, given that the stops on the national road appeared to grant right of way to an insignificant gravel farm road. What we also shortly realised was that the stop sign markings were on the wrong sides of the road. I had driven past the reverse sign aimed at oncoming traffic in the left lane and had ignored the sign on the right hand side where the two young men were surveying their handiwork. Anyone coming towards us would have had the same discomforting visual experience. It was only a kilometre or so after passing the men at work that we realised that what was bothering us was a reverse mirror signification. Signifier reversal is a feature of Africa, one which has fundamental implications for research practice (Tomaselli 2005).

This incident put into perspective a conceptual problem that had worried me on our last night at Kagga Kamma. My sleeplessness in our five star accommodation had been caused by an in-depth interview I had conducted earlier that afternoon with the manager of the Park. It had concentrated on the failure of his company's experiment in hosting the Kruiper Bushman clan as a way of helping them cope with a 50 year experience of dispossession, social dispersion and poverty. One of the issues identified by Heinrich De Waal was the unremitting criticism from NGOs,

³ Liminality is a mediating period defined as "the ambiguous state of being between states of being" (Barfield 1997:288).

journalists and critical scholars of the Park's management relating to its experiment with cultural tourism.

Allegations pertained to what was considered the Park's exploitation of the 'Bushmen' and of their being paraded for visitors as 'spectacle' (Bester and Buntman 1999; Weinberg 2000). What had begun as a sincere and idealistic offer for sanctuary in 1991 had turned sour by 2000. The offer had been made in the belief that the Kruiper clan could return 'home' to what the Park advertised as "the Place of the Bushmen" which boasted over 20 known rock art sites. That this 'home' was 1150 km south of the ancestral lands of the Kruipers, a lot colder in winter and the terrain a lot stonier, did not seem to matter. They had found a place where they could recuperate their fragmented clan, where approximately 40 people previously spread out all over the Northern Cape working as farm labourers and cultural performers could reassemble, reconstruct their traditions, and recover their dignity.

The Kruipers were initially offered a percentage of the Park visitor entrance fee. Visitors could book the rock art and cultural tours. The small village was accessible only through deep sand via a 10 minute drive from the lodge. There the Kruipers could sell their crafts and interact with tourists. This appeared to be a dream come true for both management and the Kruipers. An early study seemed to confirm this possibility (White 1995). What the disjuncture of the stop signs on the N9 had crystallised for me was a problem of academic method. De Waal's plaintive cry about feeling "*skoon hartseer*" (absolutely heart broken) at the growing deterioration of relations between the Lodge and the Kruipers had resulted by April 2001 in a very different relationship, one in which both parties felt intensely alienated and strained.

The Kruipers had told us that they were expecting to meet De Waal on that day, when he was coming from the Park's Cape Town head office, to discuss a number of suggestions made by the remaining 13 sojourners. De Waal had arrived just as we finished lunch in the Lodge's dining room, and knowing that 2–3:30pm was tourist time with the Kruipers, I asked De Waal if I could interview him again. On completing a 40 minute taped interview, De Waal and I parted company, and I walked to the Kruipers and rejoined my students. I inquired about the Kruipers' expected meeting with De Waal. It had not occurred. It was with great sadness that we watched the Kruipers standing on the tall rocks surrounding their campsite forlornly observing De Waal's vehicle heading toward the exit gate on its way back to Cape Town.

Over the two years that we had worked at Kagga Kamma we had been impressed with de Waal's sincerity. He was always forthcoming but this

time anxious at the impending return of the Kruipers to Witdraai after their land claim victory in 1999. The impact of this out-migration on the Park's advertising campaign was a concern. He believed, however, that some would return as income at Witdraai would not amount to much since it is located in a remote area in the desert. He was correct. Some Kruiper women who had developed liaisons with local coloured men remained behind and others later indicated their desire to return. Their reasons were that they could earn more at Kagga Kamma. Also, the internal strife that now typified Witdraai politics regarding how to utilise the land was another factor. One of the Kruipers indicated that most of their time was spent at committee meetings, whereas at Kagga Kamma they were freer, they could hunt and do their own thing.

In 1999, Jeffrey Sehume, a Tswana-speaking PhD student from Johannesburg, told me that our first joint interview with De Waal had been a turning point in his analysis (see Sehume in this volume). We had arrived there with questions derived from negative press reports and other sources on the venture. We had read the academic critique: the Kruipers were victims; they had no agency, they were merely acting out an age-old racist Western script. But on talking to tourists, management, guides and the Kruipers, we realised – as we did in Nyae Nyae in 1996 – that victimologies propose their own assumptions on the academic gaze. To most tourists, the Kruipers were real individuals with real personalities; they were not someone's pre-given alienated text.

The Kruipers were well aware of the contradictions of their class position, and of their attempts to cope within this determination. They had made their decisions in the light of the unexpected offer from De Waal. They had experienced stop signs for 350 years of black and white colonisation; the stop signs had similarly switched positions, depending on the policies of those who ruled them, subjugated them, and marginalised them. Suddenly, the stop signs were removed, first by De Waal as far as Kagga Kamma was concerned, and then after 1994 by the new democratically elected government, which returned to them the ancestral lands through which they (and many others) had migrated. But two smaller stop signs got in the way: the first from the debts incurred by the group at Erin, next to Witdraai, which saw the near repossession of one of the farms allocated to them; and the second by Kagga Kamma which imposed specific conditions on their return in 2000.

The Kruipers would no longer be paid a gate fee from visiting tourists. The site where they could meet visitors was now within walking distance from the Lodge, and the time they could spend with tourists would remain 90 minutes. Private arrangements could be made between visitors and the

clan if more time to talk and interact was required. Income would now solely be earned through sale of crafts, and from payment made by film makers employing the clan members as actors and extras. This new arrangement was effected because:

- Though tourists paid for the visit to the cultural village, the Lodge could not guarantee the number of Kruipers, if any, who would arrive at the site at any given time. Though tourists were informed of the voluntary nature of the arrangement between the Park and the Kruipers, they were nevertheless irritated on occasions when members of the clan failed to show. A guarantee of the R13 per visitor from the gate meant that the Kruipers had earned this money whether or not they interacted with tourists. The automatic payment was perhaps a disincentive toward ensuring reliability.
- On Isak Kruiper's return to Witdraai in 1999, those remaining at Kagga Kamma became ill-disciplined, and drunkenness and instances of theft from the Lodge became factors in deteriorating management-clan relations.
- The return to Witdraai had necessitated a new Kagga Kamma publicity campaign with one uninhabited hut replica in addition to the rock-art sites.
- Personnel turnover amongst the guides impacted on the Kruiper's relations with the Lodge. Many guides and a barman had developed highly empathetic individualised relations with the clan. These could have been an asset to both clan stability and Park attraction,⁴ however, relations were not systematised, enhanced or developed through team-building workshops, human resource strategies and lateral management planning and resource development. After May 1999 management simply lost interest and tried to find solutions to insulate the Park from continuing criticism while permitting individual staff to try to resolve the problems in a non-systemic way, mainly 'in their own time'.

During our first visit in 1999 we had an opportunity to interact with the Kruipers outside the structured 90 minute visit. We engaged with and interviewed the tourists and staff and tried to understand our own

⁴ When asked if he was friendly with the clan, a white staff member dismissed them as "primitive", while another said she would have interacted with them more but for their dope smoking.

individual experiences in terms of our respective subjectivities (Tomaselli 2001; Sehume in this volume). Other scholars appear not to have talked to anyone during the encounter, preferring their own observation-based analyses. These are underpinned by assumptions of the San positioned as 'spectacle' by the tourist industry (Bester and Buntman 1999). In any event, once tourists realise that the CCMS researchers had specific knowledge of the situation, they commented that their interaction with us had been an additional bonus for them, as observing us at work opened up new relationships, new insights and new perspectives for them.⁵ Tourists' taken-for-granted assumptions, whether positive or negative, were revisited, and new conclusions were reached.

The oppositions impacting Kagga Kamma were clear: 'Stop' yelled the academics and media; 'Go' advised the tourist industry. Our approach examines agency within popular cultures in relation to the cards that history has dealt them. Our task was to get better acquainted with the Kruipers. We asked how they felt about their alleged symbolization, their claimed spectacleness, and their performing for tourists. Are they really passive and unwitting victims as suggested by the media, NGOs and academics? Or, are they effectively mobilising through the contradictions of tourist capital to take active control of their own circumstances? How do they respond to the academic critique?

The short answer is that the clan, while dealing with a whole new set of contradictions brought about by their successful land claim, were also angry at the politically correct responses of academics, NGOs and Khoisan activists. They often told of their dismay at policies that they perceived were designed to reduce their life chances, to ridicule those like De Waal who try to work with them, and question the motives of tourists who want to meet them. While, in general, they might be highly critical of their benefactors, they are also supportive of them.

The long answer, however, is much more complicated. This goes to the heart of the struggle waged by the Kruipers: a search for authenticity linked to resources, protection and political clan cohesion in the face of the more powerful, somewhat urbanised, educated Khoikhoi⁶ who had

⁵ UK anthropologist, Julie Grant, an affiliate with our research team observed: "CCMS's approach facilitates insight into how participatory techniques can be put into practice in the field, empowering participants while giving them more control over the research process. This in turn may render research more relevant and beneficial to the participants, and successful for the researchers (Institutional Report, Edinburgh University, 2009).

⁶ Khoikhoi refers to those pastoralists of the Cape who were also known as 'Hottentots'. The Khoi referred to themselves as the "real people" to distinguish themselves from other groups such as the Bushmen (see Boonzaier *et al.* 2000).

the ear of government via UN indigenous peoples' organisations. The Kruiper's prime alliance remains with both tourist capital (now at !Xaus) and briefly with the National Consultative Khoisan Council.

Tossing in bed that night at Kagga Kamma, I remembered De Waal's bewilderment that the Park should be expected to provide development support and training for the Kruipers at its own expense when the NGOs seemingly wasted millions of rands and allegedly did nothing to assist the Park in devising a culturally sensitive development strategy. Academics criticised this, but failed to offer solutions. Critics snuck into Kagga Kamma to expose, and not to debate or recommend. They published their exposés unbeknown to the Park's management. The Kagga Kamma owners were former sheep farmers, now businesspeople, not social or development workers; they could not in the normal course of events have been expected to understand the finer points of representational or anthropological theory, ethics of tourism or development theory. At that time theories of cultural tourism were still on the horizon. The Park's business paradigm was not aware of the issues critical academics take for granted. In hindsight, here was an opportunity for a development partnership between academics, NGOs and the Park, but the prevailing academic position was unremittingly hostile (Gordon and Gardiner 1999).

Even so, as I suggested to De Waal, all businesses in the Third World have ethical obligations, found also in other countries with indigenous minorities. I suggested that we look at different ways of arranging the stop and go signs, travelling off the frequented highway and onto the gravel farm road to examine the stop signs which empower it. Kagga Kamma was the national road and the clan was the untarred access road. Regrettably, this project was deferred to a later date involving a different site, due to incapacity on our part at that time.

The End of the Road

In assessing the failure of the Kagga Kamma experiment, and in searching for solutions, the questions were:

- What value does the presence of the Kruipers add to the Park's: i) advertising campaign; ii) attracting tourists who want to meet the San; and iii) charges relating to film, TV and commercials productions shot at this location? How can this be valued?
- How can the expertise and traditional skills of the Kruipers be enhanced and developed, and how can they be marketed and fairly paid as actors,

extras, indigenous knowledge advisors, trackers, game and environmental monitors, and so on?

- How can the quality of interactions between the Kruipers and tourists be enhanced, problematised, and monitored? How can they be organised such that both parties learn from the experience? At least one empathetic Park staffer was needed to mediate between tourists and the clan, in terms of introductions, translations, negotiation of appropriate fees, and so on. Such staff needed to work within management and staff teams, not outside of them, or in defiance of them. Do these staff have the full support of management as well as that of the Kruipers?
- What kind of development support communication and training projects are required to facilitate self-sufficiency amongst the clan, so that they can eventually take responsibility for themselves once the development workers move on?
- What kind of contractual agreements are needed between management, guides, and the Kruipers?
- Which development NGOs could be approached to manage the project and prepare it for sustainability?
- How could the nature of the participation between tourists and the Kruipers be structured? For non-Afrikaans speakers this would necessarily involve a guide. Sitting around the campfire at night listening to folk tales adds immensely to the quality of the 'Bushman' experience. It also gives them something to do instead of drinking, though tourists and staff would have to be tolerant of their marijuana smoking.

The final stop sign of this story appeared in July 2003. Following a Kagga Kamma initiative which saw the negotiation of partnerships with the Boland District Municipality and the Western Cape Minister of Social Services, it was agreed that the three parties would appoint a social worker to look after the well-being of the Kruipers. However, as is so often the case, this initiative contained the seeds of its own demise. De Waal explains that an SABC journalist/cameraman was invited to the launch of the new partnership by the Municipality. The journalist:

Compiled the typical old very negative news report that makes allegations (by the Kruipers) that Kagga Kamma is exploiting the San, even though they are not at all employed by us as you know. This negative report came as a huge surprise as we expected to see a very positive report ... This was then the last straw and we decided to offer to pay for the transport to the Kalahari and encouraged all of the Kruipers to go along with the understanding that they will not be welcome to come back ... We just cannot afford any more of

that negative publicity as we have had to endure in the past. Also, in the eyes of some journalists we will always make a nice sensational report no matter what we try to do – even if it is with the most honourable intentions. We therefore do not intend to have anything to do with the San again in future, as the negative publicity is just too much when compared to the good. (De Waal, September 2000)

Thus ended what seemed a naïve if well-intentioned project just as it was about to enter a new public-partnership phase to resolve the problems that had accumulated over a nine year period.

Making the Impossible Possible

The story of !Xaus Lodge resuscitated the 'go' sign, having directly learned lessons from the Kagga Kamma experience. The story remains the same; the same characters tend to be involved; but the outcome is somewhat different. Where the Kagga Kamma *lazais faire* approach was compromised from the start, the !Xaus experience, located in a later and more ideologically supportive conjuncture, can be understood to have succeeded via the work of a man with a plan, who successfully negotiated the reverse signification by turning abject failure into success. This was implemented through a series of strategic partnerships with the kinds of agencies and academics who were sympathetic to the goals, but not surprised by the outcome, of the cultural venture at Kagga Kamma. The time of the indigene had not yet come when the Kagga Kamma site was in operation. !Xaus intercepted this later moment and put into place mechanisms that were not previously available to Kagga Kamma. The latter was a private enterprise venture, while !Xaus is a public-private partnership, and enjoys the protection of this relationship.

The following chapters offer observations on how academics, tourists and the ≠Khomani negotiate with each other. Readers will learn about the nitty gritty, the contradictions, and the often overwhelming obstacles that conspire to sink community-oriented development projects. This is the stuff of soap operas, not of development theories which bracket out the disorder of everyday life.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH PHASES: WHAT HAVE WE BEEN DOING?

Keyan G. Tomaselli

This chapter discusses the phases through which our project has developed in the context of tourism. It reveals the scenes-behind-the-scenes as we negotiated with reviewers who questioned our approach. Out of these discussions emerged the theoretical discussion of what constitutes indigeneity. A birds-eye-view of what we learned in both the Kalahari and Zululand regarding the challenges impacting issues of representation and practices of cultural tourism follows. How people are imaged and how to contest mythical constructions are at issue. Let's start with how 'Bushmen' have been imaged in the air.

Economy Class Ethnography

"Images of the Bushmen are everywhere", I wrote while flying from Durban to Johannesburg in mid-2008. The #Khomani regularly grace the South African Airways (SAA) in-flight magazine, *Sawabona*, and a rock-art motif anchors its back cover for the advert for my stockbroker firm. The inane *Just for Laughs* candid camera on the drop-down video screen is interspersed with silent movies on the Secret San, the Duma Zulu-speaking clan who claim Bushman ancestry, rock-art sites and the Thokazani art route. The San are billed as the oldest genetic stock in the world, but the secret is not explained. The San remain secret, mysterious, absent, present mainly in the vestiges of rock art depicted. National wealth is indicated in the art heritage, the succulent valleys and the deep gorges, all now part of tourism discourses. (Note circulated to students, October 2008)

My colleague, Mick Francis, who conducted his research on the so-called Secret San (the Duma clan) in the Drakensberg (2009a, b & c), responded to this note: "as a Canadian I must apologize for the *Just for Laughs* show as it is a strange Canadian export filmed in the late 1980s and mysteriously shown around the world" (Francis, personal communication, October 2008). He continued:

The Secret San now appear on a tourist map to the Drakensberg along with Richard Duma's cell number. Duma takes tourists to see the village and the

main kraal and talks about being a Secret San. His brother, Faku Duma, is working in Underberg as a tour guide and driver up the Sani Pass ... The San of southern Africa, after being depicted as contemporary primitives for so long, get a reprieve – they are now flying through the skies on SAA and who they are is as disjointed and unarticulated as the rest of us. Finally postmodernity has arrived for the San, now they are brands to sell ‘fat pills’ and other kitsch items stripped of meaningful referents. Some of the Bushmen crafts are not even mimetic but truly simulacra devoid of any referents. San descendants copy rock-art images onto flat rocks gleaned from the new road into the desert reserves. These images come from a rock-art book kept in their shacks in the Kalahari where no tradition of rock painting exists as there were no rocks until the road was gravelled. This was done in order to serve tourist demands for faceless companies and to ensure that the tourists have trinkets to remember a generic Africa. Instead of the San being deconstructed they have been exploded and any vestiges of uniqueness – on which millions have been spent preserving – becomes inadvertently erased to make way for a generic aboriginal able to satisfy any demands of the market. (Francis, personal communication, October 2008)

*Indigeneity*¹

Our friends at Ngwatle welcomed us – as always. Regrettably, we learned that young Hewa had died while playing soccer on the sandy field where many a CCMS team had been beaten. The unanticipated passing away of many of our hosts and young key informants is always a sobering experience for us. (Field notes, July 2009)

Who are the indigenous? Are they really that mysterious? Are they plural, or can they be individuals? Are they knowable? Young Hewa was an individual, a member of a clan, a larger multicultural village. We played soccer with him, he did piece work in road construction. He called himself a

¹ This section is developed from discussions held at Leeds University at a two-day research workshop hosted by Stuart Murray and Brendon Nicholls in May 2008. “The workshop compared and contrasted case-studies of four Indigenous groups: the San of southern Africa, the Adivasis (tribals) of South Asia, the Aborigines of Australia and the Maori of Aotearoa (New Zealand). Participants included Clare Barker (Leeds), Julie Mullaney (Manchester Metropolitan University), Keyan Tomaselli (University of KwaZulu-Natal), Stephen Turner (University of Auckland) and Rashmi Varma (University of Warwick). Their key intellectual focus was the simple issue of Indigenous presence and claim: What forms does it take and how is it dealt with in the contemporary world?” (www.leeds.ac.uk).

“Bushman”. We miss him. In Australia, the indigenous population is ‘allowed’ to be indigenous provided it is not ‘barbaric’; indigeneity linked to relative autonomy is sometimes allowed by governments provided this self-identity does not compromise the nation-state. In Botswana the indigenous are tolerated as long as they eschew minority or first peoples’ status. In South Africa the indigenous are recognised as first peoples but they cannot expect autonomy (Zuma, March 2001). Protocol permits a certain level of performativity.

The demise of the universal subject of modernity has led to reclamation of identity and place to legitimise resource leverage to benefit from the opportunities permitted to the indigenous by the contemporary moment of fracture. Such fracture is best explained by means of a stereographical metaphor: the ‘Bushmen’ as represented in media and as they represent themselves in cultural villages (and at political meetings) project a split image: one portion is located in antiquity; the second is linked to modernity (see Nicholls 2009). Indigeneity is always placed; but it is also mobile. Petrus Vaalbooi, a goat farmer, wears his !Xai when representing the ≠Khomani at events beyond the Kalahari, but hardly ever when he is in the Kalahari. He shifts the notion of the indigenous as may be appropriate to his current political project.

Indigeneity is contemporary performance of self, enacting a restoration of relations for historical purposes. The notion assumes a genealogically-oriented idea of history where informants name themselves in terms of historical processes. “I am an aboriginal man!” Or, “I am a member of a First People, therefore I am special”; and cognately, “My words have value”. Allegations of ‘stealing knowledge’ fall into this discourse.

Botswana is a state which formed around the denial of the indigenous (Saugestead 2001, Francis 2010). Indigenous minorities are often silenced in the face of a dominant group that claims the ‘indigenous’ mantle. The indigenous live in places where they are subject to second law as imposed by second (settler) peoples – whether white, black or Arabian. Those known to have been there ‘before’ are constructed politically as ‘The Indigenous’. Indigenous peoples often get lost in someone else’s claim of authenticity legitimised by the dominant power system. Indigeneity does not just matter in places where the indigenous live. It can be considered a real issue in places where the notion of the indigenous is not part of the popular discourse – tourists come looking for it at !Xaus Lodge, for example. Indigenous communities are constructed as pre-modern. Yet the concept of ‘indigenous’ is an entirely modern one, hence Sidsel Saugestead’s (2001) title, *The Inconvenient Indigenous*. Botswana has rejected the notion

of specific people making such a claim. Indeed, a visitor has been deported for suggesting that the current president has Bushman-like features.²

History-Law/Lore

Our methodology arises out of the nature of encounters. Encounters offer a series of different kinds of conversations stratified by theme that are structured via a matrix of theoretical approaches. For example, Marit's Sætre's video, *I am, You Are?* (2003), was read through a frame of trade and exchange by the Leeds group who were interested in the multi-layered kinds of encounters occurring between us (the observers) and the Ngwatle community (the observed). The video was described as an exemplary statement on reflexive methodology, no matter the research questions being asked. The director is highly self-conscious and well aware of the documentary's scope of failure. In such observer-observed encounters outcomes cannot be anticipated, real exchange is unpredictable, unexpected happenings turn into 'wins', into pregnant outcomes, in new theories and methods, unanticipated, unusual, unique. Such research is less alienated from (and alienating to) our subjects, and is more conscious of the value and relevance of subject-generated knowledge, lore and analytical systems.

Historical evidentiary accounts work in law/lore, but this also offers discursive leverage of resources. How does the refrain "we want our land back" become a new kind of claim? Making claims means forgetting about previous claims and previous trajectories of ownership (like in the KTP which was an area through which many indigenous groups once passed). The KTP is now the preserve of tourists (observers). The ≠Khomani had no automatic claim to the land. They were afforded the land because of a legal intervention which neglected to recognise the complexity of previous land usage by many different groups.

Rethinking Indigeneity,³ Tourism and Research Approaches

Sertanya loved meeting the people with whom she had been corresponding on travel planning; Jonathan and his colourful matching outfits brought a

² "Jailed for saying Botswana President 'looks like a Bushman'", 12 November 2009 (<http://www.survivalinternational.org/news/5218>). A South African was arrested after commenting on a portrait of Botswana's President.

³ The title of the project in its later stages, *Rethinking Indigeneity*, was adopted with permission from our Leeds University collaborators, Stuart Murray and Brendon Nicholls.

degree of style to the campsite – different from the regulation spectrum of drab khaki sported by Afrikaans-speaking locals. “In dressing in colour I othered myself”, he observed wryly. (Field notes, July 2009)

This anthology reports on an 18-year, five-phase project, dealing with representation and cultural tourism. Characterised by co-terminus, intersecting, and ongoing research phases which started in 1994, the project unfolded from an earlier interest in how ‘Bushmen’ are depicted in film and TV, to questions of movie-induced tourism, and later, development practices framed by notions of indigeneity. Adopting a self-reflexive and self-critical investigative mode, we approached our research as a series of moments of constructive encounters shaped by permissions and protocols that establish both an intellectual and ethical basis for relations and knowledge. The five phases are detailed below:

Phase 1: Media Representations of the San and Zulu

Andrew Dicks was an attraction everywhere, addressed by all and sundry as ‘rasta man’. His dreadlocked hair was the source of many a fascinated gaze, comment and touch, while Shanade often forgot to remove her dark glasses at night. On being reminded that her glasses were still on, she explained that she wears them at night because she “is ‘n rock ster/star”. Kate’s hair was braided by some children on the last afternoon. It’s no longer clear who the Same and Other are. (Field notes, Ngwatle, July 2008)

Phase 1 (1986ff) analysed media representations of the San and Zulu and the idea of movie-induced tourism (see Tomaselli 2001; 2003; 1999; Shepperson and Tomaselli 2002; Clelland-Stokes 2004). I had wanted to meet the Ju/’hoansi who had acted in the *Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980, 1989) films and John Marshall’s documentaries to get an insight into their interpretations of the debates about them (Tomaselli 2008). A PhD proposal by Belinda Jeursen who participated in two field trips describes this inaugural phase most succinctly:

What is “the Bushmen myth”? ... and why is it so popular in the late twentieth century? For what audience has it catered? How has public perception been influenced and by which media? What is entailed by the representation/mediation of a people? What power relations are involved in the representation of a disempowered people? What role do ethics play in observer-observed relations? How have historical, socio-political and economic factors contributed? How does the evolution of the image of the “Bushman” correspond with changing southern African political and cultural discourses? How have the lives of these people been affected by

representation and the evolution of myths about them? What about current criticism by the “Bushman” themselves of the way they have been represented? What about self-representation? (Jeursen 1995)

In 1994, following the winding down of the anti-apartheid guerrilla war and general lawlessness that made road travel dangerous, I bought a used Nissan Sani, one of the few locally made 4x4s then available in South Africa⁴. Our first visit to the desert in 1994 included Botswana and Namibia. Ngwatle in Botswana followed in 1995, and Eastern Bushmanland (the Nyae Nyae) in Namibia in July 1996 (Jeursen and Tomaselli 2007). After three days of driving we finally arrived at Baraka, the small settlement which houses the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation field office. It also hosted regular video screenings of *Rambo* and nightly visits from elephants trundling through our campsite attempting to get to the water tanks located within the compound.

In frightfully cold weather we interviewed the Ju/'hoan actors who had appeared in the Uys and Marshall films. We learned about three subsequent *Gods* films – not then released or even known in South Africa – made by a Chinese company in which Gao, the main Ju/'hoan actor had appeared. Our studies arising from this initial visit, which also leveraged research previously conducted by me and Jake Homiak at the Smithsonian Institution, was published as a theme issue of *Visual Anthropology*, entitled “Encounters in the Kalahari” (1999). Homiak and I had studied the million feet of 16mm film exposed by John Marshall in the Nyae Nyae between 1950 and 1958 (see also Tomaselli 2008; Bishop 2006).

Having learned from Gao that a Chinese company had bought the *Gods* movies franchise, I unsuccessfully tried to track down the three movies whose titles were not known to Gao – or to Google. A few years later while working in Kenya I visited a market in Maseno, and made a point of talking to video store owners. Low and behold, there I found *Crazy Safari* (1991), *Crazy Hong Kong* (1993) and *The Gods Must be Crazy in China* (1996). Pirated copies sold by these stores were sourced from Tanzania. The vendors explained that these films were wonderful examples of primitivity and greatly enjoyed by Kenyan children.

⁴ I include this sentence to contest the perspective of those reviewers who derive misinterpretations from the nature of the metaphor we are using. This is not a ‘man and his machine vs. nature’ trope but rather a point on the difficulties of doing research in these areas. In picking up on the former these reviewers miss the argument about researcher positions, conditions in the field and the accidental nature which often generates new researcher positions. The Sani, in South Africa 4x4 folk lore connotes a soft, almost feminine, identity, not a masculine one as Van Vuuren (2008) incorrectly assumed.

Armed with all five copies of the *Gods* films, we set about examining how viewers responded to them. We conducted focus group and interpretive research amongst audiences in South Africa, Botswana, Namibia, the USA and Kenya. No single interpretation of any of these films emerged. What one interpretive community considers racist is considered ontological negotiation – or even philosophy – by another (see Tomaselli 2006; McLennan-Dodd and Tomaselli 2005). The *Shaka Zulu* (1985) TV series similarly offered a classic case study of how media induce tourism and leverage myths via marketing campaigns, and how audiences respond so differently (Tomaselli 2001; Tomaselli and Mhiripiri 2004; Enevoldsen 2003).

Phase 2: Semiotics of the Encounter

The Ngwatle children took especially to Kate and Lauren, writing Lauren's name in the sand, and offering to do a play on AIDS for us, which Kate facilitated. Corné at the !Xaus Lodge pool one night took to Karen, Kate, and Lauren, offering his undying love for each, after he had failed to persuade Mick to pay a rate per word for translation services during a proposed visit to Welkom. Johannes's loneliness at the remote !Xaus was therapeutically responded to by a CCMS table of good and sympathetic listeners. (Field notes, June 2008)

Phase 2 (1995ff), titled the "Semiotics of the Encounter", was my response to the reviewers of a grant proposal aiming to work on film and representation. Our anonymous peers, though supportive, pessimistically asked what could be achieved by further studies on groups who already were amongst the most studied anywhere. Few benefits had accrued to the Bushmen, and another group of academics blundering about in the bush was ethically contra-indicated. If previous research was considered the problem, and new research was anticipated to compound the situation, then it seemed to me that the object of study should focus on the nature of research practice itself. What was it that occurred – or not – in the encounter between researchers and researched that constituted the problem? Once this was identified, how could research be shaped as beneficial?

The task as it developed required extensive empirical fieldwork with the four subject communities on which we initially settled: The Ju/'hoansi in Eastern Bushmanland, Namibia, the !Xoo in Ngwatle, Botswana, and the ≠Khomani in Witdraai, South Africa. Research was also conducted amongst Zulu-speaking San descendants (the Duma) in the Kamberg,

KwaZulu-Natal. Our interactions with the !Xoo in 1995 and the Ju'hoansi in 1996 exposed the relationship between tourism and film. This second phase introduced analysis on cultural tourism, identity, performance and resistance in both the Kalahari and in KwaZulu-Natal (see, e.g., Mhiripiri 2009; Francis 2007, 2009; Tomaselli 1999; 1995; 2007). It also examined researcher-researched relations, and provided the basis for the systematic development of auto-ethnographic and participatory field research methods (see Tomaselli *et al.* 2008; Tomaselli *et al.* 2005). These arose out of our respective experiences as researcher/observers attempting to establish relations of trust with the researched/observed. Our multi-racial, multi-lingual, multi-ethnic and increasingly multi-national research teams cautioned easy Same-Other dichotomies. In the encounter we wanted to write and video with, rather than merely about, our hosts. Eventually some groups came to consider us as co-researchers, in a relationship in which stories, information and data were recorded and exchanged (see Tomaselli *et al.* 2008; Lange *et al.* 2007; *SuBtext* 2011).

Working in Zululand is quite different. Zulu communities do not try to 'sell' information, stories or myths. They operate in a much more formal economy and understand the intrinsic value of research. We examined relationships between media constructions of indigenous peoples (the Bushmen), and the "performative primitives"⁵ employed in Zulu 'cultural' villages such as Shakaland, Simunye, and DumaZulu, amongst many others in the KwaZulu-Natal province. These developments are both similar to, and different from, cultural villages as reconstituted, recuperated or designed, in Namibia, Europe and the USA. Of specific interest were issues of *representation*, *cultural policy* and *ways of staging authenticity*.

These interact via three channels and their associated social and discursive practices:

- Media (mainly cinema, TV, coffee-table books, and more recently the World Wide Web);
- Manifestations of heritage and history; and
- Cultural tourism and responses to it (spontaneous, economic, developmental).

Specifically examined were the ways in which representation, policy and staging intersected via media and tourism, and how they reconstituted both modern and customary narratives into 'history'. Via this framing,

⁵ The term is Dean MacCannell's (1990), which he developed with regard to the negative effects of cultural tourism in Papua New Guinea.

'performers' can themselves engage the perceptions and anticipations of visitors who might bring with them all manner of positive and negative stereotypes to the encounter (see Finlay 2009a, 2009b).

Some remote Ju/'hoansi villages in the Kalahari had in 1996 (re)constituted cultural sites and performances and entered into business arrangements with safari and film companies. One of the unanticipated effects of the first two *Gods* films, for example, was to draw German tourists especially and also TV productions to Bushmanland, often outside of any systematic tourist infrastructure. In contrast, *The Sound of Music* (1965) and *The Salzburg Connection* (1972) are deliberately mobilized by tourist businesses to attract visitors to Salzburg, Austria (Luger 1992). *Shaka Zulu* (1981) attracts day-trippers and overnights to Shakaland and other remote KwaZulu-Natal heritage and cultural sites. Disneyworld, MGM studios and Universal, are well known examples of this form of tourism. Huge increases can be expected at the locations and sites associated with successful films and TV programmes.

Shakaland was built as the set for the TV series. The shift into marketing the set occurred because of a post-*Shaka Zulu* slump in the local film industry. The Shakaland 'experience' was promoted also as an educational and conservation site. *Shaka Zulu* was one of the most successful cable TV releases in the USA. *John Ross* and *Ipi Tombi* were also filmed at Shakaland, and pictures of performers in Shakaland are reprinted in a variety of tourist and coffee-table books on 'the Zulu', in English and German. In contrast to the Kalahari, KwaZulu-Natal boasts a relatively developed travel and tourism infrastructure. Our early interest was encapsulated in the following questions concerning:

- how culturally stereotypical tourist (and hence Western) perspectives on the Other are negotiated by all parties to the encounter;
- how these stereotypes about 'people' as 'performative primitives' impact conservation and development policies; and
- how the marketing of cultural villages, authenticity and indigenous artefacts replicates common sense discourse about Same (Europe) and Other (Africa) (see Kohn 1994; Hamilton 1992).

Most cultural tourism takes place 'front stage', in the public spaces where the meetings of hosts and guests/tourists are designed to occur. Back stage is where the hosts and performers live, retire, and conduct their own social, leisure and symbolic lives. Cultural and historical villages reveal back stages, the previously 'off-limits' areas, where spontaneous social intimacy pervades, and where culturally organic activities occur beyond

the conventional tourist routes. The Kagga Kamma Private Game Reserve, for example, conveyed the impression that what was actually front stage was really the back, culturally mysterious, region. In Shakaland, front and back stages are integrated.

In addressing the above questions, we studied the relationship between Africa and Europe which is historically predicated upon the differences assumed to define Europeans (the Same) in contra-distinction to Africans (the Other) (see Hickey and Wiley 1997; Mudimbe 1988). Part of the marketing strategy used in cultural tourism is to foreground the 'timeless' pure and unspoiled 'mystery' of the African Other. The colonial encounter spanned five centuries, progressing through missionary contact, colonization, interactions with anthropologists, archaeologists and ethnographic film makers, through to cultural tourism of the post-colonial era. Drawing on the work of a number of African and western philosophers, we concluded that when the victorious 'scientific' order of knowledge of the Western Same was faced with cultures predicated on Other kinds of world-views, it responded through two mutually exclusive avenues:

- The world view and behaviour of the Other was treated as "priest-craft" (Rorty 1980:328) and consequently something to be vanquished. The early history of contact between San and white (and black) settlers whom they encountered, for example, is dominated by extermination.
- Conversely, 'science' tried to 'conserve' the Other in museums, living museums such as Shakaland and Kagga Kamma, and in film, photographs and video, in body through mummification, and even in the field itself. Robert Gordon (1985) calls this "death by conservation".

However, a *third* avenue characterized by post-modernity has collapsed distinctions between science and priest-craft.⁶ This conflation locates ethnography at the intersection of these previously opposed discourses. Ethnography is then commodified via the language of cultural tourism, thinly dressed in the discourses of 'conservation', 'development' and 'eco-tourism'. This particular language of conservation is embedded in the

⁶ This insight emerged when Homiak and I were traveling home on the Washington DC subway in July 1994, following his reading of an article authored by Arnold Shepperson and myself (1991). We were trying to understand how indigenous Africans might respond to particular events, by applying Malinowski's dictum that anthropologists try to put themselves in the position of the natives, the observed. I make this point here as theoretical connections often occur in surprising environments.

mystique of ‘priest-craft’ and indigenous knowledge, and is evoked for ‘scientific’ and development purposes by both researchers and researched. While financial in motivation, it is ideologically explained in terms of conservation and restoration of the (perhaps romantically assumed) human dignity of the Othered (exotic) societies from whom the performers are drawn (see Tomaselli 2005:113–122).

KwaZulu-Natal has a unique conservation history in which the role of the indigenous Other, in the form of notable Zulu men, has been substantial, and cannot be simply explained with the imagery of colonial puppetry (Draper 1998). No other African people during the imperial age caught the Western imagination more powerfully than did the Zulu, though this fascination was a blend of admiration and repulsion (Kiernan 1995:232). This volume explores such contemporary curiosity and the ways in which local people aim to satisfy it.

Zulu cultural villages and their surrounding communities reveal diverse images. For example, near Shakaland, advertised as an “authentic Zulu village and hotel”, was a square homestead (accessed only by 4x4) with “Power Ranger” written on its front wall; its tenants indicated that the graffiti referred to the TV Series, *Mighty Morphin Power Rangers* (1993–95). These discursive contradictions abound in the vicinity of living museums, and locals often have very different interpretations of them to the official tourist public relations. By joining tours as participant observers, we assessed tourist responses from their off-the-cuff remarks, their interaction with the guides, and with each other. Asides made by performers in indigenous languages not intended for tourist consumption were also noted and analysed. For example, at Shakaland we listened with intrigue to a heated disagreement between a female tour guide and male performers over the representation and spatial division of gender roles.

Phase 3: From Observation to Development

The group especially appreciated Mark’s imitation of an Australian cow mooring. He was palpably relieved when I told him that we would not be hunting at the hunting grounds, merely tracking and talking to !Xoo men who once were hunters. Mark bought three copies of my book at Xaus Lodge – he must think that the book is worth reading in triplicate. (Field notes, *en route*, July 2008)

Phase 3 (2003ff) was entitled “From Observation to Development: Method, Cultural Studies, and Identity”. This phase responded to two issues: a) how to make our research useful to our hosts; and b) to address the need for

contemporary contextual information to supplement whatever other studies had been done on these communities' conditions of existence. Moving from representation into development issues required analysis of development communication, media production, and land policy (the Gwi and Gana,⁷ Botswana), livelihoods (Ngwatle), micro-enterprises (≠Khomani), and community radio (the !Xun and Khwe in Platfontein) (Mikkalsen 2008; Njagi 2005; Mhlanga 2006, 2009; Mhiripiri 2009; Hart 2005). Redress in South Africa targeted pre-apartheid and apartheid outcomes which had constituted the indigenous as specific kinds of Other. Generations of internalising this relationship constituted the Same-Other concept, a means of encouraging the provision of funding for some post-apartheid *redress* projects, where subject-communities' perceived that Otherness forms the basis of defining the means of restitution for their previous marginalisation. The key resources were land, identity and first people status.

Yet the same inheritance split the newly constituted ≠Khomani over what identity they ought to present. As beneficiaries of redress, a traditionalist faction adopted the Manichean sign of the pre-modern hunter-gatherer for whom redress consists of the restoration of their conception of an authentic hunter-gatherer form of life, in their purportedly ancestral territory, *alongside but not necessarily integrated into modernity*. In contrast, as beneficiaries of *development* programmes, other factions (pastoralist, settled) adopted the sign of marginalised citizens in a constitutional society in order to negotiate the provision of social goods and services that will generate wealth *within the parameters of modernity* (Robbins 2001). In July 2009, the leader of this faction, Petrus Vaalbooi, told Mick and Suzanne Francis that neither ≠Khomani nor San exist, only Bushmen. He rejected the convenient identity labels of modernity even as he participates in this era. Vaalbooi's rejection of the two names is indicative of the conceptual divide that had grown out of the political discourses of development and redress.

Writing about the dissolution of democratic politics in interwar Europe, Hannah Arendt (1958) noted that the general conception of *human rights* is distinct from the more particular concepts involved with *civil*

⁷ The Gwi and Gana are indigenous to Botswana's central Kalahari region. These clans tried to stake their claim to land in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve. They were aided by Survival International in winning a court case against Botswana's government in 2006 to this effect. The government, in return, has been lambasted by the international community for what is alleged to be its racist policies concerning these 'Remote Area Dwellers' in forcing them off the land and resettling them (see www.survivalinternational.org).

rights. It may have been neglect of this distinction that underpins the difference in the ways the Gana and Gwi of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve responded to proposals for the development of the territories on which they are/were respectively located, and how the ≠Khomani have descended into competing discourses of dependency and development. In light of this the present project will have contributed something to the conceptual foundations of development theory. Deconstructing the discourses of 'First People' (a Human Rights concept) and 'Citizen' (a Civil Rights concept), we explored the extent to which these discourses either contradict or reinforce each other in the emergence of co-operation or conflict in:

- intra-community tensions over means and ends (with a special focus on how conceptions of Human Rights play out in identity formation and the assertion thereof); and
- tensions between the broader Bushmen population, agencies of redress and development (with a similar focus on how conceptions of Identity play out in the mobilisation of Civil Rights discourse in relation to means and ends).

Our focus is on establishing how these descriptions sort themselves out in accordance with the self-classifications of the relevant communities in relation to formulations of redress. The self-ascribed 'traditionalist' (hunter-gatherer, forager/beggar) and 'developmentalist' (settled, craftspeople, and agriculturist) groups within communities provide *subject-generated classifications* of political economy. These self-classifications have given rise to a unique *political economy of cultural transition*.

In the case of the ≠Khomani, tourism and media facilitated a new form of nomadism between cultural, game and nature-preservation parks. Groups within the ≠Khomani migrating to and from the Western and Northern Cape, North West and Limpopo reconstituted themselves in terms of positive stereotypical images of pre-modern 'Bushmen', as popularised in the media (in which many have acted). Their new nomadism is symbolically re-circulated globally via various media products. In contrast, the !Xoo at Ngwatle evidenced a much more spatially static, organic unmediated 'Bushman' identity under threat of assimilation and relocation (Simões 2001b). For both the ≠Khomani and !Xoo, there is a disjunction between the conditions their members described to us as researchers, and the conditions that media images encourage in the formation of tourism enterprises. The San stereographically "are assumed by media and many tourists ... to be a pre-modern people living in the 'past'. Looking at

'them', it is assumed, is 'us' engaging with the 'ancestors' of 'our' Western civilization" (Tomaselli 2003:64). Tourists gaze at them from the dimension of the 'present'. Media assertions about the Bushmen withhold information about the extent to which they are, in fact, both inhabitants of, and the consequences of, the politics, economics, and culture of modernity (Tomaselli 1999b, 1999c; Tomaselli and Homiak 1999a).

Likewise, media imaging 'the Zulu' withhold information about the extent to which they are in fact inhabitants of a developed society, and whose popular image is primarily a performance of primitivity (Enevoldsen 2003; Tomaselli 2002b; Ndlela 2002; Tomaselli and Shepperson 2002a; Mhiripiri and Tomaselli 2004; Tavener-Smith 2012). Where our early research examined Bushmen and Zulu tourism on a comparative basis, this book concentrates on the ≠Khomani in the context of their ongoing marginalization despite relatively high per-capita development spending. Generous levels of development funding in First People's conservancies has had little effect: the "Nyae-Nyae San conservancy in Namibia was one of the first to be registered, and has received the most donor funding, but among all conservancies it has yielded the least amount of results ... the more donation the less likely it will succeed" (William Ellis, personal communication, March 2003).

Although our fieldwork identified many shortcomings in the relationships between First Peoples and the development agencies with which they interact, it is apparent that deeper philosophical questions had to be addressed at the levels of development strategy and emergent cultural tourism theory. We identified four principal problems:

- When testing theories our findings did not easily fit with the 'two level' conception of identity (Hall 1990, 1997; Hall and du Gay 1996; Simões 2001b). The fracturing and hybridisation of identity resulting from globalisation is often also highly visible on the periphery (Robins 2001; Simões 2001a; Donnelly 2001). The project, therefore, brought a sharper analytical focus to issues of self-ascribed identity among beneficiary communities in the local and global developmental context.
- NGOs, communities, and even some state bodies frequently project contradictory notions of identity onto the beneficiaries of development projects (see e.g., Robins 2001). Where most theory presents identity in conceptual or critical terms of political concepts – like rights in a context informed by various United Nations documents and declarations – little attention is paid to the infrastructural or material background within which rights become conceivable in the first place

(Harris 1979). The postmodern tradition – in which only individuals are considered real and any general relations between them are considered arbitrary idealist constructions – is followed by a nominalism that conflicts with the largely realist worldview adopted by First Peoples. Where post-modernist theories consider conditions as ‘socially constructed’ (Bloor 1976), a contrary response is found among the ≠Kho-mani and !Xoo. These communities justify their situation in causalist and realist terms, ascribing existential values as the reason for deciding one way rather than another. We thus wanted to cast light on how and why the tensions that exist between development strategies and implementation almost inevitably seem to result in disruption to the identity of Kalahari peoples (Dyll 2003; Tomaselli and Wang 2001).

- The geographic nature of the theory-practice divide is the third problem; theories are mainly produced in the developed world, while the practice of research and development occurs in un(der)developed countries. In effect, theorists are at a remove from researchers and researchers are often further removed from those researched. This places subject communities at a disadvantage when dealing with development agencies. Funding is frequently based on proposals written by agents in the developed world, and on received conceptual models instead of observations deriving from the proposed beneficiaries (see McLennan-Dodd, in this volume). This raises the question: does development *depend* on theory? Of relevance here is the issue of *ownership of information* in the context of the dependency of theory on true or accurate information. This has, in turn, led to further theoretical work on who ‘owns’ this claim to truth: the researchers, the development agencies, or the beneficiaries (see Chapters 1 and 12)? We engaged the question of ownership of *information of any kind, no matter whether it is true or false*, from the realist position that information, once communicated, is necessarily independent of the source from which it emanated. In other words, information about these communities leads to situations where researchers or NGOs “think they own the Bushmen” (Kruiper, personal communication, 24 July 2001). We thus trace the outcomes, for specific development projects, of disputes arising from the purported, actual, and/or continued misuse, abuse, misapprehension, and/or misappropriation of cultural images as ‘information’ in the implementation of tourism schemes and TV productions.
- The logic of development explanation dissolves when associated theories are implemented in practice. The response to failure is either to

blame previous theorists for paying insufficient attention to cultural elements of the purported beneficiaries, or to identify ideological, organisational, or personal failures in the development agencies. In the first instance, the response blames the community for not taking to the development. By the same token, the beneficiaries are blamed for failures because they neglected to act on the 'true' information communicated to them (Lerner and Schramm 1978). In the second case, blame is directed away from theory and onto the lack of competence of agencies for whom practice and not theory is the objective.

This phase studied how publications about the above-mentioned four issues gave rise to tensions and contradictions between ourselves as researchers, the subject-communities and development agencies. We wanted to clarify the processes and relationships of dependence, inclusion and exclusion, bordering and Othering that may have grown out of activities of observing and being-observed in the field.

In similar fashion, the same processes are affected by the observations and conclusions embedded in the making and interpreting of media products that image the subject-communities. We analysed and critiqued the sedimentation of these research relationships in the practical, economic, and political interactions that develop between subject communities, surrounding communities, and development agencies.

Part of the project's objective was to develop new research methodologies that affirm the subject communities' powers as citizens in national societies. This entailed:

- testing new and innovative forms of writing, imaging, and representation that transform research findings into texts that avoid constituting subject communities as pre-civil communities (Wang 2002a; Sætre 2003a, 2003b, 2003c; Reinhardt 2002a, 2002b, 2002c; McLennan-Dodd 2003b; Lange 2002, 2003b; Lange *et al.* 2007; Manyozo 2002b, 2002c; Dyll 2009);
- devising research methods that describe and classify the narrative forms that offer the most flexible means of confronting prevailing assumptions, both academic and popular;
- asking how research contributes to inappropriate development strategies (Tomaselli forthcoming; Dyll 2003; Francis 2002a; Denzin and Lincoln 2000); and
- self-reflexivity where the researchers (observers) analyse the nature of their relations with their subjects (the observed) (Lange 2003a; Crowe 2003; Tomaselli and Shepperson 2003a; Oets 2003; Tomaselli *et al.* 2003, 2008).

Phase 4: The Development of !Xaus Lodge

Some students initially seemed to think that they were on holiday – but Mick, Suzanne and Lauren disabused them of this possibly postmodern reaction to fieldwork. They learned about being in the field, fieldwork and the field itself. (Field notes, July 2005)

Phase 4 focuses on a specific case study by examining the genesis, establishment and performance of !Xaus Lodge, co-owned by the ≠Khomani and Mier communities. This development project, specifically dealt with in Chapters 10 and 12, exposes both indigeneity and counter-indigeneity in that !Xaus became the nexus of complementary and competing claims to indigeneity. The conservation area was re-allocated by the government to two indigenous groups, the Mier and the ≠Khomani, over others with equally historical purchase. In securing the allocation, the ≠Khomani constituted itself out of divergent clans and a dispersed Bushman population to claim indigeneity and political/ethnic legitimacy. The basis of the reclamation was to recover the spaces from which the indigenous were once forcibly removed. At !Xaus the lodge operator wanted to re-import the indigene to their claimed ancestral space, while the state-owned South SANParks opposed this, engaging in a struggle between presence (the Lodge with its white/San/coloured minorities) and absence/containment at !Xaus, and claim (Mier/≠Khomani), facilitated by the Peace Parks Foundation.⁸

This phase mobilized semiotics in an analysis of Lodge marketing, strategic positioning and Lodge-community partnerships in relation to issues of identity, representation and analysis of Same-Other relationships. Action research was actively applied to shape business decisions to recover a state-funded project which had made every development mistake in the book (see Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay in this volume; also Finlay 2009; Dyll 2009). Despite this, !Xaus is a story of development success. Yet, the reviewers of an initial and then a revised grant proposal submitted to an international agency in early 2008 offered the following criticisms:

Contribution to socio-economic circumstances doubtful. Aims poorly formulated. Study too specific/specialised. No deliverables. No dissemination. Project scientifically problematic. It will not produce critical insights. It will not deliver a general model that is replicable. There are doubts that it will contribute to poverty reduction.

⁸ For more see http://www.peaceparks.org/Stories_1180000000_2_0_783_0_783_Kgalagadi+Progress+Report.htm.

The research contributes in that it aims to develop a methodology for visualizing aspects of Bushman culture using a type of visual anthropology. However, the empowerment objectives and the linkage of Bushman cultural identity to cultural tourism hint at a type of commoditization of culture – a project that is scientifically problematic and is unlikely to produce critical insights.

The problematisation of the Public-Private-Partnership model was of course a feature of the original proposal. The reviews also missed the point that ‘community owners’ are often active participants in constructing simplistic cultural identities; they present themselves as performative actors who are not always victims of the research gaze. Chapter 9 addresses the above two criticisms, discusses the “deliverables” and quantifies the poverty alleviation impact of !Xaus. In this outcome, we acknowledge the optimistic comments offered by other reviewers:

- “The role of scientists in promoting more culturally-sensitive models is valid ... and can be a basis for developing relationships between scientific institutions and other interested parties.”
- “[T]his project has the potential to help us understand the dynamics of community development partnerships through its creative combination of theoretical and methodological approaches, and its attempt to generate a model for understanding such partnerships, which model is potentially generalisable more widely and which may therefore influence policy and planning approaches in the interface between development, tourism and conservation.”
- “The issue for us was the search for ways of making sense of the !Xaus experience. Some of the reviewers wanted the application of pre-known methods (which had largely failed these communities in the past). Our quest was ultimately assessed as inadequately scientific, and few of the reviewers were prepared to allow us the risk of failure, or indeed success. Such is the nature of the academic enterprise – caution is an abiding principle.”
- “Yet we continued with our work, with the aim of transforming our object of study – the way that research is done. Our “deliverables” are less tangible, the commoditisation of culture was in process before our entrée, and the valorisation of “authenticity” was never our objective, though it was the basis of our subjects’ survival strategy. Our aim was to analyse how authenticity is constructed, interpreted, managed and negotiated between hosts and guests. Arising out of this we hoped to offer suggestions that would enable the relationship in ways that have benefits for all parties involved in the encounter. This was our

‘deliverable’ – after all, the indigenous have little else to leverage in earning a living. Finally, the formal deliverables are the province of the !Xaus operating company, which was now driving the re-development of this previously abandoned venture. It was at this point that we adopted a new conceptual framework to explore questions of the indigenous in modernity.”

Phase 5: Rethinking Indigeneity

Strauss Human's violin did much to soothe often cold and hungry researchers, and he for a while managed to drown out the irritating base thump thumping of that interminable *shebeen* pop music that kept most of Ngwatle (and us) awake at night. The noise, the party, shouting, bass vibrations transmitted over and through the sand, and the drinking went on day and night non stop – so much for the tranquil sounds of Africa! Gregg at !Xaus also complained about this at an Etosha camp, Namibia, where his family had just been. (Field notes, July 2008)

Phase 5 linked us with an international project piloted by the Leeds University Centre for Post-Colonial Studies where Stuart Murray and Brendon Nicholls had become aware of our work. The Leeds initiative had critically addressed a number of theoretical issues that were now knocking on our own door. The prime issue discussed at a workshop held in Leeds in March 2008 was to rethink the notion of Indigeneity within the discipline of Postcolonial Studies. Indigeneity is a status usually accorded to “remnant prior peoples living on their former lands in the margins of nation states” (Barry Barclay, Leeds *hui* meeting 2006). This phase offers strategies and models for implementation of what has been learned from Phases 1–4 as we seek to generalize the model across other community-lodge/park/hotel ventures in the region.

Postcolonial Studies tend to assume a history in which an evolution to the post-essentialist, hybrid, migrant or diasporic identities associated with the contemporary globalised world has occurred from an identitarian nativism associated with anti-colonial nationalisms in the 1950s and 1960s. As a result of this implicitly progressivist model, indigeneity is sometimes construed as a throwback to long-defunct Manichean categories formed in opposition and resistance, *rather than as a meaningful contemporary claim upon the world*. During colonialism the Manichean allegory explained that by subjugating the native, the European settler was able to compel the Other's recognition of him, thereby ensuring his

own identity as master (the Same). European narcissism was thereby legitimated since the native, like Charles Darwin's description,⁹ was "considered too degraded and inhuman to be credited with any specific subjectivity" (JanMohamed 1986:20).

Dismissals of indigeneity overlook the complex nature of claim and presence constituted by indigenous populations, both as individual communities and in their attempts to articulate wider, global formations. Foundational texts such as Linda Tuhiwai Smith's (1999) *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* exemplify new advances in indigenous sociological and cultural theory. These studies articulate the increasing historical purchase indigeneity possesses within the discourse of minority rights, as well as its burgeoning status as a platform for political mobilization against the excesses of globalised capital and neo-liberal hegemony (Pratt 2007). The idea of indigeneity provides the semantic grid which permits a positive re-articulation of othering myths to leverage economic opportunities offered in the tourism sector. The dispossession of the Gana and Gwi of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve, Botswana, is a case in point (see e.g., Good 2008; Mikalsen 2008; Hitchcock 2002; Taylor and Mokhawa 2003). Botswana's government does not recognize minorities or Manichean categories and responded with hostility to attempts by Bushmen, encouraged by Survival International, to leverage indigeneity as a way of retaining rights to their ancestral lands.

Rather than being an essentialist category associated with myths of authenticity, traditionalism, primitivism and pre-rationality, we examined whether indigeneity could be reconceived as a contemporary performance of self that enacts a restoration of relations to one's past. In this definition, indigeneity becomes a strategic form of practice, precedent and protocol, involving the creative assertion of enforceable legal frameworks and social or commercial models that institutionalize the indigenous (see Nicholls 2008). The problem, however, as the Botswanan government realized, is that claims to indigenous identity might constitute a form of legally enforceable agency in multicultural nations. If indigeneity is indeed a mix of received tradition and contemporary performance of self via cultural villages or otherwise, then it follows that it is often formed in the encounter. Our guiding thread is the simple issue of indigenous presence and claim: What forms does it take and how is it dealt with in the contemporary world?

⁹ Darwin observed in the discourse of the time that the Indians were "the most abject and despicable creatures I have seen nowhere else" (Chapman 1982:10).

Methodologically, Rethinking Indigeneity as a foundational phrase means:

- listening to what the indigenous say, and studying what they do;
- examining how they are put into representational frames;
- examining what to do with people who refuse to vanish; and
- examining how states deal with presence. This results in local insistence, insisting on the status of indigeneity (i.e. being hailed as 'Bushmen').

The three key areas of focus which the Leeds group re-examined are: representation, sovereignty and the environment.

Representation

British tourists who follow their rugby, soccer and cricket teams are not interested in anti-apartheid struggle routes; they relate to Anglo-Zulu and Anglo-Boer wars. Upkeep of colonial monuments, then, should be higher on the agenda than it is. The locals may be interested in 'struggle tourism', but they do not bring income into the province. KwaZulu-Natal attracts the British tourists by the thousands by venerating Anglo-Boer War and Anglo-Zulu histories, battlefields and re-enactments and promoting associated cultural tourism. (Field notes, July 2009)

If indigeneity involves the performance of self, what is the historical relationship of indigenous communities to representational arts, especially film and literature and cultural villages? Are the circumstances in which these communities find themselves to some extent a result of the marketing of their romanticized image in, for example, travel writing, feature films and ethnographic documentaries. If this is the case, what are the appropriate protocols for representing such communities? Given their histories and contemporary political and economic circumstances, what do indigenous communities expect cultural representation to achieve among themselves and in the world? In the specific arena of visual representation, what are the possibilities of film working as a form of 'archiving-in-the-present', or as a political tool among these communities? Are the problematics or dynamics associated with indigenous visibility different from those associated with indigenous textuality?

Sovereignty

Given that the indigene's historically-unacknowledged claim to political primacy casts the constitutionality of *all* frameworks of relation into crisis,

what is an appropriate basis for a relationship between indigene and academic? In terms of establishing the boundaries of academic disciplines, which kinds of relationship or roles would serve to further indigenous struggles for political sovereignty, land restitution, human rights, financial reparation, justice, non-racism, social and economic equality and infrastructure, to name a few. What might a relational sovereignty look like in an indigenous community? What adaptations to research methodology does indigeneity's complexity require of us? How might calls for indigenous political sovereignty relate to calls for indigenous "image sovereignty" (Barclay 2006), "image ethics" (Gross *et al.* 1988), or the recognition of indigenous cultural practices within the institutional frameworks that support, fund and regulate cultural output?

The Environment

How do the relationships of indigenous communities to their land, their natural environment, the built environment and place, function in a contemporary era of environmental concern conceived largely through Western practices? Are state-led or para-statal conservation projects politically enabling or disabling for indigenous communities, and in what ways are such communities involved in decision-making processes? What does indigenous environmentalism comprise and how might it fit in both local and global models? Specifically for us, how are these categories negotiated by the San/Mier/Zulu? How will the Mier present their own sense of indigeneity, if any, in the context of the Lodge? How will they negotiate their common and different heritages to the ≠Khomani?

In Conclusion: Pro-Poor Tourism

By the end of the trip the students were talking about the relevance of theory, the lack of methodology modules at the university and the need for conceptual structure. They had started connecting the dots, identifying a lack in their education, and what needed to be done to rectify this. (Field notes, July 2009)

Strategies proposed by pro-poor tourism (PPT) (Ashley *et al.* 2001a, 2001b) are tested with regard to a case study of !Xaus Lodge. PPT might be able to mobilize ethnic identities, indigeneity and performance as culturally sensitive marketing factors while also underpinning viable tourism/lodge-community partnerships embedded in appropriate development

strategies. A feature of post-colonial life is that primordialised and essentialised representations of primitive 'Bushmen' are being vigorously reasserted in the media and NGO rhetoric at the very moment that the San are beginning to engage the world politically (Sylvain 2005:354). We interrogate the reasons for the re-emergence of this discourse, and explain our work with our subject communities in developing participatory research strategies with which to engage this discourse. Furthermore, we aim to create the conditions for a discursive negotiation which includes the 'Other'-wise represented communities themselves. We thereby hope to reveal the nature of Bushmen historical and contemporary perceptions on Western concepts such as 'quality of life' and 'standard of living' and, in particular, the dynamic of notions of economic justice and fairness.

Our framing research questions included:

- How do the #Khomani employed at !Xaus Lodge construct, negotiate and rearticulate their discursive cultural and environmental resources of 'authenticity', indigeneity and their First People status in terms of tourist expectations, interactions and media discourses? Of particular importance were questions of sobriety, hotel/agency-community relations, and understanding the expectations of the villagers in undertaking cultural tourism projects.
- How does this specific indigenous articulation negotiate, shape and engage broader popular discourses 'about the Bushmen'? In other words, what forms does it take and how is it dealt with in the contemporary world?
- What kinds of generalized community-lodge partnerships can be designed to best negotiate the demands of cultural marketing on the one hand, and the symbolic, spiritual and livelihood needs of a cultural community of practice on the other?

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH, METHOD AND POSITION: WHAT ARE WE DOING?

Nyasha Mboti

This chapter focuses on the often complex link between method and the researcher's position. It explains some of the epistemological assumptions underpinning this collection of essays on indigeneity, ethnography and cultural tourism in present-day South Africa. The chapter addresses, among other issues, claims that autoethnographic and self-reflexive research 'stories' emerging from field work are: i) tainted by subjectivity; ii) lack rigour; iii) cannot constitute proper, 'scientific' research; and iv) have little or no impact on policy.

According to this claim, 'proper' research ought to look and feel 'objective' as is required by the 'exact sciences'. Reflexive methods are dismissed as 'naïve' and 'random' and as 'creative writing' or 'confessional tales'.¹ 'Proper' research equates knowledge with 'objectivity' and demands, among other things, the strict generation of more or less mechanical lists of 'research findings', 'results' and even 'policy recommendations'.

'Objective' scientific writing often seems 'lifeless' (Pratt, 1963: 33). At the same time, reflexive forms of expression are considered by some to be neither 'theoretically reflective' nor 'rigorous' enough to be academically useful. Nevertheless, the situationally specific and largely subjective approaches developed here draw on autoethnography, reflexivity and on action research.

Positivism, in its 'rigorous application' of 'instruments' to 'generate' objective 'data' by 'eliminating bias' and arriving at 'dispassionate' research 'findings', has its obvious uses. However, interpretive research also 'applies' its own rigorous epistemological procedures, as is done in this volume. Here, I explain how culturally-important research benefits, ontologically and epistemologically, from being fundamentally reflexive, performative, constructed, social and interpretive by nature.

¹ Comments made by reviewers of the first draft manuscript. This chapter engages these assumptions.

The emphasis on cultural identity, for instance, would be ill-served were the heavily mediating *activity* of the researchers' presence be cauterized. Our methods seek, therefore, to redress the elimination of the researcher from the researcher-researched relation. Conventionally, the researcher's mediating visibility often causes general 'scientific' discomfort, as this presence is treated with varying degrees of suspicion.

You Must be Joking: Is Reflexivity for Real?

Reflexivity derives much of its impetus from poststructuralist and post-modernist challenges to received intellectual traditions, peaking with the publication of George E. Marcus and Michael M.J Fischer's (1986) *Anthropology as Cultural Critique* and James Clifford and George Marcus' *Writing Culture*. Clifford Geertz's *Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive Theory of Culture* (1973) had previously set the agenda for seeing anthropology as an interpretive science set around the self-conscious act of 'inscription'.² However, genuinely non-Western cultural theories, assumptions and research methods still remain, scarce. Cultural engagement in the peripheralised world has carried on *regardless*, via methods not readily recognised by authority-centres as constituting 'proper methodology' (see, e.g., Hitchcock and Bieseke, 2002).

For generations, ethnographers based their work on the myth that 'there was no ethnographer in the field' (Scheper-Hughes, 1992: 23; Clifford, 1983). The idea of the disinterested anthropologist selecting, collecting and assembling facts from a transparent reality is now well discredited. Many ethnocentric biases of anthropological research have been muted, the most notable of which is colonisation (Jones 1970; Gwaltney 1981; Ginsburg 1989; Ginsburg and Tsing 1990; Abu-Lughod 1990; Ortner 1991; Limon 1999). The Empire has tried 'writing back' (see Tomaselli 1999) but the Western gaze continues in different forms. The reflexive turn, while beneficial in general, remains a thinly-veiled form of postmodern atonement for colonialism where research is conducted-as-apology (see Hymes' 1973; Asad 1973).

² See also Ruby 1982, 1987; Myerhoff 1982; Sontag 1966; Clifford 1983, 1986; Geertz 1973, 1986, 1988; Fischer 1986; Marcus 1986, 1988; Hymes 1973; Scholte 1999.

Bushman as Actor

In deciding how to measure the behaviour and interactions of the researched, the researcher often finds multiplex histories constantly impinging on the whole process. At least, in a country with a historical presence as complex as that of South Africa, that happens often. One instance where the problematic of method/researcher position plays itself out in South African cultural studies today is the ethnographic study of the San people, or Bushmen. For historical reasons, fieldworkers are often not sure how to approach the Bushman. Are we friends or enemies of the Bushman? Or are we to be dispassionate? Such questions make sense only if one regards the Bushman as if s/he were marked as victim in the research script.

And yet the Bushman – even as s/he was victimised historically – has never been a victim. Rather, we deliberately choose to see the Bushman as always-politicised. S/he was an Actor, is still an Actor and will be always-already an Actor. The same, for instance, applies to victims of apartheid. They are only really constituted as victims through the lens of Apartheid. Once the lens of struggle and resistance is donned, their position changes. To be victimised does not mean that one becomes a victim, just as being minoritised does not make of one ‘a’ minority. What lenses are worn when doing research? We address the lens issue by engaging dynamic *lived contexts*.

The authors here develop critical cultural methods that are *lived*. They humanise the subject as opposed to inscribing them within objectifying practices. The authors published here contest the assumption that the more object/ive knowledge is, the more authoritative and more scientific it becomes.

Lived Methods vs. Metric Methods

The ‘deliverables’ in the Humanities are often motivated, human-ended (as opposed to findings-centred) processes. These are not lists of transparent metric units, statistics or ‘products’. The STEMish sciences,³ by subjecting the world to formal, reified, legible and unambiguous rules, operate

³ Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics.

on literal assumptions about ‘accuracy’ that often falter in the humanistic text. The act of eliminating position from the ‘scientific’ text is itself not always appropriate. Researcher position can be used productively as *tensional* starting points of thinking about the human encounter. Reflexive voices foreground uncomfortable ethical issues, affording more space for consideration of ethics and humanity. Objectivity, on the other hand, operates as if research position can be successfully eliminated (thus excluding the tensions of research), treating situations as experimentations or platforms for testing out hypotheses on more or less faceless ‘guinea pigs’. According to Drucker (2011), the basic principles of the humanities are first, that the humanities are committed to the concept of knowledge as interpretation, and, second, that the apprehension of the phenomena of the physical, social, cultural world is through constructed and constitutive acts, not mechanistic or naturalistic realist representations of pre-existing or self-evident information. Nothing in intellectual life is self-evident or self-identical, nothing in cultural life is mere fact, and nothing in the phenomenal world gives rise to a record or representation except through constructed expressions.

In other words, research in the humanities has a social, fully historical, lived and always incomplete character for which the dependence on number-crunching and quests for accuracy is insufficient. Research in the Humanities, ideally, is not a disembodied, isolated, or isolating activity. Rather, it is an involved process linking many other contexts and factors of life-as-knowledge, and knowledge-as-life, at the centre of which is the act of interpretation. Emphasis on the lived historicity of research and the interpretative character of humanistic knowledge – which encourages a critical, questioning attitude to an always uncertain world – seems, however, to have delivered the Humanities into deliverables-auditing hot water.

One could argue that methods of data-gathering from the sciences rarely leave a recognisable, not to say respectable, place for the researcher in the scheme of things. It is as if, once the data is gathered, the researcher was never there in the first place. The data, apart from appearing to start to automatically speak for itself, simply becomes ‘what is’. That is, the tendency, in the natural and the social sciences, is to treat data as discrete, impersonal, descriptive and transparent. Moreover, the goal of ‘certainty’ is more or less set up as synonymous with knowledge itself and as achievable through the application of standard metrics. Not only do such metrics replace the idiosyncratic researcher, but ‘interpretation’

seems to lie well outside the action of the monolithic data. However, concealing 'evidence' of the researcher's personality does not even make him/her disappear. In the Humanities, research is not only always-already a fully constructed event, but is also constructed – around the figure of the researcher(s) – as always problematic. *Constructed-ness* as a fact is at the heart of humanistic knowledge. The traditional sciences suppose that knowledge is observer-independent, and the researcher can be successfully effaced from the scientific text, thus increasing objectivity.

The more impersonal the research, the more rigorous, reliable and dependable it is deemed to be. This taken-for-grantedness translates into varied degrees of contempt for research and data-gathering methods – such as those central to humanistic research – that mention, and thus *name*, the researcher as much as the researched, and involve interpretation, nuance, historicity, sociality, multivocality, density of meanings and ambiguity. In the mechanistic scheme of things, the 'human' is just not considered rigorous enough. As such, the researcher's idiosyncrasies, research anecdotes and personalised diaries, for instance, can only be, at best, stuff for footnotes and appendices to the larger work and, at worst, naïve scholarship. We believe that texts are always fragmentations of human-populated, lived contexts, and, as such, author-presence is always-already guaranteed. What may be logically questioned, it seems, is not so much the author's presence in the text as the manner of weaving-in the *person* into the research account. The researcher's person/ality already populates the researched text, injecting it with irony and layered meaningfulness (or meaninglessness), as well as indeterminateness and ambiguity. The evidence of the mundane, we believe, actually strengthens research discourse through *situating* the act of research as fully cultural, reflexive, contextual, active, process-based, personal, political, wholly uncertain and thoroughly *lived*. Knowledge-production is thus always social, on-going and lived. Chapter 9 by Finlay and Dyll-Myklebust, for example, is cast in the more conventional mode of an objective study, while also pushing the boundaries via an action research method that shapes outcomes during the research encounter.

In contrast to the closed and 'controlled' conditions usually 'meticulously' manipulated in the experimentations of the natural or social sciences, experience of field-work suggests that knowledge is rather 'messy', observer-dependent, interpretative and, more often than not, uncertain. This 'openness' leads to a sense of incomprehension where there was expectation of predictability. These assumptions are, often-times, masked in rhetoric that conceals inherent epistemological biases of the 'empirical

sciences' (Drucker 2011). Such assumptions appear to consistently follow the pedagogical line that regards knowledge as observer-independent, controllable (as in a laboratory), transparent and certain. However, whatever approach is used, research in the humanities cannot be adequately explained in isolation from the active and mediating *presence* of the researchers who conduct and interpret the research, the conditions in which the research is conducted and the constant unreadability of the researched themselves. That is, research in the humanities is likely to continue to be highly interpretative, even when supported by technological or scientific methods (Hedges, 2009). Chapter 3 on Research Phases is an example of this unpredictable dynamic.

Process, Incomprehensibility and the Lived Text

Our conceptual starting point is not the catalogue-text of research findings, but, instead, the fluid and dialogic nature of the process-encounter. It may be argued that the bane of the humanities has been to impose, intentionally or not, certain hard-to-negotiate 'universal' research paradigms on the non-Western Other, as if the means and ends of research were fixed. In dialogical conditions, collaborative research's major advantage is given-and-taken or given-and-shared knowledge. Its limitation is its imposition of *incomprehensibility* on anything not 'familiar'. Attempts to engage the 'outside' – both the 'outside' of texts and the 'outside world' – are, for instance, often absent from research articles.

Critical cultural research is, it seems, more than just a question of 'accuracy'. Rather, one has to contend with disruptions, ironies, eventualities and unforeseen constraints. Research practicalities and constraints in the field (such as negotiating with the researched, and time and resources) often undermine one's well-trained objectivity. Often, research languages and research questions have to be modified on the go, or even re-asked and re-posed all over again. This book approaches knowledge that is culturally important through engaging: i) the performative aspects of any given cultural situation; and ii) the knowledge that research is a complex social practice whose interpretation binds the researcher and the researched together in a lived, dialogic web (as is evident in Chapter 11, where Brilliant Mhlanga engages Dawid Kruiper's ontology). There are, we argue, certain cultural situations and contexts where it is just not possible to choose the text over the lived. In fact, the *lived* cultural text is as applied and rigorous as the desktop text, if not more so. This is so since lived texts

are empirically verifiable. In fact, there is no justified comparison possible between lived cultures and desktop cultures. Lived texts are events, read backwards. That is, methodology and theory are at the service of 'life', and not the other way round. We often start with the event, and then theorise backwards, a method Alexandra von Stauss and Jeffrey Sehume anticipate in Chapters 6 and 7. Such use must not be thought of as implying that theory and methodology are irrelevant. On the contrary, theory and methodology have become historical, contextual, lived and *event-ified*, as it were. What this means is that one cannot separate the event from its theorisation, or the theorisation from the event. Always, however, the cultural event is the starting point. Desktop cultures on the other hand, are en-distanced from the context, allowing text/form to regularise context/content. In any case, the general shape of life seems more complex than a set of accurate results and 'hard' findings. What 'hardens' the information? What lies outside of the 'hard' information itself?

The Researcher/Researched: The Fetish of Distance/De-stance

Critical cultural research is not a disembodied, isolated, isolating activity. Rather, it is a worldly, performative and involved process linking so many other f/actors of life, and whose historicity is intrinsic. This volume treats indigeneity as lived and cultural tourism as its (not unproblematic) manifestation. At the centre of this treatment are seven interdependent actors: i) the 'Bushman' ; ii) State; iii) the Provincial Government; iv) non-governmental organisations (e.g. the South African San Institute [SASI]); iv) tourists; iv) tourism services providers (e.g. !Xaus and Molopo Lodges); and v) researchers (e.g. CCMS).

This present volume treats all named actors/authors, including, indeed, the Researcher himself/herself, as fitting the category of the Researched, thus *equalising* them within the same shapeless, zigzagging researcher-researched context. That is, our research method should, if not primarily, at least explicitly and flexibly, research the core assumptions of the researcher as much as it purports to research all the other categories of the researched subject. Not only are researchers not assumption-free, but research itself is the direct result of the researcher's assumptions. Cultural knowledge of the type needed to understand the on-going contested 'branding' of culture takes shape through actively involving the researcher into the conundrum as opposed to excluding him/her. The researcher, like any other person, gets excited and fearful, angry and elated, frustrated and

inspired. The researcher is always-already an interested being – politically, socially, economically, culturally and spiritually, as should be clear from Chapter 1.

‘Objectivity’ is meant to result in scientific ‘distance’/de-stance. *De-stanciation* is thus the pretence that one has no stance or vantage point, but is neutral, a concept arising from the much-vaunted notion of scientific ‘distance’. In such cases, the quest for objectivity is best left to those who can, it is hoped, successfully and usefully distance/de-stance themselves from themselves. However, the preoccupation with ‘objectivity’ also seems to betray a deep-seated inability, indeed refusal, to come to terms with the facts of intrinsic human subjectivity. The researcher seems uncomfortable and threatened with the fact that his/her work would, like a mirror, start to reflect ‘personal’ issues. As such, objectivity is the stone that shatters the mirror. What is being protected is the vulnerability of the self of the researcher, thus maintaining not only his or her traditional authority, but also his or her ‘right’ to know others while he or she is effectively insulated from being known. This makes ‘objectivity’, and even ‘reflexivity’, as conventionally understood, seem more and more like constructs deployed for securing the unquestioned authority of the Writer. The ‘scientific’ quest for certainty in an increasingly uncertain world actually appears to betray deep-seated institutionalised anxieties to engineer the world in the image of those who scientifically research it. Ironically, the nuanced understanding of the world as an inherently uncertain, unfixable, open canvas is regarded as flawed. If nothing else, the fact that research is a journey involving characters, stories and confusion emphasises the point that research *always* is a relationship between an experiencing scholar and experiencing subjects. Objective science usually forgets about the researcher as interpreter, a focus we hold close through this anthology. We are here breaking with colonialism and asking just who is looking at whom (see Chapter 2)?

The self-accorded ‘right’ to know others on their own behalf, and to know them while they cannot – as it were – know one back, is steeped deep in *colonial* practice. The elaborate pretence that one has no stance (de-stanciation), secured through distancing oneself via objectivity, is held dear even by ‘reflexive anthropologists’, as the longish quote below proves:

If studying cultures other than our own represents a journey out from and back to our collective self, as embodied in our own culture, and if “distancing” is critical for this endeavour, then it follows that native anthropologists face an even more difficult task in creating enough distance between

themselves and their own cultures. I experienced this difficulty of distancing myself from Japanese culture although I had been away from Japanese society, both physically and psychologically, for two decades. Not only had I been living in the United States since 1958, but because of my research I had been absorbed in Ainu culture for many years. I went back to Japan frequently, but I went directly to the Ainu people in Hokkaido and did not pay serious attention to the Japanese. When I returned to Japan in 1979 to undertake anthropological research (Ohnuki-Tierney 1984) among my own people in Kobe, they seemed strange, with intriguing behavioural patterns and thought processes. Everywhere I went I observed incessantly and took copious notes. Astonishingly, however, my vivid reactions became increasingly milder after only a month and a half, and I found myself becoming more and more like “them”. Their behaviour patterns no longer seemed as pronounced, and after about four months I felt the need to pull back from them to regain a sense of reflexive perspective. My return to the United States turned out to be a good strategy; I was able to regain my perspective and refine the focus on my research before I resumed fieldwork in 1980. [...] Distancing is required not only in our endeavour for abstraction of models or patterns of and for behaviour, which relies on our intellectual capacity; it is also required in abstracting the patterns of and for emotions. The task for this endeavour is complex. [...] If native anthropologists can gain enough distance between their personal selves and their collective selves - their cultures - they can make an important contribution to anthropology because of their access to intimate knowledge of their own culture. (Ohnuki-Tierney, 1984: 585)

While agreeing that reflexively studying one's own culture is indeed very different from studying a foreign culture, and that the theoretical and even epistemological implications of such study are profound, Ohnuki-Tierney (1984: 584) still believes that researchers should not be emotionally involved with their research hosts. In fact, she proposes distancing oneself emotionally so as to recover enough scientific distance and objectivity.

Thus, it may seem, even those who use and valorise ‘reflexivity’ still struggle to co-opt it on behalf of ‘science’. Thus, while acknowledging that being a ‘native anthropologist’⁴ offers ‘enormous advantages’ for reflexivity, Ohnuki-Tierney (1984) retains her conclusion that scientific ‘distance’ is possible:

⁴ Messerschmidt (1981), Aguilar (1981) and Narayan (1993) question the authenticity of the ‘native anthropologist’. Narayan (1993) argues against the fixity of the distinction between “native” and “non-native” anthropologists and refuses to emphasise a dichotomy between outsider/insider or observer/observed. He describes ‘native anthropologist’ as an essentialising tag and instead argues ‘for the *enactment of hybridity* in our texts; that is, writing that depicts authors as minimally bicultural in terms of belonging simultaneously to the world of engaged scholarship and the world of everyday life’.

... the intensity with which native anthropologists recognize and even identify the emotive dimension can be an obstacle for discerning patterns of emotion. As an endeavour to arrive at abstractions for 'the native's point of view,' if non-native anthropologists have difficulty in avoiding the superimposition of their own cultural categories and meanings, native anthropologists have the task of somehow 'distancing' themselves, both intellectually and emotively. (585)

Emotion is here regarded as an *obstacle*, even as the author criticises Durkheim and Mauss (1963) for leaving emotion out of their research. Are emotions really that much of an obstacle to cultural research? In what ways is 'science' unemotional? Many of those who theorise about the integration of the sensory and affective/emotional dimension into cultural research still appear to be referring to the emotion of the 'Other' and, not once, to their own. It is as if the observed are the only ones with feeling/emotion, a dimension from which the observer is cushioned by objectivity/science (Geertz, 1973; Turner, 1967; Schechner, 1982; Rabinow, 1977). Where is the reflexivity in this? The researcher is still the de-stanced researcher/observer, capable of measuring how emotional others are and leaving his/her own emotions out. We are faced, here, with a researcher-god or, as Susan Sontag (1966) termed him/her, "the anthropologist as hero", who is not out in the field to feel, but only to see how others feel, who does not himself/herself judge but only sees others judge each other in their community etc. Clearly, much damage has been visited on research relations because of this reflexive-colonialism.

Because researched texts naturally enmesh and conceal their transliterational assumptions, research must, it seems, not only continuously foreground and test, one by one, the assumptions of the researcher but must also invent a reflexive methodology, or methodologies, whereby it constantly returns to itself and to its constitutive research assumptions, using them as a kind of theoretical guide or compass. This assumption-testing it probably needs in order for it to be credible *as* knowledge because, in the field, assumptions are the best compass a researcher could have at his/her service. Assumptions contain a heterogeneity of judgements, feelings, emotions and prejudices which, read in context, contain the very same innumerable theoretical openings and alphabets we are always looking for. Suppose you get angry during field-work, whether with your hosts, yourself or your institution. What do you do with that anger? Wait until it has waned and pretend not to have been frustrated? We believe that it is much more useful to write in the 'anger' as constitutive of the research experience, not only refocusing research questions on exactly the

'angering' aspects of the research experience, but also through recognising that moment of anger as precisely the one that breaks down the objectivity of the researcher and reinvents him/her as a dialogic participant in the research.

Research is Practiced, not Possessed

Research that cleanses traces of the researcher from any on-going discourse results more or less in self-pollinating and cauterised texts that not only tend to fetishise objectivity but also freeze meanings. This book binds together all the above-named seven actors in a manifold, complex research event, the whole point of which is not obvious until one treats of research as a lived process. The process is, as Jørgensen (1999: 315) says, often at least as important as the product since process itself produces, inscribes and instantiates new situated knowledges. But it is still alienating to see research in terms of a manufacturing plant, a mechanical, audit-ended process mainly oriented linearly toward an inevitable product-goal, complete with packaging, use-by date, bar-code and all. Research is more of a trans-directional revolving door or turnstile, marked by ironies, manifold negotiations, elasticity, zigzagging, disruptions, reflections, interventions, interferences, suspicions, friendships, enmities, disinterest, weeks of inactivity followed by days of feverish activity, and zones of instability where actors are always entering and exiting, exiting and entering, and where termination of a research grant is not the end of the process but the end of a phase. That is, where we work, the process is always already the product.

The researcher is always altered by that which he/she researches. This is because what is researched does not wait to be researched: it existed before the researcher and will exist, always in different forms, long after him/her. The researched has always had a life and movement exceeding, and extending beyond, the researcher. This means that the research is not only partial, but the fact of its *constructedness* is perhaps the foremost *finding* we get access to. In the end, it is all about the researcher and how he/she deals with the central fact of critical mediation and interpretation. The researcher's first problem, while working *with people*, is how to deal with his/her emotions and, indeed, the emotions of one's subjects (see Chapter 10 by McLennan-Dodd and Barnabas). Emotions are a key research tool because they reflect, in a very direct way, the researcher's attitude to his/her subject(s). For instance, the researcher's attitude is

often complicated by constant emotional ambivalence. He or she accuses himself/herself when things do not go right, and he or she congratulates himself/herself when things go well. He/she lays blame, on himself/herself or on others.

Research amongst or *with* people is distinct from research with *objects* because objects do not return the researcher's look/gaze. The gaze can be accusatory, friendly or empty. The researcher, consciously or not, is always evaluating the researched's gaze, often painstakingly. Not only do gazes shift back and forth, ceaselessly, but often the boundary between researcher-researched constantly breaks down, even as it is put up again and again. The researcher's every move seems dependent on the evaluation of the meaning of the researched's manner of returning the gaze – whether it is inviting, pleased, suspicious, frustrated or bored. The wrong reading of each shift may result in an unexpected response, or even in the total breakdown of the research environment. The researcher always tries to be in control, but without fully knowing the extent to which he/she is being controlled by the researched. Too little control, too much control, just-enough control, or no controls at all, all have their benefits and limitations within the research environment. The researcher may get results he/she expects, or never expected. Unlike people, objects do not leverage, or negotiate with, the researcher for anything. Unlike objects, people *question*, even silently, why they are being researched, always-already leveraging. They may want, as they often do, to know the purpose of the research, or they may demand payment for their participation. The researched may even lie, omit or forget things. What is to be done with these 'gaps' and deletions?

*Lived in Order to be Learned: CCMS Researchers as Prodigal Sons
and Daughters*

Situated knowledges, 'situated limits' and 'situated behaviours' (such as listening closely or knowing when to listen, laugh or shut up) complement what is learned from reading. Some of these have to be *lived in order to be learned*. On-going, long-term personal involvement in field work creates openings for 'advocacy' and social action (Foster *et al.* 1979) as is discussed by Finlay and Dyll-Myklebust. A key element of our research is 'prodigality'. We are prodigal because, due to all the years of contact, most formality is gone. With the formality went our invulnerability and authority. Vulnerability, for a researcher, is cathartic because it fosters a new

confidence and openness, and a capacity to talk-to/talk-with and listen-to/listen-with. In the researched's eyes, we are, or seem, as imperfect, or as perfect, as they are. The researcher, in fact, becomes vulnerable no more because there is no need for a mask. With the authority gone, real dialogue can start. It is this much nuanced cultural catharsis – meaningful in itself in pointing the way to modes of community organisation – that is often mistaken, harshly, for 'random' anecdotes and 'creative writing' by desktop reviewers.

When the researcher loses his/her arrogant outsider's authority, he/she gains in trust and shared understanding. A sound platform for human dialogue about the past, the present, and the future, is built. Dialogue fails as long as objectivity shields the researcher from the researched's gaze. Too often, 'scientific' research speaks-to without listening-to. Research 'findings', also, are monologic because it is the researched who has been found, never the neutral(ised) researcher. Prodigality means that we have, finally, outgrown our own objectivity as researchers. We have assumed a new objectivity/subjectivity where we are now free to talk about Them while they talk about Us as much as we are freed to talk about Ourselves while they talk about/amongst Themselves. Researcher/researched binaries, shown to be constructs useful for the still-vulnerable, break down almost irreparably. I say 'almost irreparably' because, of course, walls can be re-erected for any reason. Nothing can be taken for granted, even prodigality itself.

It is our prodigality – that we go away with heads full of so many 'answers' one year and return the next year with 'nothing' – that builds this fellowship between us and our host-communities. As some of our informants tell us, there is something 'human' about the 'bumbling persistence' of CCMS teams every year which tells them that we are fellow travellers. They can easily see in our 'sins' their own sins. They pity us back as much as we pity them. We are vulnerable to them because they have seen through our pretensions. But in seeing through our pretensions they have allowed us to see through theirs, and thus our journey to be equals. Heated exchanges and peals of shared laughter are not unheard of, as are suspicions and comradeship. There is no more need to pretend that the Bushman is 'authentic' or a mystery, or that we are researcher-cyborgs armed to the teeth with mystery-terminating objectivity and interpretive skills. Neither of us is what he/she was anymore: thus we begin on new slates every time. If the Bushman is Other, I'm also Other. If I am Same, he/she is also Same. We share the same ontology, even if we do not have to end up thinking the same things. Through regular returns to the Kalahari,

we have negotiated, with the host-communities, what Schutz (1973:16–17) terms a ‘We-relation’. In other words, the Bushmen are now in a relation with us that I would characterise as an with-us/without-us relationship – their community acknowledges our presence, but is not limited to that presence. Life goes on with or without us. Every year that we return is like confirmation that we are always ready to negotiate allowing our research amongst them to lose its ‘formalness’/‘outsideness’/authority/ethnographic contempt in return for some access to their homes, dunes, crèches, schools, scotch carts, craft markets and drinking places. In other words, we arrive like the biblical prodigal sons, chastised but ready to learn new things. Each year we come out a little wiser, and come back none the wiser. However, we always make sure we put effort into correcting last year’s mistakes. What is clear is that nothing is ever the same again. Certainty, objectivity and coherence are gone, replaced by situated understanding of things.

Lived Research and the Policymaker

Freezing, reifying, immobilising and arresting the flux of things so that they become not only ‘researchable’ but also fully amenable to the precious concept of ‘research findings’ is scarcely viable when the type of research needed is not lifelessly ‘objective’ but nuanced ‘feeling’ of where the unpredictable wind of things is blowing. It becomes quite clear after any given research stint, in any one of South Africa’s provinces, that the reality we research does not stop, settle, stabilise and pose in one place in order for us to catch up, catch our breaths and take notes. Lived reality is neither convenient nor seasonal, so much so that the research itself is always being totally re-shaped, becoming nothing less than an uncertain enterprise for all involved. Notably, lived reality does not conveniently wait for the newest theories and methodologies to hit the academic market-place, or for the next research grants to be approved by funders, before unfolding itself to the various camera clicking, voice-recorder-thrusting and notepad-wielding crews. Lived reality always goes on *regardless*. That is, such reality has absolutely *no regard* either for researchers, their theories or their funders, but only the other way round. It is the researcher who has to fit-in with this reality and to suit his or her methods to things as they happen. What do we do with realities that unfold *regardless* of whether we are there to research them or not? How best do we understand, and write about, this ‘researcher-regardless reality’? Since ‘regardless reality’ cannot be wished away, but only really to be lived with, what

research methods are appropriate for this *living with*? How does one *live with* researched realities? How does one talk about, write about, and theorise *living with*? Lived research is ontologically 'researcher-regardless'. In other words, it happens whether the researcher is there or not.

The CCMS researcher's objective is only to join his or her own motivated research performance, thus in actual fact leaving everything intact even in the act of changing it. *Such research would be important for policy-makers, but if only they shift their vantage points. The worth of 'performative research' and action research for policymakers is, in this view, very simple to see: each story dramatises (that is, shows the way) in terms of how development can happen in those areas where field research happens. Each research story from the Kalahari, for instance, is quite simply – and fairly and squarely – a dramatisation of conditions in the Kalahari. As such, research shows-how. A study of each research performance is, in this sense, significantly equal to a study of existing conditions.* Every year, wherever in South Africa CCMS researchers 'perform' their reflexive research, they are performing, dramatising and re-enacting social-economic, cultural and political conditions existing in South Africa. As such, we, quite simply, use research to *dramatise* the very things policy-makers complain they do not know but need to know to better implement nuanced, home-grown development programmes. At the same time, academic research, it should not be forgotten, should not be conflated with advocacy or the making of policy recommendations. Scholarship, while it can be a form of advocacy, still remains distinct and independent from advocacy.

Action Research and Lived Cultural Research Ecologies

Critical cultural research is something one practices, not something one has. Such research is also fully critical and qualitative if it turns/dislodges assumptions into critical knowledge, and the only way to critically test assumptions is to set them against lived realities. This chapter has sought to justify why the existence of a set of different epistemic conditions in South Africa should be seen as the reason behind the modes of inscription and discursivity adopted in this book. The argument implicitly turned on a number of questions, some of the more important ones of which are:

- What constitutes valid research?
- In what is 'autoethnographic reflexivity' and 'action research' grounded, and within which general theory of research practice is it to be accounted?

- In what ways can such reflexivity open/point the way to new research ecologies and pedagogies, based on inquiry, that allow for multiple seeing?
- What inscribes, and forecloses, interpretation?
- What do cultural researchers do with the imprint of point of view on the text?

The chapter used these questions as starting points to not only suggest ways to upgrade research literacies but also to begin to chip away at the theoretical essentialism inherent in imported interpretations of reflexivity. The goal was to explain the centring of the act of interpretation as constitutive of the research activity, instead of suppressing it in the interests of so-called objectivity. We conclude by listing some of the basic assumptions on which the repurposed mode of reflexive praxis utilised in this book hinges:

- Our research amongst the minoritised celebrates the incomplete, open-ended and extensible as opposed to trumping up so-called research findings (see Chapter 12).
- We do not seek to understand, nor are we able to understand, the 'native mind' of colonial anthropology. Rather, we understand our own mind (see Chapter 1).
- We are not the Europeans encountering the Southern Other. Rather, we are Other Southern Africans encountering Other Southern Africans. There is, here, a gulf of difference (see Chapter 11).
- Interpretation is inherently performative, and critical cultural and action research is an interpretative, performative act (see Chapter 7).
- There is no achieving special access to the Bushman's mind or soul (the Malinowskian 'native viewpoint', [1922: 25]). The Bushman was never a mystery. The Bushman as mystery is a figment-creation of colonial anthropology. We are more interested in the always-already-a-citizen Bushman (see Chapter 5).
- There is no special access to the Bushman's, or, for that matter, the Zulu tourist villager's point of view, because there is no single Bushman or Zulu point of view. Rather, there are multiple Bushman/Zulu vantage points that never remain fixed but are always in a dynamic flux.
- We call attention to, rather than suppressing, our discomfort with our host communities. Being 'nice' to Bushmen is as out-of-place as being 'rude' to them.
- Contact with the lived (or, if you want, fieldwork) is still by far the best method to expose the pretensions of positivism and to lay the ghost

of so-called objectivity to rest. Theories that do not work are automatically falsified in, and by, the field. This is not to fetishise *the field*, but only to give it its proper place as the ground which gives adequate rigour, meaning and clarity to lived-texts.

- There is something unbearable, even fraudulent, about researchers who pretend to be objective, neutral, insulated, exempt and *freed* from the lived realities they research. This positioning was valuable for colonial anthropologists who sought out and found the never-like-us native Other. This self-exemption of the researcher, aided by the presumption of scientificity, frees him/her to *know* the Other, but without himself/herself being known in return. This becomes a question of Power – power over the researched and over privileged access to Knowledge.
- The adoption of a narrative stance as opposed to (de-stanciation) is also, at the same time, the adoption of an ethical stance. So-called objectivity releases researchers from empathetic ethical responsibility.
- The context of lived reality is always different from the context of textualised theory. Reality in the field is actually a negotiated encounter, influenced as much by the researched as by the researcher (Crapanzano 1980). As such, tools and methods of critical cultural research are cast and recast as one goes. Last year's theory may not suffice for this year and, like diapers, is fully disposable (see Tomaselli and Mboti, forthcoming). De-stanciation is not an option and research is always already person/al, social, historical and political. Such open-ended reflexivity, however, should not mean that *anything goes* and that shoddy work should not, therefore, be criticised. Adoption of reflexivity is not an excuse for mediocrity. Instead, praxis should be an opportunity to increase awareness for the rigour and application made possible by situated Truth(s). Anxiety over standards is an old feeling and is effectively out of place in reflexive praxis because the methods and tools of critical cultural practice *only* work if they are rigorous. De-stanciation should constantly become re-stanciation: further foregrounding of *stance*. Is stance objective? Do these arguments not pose problems for themselves in relation to conventional scholarship? Is objectivity ever dispensable? Narayan (1993: 680) argues this point succinctly:

To question the discipline's canonical modes of objective distance is not, however, to forfeit subjective distance and pretend that all fieldwork is a celebration of *communitas*. Given the multiplex nature of identity, there will inevitably be certain facets of self that join us up with the people we study, other facets that emphasize our difference. In even the closest of relationships, disjunctures can swell into distance: ruptures in communication can

occur that must be bridged. To acknowledge such shifts in relationships rather than present them as purely distant or purely close is to enrich the textures of our texts so they more closely approximate the complexities of lived interaction. At the same time, frankness about actual interactions means that an anthropologist cannot hide superficial understandings behind sweeping statements and is forced to present the grounds of understanding.

Which objectivity is one talking about? Objectivity is not the objectivity of the object, but an objectivity of the subject. Such subject-objectivity is *lived* in multiplex contexts as opposed to frozen in the transparent metric text. Awareness of self in lived contexts is not quite the same thing as Claude Lévi-Strauss' (1976: 35) culturally relativistic – one could almost call it *autoerotic* – expectation that the 'observer apprehends himself as his own instrument of observation'. The self, whether that of the researcher or the researched, is not isolated from its surroundings or from its *others* and does not actually constitute lived evidence. Rather, the lived context, and not the observer, is both evidence and the instrument of observation. As Barbara Myerhoff (1982: 105) sees it, this is 'reflexivity in the sense of showing ourselves to ourselves'. However, we should not show ourselves to ourselves for the mere sake of it. Instead, the purpose is to use this knowledge of ourselves to break down those walls we put up around ourselves in the first place. These walls – the researcher's walls of authority – have always prevented research dialogue and led to different forms of ethnography as colonialism (cf. Tomaselli and Mboti, forthcoming). It should be possible that we do not, by the very methods we use, risk perpetuating inappropriate modes of the past. Reminding ourselves that anthropology often fitted, hand-in-glove, with colonialism (cf. Asad, ed. 1973) and that observer-independent anthropology was, in fact, colonial in origins (Clifford, 1983), is a starting point. The reflexive study of situated knowledges is one of the best ways of continuously dislodging this oppressive relationship.

CHAPTER FIVE

SHIFTING REPRESENTATIONS OF THE BUSHMEN

Kate Finlay and Shanade Barnabas

When I visited the !Xun artists at Platfontein, I spoke to Freciano Ndala and asked him which name he preferred, 'San' or 'Bushman'. To this he emphatically replied: "I'm already a Bushman, I will not change ... other people thought we were baboons, that's why they called us Bushmen, I'm a real Bushman, I'm not a baboon." (Barnabas interview, Platfontein, October 2008)

The recorded history of the Bushmen has been commonly documented from a European perspective with records dating from the mid-1600s. They were:

Dispossessed of the land over which they had moved as hunters and gatherers for centuries, hunted down by the white colonialists as if they were wild animals, regarded as little more than vermin by surrounding black tribes, they were virtually extinct,¹ victims of genocide, by the end of the nineteenth century. (Watson 1991:10)

During the 1870s, a large collection of Bushmen folklore and life narratives were documented by the language specialist, Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd² (Skotnes 2007; see also Bleek and Lloyd 1911; Wessels 2008; Banks 2006). These and other "records of Bushman oral expression come to us in severely mediated form, having been recollected by respondents in colonial times and recorded by Victorian linguists and missionaries" (Chapman 1997:20). Many have since claimed the mantle of documentarist. Film maker Paul Myburgh, for example, claimed, "I ran with the Gwikwe, I hunted with the Gwikwe... I was the first white man

¹ If the Bushmen were made 'extinct' there would be no reason for books such as this one. Historic reports such as this, however, still remain part of our society's communal consciousness.

² In 1870 the library curator, Wilhelm Bleek, persuaded the Cape governor, Philip Wodehouse, to allow him to take a few Bushman prisoners to his home to work as servants. Bleek and Lloyd went on to spend the next few years "recording thousands of pages of folklore, mythology, and other texts from a succession of/Xam informants" (Barnard 1992:79).

they knew of who had lived with the Bushmen according to their own ancient manner” (1989:27). However, since the 1990s, the voices of the Bushmen themselves have penetrated and influenced literature and other forms of media. More recently, Bushmen have generated agency through influence over representative literature and other forms of media (see e.g., Bregin and Kruiper 2004; Lange *et al.* 2007), as well as through the #Xhmani land claims and human rights reports in the Northern Cape (SAHRC 2004 report).

This chapter chronicles the periods through which people popularly known as Bushmen have been represented. How these representations have changed over time is examined also in terms of popular resistance to different forms of representation. Our intention is to examine the relationship between what contemporary tourist comes to ‘see’ in the Kalahari with the historically-derived images they bring with them to the initial encounter.

Early Negative Representations: 1652–1950s

Western stereotypes of the Bushmen during the 1600s depicted them as depraved; this was based on what the settlers believed was the hunters’ reliance on nature, their lack of knowledge of a Christian God, no form of familiar government and their ‘strange’ language (see Van Zyl 1980). European colonists remarked, “their speech, it seemed to us inarticulate noise, rather than language, like the clucking of hens, or gabbling of turkeys”. Another belief was that ‘Bushman language’ was “rather apish than articulately sounded” (in Chidester 1996:24). This perspective of the Bushmen as hierarchically lower than human beings may be seen as foundational to the later justification of their killing.

The Bushmen had been identified by the Dutch colonists as the same ‘race’ as the Khoekhoe³ (see Schapera 1930:41) but distinct on economic grounds since they lacked livestock. The distinction between Khoekhoe and San, however, “was historically not as significant as one might imagine” (Barnard 2007:11). Moreover, “[i]t is well established, especially in the

³ The term Khoekhoe is the ‘politically correct’ term for the herders or Hottentots of the Cape. It translates to English as the ‘real people’ and is thought to be the name that this group of people would have historically used to refer to themselves (see Smith 2002). ‘Khoekhoe’ is the standardised Khoekhoe or Nama way of spelling the term otherwise spelt Khoikhoi.

Western Cape, that herders who lost their livestock easily reverted to a hunter-gatherer existence" (2007:12). These differentiations became more complex when the Europeans' own influence began unsettling San groups' ways of life.

These groups were treated differently by the Dutch, largely as a result of the myths regarding Bushman banditry. The Khoekhoe were seen as more civilized than the thieving and economically unstable 'Boesjesmans'⁴ (Smith *et al.* 2000:29–30). Yet it was "only when their means of existence was destroyed that the Bushmen took to looting" (Dornan 1925:45).⁵ San labourers were also a cheap source of labour throughout the 1800s as workers on colonists' farms (some through forced labour) (Schapera 1930:32). As a result of the encroachment by Europeans, and conflict with other tribes, the Bushmen sought refuge in inaccessible parts of the interior (Smith *et al.* 2000:53).

Arriving in South Africa in 1819, Dr John Philip (superintendent of the Missions of the London Society), campaigned against injustices perpetrated by the colonists (Smith *et al.* 2000:32). Another supporter was South African poet Thomas Pringle whose poem "Song of the Wild Bushmen" (1825) attempted to express the Bushmen perspective by using the 'Bushman voice' to challenge the intentions of the "cruel White Man" (Killam and Rowe 2000:54). This echoes the tradition of the 'noble savage'⁶ which exposed the prejudices and barbarities of Western society and portrayed a humanitarian⁷ view of the San (Voss 1987:22).

Such viewpoints were few and far between, however, as evidenced by the horrors of the frontier wars. As the Cape's 'developed' society expanded, many Bushman groups engaged in a thirty-year war on the Cape's northern frontier between 1770 and 1800. The conflict immobilised the colonists' expansion but, in the process, caused the death of thousands of Bushmen. The year 1777 saw the official authorization of the Bushmen extermination (Smith *et al.* 2000:47–49; Penn 1996:83). This policy was reversed for a

⁴ The term 'Bushman' is believed to be derived from the Dutch 'Boesjesman' which is said to imply the "deplorable practice of cunningly concealing themselves in the bushes before springing out on the unwary traveller" (Lewis-Williams, 1983:13; see also Boonzaier *et al.* 2000:70; Dornan 1925:40).

⁵ Another opinion offered is that of Cape official, William Somerville (1799–1802), who believed that Bushmen ceased being honest when farmers started to insist that they find cattle that had strayed and began to punish them when they failed (in Voss 2000:53).

⁶ The concept of the 'noble savage' developed in America and argued that indigenous communities possessed an essential humanity unknown to the West (Tomaselli 1995:vi).

⁷ Pringle pitied the Bushmen as he saw them as genetically and emotionally isolated from more developed societies (Voss 1987:22).

few years in 1792 as a result of mass killings and the disbanding of many indigenous groups, in order to save the Bushmen from annihilation. A reward was offered to commandos who captured a 'legitimate' Bushman. When the British took over the war effort in 1795, they established peace through the distribution of goats and sheep. This allocation did not always work as hungry groups ate their stock and many other animals were raided, thus convincing farmers of the Bushmen's banditry and reiterating this prevalent representation (Smith *et al.* 2000:47–49).

The frontier was continued during the 1800s, fuelled in part by the opinion that the Bushmen were a renegade people who were devastating a section of South Africa (see, e.g., Voss 1987:25–26). While colonists came from different camps of opinion, there was an underlying 'understanding' between them that categorised Bushmen as inferior to civilised Westerners, thus legitimating their massacre. The humanitarian Pringle was even quoted as calling them "ungrateful *schelms*" (villain/rouges) after a stock theft in the mid-1800s (Smith *et al.* 2000:55).

Colonist myths of the violent and degraded nature of the Bushmen represent the "shadow archetype" (Jacobi 1959). The shadow is that which stands in opposition to the observer's principles (Tomaselli 1995: vi), as was the case in the colonisation of South Africans by the German, British and Dutch. As seen in historical examples above, many colonialists in Africa saw no need to humanize the Other (Tomaselli 1995:vi). Any sort of humanization would question their demeaning representations and heinous acts.

The historical records of wars, genocide and encroachment have the effect of representing the Bushmen as passive victims of European and Bantu invasion. While this did work to change the historical structure of Bushman groups, it should also be noted that Bushmen have always operated in a mobile landscape "forming and shifting their political and economic alliances to take advantage of circumstances as they perceived them" (Gordon and Douglas 2000:11).⁸

⁸ In the early 1800s, some of the Bushmen joined European hunters on their hunting parties, willingly contributing "substantially to the depletion of game, especially elephant" in what was then known as South West Africa (Gordon and Douglas 2002:49). The Bushmen were also expert traders, and defenders of and workers in rich copper mines (Gordon and Douglas 2000:11).

The Romantic Myth

During the Enlightenment in the 18th century, two distinct views of the Other evolved. The first relates to the early negative perceptions of Bushmen discussed above; the second relates to the romantic perspective through its respect of non-Western societies. This perspective argued that the Other could teach the West to live a more authentic way of life; closer in touch to nature and their fellow man (Fabian 1985:11). The earlier myths evolved into perceptions of “tame Bushmen” and “happy savages” who were a biologically different people to Europeans, but for whom respect was held as a result of their “culturally static” community – “what we once were” (Tomaselli and McLennan-Dodd 2005:231). This was the theme of the noble savage, “the ecological sensitivity and responsibility, the innocence, the beauty, the humanness and the harmony of these people who, in their dealings with settler groups over the past centuries, have been ‘more sinned against than sinning’” (Guenther 1980:123). Many myths portrayed through the media, during the 1950s through to the ’90’s, ignored a contextualised understanding of the times, whether in Namibia, Botswana or South Africa. Issues such as urbanisation, urban poverty, racial stigma, and the loss of culture and language were largely overlooked (see e.g., Van der Post 1986; Marshall 1957; Lee 1979a, 1979b).

Anthropologists were motivated by the fear that their own lives were being destroyed by industrialization or the corrosive influence of bureaucratic rationalization (Fabian 1985:12; see also Wilmsen 1995a:202–3):

The need to go there (to exotic places, be they far away or around the corner) is really our desire to be here (to find or defend our position in the world). The urge to write ethnography is about making the then into now. In this move from then to now the making of knowledge out of experience occurs. Both movements, from here to there and from then to now, converge in what I call presence. This is the way I would define the process of othering. (Fabian 1987:756)

The reason images of primitive Africa still endure amongst tourists and in tourist imagery long after colonialism has ended is that they are not essentially about Africa, but develop from a Western bourgeois mythology of all wilderness. This wilderness is fundamentally about the “self-unknowable”, which cannot be understood unless in relation to the notion of opposite (Kaspin 2002:333). As opposite, Saartjie Baartman, the ‘Hottentot Venus’, is a well-known figure who reminds us of the patriarchal, colonial gaze. Saartjie “came to symbolize the erotic obsession at the

heart of colonialism" (Holmes 2007). Captured as a young teen in a time of war, she was to endure more at the hands of the 'genteel' Europeans who flocked to the shows in which she was the main attraction, poking and prodding her with their parasols and walking canes to make sure that she was 'natural' (Holmes 2007:3).

Since then much has been written about her life, and the objectification allegedly continues. In her review of Clifton Crais and Pamela Scully's *Sara Baartman and the hottentot Venus: A ghost story and biography* (2009) Natasha Gordon-Chipembere states that "If the intent of this book was to look beyond the established 'narrative' to present a 'real' woman, Crais and Scully fail because they privilege the exact system which demanded that Sara Baartman could not exist as a person with agency or have a life beyond its encounter with Europeans" (2009:87). While they "attempt an authoritative biography", it is their use of "exhaustive colonial records to bolster their findings", that the authors "fail to see [Sara] as anything but a colonial subject, nor do they bear witness to her Africanness or its sensibilities" (2009:87).

Returning to the notion of the romantic myth which tourists pay to consume, another important foundation is that of Jungian psychology. Carl Jung (see e.g., 1961) distinguished between the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious. The personal unconscious is explained as repressed thoughts and emotions experienced and developed by an individual. The collective unconscious constitutes a series of conventional and inherited feelings, ways of expression, memory and thought processes common to all human beings. Jung argued that these archetypes or universal mental predispositions are not grounded in experience but arise naturally in the mind (see Storr 1991).

Tribal history (myth) is transferred by word-of-mouth and is experienced rather than conceived, as it reflects the pre-conscious psyche (Jung 1968:153–4). This story-telling "speaks about unresolved mysteries through discussion of organic symbols. These are a kind of primordial language communicable mainly through their image-making power" (Tomaselli 1995: iii). In 1925, Jung spent time with the Elgonyi⁹ at Mount Elgon and recorded the difference between one person's normal dream and a larger vision of public importance (Jung 1961:51). In comparison to these 'primitive' people Jung believed that modern society was blemished by its lack of

⁹ The Elgonyi are native to the Elgon forests of central Africa (see Jung, CW vol. 7, par. 276).

a sense of the “deep” and “core” nature of the primitive self (Wilmsen 1995b:8), and that aboriginal peoples held the secret to modern man’s psychic renewal (Jung 1961:51–53).

South African film-maker and author, Laurens van der Post, was a key proponent of the romantic myth (see e.g., Van der Post 1956). He supported Jung’s critique of modernity (Jung 1961:51–53; see also Jones 2001:320–30). Both Jung and Van der Post agreed with Lucien Levy-Bruhl’s claim (1926) that African cultures possessed a “primitive mentality” (Wilmsen 1995b:8). However, both Jung and Van der Post simultaneously assumed that European man could learn from the Bushmen in terms of lost values (community-based, spiritual, and natural) needed for European regeneration (Van der Post 1986:26; Wilmsen 1995b:8). He expresses this romantic notion with reference to a sequence of small human footprints in *The Lost World of the Kalahari* (1986): the “footprints were the spoor of my own lost self vanishing in the violet light of a desert of my own mind” (Van der Post 1986:67).

Anthropological interest in the Bushmen did not gain popularity until the mid-to-late 1950s (see, e.g., Marshall 1976; Wilmsen 1989, 1999), after which Van der Post’s books and television series, *The Lost World of the Kalahari* (1956), influenced the bureaucracy of the time with regard to the protection of the San. He believed that they should be protected from the damaging effects of modernization, as they were a people who retained the naturalness of humanity (Wilmsen 1995a: 218).

The Marshall family’s¹⁰ field research (1950–58) and the films of John Marshall were similarly influential in generating the romantic myth (see e.g., Marshall 1957). The assumption that they were working with ‘true’ or ‘untouched’ Bushmen (the “cultural isolate”) underpins most of their work (Motzafi 1986:296). Throughout this time they worked only with the Ju/’hoansi in the Nyae Nyae region of Namibia and excluded those working on farms or in towns. John Marshall’s films, shot in the late fifties and released over the next fifteen years, create a ‘representation’ of the primordial hunter-gatherer lifestyle (Tomaselli and Homiak 1999:153–5; Tomaselli 2007b). The Marshalls, however, were amongst the first Western recorders to debunk the previously held myths of Bushmen as “vermin” (Marshall and Marshall 1956). Their fundamental popular rearticulation of the ‘Bushmen’ was to emphasize the intelligence, moral codes and stabilizing

¹⁰ Laurence Marshall took his wife Lorna, his daughter Elizabeth and son John (who later became an anthropological filmmaker) along with him to Namibia (see Marshall-Thomas 1958; Marshall 1976; Marshall 1993; Wilmsen 1999).

customs required for survival in a harsh desert environment (Tomaselli and Homiak 1999:155). Along with the development of the field of anthropology in the 1970s, John Marshall's later work challenged the romantic conclusions drawn by his earlier records. His films made after 1978 (see e.g., Marshall 1980; Marshall *et al.* 1984) illustrate the cultural and political changes which hugely affected the !Kung community's "previously pre-modern ways of life" (Tomaselli and Homiak 1999:155). Marshall also vigorously opposed the idea of turning 'Bushmen' into objects of the tourist gaze, which led to his falling out with development the Foundation that he had founded.

Paul Myburgh is another film maker who is alleged to have supported the myth of Bushmen as a gentle hunter-gather people (see e.g., Wilmsen 1995b:1–2). Myburgh's film, *People of the Great Sandface* (1985), is argued to have projected an 'authentic' cultural image which supported the fear of modernity and the romantic myth with the underlying message that what had been lost by 'development' could be recuperated (see e.g., Wilmsen 1995b:2–3). Myburgh (1989) asserts that, unlike Van der Post, he had included scenes detrimental to the romantic experience (Myburgh 1989:27), but the film failed to do justice to the actual conditions of the people represented (Tomaselli 2002:204; Gordon 1990).

These examples refer to some of the core filmmakers and academics involved in the creation or perpetuation of the romantic myth. The modernist opponents argued that the Bushmen represented the "Jungian archetype of essential humanity", the components of which were being erased in 'developed' society (Wilmsen 1995a:203). This mythical representation implied that Bushman society in general was trapped in an ancient time zone, unaffected by other groups and the ever-changing political environment.

Contemporary Representation: Late 1990s – Present

On watching some children dance with bells around their ankles I had to fight against my tourist attitude which screamed in my head saying 'Picture Picture!' But I had agreed with myself that I would concentrate on being there and meet and greet. (Van der Oever 2007:4)

Making a distinction between the popular tourist image of the Bushmen and the academic one Edwin Wilmsen (2002:146) states that the popular image was forged in Van der Post's films for the BBC, first shown in 1956, and books such as *The Lost World of the Kalahari* (1958) and *The Heart of the Hunter* (1961). John Marshall's film *The Hunters* (1957), and his sister

Elizabeth Marshall Thomas' book *The Harmless People* (1959), are part of this popular construction. The academic image emerged later, first from the 'Man the hunter' conference (1966) and subsequent book of that title (Lee and Devore 1968), then in Richard Lee's *The !Kung San* (1979), Lorna Marshall's *The Kung of Nyae Nyae* (1976), George Silberbauer's *Hunter and Habitat in the Central Kalahari Desert* (1981), and others (2002:146).

The above moments identified the Bushmen as cultural isolate. A second set broke with this historical conceptualisation. The first occurred in the early 1980s "when North American anti-apartheid anthropologists and film makers accused Jamie Uys' *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (1980, 1989) films of being racist, pro-apartheid propaganda" (Tomaselli 2002:205). The second was "the questioning of a scene in John Marshall's preview of *A Kalahari Family* (1995) by 18 anthropologists who had worked among the San (Tomaselli 2002:205; Barnard *et al.* 1996; Marshall 1996). The anthropologists argued that the scene "would be injurious to the Ju/'hoansi"¹¹ (Tomaselli 2002:205). The third phase deals with the antagonistic responses to Pippa Skotnes' *Miscast* Exhibit (1995) at the National Gallery in Cape Town.

Miscast critically engaged the Bleek and Lloyd archive and the Bushman diorama on display at the South African Museum in Cape Town, aiming to interrogate the manner of their creation (Skotnes 2002:253). Skotnes challenged the traditional primitive view of the 'Bushmen' which, in a museum context is still "passed down from one tour guide to the other, from indoctrinated visitors to their friends and children" (Skotnes 1997:4). Her intent was to position her exhibited material far from the ethnographic and natural history tradition and incite interest in "human" and "aesthetic" value (Skotnes 1997:10). She succeeded in this respect with regards to visitors who were able to distance themselves from the displays. However, many unexpected reactions occurred, especially concerning coloured¹² and Bushmen individuals who had visited the exhibition (see e.g., Jackson and Robins 1999).

¹¹ The anthropologists took issue with Marshall's 20 minute trailer, specifically the scene in which "Axel Thoma, the Director of the Nyae Nyae Development Foundation, is fired by the Ju/'hoansi"; the anthropologists "hoped that Marshall would address issues in a manner acceptable to the Nyae Nyae Farmers Co-Operative. Going public with such footage should have a negative impact on the Development prospects of the Ju/'hoansi they felt" (see also Barnard *et al.* 1996).

¹² The term 'coloured' refers to an ethnic group who has a diverse heritage, including lineage from the sub-Sahara, although not enough to be considered black under apartheid (or post-apartheid) law. The four official racial groups in South Africa during and after Apartheid remain classified as: African (previously Bantu), White, Indian and Coloured.

A few coloured students were recorded as being disgusted by the bodily displays of 'scientific' study (Jackson and Robins 1999:76). These patrons read the objects and images on display as literally representing the Bushmen as colonised subjects. They did not decode them in terms of Skotnes's visual contestation of myth; the display included various pictures of the Bushmen being ill-treated by Europeans, screen printed and heat sealed into the tiles of the exhibit in order to symbolise the colonists' 'trampling' of the Bushmen's history and culture. Mario Mahongo, a !Xun from Platfontein in Kimberley, stated at the opening ceremony that he did "not want to walk on this floor, because I am walking on my people; their suffering is too important" (Jackson and Robins 1999:84–85). This conflation of signifiers and signified is a common decoding amongst literally-minded readers who do not interpret the deeper layers of meaning which are in a discursive engagement with the iconic or literal texts. "[I]n the wake of 'Miscast,' Skotnes was herself accused of imposing an externally derived identity on 'Bushman,' either that of victim or sensual object" (Landau 2002:20).

The opening included further interrogations of the notion of identity, which encouraged a dispute about naming; generally, those who have the power to control names empower themselves as representatives of the represented (Tomaselli 2002:205; 1999:95–97). The exhibit, however, provided the semiotic terrain for the voices and interpretants of the subjects to be generated and publicly communicated: "Bushman and those who identify with Bushmen are still alive and capable of talking back to [Skotnes'] ... as well as those of others to represent them" (Jackson and Robins 1999:95).

The fourth phase "was the establishment of the Khoisan Legacy Project at the University of the Western Cape, under the leadership of Professor Henry Bredenkamp" (Tomaselli 2002:205). Through this project indigenous San communities were mobilized "to negotiate their identity, intellectual property and indigenous knowledge with regard to recovering agency, power and territory" (Tomaselli 2002:205). This final phase is one of self-empowerment that continues to occur via a strategic and structured alliance with film makers, academics, technologists and development workers who understand the practice and power of participatory communication and research. These practitioners follow this through in the editing, product development, marketing, distribution and reception phases of these historical records and representations (Ibid:206).

Influential self representation of the ≠Khomani has occurred in a number of ways in literature and art in the recent past, even though

community constraints such as poor delivery of services, policing matters and poverty are widely prevalent (see. e.g., SAHRC 2004; Dyll 2009:44). Belinda Kruiper is an example of a self-chosen representative for the #Khomani. Involved in a number of development art, and educational projects¹³ (see Dyll 2009:42). Belinda is something of an 'organic intellectual' (Tomaselli 2007) who has contributed much to our research with the #Khomani.

Since the establishment of the 'New' South Africa, Bushmen "have come to be represented with political correctness as San or Basarwa (Botswana), hunters and gatherers, original man, 'First Peoples' or 'First Nations' and entitled to respect as a dispossessed people" (Tomaselli and McLennan-Dodd 2005:231). The concept of the Bushmen as retaining their 'original' cultural integrity and ethnotypes in the face of what Western society has lost is still present in today's world¹⁴ (Tomaselli and McLennan-Dodd 2005:231; Francis and Francis 2010). Instead of being represented stereotypically as inhabiting the past, their popular identity now represents both our South African heritage and future through their unifying image. The Bushmen are projected as the first South Africans, a unified group and one without a political agenda (Voss 1995:148).

A fairly recent post-apartheid representation of the San is that of a community who links the past with the future (Tomaselli 1995:i). As one of the founders of this argument, Ntongela Masilela maintained that it would be useful to encourage representation of the Bushmen to "construct a singular and unified structure of our culture" in the 'New South Africa' (Masilela 1987:58). The Bushmen are seen as a group who precede and therefore transcend the many divided groups in South Africa by decentering contending nationalisms (Guenther 2006:178; Blundell 1998:155). They are viewed as the natural custodians of "a new Eden" (Tomaselli 1993:83). The concept of 'otherness' has been used by national and private corporations to sell themselves or their products (see Guenther 2006 for more on South Africa's new national crest). Likewise, 'traditional' Bushmen motifs or rock art have been used to advertise the SABC and South African Railways (Guenther 2006:178; Buntman 1996). Television commercials, such as the

¹³ Belinda Kruiper was integral in starting the !Ara Foundation (see <http://www.arafoundation.org.za/>).

¹⁴ For example, *The Great Dance: a hunter's story* (Foster and Foster 2000), is a romantic documentary about a hunt using the technique "hunt by running", a technique not usually used by contemporary Bushmen. However, the documentary shows that the Bushmen are not an isolated people but are affected by "political, economic and environmental processes and developments in Southern Africa" (Clelland-Stokes 2004:50).

Vodacom Rugby advertisement,¹⁵ aired in 2007 for the Rugby World Cup, have also been used. This kind of advertising, humorously incorporating Bushmen, is viewed by much of the South African population as enjoyable and unifying instead of demeaning to the Bushmen (see e.g., Ritchie 2007).

Regarding 'unification', in the case of the #Khomani, the power of naming lay with the 200 dispersed adults who came together under this unifying term which means 'large group' (Tomaselli 2005:3). The numbers of #Khomani members grew over the years and at the time of the land claim was estimated at 1500 (Chennells 2002:2). The #Khomani utilized the term for the purposes of land restitution; as one unified group, they put in a claim for compensatory land (Tomaselli 2005:3; Chennells 2002:2). Thabo Mbeki's statement, in relation to the claim, "It's your land, take it", headlined internationally (Grossman and Holden 2002:1). The claim was settled on March 21st 1999. Land inside the KTP was awarded to the #Khomani (with restrictions on how it could be used) as well as a number of farms in the surrounding areas. The land claims empowered the #Khomani through the new ownership of land.¹⁶ The redistribution of land, as well as Mbeki's statement, affirmed the belief that the Bushmen were the First People of South Africa. This image gives rise to the fact that the San are portrayed in cultural tourism ventures as "forever not-quite-yet fully modern" (Garland and Gordon 1999:267). This is in contrast to tourists who are seen as modern subjects.

This semi-reliance on notions such as timelessness is as a result of persuasion by outside forces (Buntman 1996:279). It seems that the Bushmen have been persuaded that it is in their own interests to retain these representations, and as a result of their severely limited opportunities they willingly reproduce their subordination (1996:279). From a different angle, the #Khomani, with emphasis on the leading family, the Kruipers, have constructed their authenticity in relation to the romantic myth (Tomaselli 2007a). This enables them to "sell these myths to the West (and tourists) in terms of discourses of indigeneity (politics), authenticity (owners of

¹⁵ This advertisement was a parody of the Jamie Uys's *Gods Must be Crazy* film and depicted Bushmen in skins playing rugby (see Dockney 2008).

¹⁶ This sense of empowerment did not continue for long. Arguments between #Khomani sub groups, mostly regarding land usage, created a feeling of discontent (Ellis 2004:8). Belinda Kruiper believes that since the land claim the community is worse off. "The community is in shambles and the dreams of better things have vanished into the chaos of drunkenness, hardship and hunger" (Bregin and Kruiper 2004:43).

original knowledge), of tourism (marketing) and in terms of poverty-alleviation (aid/begging)” (Tomaselli 2007a:12).¹⁷

The Bushmen are thus shown to be willing participants and even producers of ‘traditional’ representations (Garland and Gordon 1999:274–9; Buntman 1996:271). There can be no dispute that the #Khomani at !Xaus have had limited opportunities. However, through informal interviews with the #Khomani and O’Leary, and through the research team’s long-term relationship with the community, it became clear that the #Khomani are not victims in these cultural representations (see e.g., Tomaselli 2005:93, 135–149). They negotiate employment opportunities and power relations and also “have their own stories to sell” (Tomaselli 2002:204; 216).¹⁸

The information and examples discussed in this chapter have been through a process of subjective filtering as the scope of reading regarding Bushmen representation over the centuries is extremely broad – we have not, for example, discussed the work of the Austrian ethnologist, Rudolf Pöch, who not only made the first movie about Bushmen (1909) but also amassed the world’s largest Bushman skull collection” (Gordon 2002:215). Representations of the Bushmen have changed over the centuries from that of their being barely human, to gentle and spiritual, a repressed community and a community with agency. These representations do not generally take a chronological approach whereby one replaces the other; fragments of older myths may mesh with newer ones. For example, aspects of the romantic myth still remain in the way that Bushmen are represented in South African media. At the same time, Bushmen can still be seen as a developmentally inhibited community as a result of past oppression, while also being regarded as agents for change in connection with land claims and the search for a unified national identity. Representations of the Bushmen are therefore constantly in flux.

¹⁷ Tomaselli (2007a:12) posits that the #Khomani show resentment towards the circuit of dependency in which they have placed themselves.

¹⁸ See Finlay (2009) for more on how the #Khomani (specifically at !Xaus) find ways to leverage their cultural tourism positions.

CHAPTER SIX

INTERCULTURAL ENCOUNTERS: THE KALAHARI AND THE ZULU

Alexandra von Stauss

Brigitte warned us that she was a screamer. We were watching a replay of the Anglo-Boer War on the big high definition TV in the remote Molopo Lodge lounge. The English commentary seemed incongruous in this evocative Afrikaans-speaking environment. The Loftus Stadium was red to the core with British and Irish Lions supporters, dressed in their regal finery, *roo-inekke* (red neck) outfits and white colonial army helmets. The mainly khaki clad Afrikaner *boere* (farmers) in the pub sang the Afrikaans bits of the national anthem with gusto and enthusiastically cheered on The Beast, a black Zimbabwean playing for the Springboks. The Beast had taken on cult status with white rugby fanatics. We shared their huge plates of steak, boerewors¹ and chips. The hero of the day was new boy; Morné Steyn kicked the Boks/*boere* to victory. The Empire had struck back as Brigitte's raucous cheering indicated. The British spectators on screen looked devastated. What ultimately is a cultural site? What is cultural tourism? Where does it occur? (Tomaselli, field notes, Witdraai, July 2009)

My main concern is to theorize some of my personal experiences at two cultural tourism sites: the Izintaba Zulu Cultural Village located at the Rob Roy Hotel (also a wedding and conference venue in KwaZulu-Natal) and Kagga Kamma (in the Northern Cape). I visited Izintaba in September 2000 together with other CCMS researchers (Ndlela 2002; Enevoldsen 2003). While the Izintaba and Kagga Kamma sites no longer exist as cultural tourist sites (Izintaba burnt down in December of 2003 and Rob Roy was launched as a retirement complex in 2005) they remain significant historical examples of the interaction between observers, the 'Same', and observed, the 'Other'. My premise is the recognition that an analysis of the 'Other' results from interactive encounters and processes in which we are personally involved (Coffey 1999:115).

Tourism is not just about the indigenous, we always need to understand that the relationship between Self and Other is in constant flux, with categories that are always blurring and in a state of revision. I offer a reflexive

¹ Boerewors is a type of sausage, often made from mutton or beef.

approach to the topic of cultural tourism. Given my agency in field trips as an active participant, the subjective selection of the material and its reconstruction involve a biographical dimension and narrative, in the pursuit of identifying some of the contradictions and problems I see with cultural tourism.

Cultural Tourism

Cultural tourism emerged in the mid-1980s (Craik 1999). This form of tourism is a relatively new field of study in the broader scope of the tourism industry (Smith 2003). 'Conventional' studies on tourism have tended to emphasise the political and economic dimensions of the practice. These conventional studies characteristically examine trends in economic development towards service-based, consumer-orientated industries. Cultural tourism highlights – as the term indicates – the cultural component of tourist experiences. "This focus has entailed rethinking the nature both of tourism products, re-defining tourist experiences, addressing the cultural impacts of tourism, and dealing with the changing culture of the industry itself" (Craik 1999). Cultural sites, such as Izintaba and Kagga Kamma, for example, were marketed as primary tourist experiences. These often included the creation of purpose-built cultural attractions for tourists, such as the *kraal* (a wooden-fenced circular structure similar to a pen) at Izintaba. The role of culture in this process is multi-faceted: culture is simultaneously a resource, a product, an experience and an outcome (Craik 1999).

Cultural villages in the tourism industry have been set up to appear as sites 'preserving' culture, heritage and history. What is presented in these sites is 'sold' as 'authentic' by the management and the 'performers', and, therefore, often believed by tourists to be 'authentic'. The basic aim in the reconstruction of cultural villages, theme parks and sites, however, is to attract tourists and their "gaze"; catering for the cultural imaginings and fantasy-like dreams of tourists, offering them a sort of manufactured cross-cultural experience in an easily accessible way. They have, therefore, been named 'living museums' (Tomaselli 1999:202).

In search of deep and meaningful intercultural communication, self-discovery, origins and cultural forms 'untainted' by civilisation, tourists, often, are attracted by the Otherness of destinations, peoples and activities because they offer the illusion of fantasy and difference. This 'Otherness' attracts tourists with the possibility of adventure and the discovery

of the exciting, the unusual, and exotic from a First World perspective. Tourist perceptions of Otherness tend to be shaped by powerful stories and media images of the Other, such as the highly successful TV series *Shaka Zulu* (1986) and the award-winning movie *The Great Dance* (1999) by Craig and Damon Foster.

Such films and, arguably, tourism in general address peoples' longing to practice a type of "canned anthropology" (Wang, personal communication, 2002) and to experience the mythical, timeless, authentic 'native' way of life, preferably "in a contained and accessible manner" (www.museums.org.za). "Such private visions are frequently fuelled by socially constructed fundamentalist attitudes, which underpin myths and ideas about "imagined communities". Tourism suggests the possibility of cultural contact, which is often understood to be a chance to experience an unthreatening multi-culturalism, and the viewing and attainment of even a superficial knowledge of ethnicities. It is a statement about an interest in difference, and a chance to see the Other, and a form of escape from everyday life.

Marketing the Myth

A painted Bushman ostrich egg in Andriesvale seemed to be ten times as expensive as those in Botswana. The quality was not the same; the egg in Andriesvale was painted with quintessential 'Bushman' images. But the prices for poorly decorated bracelets (compared to the bracelets from Botswana intricately made from ostrich eggshells) were very high. (Van der Oever 2007:5)

If audiences are interested in cultural myths, then the management of the Rob Roy Hotel, as well as the Kruiper family in the Kalahari had realized and internalized this invisible 'rule' very well. The Kagga Kamma experience was marketed as a unique hunter-gatherer "experience of the oldest culture of South Africa" (Kagga Kamma brochure). The management of Izintaba used the myth of the 'Zulu warrior' successfully in its German language edition leaflet to attract German-speaking tourists by inviting them to meet the 'authentic' Zulu warrior. Only the German leaflet emphasized the warrior myth. The English edition, in contrast, emphasized the Zulu's craft heritage. Nowhere was Rob Roy, a Scottish nationalist, mentioned. Different tourists were targeted in different ways, which leads to two possible conclusions: firstly, tourism managers categorize and target tourists according to the tourist's prior knowledge, expectations, fantasies and mythologies generated in his/her own culture. Secondly, it is not only

the tourists who approach the Other with preconceptions; management and performers of cultural sites hold othered perceptions of tourists as well.

This kind of mutual Othering occurs in the meeting of two sets of stereotypes and myths (Bruner [nd]). In the Kalahari the Kruiper family, which has become the primordial focus of tourists, make little or no distinction between different Western visitors. In an interview with us in April 2000, Dawid Kruiper reduced the huge variety of visitors to the Western 'Same' and spoke of them as the people with money and power. This view manifested itself in the community's policy on how to charge visitors for tourist services rendered, such as performances and participation in films. In 2000 all visitors whether media professionals, academics or backpackers were charged R25 to capture a picture of a community member in Western clothes. The cost for a photograph in traditional attire was R50. No distinction was made between the visitors and their use of the pictures; whether they, in turn, make money from the pictures, use them for research purposes or simply for the family album.

Exploitation: Observer and Observed

Remembering my astonished 'disbelief', slight feeling of offence and clear disappointment at the outlook of not being able to take pictures during our April 2000 stay in the Northern Cape at Witdraai without having to pay, I wondered if tourist responses to such a policy might ever be favourable. Remarking on tourists' showing and feeling a great deal of moral indignation at being asked by the Mursi in East Africa for money in return for photographs, David Turton notes that:

It is almost as if they see such a transaction as lowering the quality of the experience they have come to enjoy: of making it more mundane, less exotic. This is sometimes presented as a concern that the people should not be 'corrupted' by Western influences of which tourism itself, of course, is a prime embodiment. (Tomaselli 1996:40)

The West maintains an idealized image of the Other as resistant to commercial corruption by Western influences and living in harmony with nature. Western urbanized people seem to mourn this seemingly 'free' lifestyle, at times, even though in practice they regard it as primitive, and may take offence if what they find does not fit this constructed picture. Visitors, in short, might feel betrayed of their 'authentic' experience when asked to pay for pictures, for which they think they 'own' the rights simply because they own the camera that exposes the picture.

Taking into account the unequal power relations between observers and observed, a policy on picture taking and its strategy, whether logical in the Western sense or not, does not seem to make any difference to the community members. From their point of view, no fault or irregularities are to be found, as long as they do not feel exploited and betrayed by their 'images'. After all, the assumption that tourists, anthropologists and media professionals have a right over others, in this case the Bushmen and their imaging are rather egoistic. Although applicable to a different context, this reminds me of Michael Agar's (1996) statement on the practice of ethnography in general:

Ethnography is really quite an arrogant enterprise. In a short period of time, an ethnographer moves in among a group of strangers to study and describe their beliefs, document their social life, write about their subsistence strategies, and generally explore the territory right down to their recipes for the evening meal. The task is an impossible one. At best, ethnography can only be partial. (1996:91)

In the case of tourism, it is doubtful that issues of studying the other come to the fore at all. More likely, tourists are concerned with their cultural 'Same' as opposed to the 'Other' for the 'Others' sake. If nothing else, this experience suggests that fieldwork and other intercultural encounters are about the coming together of lives and biographies – those of ethnographers and other visitors, sharing the research or tourist endeavour, and those of the visited and observed; the Self and the Other being "inextricably involved in a dialectical process" (Fabian 1985:20). In a way, all participants of a cross-cultural communication and interaction, be it field research or tourism, are involved in the negotiation of the telling and experiencing of the individual, collective and cultural lives (see Coffey 1999), not necessarily shared or agreed, and in the construction of their own biographies. The unequal power relations between observer and observed show that fieldwork and the representation of it, as well as tourist visits in general engage in the construction of the lives of others by leaving behind traces, whether positive or not, whether shared or not.

Coffey suggests that "by taking our writing back to those we write about, the implied reciprocity of ethnography can be both challenged and confirmed" (1999:130). This reminds me of the *Sunday Times Lifestyle* article "Kalahari dreaming" (Steyn 2000) we showed to Belinda Kruiper at Blinkwater and her critical reaction to it. Among other aspects, her negative reaction was caused by the alleged mis-representation of some of the Bushman healing practices and by the publication of a photograph portraying a Bushwoman half-naked and in a 'sexualized' pose. Belinda's

disappointment and anger seemed to be worsened by the fact that she knew the journalist, who had previously stayed with her community for six months, but never mentioned that she planned to publish an article on their shared lives and experiences. Here, issues of ethics come to the fore, which have been discussed elsewhere. The point I wish to make is that people and places of study are implicitly involved in the shaping, crafting and reconstructing of our lives and identities (researcher/tourist) and those of the Other. Our own 'selfhoods', for example, are defined and interpreted by others in the field, as well as ourselves as biographical actors.

Bushmen have become an extraordinary international focal point. Their photogeneity owes largely to their physical size and interesting facial appearance (from a Western point of view). The Kruipers are, thus, actively part of the "process of imaging, discursive contestation and appropriation" (Tomaselli 1999:131) and use their 'Bushman identity' for exchange value. The visual production of images of the Kruiper family should be understood as part of general social and cultural practices of, for example, tourist and the media industries. They are part of the value and belief systems of the picture taker and his/her culture of origin, involving power relations, interactions, ideological practices and political and economic factors:

The media have brought previously remote Fourth World societies into the global public gaze. But the images circulated tend to be the mythical constructions rather than the self-perceptions of those imaged. Cultures have been turned into commodities even if the subjects of these ways of life do not themselves feel commoditized or integrated into the global relations of image production. (Tomaselli 1999:205)

Certain members of the Kruiper family have contributed to the community's commodification by capitalizing on the stereotypical images of themselves as 'harmless', 'infantile' and 'cute' 'First People'. Dawid Kruiper's response to Tomaselli's inquiry on the issue of his community's commodification of themselves was: "I am telling the truth. And it is up to the people what to make out of it. They are taking away our knowledge, so I might as well charge them" (Interview, April 2000).

Staged Authenticity

"Located out of sight of the hotel, curio shops and wedding venue" Izintaba "features a circular shaped design of seven grass-thatched beehive huts with dung floors surrounded by a reed fence with a kraal positioned at the

centre" (Ndlela 2002:25). This is a contestable space, as Kyle Enevoldsen remarks on his initial suspicions, "If they don't live there then how can it be a proper village?" (2003:489). Describing his first visit to this cultural village he recalls:

As I surveyed my surroundings, I began to wonder why I expected the kind of authenticity that I did before travelling to Izintaba. I knew I was going to visit what was, above all, a commercial establishment. But I didn't think the design would seem as complicated and fabricated as what I was witnessing. I began to wonder why I ever assumed that time would be frozen. (2003:491)

Similarly, Ntokozo Ndlela highlights her own confusion between wanting to see 'authentic representations' and acknowledging that this was a commercial establishment. She describes her disappointment at the inaccurate information provided by the hotel management at the time of her visit (2002:32). The management relayed that the Zulu still lived in Beehive huts and the women still walk around 'exposed' (2002:32). Prior to this, however, Ndlela noted that before her first visit to Izintaba she was excited to see "a (perhaps authentic) cultural village" (2002:31).

Ndlela's position was particularly interesting since, by her "own cultural and ethnic definition" she is Zulu (2002:1). She goes on to say, however, that "the claim is not entirely free of limitations and assumptions"; "my knowledge of the culture is limited and heavily influenced by western forms I have been exposed to" (ibid); as an "urbanized woman" what she knew to be cultural and ritual practices were actually "'modernized' ancestral ceremonies" (ibid). Moreover, she had difficulty in expressing herself in isiZulu – her Zulu was not 'pure' but contained borrowed terms from "Western languages especially English and Afrikaans" (Ndlela 2002:2).

Interestingly, while the international tourists positioned her as the 'Other' – in the same way they regarded the performers, Ndlela herself "sided with the tourists" when encountering the performers (2002:43). When discussing the women performers in their different forms of dress, she adds, "Later when I thought about these topless performers, I could not help feeling embarrassed and uncomfortable especially coming from a society which does not tolerate any forms of dress that would reveal breasts in public" (2002:36).

For the performers, posing in traditional clothes for tourists was a routine part of the job, highlighting the "constructed nature of the performance" (Ndlela 2002:35). Tourists react with various emotions to the traditional dress of their hosts. Enevoldsen describes the events that occurred when a school group had joined the visitors in the amphitheatre

at PheZulu (2003:495). When the dancers came out one of the girls was bare-breasted – symbolic of her virginal and unmarried state:

When the dance began, I noticed several young boys, who were seated in front of me, laughing uncontrollably and jibing mercilessly at the performer whose breasts were exposed. I wondered, 'Why would they be doing this in the face of someone who is representing *their* heritage?' I remember experiencing a brief moment of consonance: These were two worlds facing each other – rural and urban, traditional and modern. But the oppositions really weren't so succinct. More precisely, it was a representation of a world that no longer existed, juxtaposed with 'real' Zulu culture in another sense – the peri-urban and urban life that makes up the mainstream in South Africa, school uniforms and book bags, neo-Christian sensibilities about nudity and the human body, Coca-Cola and football. (2003:495)

In general, African-American visitors to Izintaba react "with shock and shame to see bare-breasted women" (Ndlela 2002:37). Others view this with a sexualized gaze (ibid). The performers, however, have become accustomed to the tourist gaze and "seemed to be comfortable in that state during their performances" (ibid).

My encounter with a performer rushing to 'dress up' and decorate his colleague at the sight of me preparing to take a picture, clearly signifies two things. Firstly, the tourist camera had a stimulus response effect on the cultural performers who immediately 'disguised' their modernity in their traditional outfits and posed for the tourist 'gaze'. Secondly, it signals the power that cameras in general have over people and their feelings, often resulting in the aim to present oneself in the most favourable light.

The notion of 'favourable light' refers either to how the photographed person defines it or (in order to meet the assumed expectations) what that subject believes the person yielding the camera understands it to be. "It seems that they (performers) know when to assume their 'authentic' cultural identities for tourists lest they be caught unprepared and convey meanings that contradict the intentions of the village" (Ndlela 2002:35). The camera 'performance' at Izintaba exemplifies that the cultural hosts at the village do, in turn, expect their visitors to behave in a certain way. In this case, they assumed them to behave like 'picture-snapping' tourists, who want to take home proof of their 'real-life' encounter with the 'Other', 'the topless Zulu'. "The camera signifies to the subjects that they have to 'do' something for it – dance, play at being savage, dress up in grass and skins, and so on. They incorporate tourist images and meanings of themselves into their own modes of self-representation and thought" (Tomaselli 1996:102).

The issue of posing in traditional clothes for the tourist gaze leads me to the discourse on 'staged authenticity' (MacCannell 1989). Cultural tourism is marketed as the 'real' experience and its architectural set-up, for example the construction of a traditional homestead at Izintaba including a hut for the Chief (in this case, with an in-built theatre stage), appeared as, and created the impression of, an 'authentic' cultural village. The village was designed with a separation of what Dean MacCannell (1989) calls the front and the back stage. The front stage is the space where the meeting of hosts and guests occur and where the performances take place. In the case of Izintaba, this is the 'kraal', which consisted of several huts for different purposes. For example, the kitchen, the boy and girls' huts, the hut for the chief and – as a special tourist attraction – the hut for the visitor wanting to spend the night, in order to experience 'real' Zulu culture. Patrick, our 'tour guide', though, had to admit that to his knowledge not a single person has stayed overnight. Tourists obviously preferred the comfort of the "First World" treatment at the adjacent Rob Roy Hotel, in spite of the 'authentic Zulu' plastic hangers and the plastic '*ukuphalaza*' – a bucket, which is used for vomiting after taking traditional cleansing medicine – provided for the 'pleasure' of the visitor in the guest's hut.

In contrast, the back stage is concealed from tourists, as this is where more intimate or everyday activities occur beyond the tourist gaze. It is in this space where normal behaviour resumes where 'primitives', for example listen to radio, watch TV, use their cellphones and live in the modern world.

At Izintaba, tourists enjoyed the advantage of experiencing difference without having to sacrifice the comforts and benefits of Western culture (when they returned to the hotel). Although tourists claim to want authenticity, most want some degree of negotiated experiences which provide them with a safe, controlled environment out of which they can step at any given time (Craik 1999). Izintaba was a case in point: the tourist, the German in particular, did not have to fear for his/her life at the sight of a Zulu warrior, nor did he/she have to do without the safe comfort and luxury to which he/she is accustomed. The hotel's souvenir shops, which provided a 'first-world' cultural shopping experience, constituted a further sign of the commercial emphasis on the Zulu heritage. These shops, however, were separate and not visible from the village.

Located out of sight of the 'traditional' compound, the craft shops catered for current tastes, trends and fashion. These objects were generic signifiers of a romanticised past. Tourists take home commodities which

capture a perceived authenticity – proof that they have visited an exotic destination and which, therefore, act as status markers of an authentic experience. It may be argued that the commodification that erupts from this also leads to a loss of authenticity. On the other hand the cultural villages, curios and performers may be seen as an “authentic tourist production” (Bruner 2005:5) and these can become the “linchpin” of a tourist industry (Craik 1999). The case of Izintaba reveals this; the Zulu culture and its products served to complement and revitalise the Rob Roy Hotel, understood largely as an older nature-based form of tourism, being located in the stunning Valley of a Thousand Hills, where Zulu rural communities reside. The ‘authentic’ cultural identity becomes a commodity in the process of producing, packaging and consuming a range of sites and activities under that mantle. As Burns argues:

[Dean] MacCannell goes as far as likening the ‘all-consuming tourist’ with a sort of symbolic cannibal, where tourists consume not only resources and material goods but the very cultures in which they are located, thus paralleling one of the motivations for some types of cannibals: to subsume or incorporate certain characteristics of the victim such as strength or endurance. (Burns 1999:47)

At the same time, it provides a rationale and unity to diverse attractions and encourages the proliferation of a range of attractions – first to attract tourists and then to keep them occupied.

Front Stage, Back Stage and Tourist Agency

The back stage relates to the living space where the performers prepare and retire after the show. This is the social space where they live in ‘real’ life, wearing ‘Western’ clothes and, probably, listening to the radio or watching soap operas like *The Bold and the Beautiful*. The employees of Izintaba did not live in the ‘kraal’, which was purely designed for tourist purposes. Instead, the performers had to walk across the valley in order to get to their houses. A constructed hut was located outside the ‘kraal’ which allowed them to prepare for the performance and take ‘unsurveilled’ breaks. The stage-like construction, manifested in front and back stage, clearly emphasized the “staged authenticity” of cultural villages. It demonstrated that the Zulu identity represented at Izintaba for the tourists did not coincide with the real identity of the performers who went home after the ‘show’ and who, according to the interviewed persons, considered the activities at the cultural village purely as employment.

While the Kruiper clan also tried to earn a living from their visitors by selling their “Bushman identity”, their case is different. When we visited the village at Witdraai in 2000 they did not as yet have a front and back stage in the way MacCannell (1989) defines it. On the contrary, their stage consisted only of a back stage in the form of their family homes, which at seemingly unpredictable times tended to be prone to invasion from outsiders. This back stage at times turns into an unofficial front stage in that it refers to the community’s private space that has to cater also for the encounter between the Bushmen and their visitors due to a lack of other meeting points.

This lack of artificially constructed settings among other aspects, of course, is what often makes the encounter with the Bushmen in the Kalahari Desert so much more interesting and adventurous than the pre-determined encounter with the Zulu performers at Izintaba and other cultural villages (see Enevoldsen 2003; Mhiripiri and Tomaselli 2004; Marschall 2003). It has to be mentioned, though, that the community had employed an intermediary whose task it was to communicate between tourists and community members and to arrange their meetings. As we experienced ourselves, however, this did not work smoothly all the time.

When we arrived at our first arranged interview at a private home on the community grounds, our proposed informant refused to welcome and speak to us. While the intermediary was leading the negotiation with the lady concerned, our group stood a few meters from the scene, seemingly robbed of our agency, merely waiting for what was to come. From a subjective point of view, the incident reminded me of a movie scene playing out before me and condemning me to passivity. The teenage daughter of the house continued to do the dishes without paying us any attention. The elderly men, sitting on the ground and facing the other direction, continued their talk without looking up and the children pursued their games, while only now and then glimpsing at our – in Dziga Vertov’s words – “camera/kino eye”.

In my mind, I created the illusion of entering the world of a film. In reality, though, I was part of the plot. While watching a movie at the cinema or on TV:

We do so in complete safety, because our own world is as close as the nearest light switch. We observe the people in the film without being seen, assured that they can make no claims upon us. Our situation combines a sense of immediacy with an absolute separation. Only when we try to invade the world of the film do we discover the insubstantiality of its illusion of reality. (MacDougall 1995:121)

In our case, though, the seeming illusion of reality created by the film metaphor turned out to be the reality of the moment or our construction of it. We did have agency in it, although I failed to acknowledge and sense it. Moreover, we did not bathe ourselves in illusionary safety by means of a nearby light switch and the outcome of the 'scene' did impact on us, on our experience, on our making sense and reconstruction of it.

In contrast to our 'Zulu encounter' at Izintaba, this was a 'real' and 'authentic' cultural experience of having little agency with 'real' and 'authentic' people who, although it was arranged, disliked the idea of being intruded upon by foreigners in their private homes. In a sense, the quest for authenticity and meaningful "cross-cultural communication", so often quoted as aims of cultural tourism, were fulfilled. While this encounter did not correspond with the romantic, idealised and – probably – self-indulgent ideas of the intercultural experience we envisaged, the encounter with Belinda Kruiper and her male group did. Aspirations, such as non-essentialist insight into the 'Bushman soul' and glimpses of self-discovery, while sitting on a sand dune, talking to an inspiring free-spirited, hippie-like and wise, 'older' woman, for example, were definitely met for some time (the effect lasted longer for different members of our group).

While I can only speak for myself, I believe, from the romantic comments that were made during the research trip, that none of us white students were completely free from idealising the Bushmen and their efforts to define their own presence. Our desire to experience the mythical, authentic way of life in contrast to our own cultural background seemed to be awakened by Belinda, who held our attention (for a good four hours) by her eloquence, outspokenness and insight (see Tomaselli 2006). She seemed to nurture our romantic longing for the 'real' Bushmen, who seemingly lives in harmony with nature and resists the 'dangers' of corruption by Western influences, commercialisation and commodification. In a way, the visit to Blinkwater (Belinda's sand dune home) not only fulfilled our search for a spiritual adventure and the discovery of the exciting and unusual, but also nurtured the romantic notion of man's struggle for survival against a hostile environment.

Representation and Identity

The issues discussed so far are closely linked to the representation and understanding of the notion of identity, which seems determined by space, time, discursive representation and language. The 'Zulu identity'

represented at Izintaba in its performance approximates a model of identity which is fully constituted, distinct, fixed and stable. Cultural identity as represented at Izintaba equalled a static definition of a particular common origin or common experience. It, therefore, corresponds with Stuart Hall's first model of identity which is based on the notion of "one shared culture, a sort of collective 'one true self'" (Hall 1994:393). The representation of Zulu identity at Izintaba (however unintentional) created the impression that Zulus wear traditional clothes at any given time, live in huts, cook mealie (maize) meal three times a day on a fire, dance historical dances for entertainment and ceremonies and consult *sangomas* (traditional healers), for their physical and emotional well-being (see Ndlela 2002). This critique, of course, does not imply that Zulus do not do these things at different times, but certainly not all the time and in the way and the chronological order that is presented at the village. In the case of Izintaba and to a certain extent the Bushmen in the Kalahari, the notion of a unitary or singular cultural identity based on a particular historical origin is being reinforced by their own agency in the making of their identity. This can be seen in their marketing strategies, which often correspond with or rather target the tourist's mythical understanding of their culture in terms of notions of distance in time and space and difference or idealization of the Other.

The popular myths and their manipulation for marketing reasons certainly influence the outcome of intercultural encounters between observers and observed, and, arguably, they do not only result in the commodification of communities, but – in the case of the Bushmen – also in the community's reconstruction of their 'modern' identity. Dawid Kruiper, for example, seemed to be convinced that his community presented themselves to visitors according to their own self-understanding. Contrary to a perception of identity as static and, therefore, ahistorical, Zulu and Bushmen identities, as well as any other, seem to ask for a more complex understanding. Referring to Hall's (1994) second model of identity, I prefer to define these identities as in a state of constant flow, impermanent and influenced by outside forces. In other words, Zulu and Bushmen identities should be seen as a multiplicity of identities and interpreted as fragmented, fractured, incomplete, relational and in process. While it could be argued that allowing the tourist sector into their lives poses a threat to the maintenance of these communities' heritage, it certainly points to the fact that culture is not static. The tourist scenario is linked to the 'Western search for the original culture', shaped by mythical and often distorted images of the cultures visited which are produced by the media.

The tourist invests capital in attaining an experience of difference as compared to the 'real'. The romantic and idealized portrayal of the Bushmen and Zulus, in a way, seems to suppress their 'real' conditions of life and create an illusion of it, which may or may not have existed.

Personal Experience

My experiences on the two field trips were to a large extent of a visualised nature, which is the result of two processes: Being a photojournalist, I tend to perceive situations in a visual manner. Being German and unable to speak Afrikaans the language barrier forced me to visually make sense of our trip. This involved the study of hand signals, mimics and gestures. In comparison, I noticed a difference in my experiences at Izintaba and in the Kalahari in terms of the role I played. While I seemed to have a clear role at Izintaba in terms of a paying visitor, the experience in the Kalahari seemed much more open-ended and subject to social relationships and interactions with others. Our presence did not only impact on our own group, but also on the community members with whom we interacted. At times this took surprising and unpredictable turns due to misunderstandings or other reasons, as in the case with two Oumas (old ladies/grandmothers), who were not happy about the payment arrangements. In a 'real' set-up like the Kalahari everybody involved in the intercultural encounter is open to 'culture-shock' and endless and frustrating negotiation. In contrast, at Izintaba the encounter was much more regulated and determined by a pre-set schedule.

Overall, I considered myself a student, who – at the very best – was beginning to walk on ethnographic grounds. As a result of personal interactions in the field, I realised that the Bushmen did not necessarily fit the idealised picture I unconsciously held. The Bushmen we met and with whom we interacted did not necessarily correspond with the 'loveable people' I obviously expected to meet. Instead, I met human beings with positive and negative characteristics, just like any other. Though this 'realness' might be jarring to tourists, I found it to be an inspiring experience.

CHAPTER SEVEN

STAGING AUTHENTICITY VIA CULTURAL TOURISM: A VISITATION OF SPIRITS

Jeffrey Sehume

...I was taken on by Toppies Kruiper who was very angry that he had not received 'erkenning' (recognition) for the interview Lauren conducted with him last year. He complained that his '*kennis*' (knowledge) was being misappropriated, and that his heart was very sore, and he became even angrier when he saw the brochure we produced last year for the African Renaissance Conference. He insisted that "Ek het die professor gemaak" (I made the professor), assuming that one informal roadside chat the day before Lauren's interview with him makes me a degree! I told him that Lauren might well conduct 200 interviews over a period of years before completing her work, and that it was possible that none of the interviewees would get quoted ... Toppies then demanded to know from me why a picture of Dawid is in some government building or other (I assume in Cape Town), and since I worked for the 'government', what was I going to do about this (i.e. I assume extract payment for Dawid from the state). Again I explained to him and Anna that the University is not the 'government', but is an autonomous institution which gets some funds from the state. He refused to believe me. In contrast, the non-Kruipers like Silikat took much more nuanced views of this new trend towards entitlement, essentialism and incessant demands for '*erkenning*' (recognition). (Tomaselli, field notes, September 2004)

Kagga Kamma is a private game reserve in the Swartruggens region situated 250 kilometres from Cape Town. This game reserve prides itself on its unique geological features such as the 'reddish brown weathered sandstone formations,' its diverse flora, including dry mountain fynbos, and the variety of its wildlife comprising of the Burchell's zebra, striped polecat, plus birdlife such as the ostrich and Egyptian goose red billet teal. However, what stands out above all else in this treeless landscape is the title attached to Kagga Kamma, namely, a 'Place of the Bushman'. The alignment of nature wonderment with humankind's oldest living inhabitants is a strategy that proven effective in the study of 'others', construction of tourism industries, manufacture of media products and mobilisation of popular imagination about identity.

Kagga Kamma is significant for offering an index of the synthesis between cultural incentives and eco-tourism potential. It is a site for emphasizing environmental conservation and celebration of human interpretation, past and present.

This short essay is a confessional ethnographic diary about a trip undertaken in early 1999 to Kagga Kamma under the direction of Professor Keyan Tomaselli. The fieldtrip included Tomaselli's niece, Meredith Regnard visiting from Australia and an MA student colleague from the Centre for Culture and Media Studies (CCMS). The expressed purpose of the NRF-funded trip was to examine the representation of 'others', that is, the Khoisan, in eco-tourism sites. What was revealed in the process were several interrelated outcomes: firstly, that in our encounters with Kagga Kamma, one had to come to terms with the representation of culture and tradition and its relationship to the politics involved in representation; secondly, teasing out the issue of relationship in the ownership of signification and knowledge about 'others' and the self; thirdly, positioning the self and 'others' through colonial mirrors in a postcolonial and globalized spaces. At the forefront of these material and metaphysical issues were questions echoing the field notes captured above by Tomaselli – of whether will I get "*erkenning*" for theorizing my own experiences (*kennis*), or will my chapter be claimed by those with whom I interacted?

Tourism is an outcome of modernity reliant as it is on imagery and perceptions suffused in technology and media-ated politics and economics of representation. However, to attempt to establish a semblance of sense in encounters with cultural products, existing in a post-Fordist economic order, is also to come to terms with the significance of the subjective. The confessional mode is adopted in order to locate the subjectivities of a self in in a postmodern world. Khoisan identity is an instrument for negotiating on the one hand, staged authenticity in eco-cultural tourism and, on the other hand, the 'autoethnographic and self-reflexive methods' that encounters with 'others' induce. My purpose is to understand the efforts at framing an a historicised Khoisan that have been a norm in the West's search for a redemptive ideal ever since anthropology period of classical anthropology, *Gods Must be Crazy* filmography and the functional integration of Khoisan symbolism in the making of democratic South Africa.

What are my actual subjective interpretations of Kagga Kamma especially since this is founded on a social group, Khoisan, defined in history mainly by 'textual' descriptions? This is significant since 'doing' ethnography is almost akin to "trying to read (or rather 'construct a reading of') a manuscript – foreign, faded, full of ellipses, incoherencies, suspicious

emendations, and tendentious commentaries, but written not in conventionalized graphs of sound but in transient examples of shaped behaviour” (Geertz 1973:10).

Kagga Kamma – ‘The Place of the Bushmen’

I felt very privileged to join in Tomaselli’s research trip. And during the trip I tried to contribute to the research by doing interviews and giving feedback. But in a way I felt also a bit like the Coca Cola cap in the comic *Gods* movie. I had finished my study two years before and I was not really familiar with Tomaselli’s auto-ethnographic theory – I had just read his book *Where global contradictions are sharpest* – it felt like I had parachuted into the Kalahari without any theoretical knowledge. (Van der Oever 2007:1)

For a first-time visitor to Kagga Kamma, this place invites impressions of a cultural theme park. By definition theme parks are designed to have a centralised theme that appeals to an imagined future, for example Disneyland or a potent past such as Sun City. Parts of Kagga Kamma are something similar to a film set of *Flintstones*¹ (1994). As the brochure advertising this place highlights, the thematic tone that was targeted was to marry the untouched weathered sandstone formations with the Bushman cultural heritage that is still, more or less, practiced by the living descendants roped in to stage authenticity in this place. The theme park elements are found in the constructed architecture chalets built on volcano-rock formations to produce an effect of an impassioned duplicity of history, time, and memory... This effect is all the more pronounced in the millennia-old rock art sites depicting the once harmonious interchange between human-kind and animals and fauna; in the rock imagery depicting ‘trance cure dancing’ in which there is a communion with the world of spirits.

What are the supposed aims in rendering Kagga Kamma in this representative fashion? Which type of tourist is targeted in such natural and man-made landscape? One presumes the traveller, tourist and explorer who would visit this game reserve is a person seeking an idealized image of the past. Such a past would then be symbolised by the so-called ‘First People’, the San who inhabit realms of the past and future worlds (Van der Post 1958). Of course, a travelling tourist would reject the description assigned to him as tourist who invades other peoples’ spaces, that is,

¹ The movie that arose from the 1960s animated American sitcom of the same name that depicted the lives of a ‘modern’ stone-age family.

turistas vulgaris. For the tourism theorist, Michael Crang, these differentiations are superficial. He rejects “ideas that the tourist follows knowledge produced by others, codified in guidebooks and their ilk, while the ethnographer produces new knowledge”; for him, ethnographers, like mainstream tourists, “follows others textual instruction” (2011:2).

At the same time, Khoisan representation at Kagga Kamma echoes power dynamism of our democratic dispensation. South Africa now recognizes the sovereignty of its different ethnic groups. But while the Khoisan are represented in the South African Coat of Arms yet, their languages are absent from legislated official languages of the country. This has resulted in their disempowerment to name and shape their official history and translating into the past, present and future. Similarly, beyond the confines of the statute, in academia the ‘new South Africa’ has recuperated a rather different affirmative image of the San, in comparison to the prejudiced stereotypes of ‘Bushmen’ popularized during apartheid society (see Tomaselli 1995:i and Jeursen 1995).

Kagga Kamma is therefore not immune from the contest and negotiation implied in representation of ‘others’. Invariably, this is a site of both desire and denial. There is denial of the emotional discomfort experienced in aspects of when Kagga Kamma that render human beings a human zoo for the tourist gaze. Perhaps underlying such a desire is to reclaim a past that was deemed innocent and pregnant with promise, more so if it is manifested by natives of this land whose physical existence dates back to thousands of years. A further reason for this desire is probably a rare encounter by largely western visitors with near extinct people (see White 1985; Hitchcock *et al.* 2007).

The distinctions made by visitors to Kagga Kamma and how they perceive themselves in relation to this site are instructive. In a lively discussion with one of the couples visiting this place for the first time, Peter Reber (Swiss) and his South African wife, Harriet Charles, evoked a rich response. Peter explained that his visit was motivated by his desire to learn more about “these special people” (personal communication, July 1999). He asked how a visitor such as himself, aware of the ethics (or the metaphysics)² of private space can reconcile its implications with his own unresolved feelings of interfering in another person’s private domain,

² On a follow up discussion with Peter we learned that he had just completed a Ph.D. thesis on the metaphysics of religion at a Californian university. His thesis emphasized the coterminity of religion, in the classical sense, with nature; something akin to the Bushman’s own belief in the sovereignty of nature as the Bible guiding moral life.

even if the consent of the host is granted. It may be said that Peter's dilemma evokes a desire and denial for identification as solidarity, at least in the final sense; solidarity in the embrace of the 'uncontaminated primal Other' and the benign economic cannibalization of a 'pristine culture' (see Von Stauss in this volume).

If representation functions at the level of desire and denial, it also takes us into the sphere of marking 'difference'. This is the objectification of the lived experience to a constant ahistoricism. The colonisation of the living Bushman subject/object by corporate concerns explains the desire to project backward the innocence lost in modern life.

On Difference and Otherness

During our short stay I noticed the strange way that people in Kimberley dress in wintertime. The nights were freezing yet Johan walked around in shorts and a regular sweater. In the cold morning, his wife went outside barefoot onto the frozen grass. The whole evening the outside door was opened while my teeth chattered and I tried to be warm in three thick jerseys. (Van der Oever 2007:2)

The marking of difference and 'othering' functioned within many levels in the ethnographic experience at Kagga Kamma:

- In the historically timed association of history and the demands of the present.
- The reinvention of the natural in the context of the million year old landscape like the rock formations "sometimes resembling mystical beasts and demons" which, a visitor commented looked like "Jurassic Park" (Kagga Kamma tourist booklet).
- The simulation of emotion in the emphasis on silence or "solitude" in the "crisp mountain air" that produces an embarrassingly complicit community of performers in the enactment and validation of the sublime beauty of Kagga Kamma. The glorification of this silence seeks to differentiate this place; this is also highlighted in the Visitor's Logbook where comments elicit religious allegories – "And God created Africa".
- Through the SABC's environmental program *50/50*, televised in 1989, that dealt with the #Khomani's move to Kagga Kamma. It seemed everyone was privy and complicit in the narration of the Bushmen's return to their ancestral land – the camera focused on the Bushmen; the tourist's gaze to the event of the movement from the Kalahari to Kagga Kamma;

the audience watching the programme; and the Bushmen watching themselves in the wax mannequins at the Cape Town Museum. This narrative was thus created in a multi-vocal-visual construction.

- The tour guides' relationship to the historical and cultural reconstruction; on a number of occasions, our guide slipped into ideological imagery when referring to the Bushmen, sometimes even in objectifying terms. When asked by a South African visitor about their age, Peter replied by referring to them as fetishized objects rather than subjects of discussion. At the same time, this visitor made a regretful comment to his physically challenged wife, saying that she would fit in nicely with these people. Whether his intent was malevolent or just spousal jest is open for speculation.
- The 'civilizing' mission of the West in its assistance of the Bushmen was also played out to full prominence. The opportunity to highlight the adaptability of these 'First people' to Western artefacts and beliefs were pointed to in the introductory presentations. For instance, the convenience of using Western derived tools was stressed, like Swiss army knives instead of stones for the creation of bows and arrows, bottle-necks rather than wood pipes for smoking, the use of blankets rather than animal skins and so on.
- The correlation of media images and impressions with the real Bushmen. For example, one visitor from Argentina, who preferred to refer to himself as an explorer rather than a tourist, appeared dissatisfied with the way the Bushmen were presented at Kagga Kamma, hence he informed us that his next journey was to the Kalahari, to see the 'real', and presumably, uncorrupted Bushmen. It seems that the mental picture he had of the Bushmen failed to conform to the 'real' one at Kagga Kamma. Interestingly, in discussion with Peter and Harriet, on the *Gods* films – while Peter felt that the image presented by Uys was derogatory, Harriet thought otherwise; that the film was made in the effort at creating a comedic situation out of simple things. It gave the people concerned, the Bushmen and their cultural descendants like the Cape Coloured community, of whom Harriet was a proud member, a chance to laugh at themselves (personal communication July 1999; see also Blythe 1986; Davis 1985; Tomaselli 1990).

Encounters and Relationships

The question of staging authenticity for the interest of eco-tourism raises issues of both ideological and methodological importance. I have argued

that representation does not function in the simplistic space of probity. It would be naive and disingenuous to suppose that eco-tourism operates solely on the basis of preservation and communal awareness or education, the gracious benevolence of management is not doubted in the least; however, we must take into account the economic cannibalism inherent in such relationships, especially when dealing with human subjects (see Von Stauss in this volume). Ways of staging authenticity carry ramifications of signifying, labelling, and identifying that which may otherwise define itself differently.

Power relations between observer and observed work to taint the encounter; in most instances where First and Fourth World people meet, like in the encounter in the 1958 video, *Bushmen of the Kalahari*, between a Western traveller and the Bushmen, a mutually symbiotic reciprocal relationship is compromised when the traveller does all the giving. When travellers offer Western artefacts like a gramophone, candy, and tobacco to the Other do they learn anything about/from this Other? Would it not be more appropriate, respectful, or *civilised* to learn about the music of the Bushman instead, to learn of his own tobacco, his own plant-derived candies?

Is it possible to reconcile the search for a redemptive fictive cultural purity with the demands and omnipotent imperatives of the cultural tourism industry? Surplus and profit motive underlies such relationships. What significations and classifications does the power to name and attach meaning through language imply for those who are labelled? This central issue on who should claim a privilege to articulate for the Other was succinctly raised by one visitor: what are the more sensitive categories to signify 'Bushmen', and what are the ethics of ethnographic studies (field notes, Kagga Kamma, July 1999)? Academic and public disagreements about the rights of Bushmen and their status tend to neglect the very people in discussion; these groups are left out of the debates surrounding them. How does this debate over naming translate into entitling the Bushmen with status, identity, economic base, and political standing? Is it a correct naming practice that is significant or rather the material consequences of this that is more immediate?

In the pursuit of a more sympathetic understanding of the presentation of First People and their culture, the purpose is geared towards a better and more informed discourse that recognizes the material base of employment and survival for the Bushmen. The public need to be educated about the reinvention of a people to whom we owe our descent, we need to call on our political representatives to stop prevaricating on important

matters, and begin drafting development and conservation policies that are genuinely representative. To do otherwise, would be to: a) continue to replicate the stereotype of the Bushmen as still trapped in a traditional setting that is unchanging, b) sustain the archetype of a 'knowing' tourist visiting the Other, and c) impact negatively on policy matters.

In the video, *Indawo Zikathixo* (1997) (In God's Places), which Tomaselli screened at Kagga Kamma, on the contemporary significance of the Bushman and his culture, the main suggestion made is that culture, even though it may seem like it is under threat, like so many other cultures of First peoples, has survived (see Tomaselli 2002). In a society that has "mutated into a radically different culture, a civilization that trades in and survives on stylized communication", voracious consumerism, social isolation (anomie), and cynicism, where "we no longer hunt or gather; few of us farm or assemble, instead we negotiate, we network, we interface", it is refreshingly reassuring that there are still some elements of a people that we have learnt and will continue learning from (Shenk 1997:30).

This has not been simply a one-way relationship. Instead, it has been an expression of the mutation of a culture that has managed to change and be changed at the same time. The reason for it being conceived as facing extinction has been a function of this duality; Bushman cultures influencing other cultures like those of the Xhosas and Sothos in dances, religious rites, dialect, and so on, and it having the capacity to be influenced in return. Peter elaborated on the importance of their culture being able to teach us something we have lost; a loss of the importance of being in touch with nature through the emphasis on a civilizing culture, perhaps, or our delusion to the importance of mastering nature. Amongst the Bushman, it is said that, a person dies because that person has too much knowledge.

Mr. Mouche climbed on his horse and rode it beautifully.

"You must be proud of yourself," said the professor.

"No," replied Mr. Mouche.

"Still, your horse goes exactly where you want it to go," said the professor.

"That's because I always want to go exactly where the horse wants to go," replied Mr. Mouche.³

The disadvantages of these encounters and relationships between the Bushmen and other social groups have to be considered as well. This could

³ Coudray, J.L. (1994). *Monsieur Mouche*. Belgium: Hel'yode.

provide the reason for the establishment of such places as Kagga Kamma where there is an effort to re-create and reconstruct the promise of the pure, and 'primitive' ideal, for the benevolent gaze of the tourist. In the close intermixture, and most often bloody contact, between the Bushmen and other social groups like the white settlers and the black migrating populations, unfortunately, certain nuances, tropes and canons that define their experience have been lost if not eroded. Hence, in some instances, our guide at Kagga Kamma commented on how the Bushmen themselves could not remember the symbolic importance of the original contents of tobacco-smoking, rock painting, age differentiation, and naming purposes. This has had the effect of clouding the connections between their traditions practised in the antiquated era and its modern relevance, and made these subject to different interpretations.

Furthermore, the invasion of the private space mixed in with the exposed public expanse available to inspection, touch, and perception evokes a sense of guilt that is ours alone. Perhaps, once we have the means to rid ourselves of such guilt, the better for us all. The intention of Kagga Kamma was to offer an authentic sanctuary for the Bushmen whose encounter with apartheid modernity had resulted in their dispossession, unemployment, lack of education, alcoholism and so on. Recognizing that it would be difficult to "preserve the Bushmen's culture or determine their destiny, [it was the] hope that by creating a relatively traditional environment and lifestyle, at least we can give them a home close in harmony to nature as well as the benefit of eco-tourism", and of course, to bring these "friendly people with their centuries of wisdom and guidance [...] close to the visitor" (Kagga Kamma Tourist Booklet). Whether this was (adequately) accomplished is still up for discussion.

In conclusion, Kagga Kamma is a signifying site for the operations of binaries of self and other and authentic and superficial experiences. It harks back to John Urry's tourist gaze where the search is away from the mundane pressures of modern life. It signifies a site for reclamation of innocence that could still be constructed in an authentic manner. It attempts to link past and future experiences using a museumification effect of collection and display. It would not be far-off to describe this site a suitable for a Baudelairian flâneur and scopophiliacs.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PLACE, REPRESENTATION AND MYTH

Keyan G. Tomaselli

On our return from the bush camp we were stopped just outside the KTP's entrance by a group of large drunken men who were manning an illegal roadblock. One in camouflage clutching a beer bottle sauntered over and demanded to see my '*jagter se lesensie*' (hunter's license). On checking out the Nissan Patrol which contained me and four young females, he must have wondered what I was up to. Similar experiences were reported by Nic, Mick and Nelia who were driving the other three 4x4s behind us. I lodged a complaint at the Park's new SA Police Services office. The kindly officer assured me that with regard to the men who had just accosted us, that 'we don't dress like that anymore'. 'Did you get their number plate?' he asked. 'No', I said, 'There were six of them. I just got the hell out of there.' (Field notes, July 2009)

Who is allowed to be where and who and what permits mobility? This geopolitics confines all of us. Where is our "place"? Where is your "place"?

This chapter discusses different kinds of cultural tourism destinations (conservancy, living museums and cultural ecology sites), the myths via which they are constructed, and the ideological implications thereof. The case study here is the Kagga Kamma Game Park.

Kagga Kamma, advertised as the "Place of the Bushmen", is a small game reserve, established in 1989, in the Western Cape Cederberg area (see White 1995).¹ The Bushmen were invoked for two reasons: a) no less than 20 rock-art sites, some dating back 6000 years, and some associated living spaces, were discovered on what was in the 20th century a sheep farm; and b) in 1990, the owners of the Park invited the Kruiper family from the Northern Cape to live in the Park. The brochure stated that "No Bushmen had lived in the area for 250 years". The owners had seen a 50:50 TV² insert on the plight of the Kruipers, and invited them to translocate to Kagga Kamma. The Kruipers agreed to "hunt and gather, earn money by

¹ Since the Bushmen have left Kagga Kamma is now marketed as an upmarket spa retreat.

² An environmental programme produced by the SA Broadcasting Corporation, in 1991.

making ethnic crafts and artefacts and live as close as possible to the traditional lifestyle of their forebears". They also earned income from 'gate money' paid to them by the Park with regard to each visitor joining the short 4x4 expedition to their front stage performance area. During a visit in May 1999, it was made clear that the Kruipers received no salary, were not part of the Park, and that they themselves decided whether or not to meet the tourists.

The brochure continued, "While we cannot preserve the Bushmen's culture or determine their destiny, we hope that by creating a relatively traditional environment and lifestyle, at least we can give them a home close in harmony to nature as well as the benefit of eco-tourism". The discourse of eco-tourism which gained currency in the mid-1990s, in which Bushmen groups are asked to live in harmony with wildlife, and according to their 'ancient' customs, underpins "a strange alchemy of traditional Bushmen and modern science" (*Dancing at the Future* 1996). "Ecological legitimacy", a term initially used by scientists when discussing Bushmen (see Clarke 1956), is found in various forms and articulations in relation to cultural tourism: for example, in the guise of conservancy, living museums, and cultural ecology.

*Conservancy*³

While Kagga Kamma was a private park and not a state-managed conservancy, it operates similarly to the Eastern Bushmanland conservancy in Namibia. In Nyae Nyae the Ju/'hoansi precariously live off the land, off government rations, from the erratic proceeds of some cultural tourism, and small scale animal husbandry and vegetable farming. Some act in movies, and a few service academics as translators and guides.

The idea of a 'conservancy' evokes in the minds of its detractors the image of a nature and/or game park or of a "human zoo" (Kagga Kamma Brochure). This zoological portrait works on a number of levels: first, is the expeditionary discourse of early films like *The Denver Africa Expedition* (1926); a safari of observers through a kind of primeval human zoo-land (see Gordon 1997). It is perhaps coincidence that much of the fascinating Kagga Kamma landscape resembles what Jeffrey Sehume (Chapter 7) calls "the set of the Flintstones"; some tourists saw a close resemblance between one rock formation and Jurassic Park. Others recalled films of the Bushmen

³ The conservancy model is explained in Jones (1995) and a variety of Namibian Ministry of Environment and Tourism documents.

they had seen. I thought I could direct alternatively a science fiction or Western in some magnificent eroded sandstone which, as one couple, determined, looked like various kinds of animals, depending on the angle of looking.

While the brochure stated that “the Bushmen face extinction”, one of the guides explained that it was not the people but the culture that faced extinction. A lack of medical facilities in the Kalahari, social problems, alcoholism, unemployment, poor education, amongst other things, had resulted in a loss of self-esteem and social identity amongst the Kruipers prior to their arrival at Kagga Kamma. The Park had hoped to rekindle the *ǀKhomani* identity by removing the threat of displacement and by fostering the “proud community traditions that were almost extinct” (Brochure).

The eco-tourist discourse has historically played on the idea of the ‘last Bushmen’, which is also implied in the Kagga Kamma brochure (Gordon 1992, 1995, 2002). Visiting the Park indeed has the feel of going back in time, of rediscovering an essential innocence lost to modernity. The Kruipers lived in a restricted area, but had access on foot to the entire park. The 4x4 road was marked by a no-entry sign, and visitors could only visit the Kruipers on a once-daily scheduled trip. This occurred after an hour’s lecture by one of the guides, followed by another hour with those of the Kruipers who turned up front stage to meet the visitors. Others, like ourselves, who wanted to talk to them for longer periods, or visit the Kruipers back stage, had to negotiate directly with their spokesman, in order to obtain the consensus of the clan.

When they first moved to Kagga Kamma, the 27 or so Kruipers built 7 or 8 huts in a settlement formation, and lived there during the first summer. They were, however, unused to the extreme cold, so a large oblong A-shaped thatched structure with slanting windows was built for winter living and performances. A small area for a school was included in this building. After two years the Kruipers requested permission from the owners to separate their actual living quarters from the settlement and the thatched room, which would become the front stage, rather than functioning simultaneously as front and back. This was agreed to, and they moved their living quarters well away and out of sight from the front stage. They used plastic lining in their new abodes to keep the rain and cold out. Only those who wanted to meet tourists now appeared at the scheduled time. Making crafts, they took little notice of the visitors unless they were spoken to in Afrikaans, or when visitors indicated that they wanted to purchase something, located in a stall at the back of the lapa. Prices of crafts varied according to the size of the group of visitors, and we were told by

both guides that the ≠Khomani did not understand the concept of change given in barter.

Living Museums

Theme parks reconstruct earlier pre-modern conditions and lifestyles, as has been the case at Kagga Kamma. However, from the guides and the information they imparted verbally, by video and via printed statements, this lifestyle was the Kruipers' choice. Moreover, this way of life was not as pre-modern as some might believe, for example, the Kruipers were often taken to the nearest town where they shopped for food and other goods in supermarkets⁴. During the 1994 elections, as revealed by the Park's photo album, they left to vote in modern garb and then revealed their traditional garb at the voting station for the news cameras and towns people. "They did this", said Heinrich de Waal, manager of Kagga Kamma, "because they wanted to highlight their identity". The photo album had many photographs of this 'primitive-modern' encounter with Bushmen sitting in planes, vehicles, wearing clothes, children playing in a sprinkler, a young child wearing sun glasses and pouting for the camera, as well as traditional attire and poses such as appear in the publicity brochure. The airstrip is playfully labelled as an international airport with a customs sign. On a pin board was a picture of a few children crowded around a video camera recording a seated man in the village. Pictures of children in the school room were included. A picture of Dawid Kruiper in his loincloth on the runway leaving for the Human Rights Commission in Geneva to address this body on the Kagga Kamma project was also included.

This uncaptioned photo album was located on a shelf with a few old books on the Bushmen, a variety of dated German and English travel magazines, some files of pressed plants, a few board games, and an assortment of flints and other archaeological specimens found in the area. The album was very different to the brochure and the Kagga Kamma web page, which played up the traditionalist romantic aspect of the Bushmen in a captivating landscape. The album is an everyday 'Kodak-chrome moment'; a

⁴ The Park's management organized for a monthly mobile clinic, and trips to the nearest town for supermarket and other purchases. It also built an A-frame thatched classroom and employed a teacher, who used donated Montessori teaching materials. The school ceased in early 1999 when most of the women and all the children of school-going age returned to the Northern Cape on the return of the ancestral lands by the Land Rights Court.

family or group's unexplained record of intimate and personal memories only immediately interpretable to the staff and Kruipers at Kagga Kamma.

The question with regard to living museums is whether the 'citizens' of parks like Kagga Kamma are forcibly or voluntarily located; and whether they are simply employees entertaining and educating spectators via interpretations of bygone scenarios. How they relate to these roles of domination and subordination for paying audiences, especially those who may make few distinctions between historical reconstruction and 'Disneyfied' entertainment, is a crucial point. The Kruipers were invited to relocate, not forced to do so. They were not employees of the Park, but earned an income from entrance fees, sale of artefacts and acting for film and TV companies. They regularly migrated between Kagga Kamma and Welkom, a thousand kilometres to the north, their earlier residence, in the Northern Cape, and remitted funds earned at Kagga Kamma to their extended clan still living there.

A key question is whether or not cultural tourism employers see their business intervention as some form of 'ethno-survival' for a pre-historical remnant on the brink of 'extinction'. The signs at Kagga Kamma were ambivalent. One guide told visitors that the Bushmen were a complex people living in a primitive state. However, he also understood them to be living in the present, not in the past, as the brochure indicated: "Come and experience the past, feel at home in a world almost forgotten." If employers or agents make no distinction between front and back stage, as was the case in the first two years of the Kruiper's sojourn, then such re-enactments are inevitably advertised and sold in a naturalising and timeless way. Kagga Kamma did not conceal the difference. If asked, visitors were told that the *lapa* is where the Bushmen-tourist encounter occurred, and that they lived elsewhere. Visitors know that the *lapa* and village are part of the same stage. The Kruipers did not dance for tourists, and neither did the guides request this activity, though dancing may have been done if so requested by visitors. In this way, perhaps, the Kruipers sought to protect themselves from a vitiation of public rituals into paid tourist attractions. Public rituals are restricted to back stage areas where tourists cannot go.

While the Kruipers seem to make a spectacle of themselves in traditional gear in the urban areas which they visit (e.g., 50:50), this is still their choice. The selling of cultural authenticity is often the only resource left to a displaced, dispossessed and distraught people. It should thus come as no surprise that these options were recognised by the owners of Kagga Kamma as representing both a philanthropic and income-earning opportunity. While much criticism of the Kagga Kamma project has occurred,

the stakeholders partially saw in it the seeds of revitalisation pending the outcome of land rights claims.

Cultural Ecology

The way of transport of most students amazed me: the locations of the meetings were mostly a 5 or 10 minutes' walk away... I got the idea that when a research team arrives in a 4x4 to interview Bushmen – who don't have transport of their own (besides donkey carts) – it doesn't contribute to the feeling of equality between interviewers and those interviewed. (Van der Oever 2007:4)

A difficulty of cultural ecology is the problem of the Western gaze at 'nature' as a form of consumption (Crawford 1992). The concept of nature in modernity, which helped define non-Western cultures as 'primitive' and 'traditional' in the first place, secures short-term advantages for Western consumers rather than the long-term survival of humanity in general. Our first visit 9 years after the Kruipers had moved there suggested a lesser marketing emphasis on the Bushmen, and also a sincere if not always successful attempt to deal with criticism directed at the project and the assumptions behind it. De Waal admitted that they had not in any way anticipated the criticisms offered by academics, journalists and some visitors, but that they were willing to learn. Jacobs had developed a compelling pre-visit lecture, one which was not always free from some enduring myths, like the Bushmen's supposedly inborn ability for tracking. A small attempt at a display of exhibits which offered conventional wisdom was contested by Jacobs' two-page update and description of the Bushmen in the modern era, which hung with photographs of the Kruipers over the !Um Hap wine pack in one corner of the bar. On the other side was the ubiquitous Gilbey's Gin mirror. The back of the thatched bar area was covered with all manner of foreign banknotes – and heads of wild animals were affixed to the walls – this was the leisure space of the coloniser, traveller and the great white hunter.

The Kruipers had acted in films like *Red Skorpion* (1989) before moving to Kagga Kamma, and in many more after arriving there. Amongst those we were told about included four 50:50 inserts, a Telkom TV commercial where a Bushman meets an Eskimo, and a Colgate toothbrush advertisement. Significantly, Kagga Kamma made no mention of these in their advertising attempts; neither were they mentioned by the guides, the manager nor the Kruipers, unless asked. The only videos mentioned were the three 50:50 programmes which document the Kruipers move to Kagg

Kamma, and their visits to Cape Town among others. The guides and De Waal were all critical of the *Gods* films because many of the visitors to the park had seen at least one, and thus expected to find a similar pristine band living in unadulterated primitive affluence at Kaggga Kamma.

The economic survival of these indigenous communities depends on their ability to produce symbolic goods that satisfy the tourist's demand for cultural products of the Other. The consumption-orientated exchanges between host and guest mean that few communities will escape the effects of 'mediatisation'. Yet not all the visitors to Kaggga Kamma went to meet with the Bushmen. Tourists to the Third World "may also encounter a 'life shock'"; which is "a sudden and direct exposure to the less desirable facts of human life, from which the members of Western societies often are carefully shielded by social security and state institutions". "Life shock awakens a fear of death in us and consequently prevents some people from visiting certain countries" (Petri 1999:98; see also Bock 1970).

'Seeing is Believing'

The media have brought previously remote Fourth World societies into the global public gaze. Kaggga Kamma played its role in this process. But representation at Kaggga Kamma was rather more ambivalent, contradictory, and contested than Zulu cultural villages like Shakaland and DumaZulu. In the latter, images circulated tend to be the mythical constructions rather than the self-perceptions of those imaged. Cultures have been turned into commodities even if the subjects of these ways of life do not themselves feel commoditized or integrated into the global relations of image production. Whatever the reasons the Kruipers provided on their traditional representation of self in everyday life to tourists, they were afforded a certain agency – due to their status as non-employees – in dealing with both tourists and management.

One of the recuperations by some film makers and scientists who have worked amongst the Ju/'hoansi has been the 'scientific gaze', revalidated in a world which places high credibility on the act of 'seeing', now also in the context of the recuperation of 'indigenous knowledge'. At Kaggga Kamma the 'act of seeing' was an option, though it lacked the scale, performative energy and sheer showmanship of Shakaland and Lesedi, and it lacked the energy of dance and song, which are associated with Africa and Africans. For some, the experience may even be disappointing, if not uncomfortable – "I feel not well" one Swiss tourist told me after visiting the Kruipers. Films like the *Gods Must be Crazy* and its relative sequels (mis)use the

documentary form so effectively that the misleading outcome is ingrained in the minds of viewers and becomes the 'truth' for which they seek on their journey into the 'wild'. It is thus little wonder that in the context of Kaggga Kamma, some tourists were surprised not to find the myth.

Myths have value, they leverage attention, and they fix identity in a contested world. For example, three male #Khomani San arrived at the National Khoisan Consultative Conference in April 2001 in traditional dress, the three women who accompanied them wore dresses and *doeks* (head scarves). When identified by the chair, the three men – Petrus Vaalbooi, Silikat van Wyk and Hans Kortman – stood bare-chested in a cold air-conditioned auditorium – surrounded by more than 700 ethnically fully well-dressed delegates. The #Khomani were making a cultural statement on the first day, though they wore Western garments at the previous evening's opening ceremony when we were addressed by then Deputy President, Jacob Zuma. Petrus also dresses traditionally at Communal Property Association (CPA)⁵ meetings, even when the media are not present. This is perhaps to make the statement that the #Khomani are the 'true' San, both in appearance and in heart.

When excoriated by Khoisan delegates at the Miscast Exhibition (1995) for arriving semi-naked, they responded that their wearing of traditional clothes is linked to a deep sense of being Bushmen. Silikat and Hans indicated that they sensed some silent disapproval from some other delegates. They explained that their motivation for wearing the skins was out of respect for the ancestors who also wore this garb. They felt that the other delegates were being disrespectful in not wearing traditional skins or that they were not 'true Bushmen'. To what extent is the antagonism about the Cape Town Museum diorama a class/religious/ethnic response? The unclothed manikins in this natural history museum might be compared with Dawid Kruiper's claim that he is "a creature of nature", as well as the three #Khomani men having worn traditional attire to the 2001 conference. Is Dawid's response from the heart, or he is playing to the Western perception of 'Bushmenness'? Moreover, are these men being positioned or positioning themselves vis-a-vis both San and Western discourses?

It cannot be denied that the #Khomani show entrepreneurial spirit. Silikat and others did not hesitate to grasp the opportunity to sell their wares at the Conference, and on the streets of Oudtshoorn, while

⁵ The CPA is the body that manages the property owned by the #Khomani community as a whole. Different Bushman groups have their own CPA's to handle the management of the land owned by the specific communities.

others were deliberating in the conference room. By the end of the conference many of the shop-dressed delegates were wearing necklaces they had bought from these entrepreneurs. The ≠Khomani are not waiting for hand-outs or pleading for an unrealizable pie in the sky like an independent state. Despite their being 'othered' and labelled victims of media portrayal, they exert agency in seizing whatever opportunities have come their way, and using these to consolidate income and social cohesion despite their political differences on how to invest.

Cultural tourism is a form of story-telling and consumption that calls on the oral tradition. As was noted at the general conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) convening on indigenous and tribal peoples, essentialism elicits 'enchantment' on the part of film makers (ILO Convention 169, 1989). As a kind of strategic essentialism, enchantment offers the basis of a marketing strategy. Deconstructing the nature of enchantment is the task of the academic. Jeffrey Sehume's chapter is one way of attempting this objective.

CHAPTER NINE

ACTION (MARKETING) RESEARCH AND PARADIGMS IN PARTNERSHIP: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF !XAUS LODGE

Lauren Dyll-Myklebust and Kate Finlay

Dawid has a new personal assistant, a Machiavellian operator from the Western Cape who is aiming to cancel links and relationships with any and all NGOs, development agencies, etc. as she tries to – we think – steer towards a Kruiper-type of independent homeland ... There is little understanding that public funds are meant for the public. The CPA's funds are supposed to go to investing in social infrastructure, not individuals. For once the PA agreed with me, but she said "All that's going to change". What irks them are the expensive cars apparently being driven by members of the CPA. (Tomaselli, field notes, September 2004)

This chapter addresses the criticisms offered by the reviewers of Phase 5 of the !Xaus Lodge case study proposal. It does so by providing clear evidence of how a development failure was converted into financial success. This was effected through action research in which we worked directly with all the Lodge's stakeholders (especially the ≠Khomani) in actively shaping marketing strategies by conducting a reception analysis of !Xaus's marketing materials. Where this chapter restricts itself to a discussion of research in terms of measurable outputs, Chapter 13 examines these in cultural and ontological terms. The overall volume discusses what it means to be "indigenous" and how to represent this identity as a marketing strategy in the modern world.

Action research:

is a participatory, democratic process concerned with developing practical knowing in the pursuit of worthwhile human purposes...It seeks to bring together action and reflection, theory and practice, in participation with others, in the pursuit of practical solutions to issues of pressing concern to people, and more generally the flourishing of individual persons and their communities. (Reason and Bradbury 2001: 1)

Action research is collaborative (Kemmis and McTaggart 1988: 5). Understandings are brought about by practical action as well as theoretical encounters (Walker 1996: 3). Outcomes are achieved through the critical

examination of action in order to investigate social problems and also influence social intervention (Lewin 1946; 1952).

In addressing these concerns we first examined the nature of research as outcome. Development agencies and donors measure success in terms of statistics. While we provide these below, our aim is to additionally examine these in relation to the lived and represented dimensions in and of the Lodge.

Communication Science vs. Communication Studies

Our analysis reflects on the traditional ‘tension’ between communication science and communication studies; the dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative research, central to communications scholarship since the 1980s (see Gerbner 1983; Chapter 4, this volume). Historically, qualitative research as embodied in cultural and media studies stresses critique and interpretation over hypothesis testing, measuring and describing. Quantitative scholars, conversely, are reluctant to admit qualitative, ethnographic or experiential methods, fearing implicit subjectivity, ideology and bias. Yet,

Qualitative distinctions and judgments (as in labeling or classifying) are prerequisites to quantitative measurements; the two are inseparable. To say that one can only measure what exists and, therefore, quantitative efforts can only support the status quo, is sophistry. The careful observation of existing conditions is necessary to support any judgement of or strategy for change and judgment is not hurt by some attempts at precision. (Gerbner 1983:361)

Based on this schematic our analysis of !Xaus traverses the traditional ‘division’ between communication science and communication studies. Gerbner reminds us that:

[t]he study of communication revolves around the production, nature and role of messages in life and society. Message-making and storytelling capabilities provide the basic humanizing and evolutionary process of our species. A discipline that centers on that process makes distinctive contributions to the understanding of human problems. (1983:355)

This description is key to our use of action (marketing) research to not only understand the “human problems” and challenges of the community-owned Lodge but also as a guide in actively contributing to finding solutions to these challenges.

Like Gerbner (1983:356) we call for a dialogue of perspectives – valuing both communication science and cultural studies in making research

productive in illuminating the dynamics of power in communication in society. Similarly, Tomaselli critically examines these oppositions in the context of approaches to South African communication studies stressing that “[i]nterparadigmatic interrogation is crucial in order to evaluate the value of different approaches to the same questions and problems” (2005:36). He does, however, caution us in uncritically accepting ‘positivist’ epistemology: “[i]f cultural and media studies’ relationship with communication science has sometimes seemed a little dogmatic, then its tone has probably been a result of its equal insistence that scientific law always – necessarily – serves sectional interests” (Tomaselli 2005:35). This echoes Gerbner’s observation that “the tendency of some scholars to associate empirical research only with administrative uses or evasive tactics blunts [a] critical thrust” (1983:361).

Our research negotiates a fine line between the two positions, intersecting critical analysis with administrative research in our quest to develop a new public-private-community partnership (PPCP) business model which serves multiple collaborating sectional interests *and* which retains a critical edge required by cultural studies (see Chapter 13). Critique is the business of the academic enterprise, here operationalized in the service of local economic development and community participation. The resulting synthesis is reflected in the table overleaf.

Corporate Communication and Marketing Research

That night we had a lot of fun talking with some staff members. I heard Glynn talk about the 4x4 trip to another pan that we, the research team, and Glynn, made earlier that day. He said in Afrikaans that we stopped at a pan and he had asked us to keep still to experience the silence of this place. He joked with the Bushmen about us, saying, “they even couldn’t keep quiet for one moment”; since we seemed addicted to the use of cell phones and digital photo camera’s with their beeping sounds which crisscrosses the Kalahari silence. (Van der Oever 2007:8)

Table 1 identifies the types of communication representative of communication science and cultural and media studies. Corporate communication is identified under communication science where discussion of subjectivity is discouraged as research is based on measurement. The model is based on Shannon and Weaver’s (1949) uni-directional communication flow. On the other hand, audience and reception analysis of lived experience characterise cultural and media studies. The model is typified in the Circuit of Culture (Du Gay *et al.* 1997) where all communication is

Table 1. Action (Marketing) Research as a hybrid perspective (Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay adapted from Tomaselli 2005:37).

Thesis	Antithesis	Synthesis
<i>1: The Paradigms</i>		
Communication Science	Cultural Media Studies	Action (Marketing) Research
Administrative Research	Critique	Implementation
The 'Realists': Corporate communication	The 'Idealists': Audience and reception analysis Tourists as guests	The 'Negotiators': Practical value for stakeholders: corporate- community partnership/ collaboration
Tourism as industry		
<i>2: On Science</i>		
Method is all!	Theory is all!	A meeting of method and theory.
Works only with figures	Only use numbers when unavoidable	Uses different approaches to the same research questions/ problems: numbers/texture/ experience
Accounting	Texture, experience	
<i>3: On Meaning</i>		
Reality is not a text!	Reality is a text!	Reality is both text and lived experience.
All research is measurement. Cultural studies is dismissed as subjective and irrelevant.	All research is interpretation. Scholars are historically and culturally bound.	Qualitative judgements are prerequisites for quantitative research (statistics) which

(Continued)

Table 1. (Cont.)

Thesis	Antithesis	Synthesis
		can inform policy and operationalisation.
<i>4: On Models</i>		
Shannon and Weaver (1949)	Circuit of Culture (Du Gay, <i>et al.</i> , 1997)	Communication for Participatory Development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009)
All communication is through black boxes. Find the parameters of the box and everything follows with the help of directional arrows and loops.	All communication is negotiation between subjectivities. There is only the circulation of meaning and its discrepant appropriation by group identities.	Includes directional arrows within circular model. Shows relationships and dialogues between all stakeholders.

Source: Authors of the chapter.

understood as a negotiation of meaning.¹ Corporate communication, which includes public relations (PR) and communication management, aims at creating greater understanding for, and perception of, the ideals and purposes of an organization (Dolphin 1999:39). The needs of the company are therefore primary. In contrast, we emphasize research tasks that empower rather than control, that persuade stakeholders to unmask rather than augment the established structure of power. We subscribe to Paulo Freire's (1970) understanding of empowerment via conscientisation that: "restores to people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experience and values" (Tomaselli and Aldridge, 1996: 61). Our aim was to reduce rather than exploit public vulnerabilities. Action research

¹ When analyzing the data collected by the reception analysis it became clear that it fell within the main points of the Circuit of Culture (identity, representation, production, consumption, and regulation) Du Gay *et al.* 1997.

encourages the use of academic and research skills for purely tactical advantage (Gerbner 1983:358–9).

Traditionally, market research and corporate communication served sectional interests. Usually, the data generated – whether numerical or focus groups – is simply presented undigested to the client or reader since interpretation is thought to introduce researcher bias. However, communication scholars are now critiquing traditional approaches to corporate communications and offering alternative means through which corporations can communicate in ethical ways (see Christensen *et al.* 2008; Christensen 2002).

Genesis of !Xaus Lodge

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) had in the early 2000s allocated R6.5 million as part of a poverty alleviation fund connected to the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement to build !Xaus Lodge. Its establishment, however, exemplifies many of the development mistakes made by governments and agencies that lack sufficient knowledge of the local context, in cultural, environmental and market interest terms. Politics determined location; the Lodge straddles both Mier and ≠Khomani heritage land.

Numerous challenges had to be addressed: i) location far off the tourist route; ii) no food, water or refuse storage facility, iii) substandard construction – boma and guest chalets consisted of gravel that had simply been thrown down – elevated walkways between these areas should rather have been constructed in order to restrict guests from destabilising dunes and to keep them safe from dangerous animals; iv) roofing and walkways were poorly designed and had to be rebuilt; v) the noisy, expensive fuel-intensive generator as the only electricity supply; iv) no laundry (or water for that matter to run a laundry as the water was too salty; vi) atrocious service roads; vii) the Mier and ≠Khomani owners had largely written off the project which had been neglected for five years; and vii) the funders and state had lost interest (Dyll 2009; O'Leary, personal communication, 23 Aug 2006). All these design shortfalls had to be addressed, delaying the Lodge's opening.

On 24 January 2007, Transfrontier Parks Destinations (Pty) Ltd (TFPD) signed a contract with the Joint Management Board (JMB)² as the

² The JMB included the principal parties: the ≠Khomani Communal Property Association (CPA), the Mier Local Municipality acting on behalf of the Mier community, SANParks. The JMB is a decision-making forum.

operating company. The 20-year contract gave TFPD right of first refusal. The communities' representative organizations receive monthly rentals based on turnover. Most lodge employees are local (where unemployment is rife) (see SAHRC 2004). After ten years of operation, a #Khomani and Mier Community Trust will be established to receive a 10% equity stake in the management company. Assets acquired through donor funding are owned by the Lodge and its stakeholders. !Xaus assists in leveraging donor funding for off-site community health, agricultural, educational and job creation projects. The aim of the Lodge is to:

Symbolize co-operation between the principal parties, to assist the promotion of their eco-tourism-facilities and to establish a facility for eco-tourism, which will generate income for them, and to contribute to the alleviation of poverty in the region. (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002:194)

The Lodge Employees

I asked the wife of Willem if she changed her western clothes for traditional ones at home, and she said yes. I thought this was quite strange. What I saw and experienced in other countries is that once the traditional clothes are dropped, they don't go back to it easily. Some people, as the Masai, only dress traditionally for tourists! Later, when I returned to the Lodge, the dancing children with the animal-skin clothes were dressed in jeans, and some in short skirts. I wouldn't recognize them if I met them somewhere else. I doubted if the answers from the family of Willem were true. (Van der Oever, field notes, July 2007)

To supplement employment opportunities, and to make up for the lack of big game in the area !Xaus provides visitors with a cultural experience. One of the activities is walking in the veld with a #Khomani field guide who offers their understanding and knowledge of the area, explains folklore, as well as provides general information about the life of today's Bushmen. The #Khomani employees also make and sell their craft in the cultural studio³ where they sometimes also teach visitors to shoot with a

³ TFPD as well as !Xaus management explained the use of the term "cultural studio" rather than "cultural village". The space is not a reconstructed village and they also aim to avoid the negative 'zoo-like connotations' that "cultural village" may hold. "Cultural studio", on the other hand, speaks directly to what the #Khomani do – they create their art or crafts in that space (Retief, e-mail, 20 Oct 2009). This is a valuable strategic move on behalf of !Xaus Lodge based on the general feedback from Kate Finlay's (2009b) 2008 questionnaire respondents when addressing questions on the "cultural village". Many seemed to echo the type of response offered by a tourist, Kate (73 years old): "I hate the term 'cultural village', sounds like something I would expect in Thailand or Victoria Falls – I don't want to go into the 'heart of the Kalahari' to visit a 'cultural village', it sounds dreadfully contrived".

bow and arrow, or interact with them. The #Khomani claim that this direct interaction with tourists, something that was denied them at former cultural tourism ventures (Bregin, 2001), is an aspect of !Xaus that makes them feel more empowered: “then our people will not be seen as just a tracker or a guide but also as a trained or educated person who has the knowledge and who carries the history” (Isak Kruiper, interview, 28 Jan 2007). Many #Khomani are members of a sub-group of the #Khomani known as the traditionalists, who embrace the romantic Bushman archetype (see Ellis 2004:10). This does not mean, however, that they reject all aspects of the modern world. Those at the cultural village choose when they want to wear the !xai (traditional skins). Others do not wear them at all.

The Mier employees handle the hospitality responsibilities as most of the Mier staff had either previously attended a hotel management course, or had experience working at a lodge or guesthouse. They therefore see to the everyday running of the Lodge such as cooking, room maintenance and reception duties, as well as tracking.⁴ The traditional Mier dishes available on the !Xaus menu, *afval* (tripe) or fine venison with maize for example, constitutes the Mier cultural offering at the Lodge.

Questions of representation and cultural tourism regarding the #Khomani addressed in our broader research were:

- To what extent are the economic and social circumstances in which the #Khomani find themselves a result of the marketing of a romanticized image in various media?
- How do the #Khomani wish to be represented; and what do they expect cultural representations to achieve amongst themselves and international ‘audiences’?
- How are such representations portrayed in promotional materials, and how do these affect the expectations and experiences of tourists?

Representation was comprehensively studied in the overarching project through a reception analysis to gauge the effect of promotional materials on guests and the target market (Finlay 2009). Using !Xaus as a benchmark, our case study examines issues of indigeneity, representation, and cultural tourism within community-lodge relations, with reference to other community-lodge developments and ‘cultural’ sites. Previous

⁴ This division in roles does not, however, ‘pigeon-hole’ staff into a single role. For example, Dorraine, a young #Khomani woman working in the cultural studio asked to work in the lodge hospitality, and has since then also attended hospitality training.

success has already occurred. The Makuleke Community on the western border of the Kruger National Park “represents a remarkable case study of how seemingly conflicting and competing interests can be harmonized” (De Villiers 2008).

The study of cultural tourism ventures enables the development of viable policies and strategies. It is thus important to understand the staging of ‘authenticity’ within a framework where ‘performers’ themselves can engage the perceptions and anticipations of tourists who may bring Western stereotypes to the encounter. Indigeneity can be thought of as local expression of ‘authentic’ or ‘indigenous’ culture. We examine how the #Khomani at !Xaus Lodge rearticulate the ‘authentic’ in terms of tourist expectations. Despite the self-constructed romanticised identity embraced by many #Khomani craftspeople, shifts in political economy create dramatic changes in a community’s power dynamics and lifestyle.

Action (Marketing) Research at !Xaus Lodge: A Methodology

A longitudinal study was carried out on !Xaus Lodge’s promotional materials from 2007 to 2009. !Xaus was a ‘pre-tourist cultural site’ in 2006 which we studied in relation to its operational stage, from July 2008. This allows the ‘before’ to be studied in relation to ‘after’. Three focus groups drawn from the !Xaus target market were asked to interpret the promotional messages.⁵ Questionnaires were elicited from respondents who had previously visited the Lodge. The encoding/decoding (Hall, 1980) similarities and divergences were compared between the focus group responses and textual analysis of lodge marketing materials.

Open-ended online questionnaires were sent via email to 137 past visitors. Twenty seven responses (19.7%) were received from various countries. During July 2007 and 2008, the research team considered staff responses to the newly opened Lodge from their off-the-cuff remarks. !Xaus staff were informally interviewed on a number of occasions, most of these occurring backstage (see Goffman 1959; MacCannell 1973) in the staff accommodation. Unstructured e-mail interviews were conducted

⁵ Finlay conducted three focus groups in KwaZulu-Natal in late 2007. Each group comprised of five or six participants, male and female, and fitted into the high income earning target market. The ‘snowball’ method was used whereby an informant recruits relevant others, amassing a viable number of informants (Katz and Liebes 1993:25).

with O'Leary, the Lodge operator, regarding the marketing of the website⁶ (Finlay 2009b:63–64).

Applied social science generates useful knowledge as it addresses lived experience (Pohoryles 2007:16; Van Langenhove 2007). Our objective was not only to enable business for the Lodge operator but also to aid the community-based owners in providing a steady income and sustainability (Finlay 2009b:61–62).

O'Leary provided us with information through interviews, emails and unsolicited feedback from past visitors to !Xaus. Our research immediately contributed to changes in the promotional material of the Lodge (O'Leary, personal communication, February 2009). This culminated in an informational booklet provided in the guest rooms from 2009 detailing the background and purpose of the Lodge. The website and brochure were revised and guests provided with a more nuanced understanding of the environment and community (O'Leary, personal communication, November 2008).

Divergences of meaning found between the textual and reception analyses sourced from the different stakeholders are useful in understanding the types of communication used at !Xaus. Central to the participatory research approach is the:

careful maintenance of an ongoing relationship between social researchers and community representatives, in the interests of assisting the planning and implementation of transformation processes aimed at meeting community needs, alleviating problems, and facilitating community development. (Kelly and Van der Riet 2001:159)

The collaboration with stakeholders in the research process aims to create a detailed and nuanced understanding of !Xaus's developmental context to inform culturally and environmentally sensitive suggestions.

Findings

The specific points addressed in Table 2 have been critiqued in our 2007 research and subsequently amended in the 2008 and 2009 !Xaus promotional materials.

Table 3 examines the 2008 materials and offers a brief overview of how !Xaus promotional materials have been critiqued. This table shows how a

⁶ Triangulated methodological approaches offer more accurate results (Denzin 1978). We also used a variety of data and more than one investigator.

Table 2. Differences between the 2007, 2008 and 2009 publicity material.

2007	2008	2009
No interior photographs	Interior photographs added.	Unchanged
Refers to the Lodge as a "luxury" Lodge.	Unchanged	Does not specify whether or not the accommodation is luxurious.
Photographs of ≠Khomani are ambiguous: not in !Xaus uniform or situated in a 'cultural' context.	More 'culturally' situated photographs of the ≠Khomani	Contextualised photographs of the cultural village and trackers.
Advertises activities not on offer.	Unchanged	Describes exactly what is on offer.
The operator of the Lodge dealt with all promotional material.	Unchanged	The operating team discussed with the ≠Khomani about how they want to be represented.

Source: Authors of chapter.

comparison between the textual and reception analyses could aid the operator/host communities at !Xaus in improving their materials. The textual study examines promotional materials holistically, while the reception analysis has the advantage of taking into account relevant opinions from the target market and from people who have experienced the Lodge.

The structure of the textual and reception analyses differs as a result of the different theory and methodology employed, thus a table is used in order to allow for easy comparison. If the decoding of messages between the two analyses is similar then the implication is that the meaning makers possess a dominant understanding (Hall 1997). If there are discrepancies between the analyses, this may point to a case of aberrant decoding (Eco 1965) thus highlighting issues which need to be addressed in the text or at the Lodge (Finlay 2009b:140–1).

While a critical approach is used in Table 3, a more culturally contextualised approach is used in Table 4 relating to the social factors surrounding

Table 3. 2008 Brochure and Website.

Textual Analysis	Reception Analysis	Conclusion
<i>Ways of analysing</i>		
Semiotic analysis: structured, holistic, in-depth. Examines the ideas portrayed by the promotional materials.	Past visitors' reflections: shows awareness that the ≠Khomani have moved with the times, but visitors are still attracted by experience of the indigenous ⁱ .	Both analyses have analytical elements which the other lacks: experience/textual study.
<i>Visuals</i>		
Photographs of the surrounding environment convey a sense of desolation and wilderness.	The photographs are commended for depicting the remoteness of the location. However, some visitors want this aspect promoted more thoroughly as a result of its uniqueness.	The dominant code is upheld.
The wildlife photographs create an expectation which excite visitors (see also text on wildlife).	Respondents imply that the photographs of wildlife are misleading: expectations lead to disappointment if there are few sightings.	Both agree on the somewhat misleading decoding of the wildlife photography.
Photograph: two trackers dressed in !Xaus uniforms sitting on a game viewing vehicle. Caption: "accompany the Bushmen, legendary hunter-gathers and learn their secrets of survival as they track through the desert".	Though respondents did not mention these photographs, they did confirm a belief that the development of cultural tourism lies in the offering of the long-established romantic myth through cultural activities. They see this representation	The inclusion of the photograph of the two trackers enables a contextualised reading lacking in the 2007 material.

(Continued)

Table 3. (Cont.)

Textual Analysis	Reception Analysis	Conclusion
The expectation created must be met lest the Lodge disappoint its guests.	as an advantage to the improvement of cultural tourism at the Lodge.	
<i>Text (almost the same as the 2007)</i>		
Implies that the ≠Khomani are spiritual, have an ancient knowledge of nature and ‘traditional’ storytelling.	The cultural activities associated with the Bushmen in the text seem attractive to a number of respondents.	Dominant decoding. It is important, however, that the experience offered in the text must be matched in ‘reality’.
The terms used suggest that the Lodge “captures the essence of the Kalahari”.	Respondents enjoy the descriptiveness of the environment. Other says that they would try to improve the description of this remoteness in the text.	Dominant decoding. More descriptive explanations are available in the 2009 information booklet.

Source: Authors of the chapter.

the host communities/operators at !Xaus in comparison to the expectations of the target market/past visitors to the Lodge. As Tomaselli states, “in cultural and media studies, theory emerges from the critical examination of social experience in terms of power relations, process of representation and via analysis of media-society relations” (2005:35). In traditional marketing research:

[s]tatistics are argued to be alienating, as they agglomerate the nitty-gritty of human experience into blocks of data from which personalities, publics and interpreters disappear. Understanding regularities of behavior in large groups is obviously useful information, especially for marketing, planning and policy, but this data implies nothing about individuals. (Tomaselli 2005:367)

In Table 4 (below) challenging social issues are brought to the surface through contextualizing the relationships between the stakeholders and

the informants. For example, O' Leary revealed that our research had encouraged the hospitality team to assess the cultural product and discuss with the #Khomani how they wanted to "present this offering to prospective guests" (personal communication, February 2009). The outcome is reflected in the evolving cultural product as well as the promotional material. O'Leary also sent us unsolicited comments – both positive and negative – from guests who wrote directly to him. This uncharacteristic openness on the part of the operator was part of the structured relationship negotiated by Tomaselli and typified the entire project (see Chapters 1 and 2).

The appointment of TFPD as the Lodge operator resulted in a dramatic paradigm shift from a dominant top-down approach to a more participatory bottom-up communication in its operational phase. This dialogical approach was cemented through the Northern Cape Department of Tourism, Environment and Conservation's (DTEC) commitment to make !Xaus Lodge work despite all its challenges. DTEC's Johann van Schalkwyk observed that "!Xaus cannot fail, because if it does how do you salvage what was built there to 'rescue' the project? If the building is just left there to disintegrate over time it causes a bigger disaster" (personal communication, July 2009).

Van Schalkwyk highlighted the problem caused by the differences in the design concept between SANParks, the communities and the operator. Oom Titus Rooi (a #Khomani community member) offered an example of how the disregard for local knowledge became a problem for SANParks and the construction of !Xaus Lodge: during a visit to the Lodge before it was completed in July 2007 the #Khomani advised the builders that they were using the incorrect thatch for the chalet roofs. Their warning was ignored and the wind soon wreaked havoc on the structure. However, DTEC is not only concerned with infrastructure but also that the "community benefits through participation in the tourism sector" (Van Schalkwyk, DTEC presentation, July 2009).

The staff at !Xaus are encouraged to talk to tourists and tell them the "story behind the story" if the visitor shows an interest (Van der Oever 2007:12). Apart from the history of the Lodge, these include ancestral stories and tales of the Kalahari and its animals. This approach is different to many other tourist ventures in which staff are supposed to "execute their work and not waste the tourists' time with chatting and certainly not annoying them" (ibid).

O'Leary continues to negotiate differences between the #Khomani staff and the Western work ethic. Originally the staff was required to work three

Table 4. Stakeholders versus Informants and Social Factors.

Stakeholders: ≠Khomani, operator (TFPD) and SANParks	Informants: Target market (focus groups)/Past visitors (questionnaires)
Local ≠Khomani problems: poverty, lack of education (resulting in a limited ability to converse in English), and alcohol abuse.	The paternal opinions expressed link to the fact that many of the ≠Khomani are economically and educationally disadvantaged. Even so, many informants expect there to be more interaction with the ≠Khomani (either through a translator or through English speaking ≠Khomani staff).
Conflicts within the ≠Khomani community and between the ≠Khomani, Mier and SANParks.	These conflicts are unknown and visitors expect the Lodge to run smoothly.
On offer is the re-created cultural village where visitors can watch the making of craft, shoot with a bow and arrow and interact with the ≠Khomani. Other projects will include the telling of folklore and star identification by the ≠Khomani (De Villiers 2008:36). However, ≠Khomani elders say that a cultural event cannot be reproduced as if they are paid actors performing for tourists. These events have to be linked to a spiritual experience.	Guests expect a cultural performance if a cultural tourism product is advertised. However, with the less romantic 2009 text in the information booklet, visitors' expectations may not be as romantically inclined (although the 2009 respondents still suggest ways of improving the cultural experience).
Guests should be encouraged to visit the local community in Welkom in order to get an idea of the issues facing the community.	Focus group participants express an interest in visiting local communities but expect them to be in the immediate area (Welkom is approximately a two hour drive from the Lodge).

(Continued)

Table 4. (*Cont.*)

Stakeholders: #Khomani, operator (TFPD) and SANParks	Informants: Target market (focus groups)/Past visitors (questionnaires)
The co-ownership of the Lodge has helped to give some of the members of the local communities a new sense of purpose.	Focus group participants feel that a community-run lodge would be run inefficiently, but seemed placated once they find out it is community-owned but not community run. This is clarified in the text of the 2009 information booklet.
Further recognition of the #Khomani within the Park through reading material, signage, photographs, history, etc.	Further recognition of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ➤ the #Khomani in photographs of !Xaus Lodge's promotional materials. ➤ the cultural history of the #Khomani through further cultural tourism options. ➤ #Khomani agency through more interaction with guests and resulting self-representation.
Training of #Khomani field guides aids in transferring knowledge to the younger generation. A project where the youth and elders from local disadvantaged communities spend a few days in the Park aims to instil current and future emotional links to the land, their culture and the role of the national park in protecting these.	Many informants believe that the #Khomani still possess their tracking abilities, along with their cultural and spiritual practices.
Resource use such as traditional hunting and harvesting of seeds by the #Khomani is contested and not yet practiced, but could be a draw card for tourists to the Park.	Informants want to see 'traditional' Bushmen practices.

Source: Authors of the chapter.

weeks on, and one week off. However, fewer and fewer #Khomani were willing to go to !Xaus for as long as three weeks for many reasons, one of them being that at certain times of the year (for example, during hunting season) the #Khomani craftspeople are able to earn more selling their wares on the side of the road to passing tourists (Gert Swart, personal communication, July 2009). The then !Xaus manager, Pieter Retief (July 2009) admits that at first he did not understand the nature of the #Khomani work ethic. He soon realised that they have an “itch to move” and so in April 2009 their schedule was changed to a two week rota – two weeks on, and two weeks off. (These kinds of ontological issues are discussed extensively in Chapter 12.)

Disagreements over the nature of what constitutes ‘work’ have resulted in instances of mistrust, especially on the part of a-literate employees whose understanding of this activity may not correspond with the assumptions of their employers. This also relates to (a lack of) employment contracts, or understanding thereof, of methods of payment, and an appreciation of business imperatives. Work and job descriptions, however, were explained, and the expectations on the part of each of the partners in the Lodge were discussed among all stakeholders.

Economic Multiplier Effects

The Gordonia Economic Benefit Statement of August 2010 issued by TFPD highlighted the economic benefits that !Xaus had conferred upon the surrounding Gordonia area.⁷ The direct community financial benefits take the form of a percentage of the Lodge’s monthly turnover paid to the two communities. This grew over the years from R1 221 404 (2008), R2 350 043 (2009) to R2 989 644 (in 2010 at the time of the Imvelo Awards⁸ submission period in August).

Mier and #Khomani individuals comprise at least 85% of the Lodge employees. Hospitality positions’ remuneration packages include wages, accommodation, food, uniform and transport, and a pension fund with retirement, death and disability benefits. Most hospitality employees are drawn from the Mier with some #Khomani having joined the team. The craft studio at !Xaus accommodates the #Khomani crafters who use the facility to make and sell their crafts to guests. During the first three years

⁷ Gordonia is the extended district in which the Park is located including Upington.

⁸ On 10 November 2010 !Xaus Lodge won the Award in the Best Practice: Economic Impact category, edging out the other 218 entrants.

of operation (2008–10), 52 crafters had used the facilities at one time or another. In addition to providing access to the Lodge visitors (at no cost to the crafter), the Lodge also pays a daily stipend to the crafters, a food allowance and transport, for being available to interact with tourists at the village.

Between 2008 and 2010 the guest occupancy of the Lodge increased from 14% to 23%. The percentage of curios purchased by tourists from the Lodge's shop (made by crafters at !Xaus as well as crafters in the surrounding area) jumped from R55 600 in 2008 to R75 800 in 2009 and to R100 000 in 2010. Neither commission nor VAT is charged on these sales. Themba Masala, a local artist, alone sold more than R50 000 worth of goods through the curio shop. The Vezokuhle Sewing Co-operative in Upington created all the soft-furnishings for !Xaus, and continue to provide new bedcovers and other customised items. Since opening, over R75 000 has been spent with Vezokuhle.

With a clear multiplier effect operating on the broader local economy, !Xaus Lodge spends operational money in the Gordonia area. In the financial year 1 March 2009 to 28 February 2010, over R1million worth of purchases were made by the Lodge in Askham, a small village 60 kms south of the Park, and Upington, 260 kilometres away. The total spend for the first eight months of 2010 was R1 102 814, up from 2008 when the figure totalled R684 367. Overall !Xaus Lodge generated more than R5.1 million in income for the Gordonia area. The long-term asset creation benefit is that the #Khomani and Mier are the owners of an asset now worth R11 million, including all furnishings.

After the first ten years of operation, a #Khomani and Mier Community Trust will receive a 10% equity stake in TFPD. Any asset acquired through donor or grant funding is also owned by the Lodge and therefore its communities. TFPD pays a management fee to SANParks, the #Khomani and the Mier. Each of these three stakeholders (SANParks, the #Khomani CPA and Mier Municipality) were paid R24 444 in 2008, R41 532 in 2009 and R52 055 in 2010.

It will be recalled that in Chapter 2 some of the sceptical reviewers of the initial research grant proposal questioned the “deliverables” of the proposed research. It was not up to the research team to generate these economic benefits but rather to ascertain whether and how they were generated, and what the multiplier effects might be. The Lodge management was responsible for generating the deliverables in terms of development impulses and financial returns to the local Gordonia economy. In this objective, it has been more than successful.

CHAPTER TEN

WHY IS OUR VOICE NOT BEING HEARD BY DEVELOPERS? DEVELOPMENT AS EMPOWERMENT

Vanessa McLennan-Dodd and Shanade Barnabas

The exchange of clothing for camping rights at Ngwatle was its usual mayhem, with one old woman clearing the noisy ruckus with a stick so that she could hook the best clothing. Mick kept popping up like a rugby hooker in the midst of a seething scrum in his bid to impose some order. The scramble for the clothing reminded me of Durbanites at a Woolworth's sale. (Tomaselli, field notes, July 2009)

This chapter discusses the concept of development as empowerment. The case studies will firstly examine projects from the perspective of development agents: their motivations and goals and the ways in which they communicate with, and relate to, the communities with which they work. Secondly, the perspectives of development targets are considered: their feelings about the projects with which they are involved, and the extent to which they are and feel empowered. Auto-ethnographic methods, and community responses, are applied to understand what development and communication mean for the #Khomani Bushmen in their everyday lives (see Tomaselli 2002; Dyll 2002; Francis 2002). The discussion aims to explore where communication for development might be most effective. The two projects discussed are Ostri-San, a traditional cultural village and ostrich farm in the Hartebeespoort Dam area in the North West Province; and the Sisen¹ Craft Project based in the Northern Cape, both involving the mainly #Khomani from the Northern Cape, south of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP). While Ostri-San is no longer in operation and the case study is specific to its time, the theoretical framework of the study is still pertinent today.² Sisen, on the other hand, periodically suffers the

¹ Sisen, in the ancient /N' u language spoken in this region for thousands of years, means "we work" (#Khomani Sisen Crafts Project brochure).

² We were unable to contact the management of Ostri-San. We contacted two tourism websites that continue to advertise Ostri-San as a tourism site; both tried unsuccessfully to

mismanagement of funds by various overseers and committee members, yet strives toward being wholly community run. We examine the means and methods of communication employed within these projects, and consider their role and effectiveness in the substantial and sustainable empowerment and upliftment of the San in South Africa. Of further interest are the ways in which development goals and projects are communicated both directly and indirectly, and how this process is influenced, perceived and received by developers, community leaders and members.

The essential challenge to communication for development is to “redefine the community’s role from passive beneficiaries of ‘hand-outs’ by outside agencies, to actors using investments by these agencies for job creation, skills development, and a process of growth that is determined and owned by the community” (Malan 1998:59). Communication for development as empowerment is thus an “historically grounded, culturally sensitive, and multi-faceted” process of consensus-building and resistance, “with attention to all political, economic and ideological structures and processes that comprise society” (Melkote and Steeves 2001:38). The poverty-stricken, alcohol dependent existence of key members of the traditional ≠Khomani at large indicates the reality of the social and political situation in developing countries where the urban and rural poor, women, and other people at the grassroots are trapped in a dependency situation in highly stratified and unequal social and economic structures. Unless efforts are made to empower these “‘unequal’ partners, the terms ‘participatory’ or ‘co-equal knowledge sharing’ will remain mere clichés” (Melkote and Steeves 2001:351).

Developing the Bushmen

Without respect, drowning people in dollars ultimately kills them dead.
(Silberbauer 2001: xxxix)

Though the 1999 land claim was a success in securing land for the ≠Khomani, years later the land claim seems not to have resulted in much substantial change in standards of living amongst those who want to retain their ‘traditional ways’. The traditional ≠Khomani lack the resources, the skills, or the motivation to generate productivity from the restituted farms. Moreover, the tensions between the traditionalists and the westerners

contact the farm and informed us of this via email correspondence, saying that they believe Ostri-San to be no longer in operation.

have halted developments on the land as these two groups disagree on development plans. Many in the community retain a kind of fixed nomadism, moving between places in search of employment. For the traditionalists, this means cultural tourism enterprises such as Ostri-San and !Xaus Lodge, while the westerners tend to work as contract workers on farms and in surrounding towns.

Relationships and relations of power in the Kalahari are often complex: The late 'Oom Dawid' was at times loved, resented and deeply mistrusted as the traditional leader. There is a similar resentment of dependence in the community's relationship with development agents (e.g., The South African San Institute (SASI) assisting with the running of Sîsen). Development attempts are sometimes implemented without community consultation, either because developers feel they know what's best, or because such is the extent of strife in the community that no consensus can be reached. The latter is often a major contribution to development failure. There is both awareness of the benefits of development projects and the desire to do things on their own, combined with mistrust of developers who are also drawing salaries and perceived to be making profits at the expense of the beneficiaries. Prevailing paradigms of development do not necessarily work in the Kalahari.

A contested figure herself, Belinda Kruiper expressed what continues to echo from ≠Khomani living on the restituted farms in the Northern Cape. Referring less than enthusiastically to "Western-type development stuff", her reflections on development indicated that where NGOs and other agents read development, the Bushmen perceive exploitation (personal communication, 2002a). She derided SASI and WIMSA (Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa) for believing "they own the Bushmen" (interview, 2001a); resulting in relations of exploitation and the perception that development agencies are "creating factories out of people" (interview, 2001a). Her comments also reflected the feeling that development's priorities lie somewhere other than with disempowered people. On the other hand, in some instances, income is expected by the community without the acceptance of accountability on their part. This kind of 'solution', of course, simply perpetuates dependency and is bankrolled in perpetuity by the taxpayer. Belinda suggested that development agents have little understanding of the reality of situations with which they are dealing: "NGO members should live amongst the people. Offices should be in the Kalahari ... To experience is the only way to truly listen, hear, and then be able to do" (interview, 2002b). She continued that little account is taken of the context of community tension and bitterness on

which development projects have been imposed and observed that “you can’t force them to be a community simply because this is how development works” (interview, 2001b). (Since this discussion, SASI has moved its head office from Cape Town to Kimberley, and established offices in Upington and Witdraai.)

Case Studies

The Sîsen Craft project began in October 2000 “in response to the poverty situation of many San people resettling on their lands subsequent to the successful land claim of March 1999” (SASI Annual Report, Jan-Dec 2002:36). This is a SASI funded project that generates income through the making and selling of traditional crafts and their modern variants. Outlets have included a number of poorly located venues, but in 2010 it moved to a specially built shop at the entrance to the Molopo Kalahari Lodge on the road to the KTP. The project involves 25 ≠Khomani crafters.³ A few of these crafters are members of the committee that governs the running of Sîsen. The committee is responsible for the financial management; 70% of the profits made on each item sold is paid to the crafts person whose work it is, the other 30% is to be banked. Sîsen pays no rent to Molopo Lodge for use of the premises which were built by the lodge management specifically to be used as an outlet for Sîsen.⁴ SASI continues to fund Sîsen; it purchases the craft materials and pays the salaries of the two shop assistants. Fonnies Brou of SASI assists and advises the committee but it is the committee and not SASI that has the final say. The committee members are offered skills and management training in the hope that the project will become self-sustaining.

The North West Province farm developed into Ostri-San Ostrich Show Farm and Working Bushmen was owned and managed by André Coetzee. The farm (with restaurants, ostrich hatchery and Bushman show area) was conveniently situated between the Johannesburg international airport and Sun City casino. Involvement of the ≠Khomani was facilitated by Danie Jacobs, who had worked previously with them at Kagga Kamma in the Western Cape.⁵ The Ostri-San brochure read:

Welcome to Ostri-San. Visit our Bushman Village and Rock Art Workshop, combined with an Ostrich Breeding and Hatching Production Unit. Two

³ This was the numbers of crafters involved in the project at the time of writing.

⁴ This is one of the lodge’s projects that promotes lodge-community relations.

⁵ Jacobs returned briefly to Kagga Kamma after our visit in April 2001.

restaurants specializing in ostrich cuisine; coffee shop; hourly tours under supervision of professionally trained guides... Ostrich leather products and Bushman arts and crafts. Come and meet the San Bushmen – descendents of the oldest tribe in Africa and see ostriches, the biggest and most unique birds in the world. A unique African experience for you at Ostri-San!

The performance area was located behind the hatchery and the restaurant. The Bushmen village included a few grass huts, “and red soil was imported to the location to create an illusion of environmental authenticity, recreating a miniature and displaced Kalahari Desert” (Mhiripiri 2009: 151). During the day the Bushmen sat around the fire, “dressed in their traditional clothes, doing their crafts”; in the evening after the shows they “were driven back to the workers’ farm accommodation” (Mhiripiri 2009:151).

Jacobs described his goals for Ostri-San: “All I want to do is to lift the Bushmen out of the dust. And to make them efficient for generations to come” (interview, November 2001). Ostri-San came under attack for its use of San children in the daily shows and the ranch owner was noted as saying of school that, “It is not necessary. Here, they are exposed to tourists and that builds character” (cited in Geldenhuys 2004:5). Jacobs went on to say:

When I met them, I believed the Bushmen were happy people and they were living from nature... But as I grew older and I actually made contact with them, in the Cape again, I realized what problems these people were facing. I always saw that they were drinking... I started to realize that something needs to be done to help this people. (Interview, November 2001)

The development workers in the Ostri-San and Sîsen projects considered themselves change agents. The ideal role of such an agent in the case of sites such as Sîsen and Ostri-San is to “create situational and psychological conditions in which development benefactors and their intended beneficiaries can participate together in mutual co-equality in making development decisions” (Melkote and Steeves 2001:360). The goal should be empowerment for the community rather than exercise of power by the development expert:

The locus of control in empowerment activities rests with the community members. The DSC [development support communication] professional has important roles to play, however, in the intervention process. The roles will include that of a facilitator and consultant throughout much of the process and that of an initiator and a leader in the initial stages. (Melkote and Steeves 2001:363)

The idea is thus for community members to take up increasing responsibility and control throughout the development process:

While the objective [of modernization] is to bring about a beneficial change, the locus of control rests with people and organizations outside the community. 'Community empowerment', on the other hand, signifies a change where members of the community increasingly influence the agenda, design and processes. (Melkote and Steeves 2001:364)

Empowerment does not simply mean the involvement of community members in aspects of the project; it means that they should be actively engaged in discussion and implementation of knowledge and ideas, and the way that research is done. "Empowerment privileges multiple voices and perspectives and truly facilitates equal sharing of knowledge and solution alternatives among the participants in the process" (Melkote and Steeves 2001:365). This is not an easy task, however, especially when the community members in question are unwilling to address the terms of their new responsibilities. Sîsen, for example, has a history of committee members dipping into the coffers for personal use. The SASI employee told of a recent event in which the committee member in particular refused to attend further committee meetings once he was found out (interview, June 2010). When he was sent a letter regarding his absenteeism and the missing funds, he hastily derided SASI's involvement in the project, saying finally that he would have nothing more to do with both SASI and Sîsen. He did not return the missing funds. This is played out time and again and, because it is in the hands of the committee whether or not to take legal action, hardly any of the perpetrators are brought to justice. Even the craftspeople – who are part of the project but not on the committee – seem unwilling to hold the committee accountable for their decisions and handling of funds.

Regarding Ostri-San, Jacobs mentioned that he felt he needed to inform the Kruipers of where he was going and how long he would be, even if he would be away for as little as half an hour, because they were unable to cope without him. In answer to Tomaselli's question, "Doesn't it worry you a little bit, being the parent all the time?" he replied:

Sometimes it does, yes. It worries me sometimes that if nothing is working out, what I'm gonna do, what I'm gonna tell them, because they don't understand the things the way I do. They only see that... if they have a problem, I will always solve the problem, no matter what. (Interview, November 2001)

It seems that, even with his good intentions, he contributed to a situation of dependence. Jacobs's role, however, was a contested one, as the late traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper, expressed:

He [Danie] wants to steal himself rich out of the Bushmen... I told Danie, "Danie, I don't want you near the trust. I don't want you there; you don't have to help me. I will...my people are not incapable, they aren't incompetent either." (Interview, 4 April 2002)

Dawid's accusation may or may not be accurate, but it points to the ways in which development workers are often perceived by, and relate to, the communities with which they work. Lack of trust in a person who may be reliable and motivated to truly empower people can prevent them from implementing plans beneficial to the community, while misplaced trust could result in exploitation.

Development as Empowerment?

While empowerment is the process in which individuals and communities gain control of and are able to influence their social, economic and political milieu (Rappaport 1984), it must also be seen on a more personal level to incorporate the power and freedom to tell one's own story. Story-telling is an important cultural resource and community empowerment should seek to encourage this tradition at the grassroots level (Boafo 2006). The interaction between San and tourists at Ostri-San did not seem particularly empowering for the community, as their stories were told by Jacobs. Having observed an Afrikaans-speaking family who chose to ask Jacobs questions about the Bushmen in English (such as "do they really live in those huts?" and "does the one who painted the eye watch Big Brother?") rather than interacting with the people themselves and hearing their stories, Isak Kruiper (who has returned to Witdraai) had this to say:

I get so sad if the people come and they really want to talk to me and they can speak Afrikaans but they speak English. For me, it will be much better if they can come and talk to me, I can tell them how I feel, what I see and how I experience all the things. For me, it will be very good. Then you know if they leave me, he goes back with something, he goes back with knowledge, he goes back with a good thought. And he can walk further and expand. (Interview, November 2001)

On the other hand, tourists may be frustrated and even feel ostracized by the Bushmen they visit when they talk and laugh among themselves in the presence of the tourist who may feel the joke to be on them (see Hottola 1999:124 on the similar experience of backpackers in India). This – with the addition of "life shock" – is possibly a reason why visitors to lodges such as !Xaus sometimes do not wish to visit the indigenes (see Chapter 6). Thus, as much as tourists should learn the proper etiquette for interaction

with their hosts, indigenes should likewise learn how best to interact with tourists.

In an interview with Molopo Lodge owner, Jeán Lambrechts, at the lodge in June 2010 we learned that the community and the lodge have had a chequered past. Lambrechts claimed that previous managements had turned a blind eye to sex tourism with young Bushman girls (interview, June 2010). Even after the change of management, German tourists would enquire at reception about where they could acquire a Bushman girl for the night. In an attempt to stop this, Lambrechts kept all Bushmen out of the lodge except if they were escorted by a guest, in which case the guest would be charged for the extra 'visitor' in their room.

Restricting the community's access to the lodge created another void between the lodge management and the community. The community called Lambrechts a racist and had become afraid of him. Slowly, with his involvement in various community projects, the community-lodge relations have improved.⁶ Sisen's move into the rent-free premises within the lodge gates is one such major project which deals with both development as well as community-commercial enterprise relations.

Interestingly, while discussing the Bushmen being "gatvol⁷ for all the promises" of development, Lambrechts noted that those living near the lodge also see the "big gap between themselves and the guests": the difference, he says, "from South Pole to North Pole" (interview, June 2010). It is this, the empty promises and failed projects that have left them dejected and turning to alcohol. Development workers need to recognize these nuances and construct their development plans accordingly, being fully aware that the ways in which development processes are implemented and communicated have direct impact on the cultural identity and sense of empowerment or disempowerment of the communities involved. As Lambrechts noted, after the Bushmen's successful land claims it became very difficult to live and work in the area, since the prevailing sentiments seemed to be, "this is our land...we don't need you whites, we don't want you" (interview, June 2010).⁸ At the same time, many ≠Khomani were

⁶ Lambrechts' many projects include an ostrich breeding project, of which 50% of the hatchlings go to the community, as well as the egg shells for their crafts; an electronic water system for Witdraai set up at his own expense; and a once monthly clean-up project for which the participants receive a meal. Some ≠Khomani remain sceptical of the value of these projects, as Lambrechts noted himself, "if the community hear 'project' they walk away".

⁷ This means exasperated and frustrated.

⁸ Projects and project proposals during this time were failures: Lambrechts asked for two of the restituted farms to renovate as B&Bs and with community members to be

walking into the lodge in a drunken state, wanting to watch television and mingle with the guests. Guests in turn were fascinated by them and offered to buy them a meal and drinks at the bar. Their drunken behaviour soon got out of hand and Lambrechts had to stop their entry into the lodge. This was taken as an act of racism and caused both fear and hostility to brew.⁹

Conclusion

The Ostri-San development project was based, in a sense, on the commercialization and preservation of San culture and traditions. This is similar to the Sîsen project, which aims to “practice and develop [and sell] the ancient tradition of craft-making” (≠Khomani Sîsen Crafts Project brochure) and to update crafts according to the preference of consumers (the making of cell phone pouches is an example of this). The challenge “is to establish the perception that economic development is part of people’s culture, instead of viewing culture simply as a kind of appendix to economic development” (Malan 1998:57).

Ideally, unlike the authoritative, dominant paradigm, the nature and role of development communication will depend on the normative goals and standards set by the target community itself, as Dawid Kruiper suggested. Recognition and use of cultural identity lies at the heart of real empowerment (Malan 1998). It also helps to prevent communities becoming dependent, inactive recipients of development benefits (Malan 1998).

In terms of people being empowered through representing their culture to the outside world “even explicit cultural performances of Bushman primitivity, staged to emphasize their authenticity as cultural objects, draw on power relations with long histories in southern Africa”. An awareness of

trained as staff; in five years he promised to hand over management to the community. They did not agree. Together with SASI the lodge began a crèche feeding scheme. Groceries were supplied by the lodge and SASI was to control the project. Certain adults began taking the groceries meant for the crèche meals and this left the crèche with little at the month’s end; they would then ask the lodge for more groceries. Lambrechts refused and told the project manager to better control the monthly groceries and make sure that these were not taken by others. When control was not established the lodge pulled out of the project. Frustrated by these and other failures, Lambrechts said to SASI, “Listen here SASI, there is only one project that works here, my liquor store!” (Interview, June 2010.)

⁹ Perhaps ironic was the fact that many years earlier Lambrechts had served in the defence force in Caprivi, in charge of a Bushman battalion, Omega 1; “I was living, eating, sleeping, working with that guys for three years and when my time was up I said I don’t ever want to see a Bushman in my life again!” (Interview, June 2010.)

Bushmen as ‘modern tourism producers’ creates “a prime opportunity for tourists to feel good about themselves by helping out those less economically advantaged than they” (Garland and Gordon 1999:275–276). The cultural tourism industry benefits as “tourists are encouraged to see themselves as helpful agents in this development process, recasting themselves not as exploitative consumers but as benevolent mentors and patrons to the Bushmen they visit” (1999:283). On the other hand, this seems to be a “more digestible narrative structure of progress from primitivity to modernity” which enables “tourists to avoid perceiving their own complicity in the disempowered, Othered position of the Bushmen they visit” (Garland and Gordon 1999:283).

Certainly, Ostri-San and Sîsen are projects with limitations, and relationships of inequality, dependence and mis-communication continue between community members, change agents or project leaders and tourists. The limitations of these projects highlight the difficulty of reaching a point where communication is dialogic, participatory and non-linear. Nevertheless, cultural tourism projects do help to generate an income and this is empowering to the individuals involved. Ultimately, the community’s wellbeing cannot rely on mere tourism projects. These projects may function within a greater development strategy but they cannot be the core of that strategy. Moreover, cultural tourism that is enacted solely for financial gain feeds the stigma associated with tourism development, “which has been viewed as an inconsiderate, money-driven endeavour having no regard for sustainability of either resources or communities” (Ivanovic 2008: xxiv). However, this does not apply to all cultural tourism ventures, if they are run with the indigenous community’s interests in mind: “Well-trained cultural tourism developers can ensure that irreplaceable cultural heritage resources provide benefits for all the stakeholders involved, not only the tourism industry” (Ivanovic 2008: xxiv). Development within a community can undoubtedly lead to the empowerment of a community, provided that the indigenous community members are included as active stakeholders in the decision-making process.

CHAPTER ELEVEN

DEVELOPMENTAL AND CULTURAL CONCEPTIONS – A MATTER OF INJUSTICE

Brilliant Mhlanga

Belinda brought Oom David Kruiper, the traditional leader of the #Khomani, to talk to us at Witdraai and the Transfrontier Park's bush camp, and she explained recent developments. At Molopo we walked to the crafters and talked to Silikat – who did a roaring trade with our team, students gave orders for bows and arrows to Buks, who upped the price on delivery; camp-fire stories were performed by Pitat and Gert. Dion the wilderness guide stopped over for three hours with Shanade translating for the *Engelse mense* (English folks) from the last outpost of the British Empire, Natal. (Tomaselli, field notes, July 2009)

The #Khomani present an intricate case study of the difficulties new governments face in implementing comprehensive land reforms in Africa. In South Africa, this procedure is referred to as “restitution” (Land Rights Act 22 of 1994). The extended #Khomani, comprising about 2000 people, successfully reclaimed 36 000 hectares of land in the Andriesvale-Askham area in 1999. Major hurdles to restitution rested on the feasibility of compensating the existing landholders financially, for developing land and at the same time allowing the claimants to return to the land of their ancestors in the KTP. The most pertinent issue surrounding the land claims was the ethnic delineation among the #Khomani. This was a ‘staged ethnic’ group, self-consciously choreographed in order to gain access to land as a material resource. Their cohesion remained tenuous even after the claim (Robins 2001:837). Even the origins of the term ‘Khomani’ remain mysterious.¹

The title to the 25 000 ha of land in the KTP was not handed over to the community until August of 2002 (Holden 2007:5). Budgetary constraints

¹ The San do not know where it came from. Speculation offered by Belinda link it to the terms ‘flat plains Bushmen’ and ‘grass Bushmen’ which were used to differentiate the /Xam Bushman groups in the past (Bregin and Kruiper 2004:11). Debates on naming are argued to be attempts to homogenize people whose languages, geographical locations and histories are different.

were cited as the major blow to the process. There was no systematic review of the impact of the whole programme on the livelihoods of beneficiaries. The #Khomani, as beneficiaries have inadequate infrastructural development, poor service provision and unrealistic business planning (SAHRC 2005:3; Schenck 2008:95–96). This has been coupled with lack of proper integration with other developmental programmes, locally, provincially and nationally. In cases where some development has been achieved, this is largely due to external players and the innovative role played by the beneficiaries (see Dyll-Myklebust and Finlay in this volume).

The Problem and its Setting

Chief Koerikei shouted from a cliff: What are you doing on my land? You have taken all the places where the eland and other game live. Why did you not stay where the sun goes down, where you first came from? (Smith *et al.* 2000:35)

Development intervention would benefit greatly from an actor-oriented approach that builds upon theoretical work aimed at reconciling structure and actor perspectives (Long 1992:4). This approach calls for social change and intervention that emphasizes the interplay and mutual determination of ‘internal’ factors and ‘external’ relationships, and which provides accounts of the life-worlds, strategies, and rationalities of *actors* in different social arenas. This view is premised on the assumption that all development players are equal or at least should strive to be equal. The essence of an actor-oriented approach is that its concepts are grounded in everyday experiences and understandings of men and women, be they peasants, entrepreneurs, government bureaucrats or researchers. The theoretical underpinning, therefore, focuses on social change and intervention.

The #Khomani (as actors) should be expected to participate in the broader framework of the development paradigm. Structural relations, however, are not in tandem with these expectations. An actor-oriented perspective entails recognizing the multiple-realities and diverse social practices of various actors, such as the traditional religious explanation of the spiritual realm. A participatory methodology is needed to address these often different and incompatible social worlds. This requires development models such as Multiplicity or Another Development.²

² This is in opposition to the modernization theory, which views development as instigated by external forces and from above (Rogers 1969, 1995; Lerner 1958; Schramm

The actor-oriented model as a synonym for a participatory approach is central in development processes as it seeks to attend to different social interests and the intersection of life-worlds (Long 1996:6). Another integral component is its emphasis on the need for the researcher to enter the life-worlds of the research participants. Knowledge, power and agency are variables to consider in this quest for a grounded theory. Such an analysis stresses the reproduction and transformation of social discontinuities inherent in encounters between the government, the beneficiaries and other stakeholders (Robins 2001:835). Researchers are made aware of themselves as active agents influencing specific events (Long 1992:7).

This approach adopts an open-ended, ethnographic perspective, which attempts to unravel the complexities of meaning and social action through the development of a conceptual framework that accords priority to the understanding of everyday life situations (Tomaselli 1996). It is an approach that depicts mutual enrolment between researchers and researched, whereby the researcher enrolls the researched in his action research endeavours, while at the same time enrolling in theirs; ultimately leading to southern participant action research.³ The process of enrolment does not end in the field but continues throughout the interpretation of the field material and ultimately in the implementation of development policies. When in the field the researcher disturbs taken-for-granted power relations and political accommodations, thus making it possible for him/her to identify critical dimensions of social life. This double hermeneutic is usually associated with the sensitivity of handling practical development problems and interpretive aspects of conducting fieldwork (Giddens 1987). However, this leads to a clearer understanding of the nature and intricacy of different actors' life worlds. In the case of the ≠Khomani this incorporates the effects of donor and non-governmental organisations' discourses on local constructions of 'community', cultural authenticity and identity between the 'traditional' and 'westernized' Bushmen.

Using an actor-oriented approach as a participatory model therefore entails that locals are not just recipients of intervention, but active participants who process information and strategize in their dealings with various local actors as well as with outside institutions and personnel. Human

1964). Modernization has been criticized as a "veiled synonym for Westernization" (Servaes 1995:41).

³ This concept follows, in part, the works of people like Elden and Chisholm (1993) who write concerning emerging varieties of action research. While the concept of 'southern participant action research' borrows from these writers it remains largely my interpretation and understanding of the research as conducted by Keyan Tomaselli.

agency⁴ forms the heart of any revitalized social actor paradigm and forms the pivot around which discussions aimed at reconciling notions of structure and actor revolve. It is also compounded by the need to establish rapport with local participants in development. Social actors have knowledge to address their problems; they are also capable of monitoring reactions of outsiders (Long 1992:22). This echoes Belinda's sentiments: "Leave the San alone, they are clever and wise people. They know the possible solutions to their problems" (interview June 2005).⁵ She also stressed that the San in a bid to monitor the reaction of outsiders, tend to pretend that they are drunk; a situation I witnessed during my field trips between 2005 and 2009.

The actor-oriented approach holds that actors are capable of formulating decisions, and acting upon them together with other players. Social structures, with constraining and enabling effects on social behaviour cannot be understood without allowing for human agency, a move Giddens refers to as the "constitution of society" (1987:11). This means that if the Communal Property Association (CPA) is properly constituted it would enhance the social contract (concerning all players) and define structures that will help in the exploitation of resources. This forms a process by which society through its defined institutionalised structures interrogates itself and navigates its continued existence by creating a developed "constitution of society". Such a society is able to detect the point of synapse between structure and action (see Giddens 1983).

Religious Nativism: The ≠Khomani Quest for Land

Land is of psycho-spiritual significance⁶ to the ≠Khomani. Land is regarded both ontologically and teleologically as territory and not property. Property can be disposed of, whereas territory cannot; it forms the causal link with one's nativity and history (see Saugestad 2001). The San believe that their

⁴ The notion of agency refers to the individual actor's capacity to process social experience and to devise ways of coping with life, even under the most extreme forms of coercion.

⁵ Leaving these communities to their own devices – without adequate skills training – has, in the past, meant that millions of rands worth of tax payers money has been wasted (see McLennan Dodd 2003).

⁶ For certain indigenous groups land is not only important in the material sense of economic stability; it is rendered 'life-giving' in spiritual and psychological senses. Rituals are closely related to their relationship to the land (see Dunlop 2008; Webb 1998 for more on psycho-spirituality and the indigene).

lives will be incomplete if they become disconnected from nature. Dawid Kruiper's⁷ leadership stems from the Makai 'traditional' way of life. To the Bushmen the orange-red Kalahari sand is alive; every grain of sand has spirit in it, which conjures healing power (Bregin and Kruiper 2004:4). The Kruipers resent being sedentarised; they want to remain in touch with nature, where they will move freely on the land of their ancestors. The case of the ≠Khomani becomes a case of territorial rights, which conjures up notions of citizenship and belonging. They originally had a rich tapestry of complex traditional rituals, spiritual beliefs and social habits (Kruiper, interview June 2005; Stubbs 2004). They argue that their children have since lost a sense of belonging, as they now live in government created settlements. The San used to gather around the fire and tell stories, enjoy trance dancing in communion with their ancestors and other practices associated with pouring libation. Trance dance (a way of invoking ancestral powers from the world of the departed) was seen as one way by which they celebrated their link with nature and communicated with the future (Belinda Kruiper,⁸ interview, June 2005).

According to Dawid the elderly could communicate with wild animals and nature, that is, hail storms, whirlwinds and the general cosmos (Kruiper, interview June 2005; Bregin and Kruiper 2004). This psycho-spirituality has always informed the nativist engagement of land issues across Africa. Nature would respond to the divine blessing of rain by sprouting, flowering and yielding fruits for all animals and people. Dawid confirmed the psycho-spiritual significance of land to the ≠Khomani by observing that the rains broke a thirty year drought after the signing of the land deal, as if to suggest the blessing of the ancestors.

Spirituality among Africans is a point that designates the intermediate space between African traditional religion, and the 'projected' modernity of colonialism (Mudimbe 1988:5). Modernity is seen as the invasion of the technical indigenous man, imposing new imperatives to deny indigenous cultures and practices (see Amadiume 2000, 1997). This relationship was premised on the differences assumed to define Europeans, who were seen

⁷ Dawid Kruiper heads the old Makai 'Bushman' society, which advocates for the return to the old ways and are generally referred to as the 'traditionalists'. The old Makai tradition, derived from his father, Regopstaan Kruiper, is endowed with a unique power of communicating with the ancestral spirits. Leadership structures are derived through inheritance, which is usually left to the ancestors to decide their heir (Field notes July 2005).

⁸ According to Dawid, Belinda is not allowed to participate in the business of the family as she is not ≠Khomani herself. However, her children would be accepted and even incorporated into the community. The traditional ≠Khomani are an endogamous society.

as ‘the same’ in contradistinction to Africans; ‘the other’. Tomaselli (1999a:185) equates this internal ideological inconsistency in the Western intellectual heritage to Cardinal Bellarmine’s “priest-craft”. Dawid further illustrates that in the “good” days, the San would share food with nature, that is, wild animals such as lions and hyenas (Kruiper, interview 2005). He regrets that their way of life has been lost and that they cannot hunt anymore. This is partly as a result of apartheid and the subsequent policy embraced by the new South African government which further removed control over the use of wildlife from indigenous peoples⁹ (Holden 2007:2; Tomaselli 1995:v; Tomaselli 2003a:27).

The regulation of hunting permits is considered a major setback to their land victory. The gendered form of economic survival underlying African traditional livelihood is complex (Thiongo 1986:65; Gall 2001). The San relied on locally available foods, they knew the different seasons for plant collection as well as the behaviour of the animals they hunted; as a result their lifestyle revolved around strategies to exploit these resources efficiently (Smith *et al.* 2000:03). The cosmological and ecological reversal brought by modernity is evident in the observation: “the eland used to take care of us and now we take care of the eland” (Gall 2001:199). It follows that what matters most is the value of land to the San and the spiritual powers attached to it; Bushmen do not only live on the earth, but “live with” it (McLennan-Dodd 2003:22).

Rights and Structural Reforms in Land Restitution

Administration of land during apartheid was under the jurisdiction of tribal authorities who were kept under the watchful eye of the state. Since these authorities were regarded as an extension of the state, there was lack of clarity between land ownership, administration and management. As a result land reform in South Africa has been pursued in terms of three complex categories: restitution, redistribution and tenure reform. The aims and objectives as set out in the Constitution, the South African Land Policy and successions of legislation, are ambitious and potentially far reaching, including redressing the racial imbalances in landholding, developing the agricultural sector and improving the livelihoods of historically displaced peoples. Land reform has been pre-occupied with the need to transform land holding patterns that were bequeathed by the apartheid regime.

⁹ However, the land rights victory is seen by the Kruipers as a positive move towards linking with the past.

The Community Property Association (CPA) Act 28 of 1996 permits the acquisition of land by groups of people who can hold land in common, with all the rights of full private ownership. The basis of this policy framework was that where beneficiaries of land acquisition and settlement grants were to access land as groups there was every need for mechanisms not only to recognise group ownership, but to also offer legal protection in terms of greater tenure security (DLA 1997). This arrangement enabled the #Khomani and others who were benefiting from the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994), the Provision of Land Assistance Act (Act 126 of 1993), and the Labour Reform Labour Tenants Act (Act 3 of 1996) to form juristic persons under the auspices of the CPA. According to the *White Paper on the South African Land Policy* (DLA 2007), various categories were set to determine eligibility for land acquisition and settlement, these include:

- Landless people, or people who have limited access to land, especially women, who wish to gain access to land and settlement opportunities in rural or urban areas.
- Farm workers and their families who wish to acquire land and improve their settlement and tenure conditions.
- Labour tenants and their families who wish to acquire land and improve the land which they hold or an alternative land, in accordance with the land reform (Labour Tenants) Act 3 of 1996.
- Residents who wish to secure and upgrade the conditions of tenure under which they live.
- Successful claimants of the land Restitution Programme in terms of the Restitution of Land Right Act (Act 22 of 1994); those who require additional funds for meeting basic needs on restored land.

However, the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) routinely failed to spend its budget, resulting in reduced funding being made available by the Treasury for 2001/02. The major contributing factor was cited as lack of capacity in issues to do with quality and quantity of staffing in national and provincial offices of the Department and the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR). The other contributing factor in land reform was lack of political will and priority (Lahiff 2002:02).

The terms of agreement with regard to the #Khomani claim stated that land inside the Park would remain a conservation area, managed as a contract between the concerned community and SANParks (Lahiff 2002:15). Land outside the National Park is to be used as a cultural reserve and for

game farming, residential purposes and subsistence farming. The restitution process was slow and cumbersome. The #Khomani complain that the land deal should have respected their traditional ways of life, such as allowing them to hunt (Kruiper, interview June 2005). The deal seemed more in line with that of the national park model which attempted to expand national parks through agreements with private and politically powerful land owners (Magome and Murombedzi 2003). Moreover:

the model was not meant for the disadvantaged majority of black people, with the result that the unequal treatment of private and communal land owners in their contracts with the state represents a new form of 'ecological apartheid' in the democratic South Africa, perpetuating a dual tenure system (individual freehold for white farmers and communal tenure for black farmers) and preventing communities from reaching the full potential of possible resource utilization. (Holden 2007:9–10)

In the #Khomani claim the state has acted both as the nominal owner of the land (player) and as the arbiter of the land claim (referee) (Lahiff 2002). This arrangement gave the state the impetus to push for the retention of the status of the conservation areas, thereby limiting the rights of the #Khomani. Dawid acknowledges that, whether willing or unwilling they had to settle for something lest they lose the opportunity. The arrangement reproduced the old order, which the new nation-state was arguably seeking to offset. The point of contention in the land claim therefore becomes a case of divergent worldviews. The CPA, government and other players view land as property while to the #Khomani it is a source of identity and belonging.

A Critical Analysis of the #Khomani Land Restitution Case

The South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) suggests the conflict between the traditionalists and the CPA is not a sign that they are resisting change; rather it is critical to understand the causality of change, that is, the influence of change-agents who are outsiders (2005:5). The traditionalists complain that they were consulted on few projects implemented by government through the CPA (Robins 2001, Sîsen crafters interviewed in June 2005). Furthermore, there was a serious lack of post-restitution support from the government, specifically the Department of Land Affairs (DLA), as well as NGOs (Holden 2007:5). However, "various role players are finally coming together in a constructive and co-operative manner in an attempt to resolve the crisis and ensure delivery and

development in a manner that respects people's fundamental human as well as constitutional rights" (Holden 2007:6). Despite the new development, a well co-ordinated effort from external NGOs is needed to achieve a capacity to handle the resultant challenges that is beyond that of the government (Holden 2007:10).

Following their land claim, the #Khomani led a life of absolute poverty and social upheaval, characterised by alcohol abuse, domestic violence and crime (Stubbs 2004:2). Substance abuse in the #Khomani community has led to child abuse, increased risk of HIV transmission, malnutrition and depression (Holden 1997:6). According to my interviewees the #Khomani were initially happy with the 50 percent land claim arrangement as it marked a return to their 'old ways' of life. However, a critical analysis of the land deal and the subsequent actions of the #Khomani depict that they did not comprehend its stipulations.

Winning their land back implied that the #Khomani would be able to retrace their old knowledge of traditional medicines and embrace their 'old traditional ways'. This was not wholly the case however; they are now required to hold a permit to carry their bows and arrows (Joint Management Board 2007). Following these developments, the #Khomani now argue that the CPA tricked them. Dawid suggests that he was persuaded to join the CPA with the understanding that he would represent 'his' people (the Kruipers); however, he then realized that the CPA was powerful enough to continue without him.¹⁰

A closer assessment of these regulations shows that the CPA did not take into consideration the claims made by the Kruipers that in the old days, they would not indiscriminately kill animals and destroy vegetation. The Kruipers add that during those days they would not wound just any animal, because it was taboo for them to shoot animals indiscriminately. The causing of veld fires was discouraged; children were taught the dangers of making a fire through 'superstitions' and taboos. This was also interpreted as disturbing nature, thereby angering the departed ones who own the land. The traditional #Khomani therefore hold that they should be allowed to carry their bows and arrows, as their traditional belief systems were always clear on the preservation of the environment¹¹ Similarly Edward Ross observes:

¹⁰ As a result of mismanagement by a number of successive CPA committees, control of the CPA's affairs was handed over to the Director General of Land Affairs after he obtained a court order against the CPA in 2002 (Holden 2007:6).

¹¹ According to Dawid, the rules of nature were taught to children, enabling them to become 'caring environmentalists.' Bows and arrows are part of their tradition and source

Those Bushmen who still live as hunter-gatherers may well be termed “the legitimate people” for they have the prime legitimacy; ecological legitimacy. If left free of outside influences, they can live indefinitely on the annual productivity of an environment without damaging or destroying its capital assets. (1976:23)

On the attainment of political independence in Namibia, the government convened a conference on land. Each delegation claimed rights to determine the future of the land question in Namibia, based on numbers, national influence or contribution to the independence struggle. Later in the debate, a ‘Bushman’ in the back of the hall raised his hand for the first time during the conference. As he walked to the podium some conference delegates chuckled in dismay as if suggesting that he had ‘no content’ and wondering who he is. The Bushman uttered the following words:

If there is anyone in this hall, in this country, who can speak about the painful experience of being driven from one's own land, in this land, I am he. My people were here long before you all came. This land is my people's land, but I say it now belongs to all of us. (Diescho 1997:73)

In view of this example, the *UNESCO Declaration* lobbies for the need to create an enabling environment for development as a way of achieving intellectual, emotional, moral and spiritual existence and economic growth (*Culturelink* 2002/2003:187). UNESCO has helped in conscientizing the ≠Khomani to understand their rights, hence their successful land claim. However, a decade after the claim, the traditional ≠Khomani continue to live in abject conditions, without full enjoyment of their human rights. According to the SAHRC the government failed to provide services and to support the community in the resettlement process (2005:1). The land claim is celebrated as a political tool and for the vision of parties concerned; but does not provide intrinsic value to the lives of the communities concerned. It sought to recognise this group of people as a unique group with a right to life and self-determination. The Commission further blames the government for its poor delivery of services and in respect of many rights that were central to the well-being of the ≠Khomani community (2005:2). Further, the post-settlement support mechanism from the Department of Land Affairs has been inadequate. The unavailability of key departments such as education and social services to relate to the

of life. It is taboo for anyone to kill an animal without due cause. Dawid believes that the CPA which forbids them to hunt is responsible for the destruction of their environment as they have turned hunting into a sport (interview, June 2005). It is interesting to note, however, that the Bushmen of old joined European hunters in the depletion of game in what was then known as South West Africa (see Gordon and Douglas 2002:49).

unique position of the San and their vulnerability, tend to exacerbate their situation (Tomaselli 2003a:25).

The delay and failure to appoint farm managers and the lack of essential services such as water, housing and sanitation, means that the community continues to live under harsh conditions (Kollapen 2005:2). Development was defined along the lines of economic growth, a typical feature of modernization theory. The central idea of the modernization perspective is that of evolution, implying that development is directional, cumulative, irreversible, and predetermined by the modernized urban centres (Servaes 1995:40). Modernized urban societies are touted as the epitome of the development that traditional societies must strive to attain. Using the modernization perspective, it is further observed that the ≠Khomani as a traditional community continue to be viewed by outsiders and government development agents as backward (Tomaselli 2003a:26; SAHRC 2005:4).

This view has also created an indelible psychological mark of a patron-client relationship, with stereotypes that wrongfully conclude that the San's dependence on wild foods and their scant material possessions are signs of misery and deprivation; thus leading to backwardness. The other stereotype is that they speak a strange explosive language and are perceived as having no form of leadership structure (Smith *et al* 2000:42). Silikat van Wyk confirmed that the ≠Khomani are aware of the negative views the outside world have of them, therefore when researchers come they tell them what they want to hear and let them go with their misconceptions (field notes, June 2005).¹² Outsiders are often ignorant about rural poverty but do not want to learn. This group of outsiders is a class that dwells on comforting beliefs; that rural deprivation is not so bad; that their prosperity is not based on it; that the poorer people are used to it, are lazy and improvident, and have brought it on themselves (Chambers 1983:4).

Modernity is associated with progress, development, 'the western' world, science and technology, high standards of living, rationality and order, while tradition is associated with stasis, stagnation, underdevelopment, poverty, superstition and disorder (Chambers 1983). Although the divisions and conflicts referred to above seemed to be shaped by these binary conceptual grids, everyday practices and experiences of the San do

¹² This is 'anthro-speak' in action; wherein indigenes offer a discourse "learned from a half century of visiting anthropologists, archaeologists, entomologists, and zoologists" (Tomaselli 2006:36). This stems possibly out of a jaded view of people who come in to a community, make promises, take information and then leave never to be seen or heard of again.

not fit the stereotypical description of 'backwardness'. The San now have hybridized conditions of everyday life, which include 'local' knowledge, practices and identities and access to the 'exogamous' life-style (Robins 2001:835). However, inasmuch as the San argue that their link with outsiders has transformed their lives negatively, they also acknowledge that this link with the outside world cannot be avoided (see Tomaselli 1999b). Given this, if provided with farm managers they would be able to integrate modernised knowledge systems and indigenous knowledge systems in their endeavour to conjure development.

One of the major difficulties the government is bound to face would be delivering services for a community that displays signs of deep fragmentation (Kollapen 2005:2). As mentioned above, these divisions are due to the criterion used by the CPA in determining eligibility in the land claim process: the move by the government to incorporate everyone under the '≠Khomani umbrella' angered the traditionalists who allege that they were not consulted. This created divisions among the ≠Khomani and has aggravated their hatred for the CPA. Dawid eventually resigned from the CPA citing the government's failure (through the CPA) to abide by their agreement, which stated that 50 percent of the land was for traditional use only (for game) and not for cattle rearing (Robins 2001). The CPA is portrayed as wielding more power than the people it is meant to represent.

The SAHRC (2005:4) suggests that the involvement of many external parties; consultants, non-governmental organisations and the media, perpetuated the divisions in the community. During the inquiry a complex set of challenges around relationships, cooperative governance, administrative action, capacity building and sustainable development issues were addressed. Several key issues emerged; the process of land claim and resettlement, government's role and the provision of services, policing, education, social welfare, internal community conflict and distorted relationships within the community and with other role players.

Local governing structures failed to provide for water, sanitation, waste management or development on the ≠Khomani land. The Commission (2005:4) states that a local development plan, which was the guiding principle in the provision of services, was submitted to the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights for approval on 17 September 2004; four years later. The document titled, "The ≠Khomani San settlement and development strategy"¹³ was supposed to have been presented prior to the signing

¹³ The document enunciated on the pre-land restitution developmental programmes the government was supposed to follow. The position of the SAHRC therefore points to a

of the land claim deal. There was also a lack of clarity regarding different levels of involvement and that of government departments. This led to a lack of coordination.

The low level of formal education was blamed on poor accessibility to schools as they are at a distance from the community (SAHRC 2005:5). Insufficient measures were taken to incorporate the unique needs and cultural background of the #Khomani into the schools, socially, structurally and within the curriculum. There is need, therefore, to integrate the #Khomani traditional way of life into the curriculum as a way of cultural revival and ensuring that children are not extirpated from their traditional background. Development that is divorced from the beneficiaries' cultural values, traditional belief systems and particularly religious values is bound to fail, as people tend to participate reluctantly.

Following problems encountered after the land claim, the SAHRC (2005:6) recommended that the local council of Mier should undertake to facilitate the implementation of the #Khomani San Settlement and Development project. It further encouraged the appointment of two external managers (a farm manager and general executive manager), with the Department of Land Affairs as overseer. These appointees were meant to assist the #Khomani community to manage their land, and to help them understand the rights and assets afforded the community in the wake of the claim. This was meant to ensure that all agreements that accompanied the claim process would be reconsidered in an effort to identify other pending and outstanding commitments and responsibilities of the different stakeholders. The problem with this approach, however, is its major attempt to sideline the San and continued perception of them as objects of development instead of participants in fashioning meaningful development (Gall 2001).

While the Mier Council is formally responsible for facilitating the implementation of the #Khomani San project, it has not taken on the task. Roger Chennells, SASI's lawyer, noted that the Council "is sadly lacking in capacity to do what it is required to do, let alone take on additional tasks" (personal communication, March 2010). Regarding the Department of Land Affairs as overseer of the two external managers, "[m]any approaches have been made to the Department to force them to do this. Currently, the San have a court case pending precisely to force the Department to take up

lapse on the government's part in effecting the recommendations alluded to in the document.

its responsibilities under the report” (Chennells, personal communication, March 2010).

On Implementation

Keyan kept on working; when he wasn't driving he was sitting at the back with his laptop, working on an article he was really enthusiastic about. He challenged us with discussion points and we tried to react while 'surfing' through the sands of Botswana and parts of South Africa. We had some dynamic discussions; divided in opinion. (Van der Oever 2007:14)

In order to implement the stipulations of the land deal, there is need for a development approach that is all-inclusive. This approach has to embrace the actor-oriented paradigm/participation model of development. By accepting such a model, this means that the emerging framework of multiplicity/another development can be included. Multiplicity as a framework calls for deep-seated and active participation of all development actors. It also stresses the importance of local communities' cultural identities as a way of factoring in indigenous knowledge systems in development programmes. This is a way of creating a synapse between modernization and indigenous knowledge systems with a broader aim of bringing about sustainable development for the ≠Khomani. Participation in this case is not a fringe benefit but a basic human right; it should therefore trickle-down to individual levels (Melkote and Steeves 2001:337; Ashcroft and Masilela 1989:12). Paulo Freire describes this move as enunciating on the right of people to individually and collectively speak their word (1983). He further states that: “This is not the privilege of some few men, but the right of every man. Consequently, no one can say a true word alone - nor can he say it for another, in a prescriptive act which robs others of their words” (1983:76).

The sharing of information, knowledge and trust requires participation as the cornerstone of any decision making process (Servaes 1995:158). This will reduce mechanistic thinking and promote diversity and pluralism, upholding the dignity of people from varied backgrounds. It will also reduce dependency by nudging locals to actively participate in development programmes. This actor-oriented form of development has to be articulated within the broader picture of the ≠Khomani traditional religion and in tandem with views regarding the psycho-spirituality of land. It is important to understand how meanings are made and re-articulated, shifted, reinterpreted and revised through divergent cultural discourses (Tomaselli 1996:80). Religion plays a significant role as the locus

for development actors to fashion the *modus operandi* in any development discourse. Cosmology explains the standard conception of land among the San (≠Khomani). The psycho-spiritual significance of land to the ≠Khomani therefore suggests that land, as the abode of ancestors is a gift from God, as is the water and air (Van Rensburg 1989). Belief systems in this case give impetus to demand capacity in the use of territory as a renewable resource.

The major challenge in this development endeavour is for the ≠Khomani to participate as active players, focused on future rewards. Participation as a move encourages reciprocity (Saugestad 2001:120). It also celebrates understanding the life-worlds of individual actors, as in the actor-oriented approach (Long 1992). Participation deals directly with power and its distribution in society (Servaes 1995:158). It also involves structural changes leading to the redistribution of power. Further, power in the development ambit is enhanced by an elucidation of communication strategies employed for all actors to understand the deeper meaning of development.

Communication policies are basically derivatives of the political, cultural and economic conditions and institutions under which they operate. They tend to legitimize the existing power relations in society, and therefore, they cannot be substantially changed unless there are fundamental structural changes in society that can alter these power relationships themselves. (Mowlana and Wilson 1987:143)

The structural changes referred to above include remodelling and rearticulating the CPA in an effort to nudge the feasibility of democratic participation of all players in development. Regarding the ≠Khomani land issue, however, it is worth noting that two major variables are missing in furthering cultural rights and meaningful development for this group. The first is communication, which is lacking, in enlightening various actors on the need for sustainable development. The second is participation. Grassroots access to communication for the purpose of promoting social justice and democracy cannot be ignored (Bessette 1995:121). When participation puts emphasis on the needs and views of individuals and various groups it subsequently becomes a key concept of development communication (1995:121).

If the case of the ≠Khomani is to be assessed using Freire's (1983) perspective of the fulfilment of material needs, it also follows that there will be need for lasting solutions to general situations of poverty and cultural subjugation. Focus should be on group dialogue; in this case the ≠Khomani community seeks to attend to the difficulties they face on their new farms

due to lack of consultation (Servaes 1995:161). Tina Witbooi, a member of the ̳Khomani added that lack of consultation on the part of government is affecting them, as the youth (interview, June 2005). The Sisen crafts-women further suggested that the CPA as a government created structure always impedes them from initiating development projects that are focused on the youth (interview, June 2005). This is seen as leading to idleness, which results in socially unacceptable behaviour.

One of the elders in the community, Isak Kruiper, similarly observed that the provision of land has since lost meaning due to lack of people-centred development projects. Like Dawid, he emphasised the psycho-spiritual significance of land to the San dating from what he termed “the good old days” (interview, June 2005). The San believe land to be the abode of the ancestors and thus the sand is imbued with healing powers, to the extent that when a member of the community fell sick they would add sand to water to drink and with which to bath. A sick person was also made to lie on the sand: “the rustling of the grass, the blowing of the wind and the singing of birds would rejuvenate one’s spirit and heal the ailing person” (Isak, interview, June 2005). Land, therefore, is the source of peace and life for the San. The meaning of development, however, has been lost to this community over the years of failed projects and limiting legislations.

Conclusion

Land as an important resource tends to have some religious inclinations that cannot be ignored if a comprehensive land reform programme is to be carried out. To the ̳Khomani, land is a precious gift from God, who is the “Supreme being” with the final say on its usage. Land is communally owned. They also believe that a supernatural thread, which intensifies communication and mutual relations, links nature and human beings through land. Restitution, however, is “not simply a question of land”; land alone – exclusive of skills development and access to resources – does not solve the problems of our past (Bennun 1996).

The next chapter offers an analysis of the operation of !Xaus, a lodge placed strategically in the middle of both the ̳Khomani and Mier owned lands. Together with a reception analysis of the Lodge’s promotional material, the chapter deals with issues of community partnerships with outside stakeholders and ultimately highlights the ways in which the long-term research has provided insight to improve and benefit communications between the communities and the lodge management.

CHAPTER TWELVE

THE !XAUS LODGE EXPERIENCE: MATTERS ARISING

Keyan G. Tomaselli

If you really want to get the spirit of this place rise and follow the fire' (Belinda Kruiper). "Fire is at the heart of the Kalahari" (O'Leary). "Fire is the life force" (Belinda) (in winter at least). The ≠Khomani staff needs to be supplied with this facilitating device around which social, work and cultural practices revolve. Fire cooking, meetings around the fire, fire as light, fire as social networking, fire as creating cohesion, cooperation and community, was a recurring motif in back stage talks. Fire facilitates people meeting, conversation, and networking. Fire is made on the sand, wind oxygenates the embers, cold brings people together around the fire. (Field notes, July 2007)

Marketing campaigns based on Bushmanness, with tours to rock-art sites and visits to cultural villages can be alienating for those subject to the gaze. They may have misgivings about the ways that their cultural heritage is being explained and marketed. This seems to be an issue primarily articulated by the traditional ≠Khomani, as the same attitudes are not found in Zulu cultural villages, though guides and managers may take on or express messianic cultural motivations in doing their jobs. "I have rediscovered my cultural heritage", we were told by a recent drama graduate with a strong feminist leaning in her guiding of tourists at Shakaland in 1999. Guiding, in this instance, thus becomes a way of reshaping received patriarchal gender relations, at least as far as the visitors are concerned. Heritage is presented at Shakaland, for example, in the conventional militarist way, but on two occasions during our research in the late 1990s strong womanist and feminist undertones characterized vigorous interchanges about gender roles between male and female guides and performers.

This chapter offers practical advice, especially for managers of cultural tourism ventures. Academics are often criticised by professionals for 'talking theory', and then we are criticised by academics for not 'talking theory'. Well, this chapter, practice-led as it may be, derives from much of the theory underpinning this book.

Contradictions between enterprises that need to be managed as businesses on the one hand, and marketing that plays up indigeneity on the other, misaligns the relationship between the sacred and the profane. Yet, where is the optimal meeting point between profit making and cultural, spiritual and indigenous sustainability? Cultural tourism ventures require local knowledge, but application of that knowledge often transgresses business practices or received ways of doing things. Where the indigenous prefer to cook over open fires, for example, managers might insist on the use of electrically-driven appliances in a kitchen under controlled hygienic conditions when cooking for guests is concerned. Such emphasis can be alienating for workers who have been employed on the basis of their culturally-derived ways of doing things.

Indigeneity is sometimes assumed by the owners of these ventures to be essentialistic, static and opaque. Such a framing leads to a lack of understanding on the part of some entrepreneurs of indigenous ontologies concerning how the indigene encounters and makes sense of modernity. This is especially so with regard to the nature of work and the indigene's complex relations with tourist and media gazes. Owners and cultural performers sometimes misunderstand the nature of Self-Other relationships which need to be contractually formalised, agreed upon and sensitively commoditized for mutual benefit in interaction between guests and performers.

"Praat is onse werk" ("talking is our profession") is the way one of Dawid Kruiper's personal assistant explained her job to us in April 2000. This comment came to mind when Deon complained that he was expected to multi-task for which "there is no earning". Van der Oever writes of her encounter with him:

The first time I had a conversation with Deon he couldn't stop talking and spoke in a monotone, for me a quite egocentric way. So I wasn't that keen on listening to his monotone monologues. But that morning we just walked into each other and he directly started complaining about his position in the Lodge, saying 'The management has not given me a clear job description'. Apparently he had to do a lot of things they didn't communicate before, like carrying furniture and doing other odd jobs. (Van der Oever 2007:8)

For him, 'work' means 'being himself', doing what he does normally, sitting around the social fire making crafts, creating his own time, place and space. He might undertake other necessary mundane tasks once his 'soul' work has been done. The idea that talking is work is indicative of how academics and the media have positioned the traditional ≠Khomani in relations of intellectual production. The Kruipers, and now (to a lesser

extent) the Platfontein !Xun and Khwe groups, have internalized this role and assume that any and all encounters, no matter how casual, should have exchange value. The exchange, however, does not extend to researchers' reciprocal talk or research having a value. Researchers sometimes find themselves criticized by ≠Khomani, !Xun and Khwe individuals for allegedly 'taking knowledge' from them without paying adequate (monetary) dues. This abiding sense of grievance forgets that information offered/sold at the level of the encounter needs to be made intelligible at a deeper second level of analysis, which is the task conducted by the academic.¹ Corné Witbooi, a young ≠Khomani man, when invited by Mick Francis to act as an interpreter for him to conduct interviews at Welkom (July 2008) claimed that his "words have value". He lost interest when it was indicated that Francis did not want his words but those of others in translation. In the 30 months that Francis lived and worked at Kamberg in KwaZulu-Natal not once did his Zulu hosts require payment; indeed they declined to charge him rent for the hut assigned him as they understood the broader value of research to them in terms of profiling an identity (see Francis 2007). They did not commoditize interactions or place a monetary value on words.

Zulu cultural performers at established tourist sites offer highly structured experiences, where tourists are led through a preset programme based on prior schedules linked to tourist mobility, arrival and departures of tourist buses, and a few walk-ins. This level of structure is not a feature of Bushmen ventures, which tend to be smaller, mainly observational in nature, and informal. There is no 'script', just people doing what they normally do: craft-making, tending the fire, sitting individually or in groups largely unresponsive to the tourist gaze, responding when asked a question. Interaction with visitors could thus be seen to be an interruption of primary tasks. Furthermore, interpretation from Afrikaans is usually required for non-South Africans which adds another barrier to direct communication (see Chapter 11). The behaviour of the cultural performer – it should be remembered – impacts on the experience of the tourist; the "attitudes of people [both hosts and guests] are important in determining the level of success the industry enjoys" (Dunn and Dunn 2002: xvii). One of the benefits of our work for the Northern Cape provincial government

¹ At the third level this becomes Inquiry, analysis of that which could be in the future-and which has development, policy and growth implications. This requires work on the part of the academic, and so a partnership exists in the interchange. The outcome is Knowledge, in the form of abstractions, explanations and theories. Such knowledge must necessarily be of a public nature, available for the good of the nation as a whole.

is that our interactions also raise amongst the locals the need for “tourism awareness”.

A further issue with cultural performers and local workers in small-scale #Khomani ventures is that – unlike their Zulu counterparts who have a strong work ethic, who are resilient, and who don’t easily take offence – the #Khomani seem to require more than merely being treated as employees. “Dignity” is a word that recurs often amongst the #Khomani. When feelings of dignity are impaired a-literate staff tends to simply walk off the job – formal grievance and conflict-resolution procedures are not enacted. This is the subject of the film, *Indaba Ye Grievance* (1984), and though it is 25 years on, similar considerations seem to still apply. Issues of dignity are ever-present where employees who have grown up in appalling economic, social, and domestic conditions are concerned (Godsell *et al.* 1985). They seem to have less capacity to deal with indignities in the work place than do others whose home circumstances are more stable. Where Zulu performers are quite happy to impart ‘knowledge’ to guests about their culture and customs, the #Khomani are seriously reticent in this regard. The Zulu make a distinction between work and self; the #Khomani take a kind of totemist view which integrates being, doing and objects. A further issue is the resentment at being positioned in terms of the discourse of primitivity, as ‘animals’, and allegedly presented as such by some cultural ventures which insist on Bushmen wearing skins on even cold winter days. Dawid identifies himself as a creature of nature, but not all the #Khomani agree with this characterization; this relates to popular assumptions about how the San encounter modernity.

Disagreement on the nature of ‘work’ (or performance) can result in mistrust, especially on the part of a-literate employees whose understanding of this activity may not correspond with the assumptions of their employers. This sometimes also relates to (a lack of) employment contracts, or understanding thereof, of methods of payment, and a depreciation of the protestant work ethic. The exact nature of the job needs to be explained along with the expectations on the part of each sector. Temporary sojourning found in a #Khomani tendency to nomadism (between different ventures – both formal and informal – in dispersed locations) lessens performer dependence on, and commitment to, the formal job market (see Chapter 10). This results in expectations that they as employees can come and go at will (making such individuals often unemployable). How does one build and reward employee initiative?

Belinda was perceived by the #Khomani staff at !Xaus as the link between staff and management. Breaks in the continuity of her presence

at the Lodge were of concern as performers had expected suitable interventions at appropriate times when specific matters needed resolution. Was Belinda expected by management to fulfil this mediating role? What staff-management structures are necessary to ensure continuity of communication? Who should be the staff representative? Would there be one from each owner-community? Understandably, there are difficulties in writing job descriptions for self-styled 'spiritual managers' (such as Belinda). This is a role of the overseer, the cultural intermediary, the human resources officer, the psychologist and the healer, the minister of religion. Terms like 'healing' and 'from the heart' are recurring refrains amongst the ≠Khomani who require a flexibility on the part of management,² book keepers and auditors, which is rare in business environments.

A concern is in the unrealistic expectations of each other on the part of both employer and performer, especially where the former/CEO is largely absent from the actual site of employment. Indigenous employees like the Zulu and ≠Khomani seem to value close relations with those owners and managers with whom they have affinity and empathy. Management at a distance is alienating. Many of the individuals employed at Khutse Lodge³ who we interviewed in 2005 pointed out that the communities in which they live have grown to resent their individual success. They wanted all the payments to be equally divided among all family members despite them not performing any duties to earn the income. Eventually, the unemployed would scorn those employed at the lodge, resulting in intra and inter-family disputes. In drastic cases the employed individual would withdraw from working at the lodge. This is not an unusual experience. Managers of cultural tourism ventures need to take note of these occurrences; our recommendations are that:

- Life skills workshops be conducted which assure employees that, apart from their family obligations, what they earn is theirs. They should not be made to feel guilty because they are earning an income.

² 'Healing' in post-apartheid political discourse has, regrettably, become a means of discursive leverage to suppress the dialectic, mute critique and to ensure politically preferred meanings and outcomes. The discourse cannot be easily contested. Those who speak it thus empower their essentialist discourses over analytical ones which seek to examine alternatives, implications and consequences.

³ "This luxury lodge is situated at the eastern gate of the Khutse Game Reserve, just a three hour drive, 220 kilometres north-west from Gabarone, and is the final frontier before one enters the renowned Central Kalahari Desert and Central Kalahari Game Reserve" (<http://www.khutsekalaharilodge.com>).

- Employees be informed of the mechanisms via which the respective lodges' occupancy and success will benefit the indigenous communities involved.
- Employees be educated on how to manage money: an inability by the indigenous to manage income has resulted in total dependence on handouts by NGOs, tourists and visitors of all kinds. Moreover, regarding the ≠Khomani, since immediate payment is expected for immediate work craftspeople prefer to sell on the roadside rather than to offer goods on consignment to the Sisen Shop or the !Xaus gallery, which sold R10 000 of local crafts and six of Belinda's books to a US tourist group in its first two days of opening.

The Kruipers at Witdraai want "*erkenning*" (acknowledgement) – Dawid complained to me that Sisen had not given him *erkenning* (in other words they had not paid their dues!). By this I assume they want to tax anyone and everyone who talks to them, takes a photograph, or who uses 'Bushman' iconography. Money is at the root here. Dawid imagines that he owns everything he deems 'authentic'. Dr. Brendon Nicholl's, a lecturer in African Literatures and Cultures from the University of Leeds, notes that there is a contradiction between the authentic as a form of absolute property and a Western idea of markets needing to be exploitable. There is the dynamic of absolute property versus exploitable markets (personal communication, November 2010). Isak and Corn  imagine that the information they impart automatically has exploitation value which will exclude them from the resulting value chain. The Hoodia plant patented by the Counsel for Scientific and Industrial Research (CSIR) with a European pharmaceutical company as an appetite suppressant is a clear example of bio piracy, one that was resolved after the intervention of SASI's lawyers (see Wynberg *et al.* 2009; Mukumbira 2006).⁴ The performers need to know that their communal interests are protected by SASI and that responding to tourists' questions is not likely to result in a rush to pirating, franchising or merchandising. Such knowledge is usually already known to researchers; the problem is due to third parties who trademark this knowledge, exploiting both the indigenous communities as well as the researchers who may write about the information they have learned. There is a sense of exploitation on the parts of both honest employers and

⁴ The makers of the documentary *Bushman's Secret* (2006) did not believe that WIMSA challenged the patent enough. It was felt that they could have fought for more remuneration for the San. To this WIMSA replied that they were happy with what they got, adding that the San were not greedy for more.

employees. This results in breakdowns of what could otherwise have developed into mutually beneficial medium-to-long term employment relationships. Opportunities offered are often opportunities squandered – e.g. only Vetkat Kruiper was able to leverage (and deliver on) the national exhibitions and associated sales organised by the research team of his art work. Few others were prepared for the effort involved, and in failing to leverage the opportunity, again complained of exploitation.

Allegedly exploitative entrepreneurs (and researchers) who habitually tend to disappear with ‘millions’ made off the backs of ≠Khomani cultural workers now have the status of myth. Myths always encode a kernel of truth, however, and the origin of this notion of all-round exploitation of Bushmen began with the early experience of the Kruipers as cultural performers. Put more bluntly, income generated by Bushmen presentations of primitivity is stolen by the agents of modernity (see Gordon 1995 for a more detailed discussion of the history of this kind of exploitation). Yet more prominent is the corruption within development micro-enterprises where the beneficiaries steal sometimes huge amounts of development aid, thus sinking entire projects, peoples’ and community’s income. Having wrecked the goose that lays the golden egg, the perpetrators and their victim peers simply blame someone else and look for other resources that are ready-to-hand.

Another way that these communities wreck their own development projects is in inappropriate personal behaviour on the part of indigenous cultural workers who feel alienated from structured environments and who then often engage in passive resistance (e.g., drunkenness, work stoppages, theft, desertion, harassment of tourists, feigned incompetence, divisiveness, subversion etc.). Most of the time the ≠Khomani performers are at peace with themselves and relate well to visitors. At other times they are morose and their behaviour ill-considered. Sometimes this behaviour is not the cause of alcohol and drug abuse but rather that of miscommunications and differing paradigms.⁵ Inevitable perceptions of slights on dignity and self-respect occur when previously unemployed individuals work

⁵ Differing paradigms cause further differences of understanding between managers and cultural workers on what constitutes a ‘cultural experience’. An example was the suggestion that guest chalets not be equipped with gas heaters even on bitterly cold nights and that hot water bottles be provided instead. One tourist said he would not like to visit in summer because of the heat, and that air conditioners would be necessary. Belinda responded that she could provide natural techniques for cooling, but added that it took her two years to acclimatize! If the Lodge is aiming at an upper income niche market where stays are but a night or two, this back-to-earth approach would be alienating for the tourist.

in regulated and structured service environments where formal measurable procedures and audits predominate over informal, culturally-specific, economically inefficient, time-consuming ways of doing things.

'Primitivity', however, also offers something to sell, as did the traditionally dressed craftsman at Witdraai wearing his 'Speedo' loincloth and explaining how paint is made from blood and other natural elements. (Interestingly this technique is found amongst rock artists of the mountains, not of the desert.) The students were initially taken by this impressive description until Mick told them he must have learned it from a SASI workshop. The question then becomes; who is promoting the political economy of primitivism? Is it SASI by providing resources for the ≠Khomani to retain signs of 'Bushmanness' as saleable images, and/or is it the ≠Khomani themselves, who do not wish to jettison the sign (symbol) and who thereby maximize their chances in the formal economy?

*The Kruiper Currency*⁶

At the time we were leaving, Willem pushed Christa (his young daughter who I had spent time playing with) as if she had failed to do something. Putting myself in their position – thinking of what it would feel like to try and make money in this dry land – and if rich people come along, join me, talk and laugh and then leave in a few hours, I would also want to get something out of it. So I don't know if we really left as friends, but I have certainly met some interesting people. (Van der Oever 2007:5)

An abiding culture of entitlement dominates Kalahari communities. There is a commodification of even casual roadside conversations by those at Witdraai, and a sense that any interaction with visitors possesses a value that must be paid for. The concept of reciprocity seems to be largely absent; resulting in a tendency to cede what agency is held in exchange for immediate cash (convertible to alcohol) and then to present themselves as victims of alienating processes beyond their control. "Shoot an eland if the Lodge's kitchen is not feeding staff properly, and explain to the Park authorities that the animals and Park belong to the ≠Khomani". This provocation by Belinda (personal communication, July 2007) suggests that the ≠Khomani have a right to the state's resources irrespective of rules, regulations and contractual agreements. What Belinda is suggesting here is that ≠Khomani individuals exert agency, and empower her to deal with the

⁶ On the July 2007 field trip Dyll referred to the branding of the Kruiper name as 'the Kruiper currency'.

legal consequences, implicating the Lodge in this act of repossession, reclamation of rights, and reparations.

In the 'Kruiper currency' names become brands with a value. In 2007, at Witdraai, Lauren Dyll commented that two Kruiper brothers presented themselves almost in James Bond vein, "The name's Kruiper, Pieng Kruiper!" Unlike Bond, these men stretched out their arms not in handshakes but as open-hands expecting payment for announcing themselves to the students. Pieng also wanted to show Chris Logie a scar on his leg, in expectation of payment. Pitat told Colin a story about the hyena and the tortoise, and then asked for R100 in payment. Corn  Witbooi (as mentioned earlier) claimed a Kruiper kinship and wanted a rate per word when approached by Mick to undertake some interpreting.

Some children in a small village chased two horses away at Estkeensfontein when Johan van Schalkwyk was photographing them, shouting that it costs to photograph horses (January 2010, personal communication). Good-natured Johan used the situation to befriend the *klip-gooiers* (stone throwers) and teach them about the importance of tourism for their town. They were quite taken by the idea that they could earn money for being kind to visitors. Encouraged by this they asked Johan if he would be interested in purchasing stone crystals that they had found in the veld. He bought their crystals all the while continuing to expound on the importance of tourism for local development. He also managed to extract a promise from them that they would welcome rather than attack visitors.

The money Johan paid for the crystal was later confiscated by the big sister of one of the boys. So much for the rewards of entrepreneurial education! The boys came back to tell us what had happened. We learned that they had found the crystals in the veld and had stored them at the home of their leader. The sister, it seems, assumed that the money was hers because the crystals were stored in her family's house. The boys' initiative as well as Johan's lesson was quelled and literally rendered bankrupt by a single person's notion of entitlement.

The sense of entitlement in these communities has resulted in an economy of organised begging in the face of significant infrastructural investment and development (this practice is evident primarily in the Northern Cape; it is not replicated by San in Namibia or Botswana). In this kind of environment social resources have meaning only at the level of the personal, in terms of immediate consumption: "I talked to your students this morning, they used my fire. Put R50 into my bank account." The extravagant prices that the students were charged for crafts purchased (their

attempt at reciprocation) are conveniently forgotten as the discourse of the victim reappears after the proceeds have been immediately spent.

Part of the “currency” relates to the taking of photographs. The Khutse Lodge management, for example, stressed “You have to ask permission from the guide. Every time we do the walk ... but each time we have guests, before they take a picture, we get a translator to [ask] please if it is okay for them to take a picture” (Moodley *et al.* 2005). Tourists and ‘taking photos’ are synonymous; tourist photos re-circulate and recall happy memories of out-of-the-ordinary experiences, and are part of what is being purchased in any tourist venue. They increase the value of the experience and promote the destination by word-of-mouth and via family and friendship networks. Tourist photographs, therefore, work on behalf of those who claim to be exploited by them. Khutse claimed that if permission to take the photograph is not granted then it is blatant exploitation. A common misnomer is that tourists utilize pictures for their own commercial purposes, for instance, to make postcards to sell. The recent proliferation of social networking sites, however, adds to this debate as copies can now be mass replicated without any barriers. This restriction might be relevant at !Xaus, where guides deem particular situations to contain sacred content. Perhaps the situation could be resolved in the following ways:

- Photography should be permitted where organised, paid-for tours are concerned: tourists should be allowed to take photographs and video as part of the service they have paid for – without negotiation (such as at Zulu cultural villages);
- Guides and staff should be assured that commercial photographers and video makers will be required to pay a performance fee to individuals concerned; and
- Lodge management will attempt to represent their staff’s best interests at all times in facilitating these relations with the different categories of visitors. The same conditions would apply where other kinds of information are considered to be pertinent.

All of the above factors were at play in the weeks leading up to the launch of !Xaus in July 2007 (and during our two night visit in July 2008), but much less so in July 2009. In compiling the above, I remembered a set of draft protocols issued by The Ancient Knowledge Initiative⁷ (TAKI), based

⁷ TAKI was created by a research anthropologist, Frans Prins, and the creator of The San Shelter, Isolde Mellett. It is a Nedbank funded project “dedicated to safeguarding the ancient cultural history, traditions, legends, dances, and ethno-botanical and artistic knowledge of South Africa’s indigenous people” (www.nedbank.co.za).

in KwaZulu-Natal. The framing of the protocols is different to our own approach, as it is in terms of giving the Tende Community “their ‘living culture’ back” and in terms of the strong belief by the Zulu in the day-to-day role of the ancestors. The suggestions made below are offered at a much more general level, but they have some purchase to the task facing !Xaus and other lodges offering cultural tourism experiences.

The Initiative’s protocols state that (personal communication, October 2002):

- The community has the power to halt or slow any aspect of our work until they have had “ancestral” input.
- We treat the ancestors as part of all negotiations.
- We ask them to incorporate ancestors through ancestral dreams, which guide us and them in the next step of empowerment for the community.
- The positive spin-off here is that it identifies only with the community we work with, and all the information collected goes back to the community in printed form, with the person who has had a part in collecting the living or oral history, identified by name, thus ensuring, that the people will correct each other, before the story etc. reaches us. This will also, we hope, reward financially, and prevent “chancers” from surfacing. This can be applied to stories attached to sacred sites, initiation rites, hot or cold paintings, mixing of specific medicines, especially for uses during ceremonial rites. At any time the people are able to say “No”, and it then curtails the “outsider” to only what will be furthering and strengthening the roots and the positive image of the community; nobody is able, or will be given to “demanding the sole”.
- Tourists are not seen as supplying endless bags of money, but as people, who “want to be educated to our special way”.
- Tourist-visitors are not an audience, and the aspects of culture are not eroded, but enhanced as they are now able to learn, through our assistance, aspects that were restricted or forgotten in certain circles.
- The most important issue here is that the cultural truth, as it is seen by that community, must be respected and upheld.

Dr. Brendon Nicholls observes that this is supremely useful in terms of protocols and right relations with communities. The idea of the ancestors as brakes on process is a real innovation. If the ancestor is part of the negotiations, then he/she becomes a vehicle through whom intuition or

discomfort may be given an authoritative voice. In this sense, the ancestor is like an unconscious early warning system against possible exploitation or damage, while keeping the long histories and traditions of these communities alive in a changing present (personal communication, November 2010).

The following are some of the issues the Initiative asked the communities “to dream on, and discuss with their elders”, so that it can “work with and collect their culture from them” (personal communication, October 2002):

- Record all available history of the San in and around this area to the present date.
- Document all medicine plants and distribution of same.
- Document uses of all plants, and preparation of same: i.e. Medicinal, spiritual or commercial, food, weapons, and implements.
- Encourage the old ways of grinding the paints, and training of artists in mixing and painting, hoping to create awareness, as well as curios, which would bring an income into the community.
- Mapping and finding of cave sites presently unknown.
- Recording of ancestral dreams; what do the ancestors want the community to do?
- How do the ancestors see the power to be given back to the sacred sites?
- What ceremonies do the ancestors want to be undertaken?
- Document all oral history relating to songs, stories, celebrations, i.e. birth, weddings, and deaths.
- Document sacred ceremonies, i.e. rainmaking, hail protection, interaction with the water people, initiations.
- Document sacred sites and map them for protection.
- Identify the importance of painting through dreams; which paintings are so sacred, that they should not be reproduced in photographs or curios.
- How can we involve visitors – other San in the communities and so establish cultural pride, thereby enabling them to gain financially: i.e. through the offering of rural accommodation, traditional food and stories around campfires at night?

All the people involved in the projects are drawn from and appointed by the community, once the elders have been consulted and have given their approval. All information is returned to the community within a set time frame. This protocol makes all kinds of assumptions about indigeneity and

authenticity with assumes a Jungian psychology as pre-eminent, and essentialism as a Truth. These assumptions are similar to those held by Belinda in regard to !Xaus.

Tourists and Technical Difficulties

The interaction with the tourists in the cars didn't really develop well; most tourists travel in their 4x4s and when something authentic comes into sight, they stop the car and take pictures or movies from the window of their car. After this, quite a few tourists move on without waving, saying or paying anything! It doesn't contribute to multi-cultural, fruitful exchange. (Van der Oever 2007:4)

Restricting the community's access to the lodge created another void between the lodge management and the community. The community called Lambrechts a racist and had become afraid of him. Slowly, with his involvement in various community projects the community/lodge relations have improved.⁸ The Sîsen Craft project has been moved to a shop within the gates of the lodge – this was build specifically for Sîsen and no rent is charged. The lodge gets no remuneration whatsoever from Sîsen for the use of the building. Lambrechts' success with this community comes from his experiences with them and from understanding their point of view – he says that they are “Gat vol for all the promises” and then they think there that is “nothing left, so let me go buy a drink”. They also see the “big gap between themselves and the guests” at the lodge, the difference, he says “from South pole to North pole”. It is this, the empty promises and failed projects that have left them dejected and turned to alcohol.

Further regarding ‘tourists and technicalities’, my brief interactions with nine guests on the first night of !Xaus Lodge's opening, just after their arrival, revealed the following:

- Elderly travellers found the international schedule difficult. “Two days is actually one,” I was told by a guest from Oregon. “The second day disappears in travelling, passport, customs and other formalities. Three days at one site is preferable, two is too little.” While these guests appreciated the game drive from the landing strip, many asked if there was a shorter

⁸ Lambrechts has bought ostriches and breeds them – 50% of the hatchlings goes to the community. He has also provided Witdraai with water via an electronic water system that he had set up on the farm at no cost to the community. The lodge together with community members has a clean-up project that runs once a month – they go around the area picking up rubbish and bagging it.

return route. They were particularly concerned with 'checking out' as the hassle of transfers back to the plane and more official formalities on arrival at Johannesburg airport, were preying on their minds even just a few minutes after their arrival.

- Guests spontaneously talked about the magnificence of the lodges into which they had been booked. But they had had little time to actually enjoy these as the days were packed with arrivals, departures, activities, tours, etc. Just sitting on the deck, ordering the odd coffee, and taking in the environment, was suggested as productive 'down time'. Catching one's breath is what is meant here. Perhaps !Xaus could offer such a recuperative environment if guests stayed for three days or more? This would link to its claim to being 'a spiritual experience'.
- One guest mentioned that at other lodges they had met the locals/staff, and that interfacing with the indigenous employees around the boma adds value to the experience of both visitors and guests.
- One guest had wanted to meet Vetkat, and was really disappointed at his death.
- One guest whose family had travelled previously to Africa commented on his experience of unfettered space, more significant than even in Texas or Wyoming.

Conversations with the guests that we met in July 2008 confirmed the category of the self-reflective tourist. This person evaluates his/her own national experience in terms of their encounters with the Other. Guests at the lodge spontaneously discussed their interpretations of their encounters with the ≠Khomani in terms of the history of dispossession of Australian Aboriginals. They disagreed with each other over who was made fun of in the *Gods* movies and learned that some of the performers they had met had acted in it. They thought deeply about their encounter with the Bushmen, to the extent that some echoes of salvage anthropology⁹ came to mind. They did not mind that the Bushmen were reluctant to impart some 'knowledge', and raised the issue of Aboriginals and photographs as a similar example of a cultural restriction. They were of the opinion that tourists like them, with an interest in people and cultures, would best benefit from the !Xaus experience, especially in the context of a lack of big game in the vicinity.

⁹ Salvage anthropology involves the collection of artifacts and remains of 'primitive cultures' who were thought to be dying out (see Cole 1995 for more).

This particular group of tourists wanted more involvement than merely watching people do what they normally do. They were seriously disappointed when they realized that Afrikaans was the lingua franca. While this group took a critical view of the Australian situation, they did see Aboriginal cultural villages as a mechanism for cultural preservation; as providing these indigenous groups with a kind of autonomy which should never have been taken away in the first place. The Australians in the group told us that the cultural villages in Australia were much more sophisticated in servicing visitor needs via a structured learning environment (as one might find in a Zulu venture). These visitors did, however, value the remoteness of !Xaus as well as the fact that this was complimented by top class hospitality and dates which suited them. They found the Lodge on the SANParks website, the best they had every accessed, and when typing their visiting dates !Xaus had come up amongst a few other names. These folks as well as the two Zimbabwean guests who had previously worked in different safari lodges had had a very keen appreciation of !Xaus.

A Swiss tourist (a pharmacist) had visited Intu Africa¹⁰ ten years previously and found it a rewarding experience and was looking forward to the !Xaus experience. He was unaware that the project (Intu Africa) had been subjected to merciless criticism from academics which considered it a human zoo. The observational nature of many Bushman villages may be one of the factors which attract such criticism from academics and journalists in comparison to the more structured 'teaching' environments offered by the Zulu villages in KZN. The Zulu performers take pride in promoting their Zuluness and associated customs, while the Bushmen come across much more passively, and rarely initiate conversation with visitors. He knew something about the ownership of the Lodge and asked if it has been established to bring different people together, using Switzerland's social divisions as an example. He could not otherwise grasp the objective of the Lodge until told of its development purpose. His stay was recommended by a travel agent he and his family had used in Cape Town. Like the Australians he used his home country experience as a comparison for what he anticipated might be the objective of the lodge – to forge intercultural relations.

¹⁰ Intu Africa Kalahari Game Lodge is a Namibian lodge. More info can be accessed at <http://www.namibweb.com/intuafrica.html>.

Conclusion

Complex contradictions that are not binary but multiple, involving a variety of shifting racial, political and capital alliances (previously hostile 'white' power, linked to hostile 'black' power) are in contestation over the recapitalization of the San. Regarding cultural tourism ventures like !Xaus and other such lodges, however, it would not be unimaginable to say that corporate research, in particular marketing research, can be meshed with a more humanitarian outlook, one that aids not only the monetary aims of the corporation/client/researcher but also takes into account the lives of those related to that research that addresses community-based challenges.

I support George Gerbner's long ignored call for disciplines to "address the terms of discourse and the structure of knowledge and power in its domain and thus to *make its contribution to human and social development*. Those who search and struggle toward that end are critical scholars in the best and basic sense of the word" (Gerbner 1983:362). Furthermore, we hope that methods we at CCMS have developed will lead to further debate in the South African communication studies community about how to produce more beneficial knowledge for non-corporate stakeholders through the conduction of more contextualised Southern-Participant action-driven research.

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

PUBLIC-PRIVATE-COMMUNITY PARTNERSHIP MODEL FOR PARTICIPATORY LODGE (TOURISM) DEVELOPMENT

Lauren Dyll-Myklebust

Few chapters in this book follow the conventional 'scientific format'. In synthesizing the different and seemingly incompatible approaches used by different authors, this chapter draws the connections between the different research paradigms reflected in this volume – autoethnography, self-reflexivity and conventional approaches. As Finlay and I argued in Chapter 9, useful social research also needs to be nuanced, textured and respectful of our subjects/hosts (as is indicated in Chapter 12). How do we mesh our often alienating assumptions and paradigms required by development agencies and national policy with the assumptions, local experience and cultures of those we claim to be benefiting? Success or failure rests upon resolving the contradictions that often arise in doing the research.

Schematic models provide structures that aid discussion. They provide explanatory and predictive frameworks (cf. Anderson *et al.* 2005; Keeves 1997). Already tested practice needs to be modified according to situational context. Even then, outcomes cannot be entirely predicted. Operational, structural and cultural restraints are involved, and their combined effects are difficult to estimate (Hottola 2009b: 185).

The Public-Private-Community Partnership (PPCP) model presented in this chapter has been generated through observation of the development, implementation and evaluation of the !Xaus Lodge / Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD) model. The model incorporates principles of participatory development communication, including the need for dialogue, particularly where there *may* be differences between partners in ontology (indigenous vs. Cartesian) and rationality (sacred and profane).¹

¹ Not all PPCPS are characterized by differences in ontology, rationality and epistemology between partners. This model takes the types of negotiations that will need to happen into account in the likelihood that these differences may be present.

Although developing communities are increasingly recognised as stakeholders by corporations, the challenge is to build a sustainable partnership with such communities (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse 2010: 389). The solution presented here extends the Communication for Participatory Development model (CFPD) (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009) in relation to PPCPs in lodge development.

The TFPD Model: For-Profit Philanthropy

TFPD's success is evident in its replicability in numerous PPCPs: !Xaus Lodge, Machampane Wilderness Camp (Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park)², Covane Fishing and Safari Lodge (Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area)³ and Witsieshoek Mountain Lodge (Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation Area).⁴

TFPD aligns its management and marketing of community-owned lodges within "for-profit philanthropy", a branch of the wider concept of social business (Yunus 2007). A social business pursues a blended purpose: serving a living mission and earning profit (Kelly 2009; see also Bylund and Mondelli 2007). The entrepreneur manages the business in such a way that the social output is maximized while costs are kept below revenues (Bylund and Mondelli, 2007:23).

TFPD disassociates itself from the pro-poor tourism (PPT) approach (see Ashley *et al.* 2001a) maintaining that PPT implies a negative connotation as tourists are encouraged to visit a lodge simply because the community that owns it is assumed to be poor. TFPD terms this "ag shame tourism", and instead aim to attract tourism by offering world-class operations and a high quality experience on par with comparative commercial lodges (O'Leary, e-mail, 12 May 2011). Emphasis is thus placed on the economic value of the lodge which "lies in ethical business principles that generate a steady and growing income for the community owners and the area" (TFPD, 2010: 1). TFPD develops economically viable destinations rather than "cultural survival initiatives" as the ill-fated Kagga Kamma claimed was its purpose (White 1995: 50). Nor does TFPD depend on the "exotic spectacle" to attract tourists as did Ostri-San (see Bregin 2001).

'Doing business differently' entails integrating pro-poor procedures into everyday business practice. This is evident, for example, in the way that !Xaus has boosted the local economy by supporting local

² See www.dolimpopo.com.

³ See www.covanelodge.com.

⁴ See www.witsieshoek.co.za.

entrepreneurs and crafters in purchasing their goods to decorate the lodge, opening new markets for their goods, spending operational funds in the Gordonia area, and leveraging supplier support from marketing operations. The advantages of adapting business operations lie in the potential scale and durability of local impact. In terms of PPT, a decision to hire poor people or include local entrepreneurs can exert significant local economic impact that multiplies over time (Ashley and Haysom, 2006: 269). TFPD's multiplier effects are evident in the following:

- Multipliers and spin-offs (e.g. educational bursaries for schools in the Northern Cape, creating new markets for local entrepreneurs);
- Brand development (e.g. through the use of marketing and mobilising social media, winning awards like the Imvelo Award); and
- Greater recognition from others, and hence impact on social license, market appeal, government relations, finance etc. (e.g. !Xaus gaining accreditation in Fair Trade in Tourism Southern Africa (FTTSA) (Ashley and Haysom 2006:270).

These links between PPT's business-oriented objectives (see Ashley and Haysom 2006), and !Xaus Lodge's operations affirms that perhaps the difference between them is small. Doing business differently also entails the practical or 'lodge-ical thinking' evidenced by TFPD in addressing the design shortfalls and environmental challenges initially encountered in bringing the lodge on-stream (see Dyll-Myklebust 2011: Chapter Four). O'Leary's explanation of SANPark's lack of logical supervision in overseeing the construction of the lodge illustrates this:

When the architect did the design of the walkway, in the opinion of the contractor he left out a centre additional support beam. For 1.5 metres you need to have two centre support beams. So then they just decided that they didn't have enough money to make it ... to put in an extra support beam. So what they did is reduced the width down to 1.2 metres ... Now if you are walking like this and you're carrying suitcases and someone's coming from the other direction what do you do? Must someone stop and stand on top of their suitcases while the other person passes? (O'Leary personal communication, 26 Jan 2007)

Table 1 summarises the 'lodge-ical thinking' of the TFPD approach moving from identifying destinations that have tourism potential to creating a high class and competitive tourism operation that also seeks to empower the community partners.⁵

⁵ Information adapted from O'Leary's (2011) presentation "Partnering with Communities to make a difference".

Table 1. TFPD's business-led model and 'lodge-ical' thinking.

What TFPD started with ➡	Objectives ➡	What TFPD (in partnership) achieved ➡	Business model
Inadequate infrastructure Poor operational standards Lack of operating capital No service (e.g. service road, water)	Assist communities revitalise underperforming tourism assets	Operational stability: • managing distance • harsh climatic impacts • service standards	For-profit philanthropy The project must be profitable to sustain growth
Lack of uniform approach as to the type of tourism product	Re-brand and market tourism destinations	Product awareness: • trade/industry • consumer/tourist	Development of a brand
Lack of defined success criteria	Set up professional operations	Success measured in accreditations and awards: • Fair Trade in Tourism SA • 2010 Imvelo Award for Best Impact • Green	Successful outcomes are measured in: • financial terms • non-financial terms (build social skills, capital, trust and capacity, and gain accreditation)
Community had taken over without skills and industry resources	Provide initial and on-going management, training and development	Staff development: • skills training • practice promotion-from-within	Marginalised people join the industry and modern economy
Community mistrust of feasibility of lodge to improve	Generate revenue for the community	TFPD leverages grant or donor capital for infrastructure	The land investor (the community)

(Continued)

Table 1 (Cont.)

What TFPD started with ➡	Objectives ➡	What TFPD (in partnership) ➡ achieved	Business model
lifestyle (development fatigue)	from the first day	<p>development and operations until break even. Direct and long-term community financial benefit is:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • lodge is a growing • community asset; • sustainable job opportunities; • community partners receive percentage of turnover. Lodge becomes a catalyst for other economic activities: • Micro-enterprise development to service the lodge; • introduce new markets for local craft (bring trade to remote areas). <p>Support education in local area via bursaries.</p>	retains their asset

Source: Author.

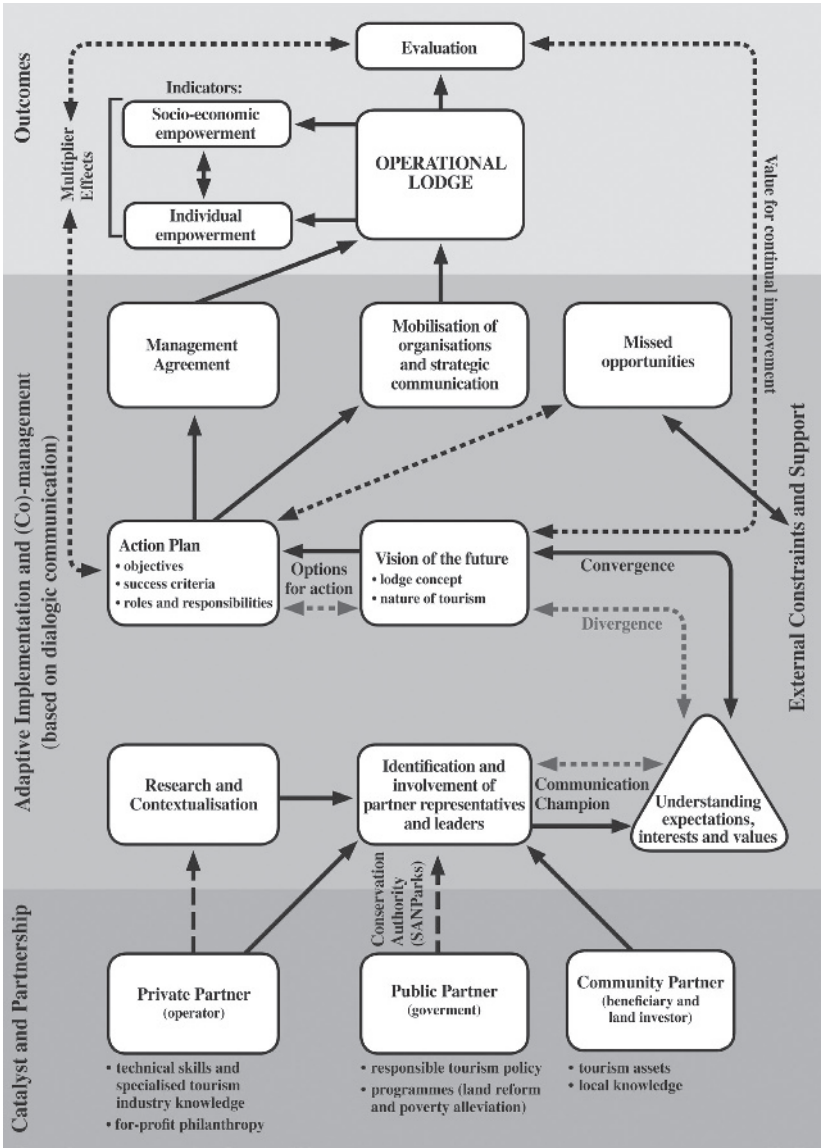


Figure 1. PPCP in participatory lodge (tourism) development.
Source: Author.

*PPCP in Participatory Lodge (Tourism) Development: Explanation
of the Model*

The diagram above includes relevant components from the CFPD model (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009) and expands on it to include variables relating to PPCP and the tourism development industry. These are merged with findings and lessons learned from the TFPD model outlined above and the Xaus Lodge case study in general. The model is thus an attempt to account for the multiple dimensions of the type of development communication strategies to be employed in inaugurating operations in a PPCP lodge. It foregrounds the importance of: i) dialogue; ii) respect for possible differences in ontology and epistemology; iii) intersectoral integration; and iv) the need to be adaptive in strategy implementation.

The model should be read from the bottom moving upwards. This upward reading indicates that a bottom-up approach to tourism development is essential in order to secure buy-in from all the relevant partners: i) private; ii) public; and iii) community in the common objective of the establishment and operation of a sustainable PPCP lodge. The use of arrows and feedback loops illustrates the need for greater dynamic action and flexibility in the interaction between the different variables or phases. In reality, these phases or components can merge, occur simultaneously and continuously, and change direction due to divergence (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009).

Catalyst and Partnership

The primary *catalyst* for the creation of a PPCP lodge will be more likely in response to a policy such as *The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT 1996), *Tourism in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Strategy* (1998), responsible tourism (DEAT 2003) and the strategies implemented by the government to operationalise these policies such as land reform and poverty alleviation programmes (DLA 1997 Bradstock 2006). The *public partner* may thus be the partner that initiates the tourism development process as a means of rural development with marginalised communities, by either restituting land to a community, by providing infrastructural investment in building a lodge, or both.

The *community partner* is the land investor. Resources brought to the partnership are: i) land and ii) cultural heritage. These are commodified

and into products that are then offered to tourists (Akama 2002). These resources include “the host community’s value systems, identity and behaviour, artistic and cultural character, traditional activities and ceremonies, handicraft, folklore, cultural heritage, moral conduct and collective lifestyle” (Ipara, 2002: 98). They also include indigenous knowledge that is “produced in a specific social context” (Kincheloe and Steinberg 2008: 150).

The *private sector*, as management and marketing operators, partners to ensure outcomes from the public-community investment. This sector is able to leverage necessary funds to make the investment operational. The motivation for its involvement may be that entrepreneurs attain new business opportunities.

In terms of for-profit philanthropy, the private-community aspect of the partnership may be stronger than with government, as is indicated in the model with the two solid arrows pointing to the *identification and involvement of partner representatives and leaders* phase that continues into subsequent phases. The rationale is that the private sector will work closely with the community in reducing the costs of commercial practice, facilitate training, organisation and communication and enhance broader local benefits by, for example, supporting local suppliers. Early PPT suggested that private operators would be unable to devote substantial time and resources to developing pro-poor actions (Ashley *et al.* 2000:6). However, the more recent social business (Yunus, 2007) paradigm integrates for-profit philanthropy business practices in planning and daily operations to enhance local benefits. By adopting PPT, the private sector contributes to national goals, enhances its own security and operating environment, and realizes opportunities to upgrade product and enhance tourist experiences (Ashley *et al.* 2005: 3). PPCP conforms with the neo-liberal ‘new public management’ and ‘new policy agenda’ that calls for “a reduction in the role of the central state and that assigns a key role to the private sector – for profit and non-profit alike – in service delivery. The aim is to “foster an entrepreneurial spirit amongst communities and individuals” (Spierenburg *et al.* 2009: 167, see also Hutton *et al.* 2005).

As most lodges are/will be located in or adjacent to national parks there is an ongoing relationship with the public partner represented by a conservation authority, such as SANParks that is government subsidised and influenced by its policy. Public partners such as the Departments of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) and Land Affairs (DLA) are motivated by their national responsibility in poverty alleviation, as well as enhancing community participation, conservation and sustainability in tourism. Provincial conservation authorities (SANParks) are expected to

implement these policies. However, park management is often torn between social welfare and commercial objectives. This dual objective also impacts on the bottom line, since the profitability of a protected area may be compromised in efforts to support community-driven projects (De Villiers 2008). Thus, the private sector is increasingly being looked to in order to translate these national responsibilities into reality via their business skills (Hottola 2009a). TFPD achieves this in conjunction with community partners – the Mier and #Khomani. SANParks represents the public sector in the ongoing development process (signified in the broken line to the *identification and involvement of partner representatives and leaders* phase).

Adaptive Implementation and (Co-)Management

As a solution to challenges in tourism partnership development, Katrina Brown (2003) proposes an adaptive management framework which, if more focused on participatory approaches, can move towards adaptive co-management. Adaptive management

is particularly suitable management where knowledge about the complexity...of [contexts] is incomplete (Holling 1978). In this sense, policies are treated as hypotheses and management as experiments from which managers can learn, so that uncertainty is accepted and surprises are expected ... For adaptive management to be effective...management efforts require more inclusionary processes, in which stakeholders are involved in all stages of project design, implementation, and evaluation, and can see the management as rational and fair. (Brown 2003: 485–486)

The operator needs to acquire knowledge of the area in which they will operate, hence TFPD's offer to CCMS to work as its strategic *research* partner on advising on adaptive management potentials. The complexity of context is best learned through interaction and dialogue with representatives of community partners, or in other words, via *research and contextualisation*. Adaptive management suggests a 'take-it-as-it-comes' approach that is necessary to deal with what appears to be "the grey zone" (Quarry and Ramirez 2009). Working in this indeterminate zone feels like navigating an obstacle course: clarifying what is being asked of us, understanding the conditions in which we work, and on that basis adjusting our expectations and our communication methodologies (Quarry and Ramirez 2009: 57). Authors in this book have been also operating in a grey zone in making sense through observation, participation, autoethnography and

self-reflexivity. Where some of our early critics demanded to know the 'deliverables' *before* our research was completed, TFPD and the two community partners showed greater contextual sensitivity in, and appreciation of, what we in the end did deliver, in concrete development terms.

Adaptive co-management's increased collaborative characteristics include: i) a way for partner rights and responsibilities to be defined and shared; ii) a way for partners to learn through actions and modify them in the future, thus allowing change; iii) surrendering power to other stakeholders; and iv) recognising and embracing multiple values and different forms of knowledge (Brown, 2003: 486, see also Ruitenbeek and Cartier, 2001; Berkes, 1999). These multiple values stem from differences in ontology, epistemology, rationality, as well as scales of influence (local/national/international) and sources of power between the different partners. This is reflected in the model as *adaptive implementation and (co-)management* as it makes suggestions in both the lodge establishment (implementation) and management (operations).

The adaptive implementation and (co-)management approach views participation both as a means and as an end. Participation of all the partners cannot be compromised in the process – dialogic communication is integral (the means). This is done with the common objective of creating a sustainable venture so that community partners can participate in the modern economy (the end). Communication is influenced by the changing milieu that can occur with different partners. Although the partnership starts with three primary partners, different stakeholders will become involved as the development progresses and diversifies. Each additional stakeholder accounts for exposure to different messages, and the inclusion of different expectations and values, hence the need for adaptive co-management. The first part of the word (co-)management is bracketed as it cannot always be the case, as is discussed below in problematising participation. (Co-)management, however, should be a PPCP goal.

External Constraints and Support is a CFPD model (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009) component running vertically alongside the *adaptive implementation and (co-)management* phase to indicate that it may be influenced by contextual factors in the environment that constrains or supports progress towards the development of an operational lodge.

Research and Contextualisation

TFPD's commitment to conducting research via talking with Mier farmers, to ≠Khomani craftsman, SASI, as well as provincial government, illustrates

how TFPD familiarised itself with the local context, brokering new relationships and gaining the communities' trust. The social milieu constantly changes, bringing with it new conditions to be taken into consideration, as these changes potentially influence knowledge, decisions and operations. Partner-specific research should be conducted once *identification of partner representatives and leaders* (the next phase) is done.

Within any programme guided by participatory principles, the context needs to be considered and made more 'visible'. This model subscribes to Quarry and Ramirez's (2009:103) definition of context that is all encompassing and multi-dimensional:

At the very least context is *community* – with its various interpretations. It is the *organizations* with which we work, ranging from small groups to established institutions. It is also the *geography* and *history* of the places we work. Context is people's culture, political systems, media and funding rules. These are all connected.

In addition, "context is also about the organizations, donor institutions and corporations that shape the economy of a community. It includes government, politics, policies and funding rules" (Quarry and Ramirez 2009: 63). Context is:

vital to situate efforts to engage communities in context. The histories of community engagement with external agencies – whether the state, religious authorities or NGOs – in different places are complex and diverse; understanding these dynamics calls for an approach that regards participation as an inherently political process rather than a technique. (Cornwall 2008:28)

From the above definitions it is clear that within PPCP tourism the following contextual factors need to be researched and taken into consideration for planning:

- The nature of relations between different communities within the local context - historical community tension needs to be understood in order to negotiate how to best plan operations where all community partners' values and needs are considered.⁶
- Community partner relationship with 'external agents' such as NGOs, previous tourism operators and funders - learning about past tourism initiatives is beneficial in understanding local barriers as well as resources.

⁶ While there are two community partners at !Xaus Lodge, this may not always be the case. For ease of representation, this generalized schematic model reflects one community partner.

- SANParks and broader government policy – to “review all policies and legal systems, including those dealing with protected area tenure, finance, private-sector investment and institutional arrangements that either work against, or could be adopted to encourage sustainability” (De Villiers 2008: 14) and to ensure that planning is in accordance with conservation policy and “responsible tourism” (DEAT 2003).
- Reviewing land claim documentation.

Operators should conduct a participatory assessment in the research phase of community needs and priorities (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010). Entering meetings without speaking to people about their needs indicates that their priorities do not count and that the initiative will only follow the operator agenda. Community dialogues are a useful participatory technique in which to gauge community needs/challenges. A community dialogue is a forum that draws participants from as many parts of the community as possible to exchange information, share personal stories and experiences, perspectives, clarify viewpoints, and develop solutions to community concerns. These dialogues are usually facilitated by a development communication specialist and can include activities such as role playing, participatory storytelling (practitioners should not underestimate the power in people telling their own stories, a genre applied in this book) and community mapping (where they identify where problems as well as resources are located). These methods allow barriers to be known. Dialogue builds capacity as it encourages communities to find solutions to their own problems. It is thus, a bottom-up approach to setting objectives or building an agenda. Community dialogues not only gauge problems but also identify what community partners value in their area/life/themselves, as well as where support in the community may be found for the initiative. Resources relevant to tourism development can be identified in this process.⁷

Exploratory research for agenda setting of salient issues is integral for the partnership to gain a contextualised picture of what the tourism initiative should aim to do. As the community partners hold the local knowledge it is crucial that they are part of these initial discussions “to paint the bigger picture of their top-of-mind social issues and [community] needs in their own words, and then to decide where (and if)” (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010: 393). This research will assist in discovering the kinds of

⁷ Community dialogues are a field technique developed by CCMS and Drama in Aids Education (DramAidE) in its public health communication interventions (see Dalrymple 2005).

processes and power relations at play (Dyll-Myklebust 2011: Chapter Four), as well as the constraints and contingencies in establishing a lodge.

In planning communication strategies we need to go beyond the notion of “culture” as a barrier to development and rather understand the centrality of cultural contexts by developing frameworks that underscore context and culture as organising themes in a development strategy. Borrowing from the CFPD model, this approach also aims to:

resolve other controversial issues that hinder progress in the field - problems subsumed under the general notion of “local culture,” such as community factions, entrenched power structures, equitable participation, sharing of benefits, and styles of leadership that may discourage, as well as facilitate, participation and collective action. (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009: 1311)

Identification and Involvement of Partner Representatives and Leaders

This phase is borrowed and adapted from the CFPD model (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009). It includes the practical need to identify representatives from the different partners as well as other ‘secondary stakeholders’. This identification should be formalised in the establishment and signed agreement of a JMB with public (national and provincial government and SANParks), private (operator) and community (Communal Property Associations and municipalities) representatives. A JMB serves as a forum where representatives of the principal parties take decisions on aspects subject to the powers and functions of the JMB. The JMB may approve or amend a management plan only with the consent of each principal party. The key functions of the JMB is to: i) serve as a forum to reach agreement on any aspect of intended development within an area controlled by a principal party, in as far as this affects the rights of any of the other principal parties materially; ii) manage the implementation of contract parks and community rights or prevent and dissolve any disputes thereof; and iii) promote integrated management amongst community lands and the remainder of the conservation area (if this is the case) with the aim to effect balanced conservation and tourism related development.

Once representatives are identified, each partner’s involvement needs to be formalised in a memorandum of agreement (MOA), similar to that of the Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002) in the !Xaus Lodge case study, or the Deed of Grant in the Makuleke case study. Once signed, the MOA is distributed to the broader community (De Villiers 2008).

If capacity allows, the development of district development forums to improve communication and interaction between the board and the beneficiaries is advisable, as is evident in the successful implementation in the Makuleke case study. Five to ten people from districts that make up 'the community' should be elected with whom the JMB consults. These forums should function as a means of communication with the wider community informing them of lodge developments and exploring their views and expectations of such. They can serve as a sounding board to identify spending priorities, a channel through which to distribute development funds for projects, and as a training ground for future JMB board members (De Villiers 2008: 75).

During this phase possible gatekeepers need to be identified. With the contemporary politicised nature of community-based development powerful interest groups or gatekeepers within the community sometimes turn well meaning efforts on the part of community development workers to their own ends (Cornwall 2008), as occurred in 2005 in Witdraai when a new PA was briefly taken on by Dawid Kruijer. Ill-advised gatekeeper interference (traditional leaders, chiefs, advocacy groups, organic intellectuals, advisors) push their own agendas to the detriment of the community. The external agents are branded as 'outsiders'. It is thus important to know who these gatekeepers may be and whether or not to enter into dialogue with them. We met with Belinda and David Kruijer whose support delivered traditional community endorsement for !Xaus Lodge. Meetings were also held with the Mier Municipality to revive their engagement with what they thought by 2004 was a lost cause.

The identification of a leader / communication practitioner, or to use Quarry and Ramirez's (2009) term, "champion" at this stage is necessary:

Although no single style of leadership applies in all situations (Lord and Brown, 2004), some societies and ethnic subcultures expect a directive type of leadership. Nevertheless, the CFPD model assumes that engaging and inclusive leadership is more likely than other forms of leadership to enhance other social change outcomes, such as information equity, shared ownership of the project, and social cohesion. (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 1320)

The *objective* of establishing a PPCP lodge also calls for directive leadership. A champion may be the operator, as in the case of !Xaus Lodge, "with a sincere respect for the views of the people with whom they work" (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009: 62) and the ability to build capacity for social dialogue (see Hamelink 2002) who assumes the leadership role on merit of their specialised industry knowledge and skills. Or the champion may take the form of a skilled facilitator who/that may be an external agent, although preference rests on a facilitator who is internal to the

local context. There may be a sense of identification with the facilitator by the community by virtue of being “one of us”, making unfamiliar development and legal discourse understandable (using local idioms, proverbs, metaphors etc.) thus facilitating community understanding, buy-in and commitment.

The need for leadership is crucial (cf. Hottola 2009 a/b; Allen and Brennan 2004, Rogerson and Visser 2004). “Given the shortage of skilled people, partnerships may provide transitional solutions until educational systems begin to deliver” (Hottola 2009b: 200). This questions the idealistic participatory notion of automatic self-management (Freire 1970) as it is unlikely that communities have skills for immediate self-management. Instilling skills should be an outcome of the development initiative.

TFPD as the *communication champion*⁸ in the !Xaus case study saw the value in dialogue where issues and concerns could be voiced and were considered in planning to get !Xaus Lodge off the ground. At a small scale level, focus is on the participation of the marginalised at each stage of development (planning, designing, implementation and evaluation). It is based on the principle that development projects must be owned by local people in all stages of the development process (Melkote and Steeves, 2001). However, this is difficult to achieve where there is a need for lodge ‘performance’ – not only financial as a community benefit but performance in sustaining professional operations and high quality product awareness for both the trade and consumer sector support. Approaches to participation are not a ‘one-size-fits-all’ solution. Different degrees of participation may be necessary.

The approach to communication depends on the intended purpose of an initiative. Simply expressed, these approaches fit along a continuum from “direct *telling* (public relations and technology transfer), to a mix of both *telling* and *listening* to effect predetermined change (social marketing and behaviour change), to a focus on *listening, exchange and dialogue* (advocacy and participatory)” (Quarry and Ramirez 2009: 63). The communication approach for PPCP development should be located within the right side of the continuum. The objective here is “to effect predetermined change” in setting up a sustainable lodge, so a mix of both telling and listening is required. In some ways this is simply communication common sense or ‘lodge-ical’ thinking.

⁸ I will refer to the primary communication practitioner or professional as the “communication champion”, drawing on the meanings associated with the term “champion” outlined by Quarry and Ramirez (2009) and foregrounding their role in communication.

Typologies are normative, setting out ‘the good’ and ‘the bad’ forms of participation. They frequently bear little resemblance to processes on the ground. However, typologies can be useful as guiding definitions. “Functional participation” (Pretty, 1995) shares similarities with telling and listening, or directive leadership. It is associated with efficiency: people participate to meet project objectives more effectively and to reduce costs, after the key decisions have been made by external agents (Cornwall 2008: 271). While the idea that decisions are made by external agents may be less participatory than the ideal (such as self-mobilisation participation), it is necessary in tourism where a competitive and well-managed product needs to be developed in order to attract tourists as an income generator for all partners. The “external agents” here, however, are not external *per se* as they are part of the partnership and would most likely be the operator who holds the technical and industry knowledge in setting up the tourism product. As the ultimate goal of PPCPs is to set up a sustainable economic driver for partners, and thus improve “existing distributions of wealth and power”, it is essential that a leadership form that will assist in delivering this objective is established.

Understanding Expectations and Values

Once the context, the relevant partner representatives as well as the leadership approach by the communication champion have been identified, the meanings of the core expectations, interests, values, costs, assumptions and what each partner understands by “participation” need to be ascertained. Partners have different scales of influence and power and various understandings of what the challenges in establishing a lodge may be and how they should be addressed (Brown 2003).

The reality of dealing with claimants who are both owners and community is complex (De Villiers 2008). This is part of the “grey zone” (Quarry and Ramirez, 2009) that the communication champion will need to navigate by clarifying what is being asked of each partner, and understanding and explaining the development conditions, and how these moderate expectations (Ashley *et al.*, 2001b: 3). Transparency from the outset about what an operator (in fact all partners) can or cannot do is crucial (see Cornwall 2008, Kincaid and Figueroa 2009).

Although this phase stresses the role of dialogues they need to occur continuously as indicated in the descriptor: *adaptive implementation and (co-)management via dialogic communication* that runs alongside this part

of the model. Forums should include problem posing. Participatory approaches make sense theoretically, but do not always translate to on-the-ground-realities, for example, during problem posing not everyone can 'ask' the right questions. The communication champion needs to be skilled in asking the right questions. These 'right' questions need to start with "what is" rather than communication practitioners telling community partners "this is". An important part of the process is then to ask the partners if what he/she understood is indeed what they have meant. Then look for solutions and a way forward (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010).

Each partner holds different scales of influence and power and represents different interests. For example, indigenous people's scale of influence may be at the local level and thus their source of power is limited. Their interest may be livelihood maintenance. Tourist operators may hold national and possibly some international influence where their source of power may be in lobbying and technical industry knowledge. The government conservation authority's scale of influence is located at national level where its source of power generates from their administrative and regulatory functions in serving their interest of conserving wildlife and biodiversity, and facilitating tourist development (Brown 2003: 484). These power relations need to be taken into consideration as they affect communication between partners. Participation as praxis is rarely seamless. Rather, it "constitutes a terrain of contestation, in which relations of power between different actors, each with their own 'projects', shape and reshape boundaries of action" (Cornwall 2008: 276).

For practical reasons, stakeholder categories, whose interests come to represent others of their kind, are useful. However, Cornwall (2008: 277) warns that "too often the use of categories to distinguish between different segments of 'the community' lead outside agencies to treat these categories as unproblematic and bounded units". In addition, this may lead to defacto representatives as those who participate will not, in reality, represent all spectrums of a community. Partners to the tourism initiative should be aware that those who attend meetings do not necessarily represent the differences in interest, values and expectations of the entire community. It is therefore important that there is timely and consistent communication about when smaller CPA or bigger JMB meetings are to take place. Transport should be provided to allow the broader community a chance to attend and represent themselves. It is the function of communal organisations to gather these broader interests by speaking to the community and then share these at JMB meetings.

Each partner must enter into dialogue during meetings and forums with a willingness to listen (Quarry and Ramirez 2009). For example, one should not assume all community members will want training as a development expectation. This is clear in the differing attitudes highlighted by Isak Kruiper (interview, 28 Jan 2007) who views training as a form of empowerment: "I will appreciate it because then our people will not be seen as just a tracker or a guide but also as a trained or educated person who has the knowledge and who carries the history". However, Lys Kruiper (interview, 1 April 2011) suggests that training is not necessary to "do her tradition" and "be [her] own boss". The #Khomani's expectation of !Xaus was not only as a means of earning an income, but also a form of 'salvation' based on their spiritual connection with the land. In more tangible, material terms the Mier and #Khomani saw !Xaus Lodge as: i) a form of employment; ii) an opportunity for participation in their own development and empowerment; iii) an opportunity to 'move forward' and away from the hurt of the past and to create the lodge as a peace symbol; iv) an opportunity to gain skills and training; v) and an opportunity to learn how to manage personal finances.

Communities incur costs when they engage in development projects as they contribute time and labour which have value. The biggest cost to the community could perhaps be opportunity costs as "they cannot afford to be distracted from subsistence activities" (Goodwin and Santilli 2009: 4). In fact, *all* partners incur time and labour costs. These costs, as per each partner's perspective, need to be understood.

In practice, distinctions that participation typologies present as clear and unambiguous emerge as rather more indistinct. The blurring of boundaries is a product of the engagement of a variety of different actors in participatory processes, each of whom may have different perceptions of what 'participation' actually means (Cornwall 2008). The dialogue could also ascertain what empowerment means to each partner as empowerment is synonymous with the participatory development communication model (Melkote and Steeves 2001). These understandings early on will assist in formulating management and implementation strategies that will allow partners to participate to the degree that they are comfortable and will allow insight into potential success criteria for the lodge as a form of both individual and socio-economic empowerment (that may be included in the next two phases of *vision of the future* and *action plan*). It is necessary to spell out "what exactly people are being enjoined to participate in, for what purpose" (Cornwall 2008:281). Doing this would clarify between different forms of participation in the different establishment

phases and its operations, for example, initiating and attending meetings, providing feedback, meeting tourists, and attending training.

PPCPs call for the partnerships to embrace multiple values, ontologies, epistemologies and rationalities in implementation and management. Doing so is typically “counterintuitive for managers trained in reductionist science” (Brown 2003: 486) that is governed by a need to control (Rutenbeek and Cartier, 2001). The Cartesian ontology or profane rationality is typically (but not always) embodied in the private and public sector and could be aligned with ways of thinking that are empirical and functional. Sacred rationality or indigenous ontology that may be embodied by the community partner (but not always), is associated with spirituality and relationships with the land (see Chapter 11).

Tourism, Spirituality and Land

Differences in rationalities – one that is entirely spiritual (the sacred) to which monetary concerns are largely subordinate, and the other financial (the profane), which could incorporate spiritual dimensions as a kind of service offered to tourists – need to be negotiated and embraced from the start of the partnership. Stephen Covey’s (2004) Whole-Person management organisational model (including the four indispensable parts of human nature; body, mind, heart and spirit) could be adopted. Recognition of each of these parts of human nature/motivation/needs, representing the different partner’s ‘languages’, can aid in the successful performance of an organisation. When one of them is championed by a party to the inattention of the others, problems will occur (Covey 2004).

Manulani Aluli-Meyer (2008) outlines an indigenous Native Hawaiian epistemology, its triangulation of meaning as a critical and indigenous pedagogy (see Denzin *et al.* 2008; Dyll-Myklebust 2011: Chapter Two) and its implications for research. Covey’s holistic paradigm is reiterated in Aluli-Meyer’s triangulation of meaning and could thus be a way to illustrate how to negotiate a difference in rationalities and ontologies. In addition, it illustrates how to move beyond the need to ‘control the process’ by traditional power holders. This phase involves research via dialogue and leadership by a communication champion to facilitate understanding multiple values in order to create a solid foundation from which to work throughout the implementation. Basing research in this phase on Aluli-Meyer’s pedagogy may allow the different partners’ interests, values and expectations to emerge in a way that all partners feel recognised and valued.

Aluli-Meyer's (2003: 192) pedagogy "resists colonial forms of knowing and educating". While the specificities of this pedagogy will not apply to all development contexts, I have included this triangulation of meaning in this model to acknowledge that development processes need to factor possible differences in partner rationalities, epistemologies and ontologies into communication approaches. "The triangulation of meaning is central to this process. Meaningful experience exists at the point where the mind, body and spirit interconnect" (Denzin *et al.* 2008: 212), thus symbolising the three corners (or categories) of the triangle (represented in the model). Aluli-Meyer (2008: 224) explains his rationale: "the use of three points to discover one's location in both two and three dimensions is the art and science of triangulation ... Thus the metaphor of triangulating our way to meaning with the use of three points ... Body, mind, and spirit".

In this phase all partners need to "extend through [their] objective/empirical knowing (body) into wider spaces of reflection offered through conscious subjectivity (mind) and, finally, via recognition and engagement with deeper realities (spirit)" (Aluli-Meyer 2008: 224). In terms of my discussion on the possible differences in rationality between the sacred (that corresponds to Aluli-Meyer's "spirit") and the profane (that corresponds to Aluli-Meyer's "body"), the partners need to respect each others' intelligence, knowledge, meanings and ways of being (that all correspond with his concept of "mind")⁹ in order to conceptualise an approach that will work in their context. "The spiritual category in this triangulation of meaning holds more than the extension of the other two categories. It is the frequency through which *all* connect. It is not simply a linear sequence. All three categories occur *simultaneously*" (Aluli-Meyer 2008: 229). This is one of the key dimensions of recent phases of our Rethinking Indigeneity project (see Chapter 3). If subscribing to the idea of culture as "the best practices of a group of people" (Aluli-Meyer 2008: 229), by engaging all three categories in this phase premised on dialogue there may be a way to understand how to bridge the two rationalities in tourism development research and operations.

⁹ Aluli-Meyer (2008: 227) lists the triangulation of meaning in its many forms with different descriptors that illustrate each of the three categories. Some of these include: i) perception (body), conceptualization (mind), remembering (spirit); ii) instinct (body), intelligence (mind), intuition (spirit); iii) knowledge (body), knowing (mind), enlightenment (spirit); iv) ways of knowing (body), ways of being (mind), ways of doing (spirit); and v) word (body), meaning (mind), perception (spirit).

In opposition to the dualisms inherent in Cartesian thought, the mind and body are not separated in this pedagogy. “Our body, holds truth, our body invigorates knowing, our body helps us become who we are ... Our thinking body is not separated from our feeling mind ... And both connect to the spiritual act of knowledge acquisition” (Aluli-Meyer, 2008: 223). Knowledge acquisition in this phase is focused on understanding multi-partner values and expectations. Another important aspect here is that the ‘spirit’ category reflects a people’s connection “to the sacred meanings given in the land, in oceans, in language, rituals, and family” (Denzin *et al.* 2008: 212). The ≠Khomani’s spiritual connection to the land was discussed in Chapter 11 (see also Dyll-Myklebust 2011: Chapter 4) as influencing what they expected from !Xaus Lodge. Aluli-Meyer (2008: 219) explains the importance of physical place and knowing in understanding what is of value to indigenous communities:

Indigenous people are all about place...You came from a place. You grew in a place and you had a relationship with that place. *This is an epistemological idea...*Land/ocean shapes my thinking, my way of being, and my priorities of what is of value....One does not simply learn about land, we learn best *from* land. This knowing makes you *intelligent* to my people. How you are on land....opens doors to the specificity of what it means to exist in a space and how that existing extends into how best to interact in it.

The communication champion must therefore enable this local knowledge and connection to land to be voiced and recognised as a form of intelligence that will add to the partnership. The “specificity of what it means to exist in a space and how that existing extends into how best to interact in it” (Aluli-Meyer 2008: 219) holds value for tourism where tourists are searching for an encounter with the uniqueness of a space. The community partners can provide this information that can facilitate this tourism need.

Another valuable role of Aluli-Meyer’s pedagogy is that it explains how “[t]he self knows itself through the other. The person is embedded in a relational context” (Denzin *et al.* 2008: 212). This principle is the basis of our self-reflexive and autoethnographic approaches and is an important concept for the partners to bear in mind when engaging in multi-stakeholder dialogue:

Existing in relationship triggers everything: with people, with ideas, with the natural world...The focus is with connection and our capacity to be changed by the exchange. Thus the idea of self *through* other...How does this inspire research? It reminds us that knowledge does not exist in a vacuum. Intelligence is challenged, extended and enriched when viewed in dyad

awareness or group consciousness...It is the notion that intentions must harmonize with ideas, and ideas form the libretto of [transformation]. (Aluli-Meyer 2008: 221)

Freire (1970) uses the idea of “cultural synthesis” to refer to the idea of leaders and people working together to bring about transformation such that this synthesis results in joint knowledge creation. “Cultural synthesis” is the antithesis of cultural invasion, which involves an outsider transmitting and imposing ideas on people/students/a community. Although this is an ‘ideal’, it is beneficial to bear this in mind as a guiding principle.

“Stakeholder dialogue need not be necessarily aimed at achieving consensus or buy-in as far as organizational goals are concerned, but is rather about ensuring multiple voices and even dissent” (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse 2010: 404). This voiced dissent may lead to divergence. Before describing *convergence/divergence* I summarise what the *understanding expectations, interests and values* phase should entail through three guiding questions with possible solutions:

- What needs to be understood? Assumptions, interests, costs, expectations, meanings of participation and empowerment.
- What are the challenges? Impact of power relations: communities often feel alienated from development discourse and processes as they feel that they are not adequately informed and capacitated. Decision making based on assumptions. Possible differences in rationality/epistemology/ontology between partners.
- How can this be resolved? Problem posing dialogue facilitated by a communication champion, “clarity through specificity” (Cornwall 2008: 281) and a triangulation of meaning (Aluli-Meyer 2008).

Convergence/Divergence

It is hoped that this understanding phase will result in *convergence* that indicates the direction of movement when dialogue is effective, but does not necessarily mean consensus (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009). Convergence is indicated in the model with a solid black arrow showing the direction in which the dialogue should lead the process. However, in some cases *divergence* may result from these differences whereby “one or both parties quit listening, impose a point of view on the other, and feedback becomes ineffective. Convergence, therefore, slows and may reverse into divergence, with differences being exaggerated, turning harmony into polarization

and cooperation into conflict” (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009: 1313). Power then comes into play. If these feelings can be overcome, the action still can shift back into a new *build-up* phase where dialogue can be tried again to manage the differences. If not, a decisive moment is reached, the result being that one or both parties begin to implement fallback positions. Where one or both parties prefer the latter outcome, the threatened fallback positions will be implemented and an open *conflict* phase follows. Where one or both parties fear this outcome sufficiently, there may be enough pressure to get them to change their positions to avoid conflict and return to another *build-up* phase (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 1314).

However, if another build up phase cannot be generated a possible fallback position would be to cease participation and “drop out” (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 1313). This divergence may in turn lead to convergence because “simply leaving a group (moving outside the network boundaries created by dialogue) automatically creates greater uniformity among those who remain within the group compared to those outside of it” (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009:1313). It is then necessary for the process to revert back to the *identification and involvement of partner representatives phase* (illustrated in the broken red bi-directional divergence arrow) and start this part of the *understanding expectations, interests and values* phase again with a new representative.

There can be thus two possible positive outcomes from conflict: i) “[s]elf-organising structures and decisions can flow naturally from a strong network of robust and even conflict-ridden discourse, which can stimulate new approaches to problem solving” (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010: 406). And, ii) in the case where this conflict is irreparable and someone leaves, convergence can result and partners can move onto the next phase.

Vision of the Future

Differences in interest are easier to resolve if the partnership “creates a clear ‘ideal picture’ of the future that it wants to achieve, helping individuals and subgroups to see how their interests fit into the larger picture. Once such a shared vision is clear, it is easier for a community to decide how to get there” (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009: 1317). As I am adapting the CFPD model to the collective action around lodge development, the “larger picture” in this context centres on the lodge concept and the nature of tourism to be implemented at the lodge.

The first factor that needs to be envisioned is the *overall vision* or concept of the lodge. Will it accommodate 'spiritual tourism' that involves rustic accommodation¹⁰ with the objective to reconnect with the environment for healing and spiritual growth (Haq and Jackson, 2006)? Will it be a luxury lodge with comfortable accommodation as a form of relaxation and escapism, thus offering comfort associated with many competitive tourism ventures? Or will it be based on 'adventure tourism'? Whatever is decided upon, the objective of a competitive commercially viable tourist destination must be a foreseeable part of this vision. One of the base problems in establishing !Xaus Lodge prior to TFPD was uncertainty as to who the project leader was and that the initial consultation process failed to generate a uniform approach to the lodge (Van Schalkwyk personal communication, 22 June 2009). However, as represented in this model these two issues should be resolved in the inclusion of the *identification and understanding* phases that precede the dialogue around the *vision of the future*.

The type of lodge that is envisioned will impact on the kind of tourism activities that the lodge will be able to offer. At this stage it is not necessary to plan the logistics and feasibility of these activities but rather to determine the nature of the tourist encounter with which all partners are comfortable. Whatever forms of cultural tourism (dancing, craft making, storytelling, tracking, cuisine etc.) are decided upon, the community partner needs to hold agency in representing themselves within the overall structure of lodge operations and activities (see Wang 2001). Indigenous partners are typically represented as being in the struggle of a process of development and, as a result, are refused the fully modern subjectivity that the 'developed' tourists who visit them enjoy. While tourism based on this characterisation may provide indigenous people with substantial benefits¹¹ it also ensures "that they remain permanently 'not quite like us, not yet'" (Garland and Gordon, 1999: 283). This form of Othering (Fabian, 1985) denies agency to the indigenous partner. The community partner may wish to showcase traditional elements of their culture and thus dress in traditional gear for example, or they may want to talk to tourists about

¹⁰ Spiritual tourists travel because they are interested in learning and are "inner directed, self-reliant, active and somewhat meditative" (Chesworth 2006: 7). They are characterised by a "voluntary simplicity" or a way of life that is "outwardly simple and inwardly rich. This way of life embraces frugality of consumption" (Elgin and Mitchell, 2003: 146) and thus they do not require the luxuries associated with many competitive tourism ventures.

¹¹ Communities have discovered in cultural tourism a means of survival and of advancement as "cultures have been re-evaluated and integrated into the mechanisms of economic production" (Wanjohi 2002: 77).

modern manifestations of their culture, or a mixture of both. The decision needs to be made by them and to be communicated with the other partners in the planning process so that lodge marketing may take this into account.

The dialogue in this phase needs to alert all partners of the need to integrate processes that will lead to “pro-poor growth” or growth that includes the poor and provides them with net benefits (Ashley and Haysom, 2006). Four overarching factors need to be addressed in any pro-poor tourism initiative (see Ashley *et al.* 2001b). Three are applicable to PPCP. Firstly, improving market access opportunities by overcoming barriers of physical location, establishing linkages with established operators and transcending social constraints (such as gender) on poor consumers. Secondly, they must consider commercial viability in terms of lodge product quality and price, marketing and the strength of the destination as a whole. Thirdly, attention needs to be given to the implementation challenges in the local context, such as the need to address skills shortages, the management of costs and expectations and the implementation of responsible tourism best practices at destinations (Rogerson 2006). These three factors should be part and parcel of the vision of the lodge.

In summary, the guiding questions for this phase could be:

- What is the overall vision for the type of lodge being developed?
- What form of tourism and related activities will be on offer?
- If including cultural tourism, how will ‘representations’ materialise and be controlled by the community partner?
- How does each partner’s interests fit into the bigger picture and what effect would these have on operations that need to consider PPT factors such as: market access, commercial viability and ways in which to overcome implementation challenges?

Options for Action

Options for action is an ongoing consultative process as proven in the Xaus Lodge case. The value of the CFPD model is that it acknowledges that disagreement may occur between *Options for Action* and *Consensus on Action*, as different partners may prefer different *options for action*, therefore fracturing the “blindly optimistic or Pollyanna stance” (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 1317) often observed in development programs Xaus Lodge’s *options for action* were almost synonymous with their *objectives*. *Options for action* are not therefore boxed into a specific phase as in the CFPD model. Rather it is located between *vision for the future* and *action plan* (that includes

setting objectives) to show this closer proximity. This process may be characterised by disagreement with the inclusion of the broken bi-directional divergence arrow moving back to *vision for the future* and by extension the *understandings* phase so that an agreement can be sought. All *options for action* need to be heard and it is hoped that in dialogue a mutual understanding for a workable action plan is generated. This is indicated by the solid convergence arrow in the model. It is hoped that the shared *vision* that is established via dialogue may further serve to converge the group towards a stronger “local culture” (Kincaid 1993: 1988) or a state of greater internal uniformity that appears to bear similarities with Freire’s (1970) notion of “cultural synthesis”.

Action Plan

My own model combines a number of steps that the CFPD model (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009) illustrates in separate boxes, as in the context of establishing a lodge they can all be considered components of the *Action Plan*. The action plan will stipulate who does what activity and when, helping the partnership to organise and coordinate its efforts in implementing a sustainable lodge.

In this phase partners are to expect a trial and error system with observation, dialogue and feedback from all to address issues in the action plan. Time and opportunity costs, inherent in any action plan, need to be considered, as was illustrated in !Xaus Lodge having to change its rota system to accommodate the ≠Khomani staff’s tendency for ‘modern nomadism’ between different tourism ventures. This section will outline some of the decisions and actions that need to take place in the final set-up phase of the lodge including; setting objectives, defining success criteria and assigning roles and responsibilities.

The first objective is setting an opening date, with earlier deadlines to meet in order to achieve this opening so that all partners can work towards a common goal and are aware of time constraints in meeting their responsibilities. The next date to set is the estimated date in which the partners can expect to see a return on investment.

In setting objectives a partnership needs to be aware of ‘development fatigue’. The sense of fatigue that can accompany numerous projects trying to enlist people in community development activities can destroy well-intentioned initiatives as communities have become cynical about ‘participation’ or even development (Cornwall 2008). The time lag

between conceptualising projects and delivering benefits causes many communities to become despondent.

Communities that are impoverished do not have the patience to receive benefits in a drawn-out way. While community-owned lodges may offer their long-term benefit, communities sometimes have difficulty understanding that it might take years to pay off the construction costs of the lodge without any benefits flowing directly to them. (De Villiers 2008: 120–121)

The solution is therefore to be realistic and specific when setting goals (De Villiers 2008: 120). In addition, the operator should be specific about the other benefits that will accrue to the community in a more direct way, such as supporting local crafters, stable employment, as well as payment of a management fee by the operator to the conservation authority and community partners.

The following is a list of suggested objectives and success criteria:

- Preferential employment policy for local community - partners need to agree on the level of education and training expected for specific roles at the lodge, and a fair employment process needs to be developed where the employer explains what will be expected from the possible staff, the nature of the working conditions and remuneration.
- Developing the specific type of tourism product identified in the *vision* phase – this will impact business decisions on the type of tourist/visitor the lodge would target through marketing, costs of the associated activities (for example, fuel for game drives) including ‘surprise costs’ in addressing lodge site challenges (for example, lack of drinking water, no renewable energy, lack of storage), as well as estimated rates the lodge would charge visitors for lodge offerings (for example accommodation), and lastly the occupancy the lodge needs to secure in order to sustain itself and make a return on investment.
- Ensure “information equity” where there is an increase in the distribution of knowledge about the lodge development among individuals and between different partners. Two dimensions of information equity are: i) sufficient and accurate knowledge about a problem, and ii) free flow of information within a community (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009: 1321). Information flow as a form of participation is often positioned on the lesser participatory spectrum in typologies, but is in itself important. Even nominal forms of participation can give citizens a foot in the door where no previous constructive engagement has occurred (Cornwall 2008). Such participation may suit a development context where community partners may not be willing to participate fully. A plan for

regular meetings should be developed to maintain information flow and opportunities for feedback between partners and when the lodge is operational, between management and staff (from the community) in daily operations (to be elaborated on in the *Operational Lodge* phase).

- Local procurement of goods and services (for example community can identify local and trustworthy grocer, and transport transfers).
- Pilot or “multiplier effect” projects either as: i) an additional service at the lodge (for example a spa, vegetable garden in a local community); ii) a stimulus for enterprise development in the area, by supporting local cultural products and opening up or reaching markets (Ashley *et al*, 2001b) (for example, to furnish the lodge or sell in lodge shop), and iii) supporting local education and promoting local tourism culture with bursaries and internships.
- Training (for example, field guide, hospitality, management).

Roles then need to be assigned to the three partners, as well as individuals who will assume responsibility for implementing these objectives. This assignment of responsibility will be actioned both for getting lodge operations off the ground and as well as for staff roles at the lodge once operational.

Sectoral fragmentation of responsibility typically riddles these types of development projects (see Brundtland Commission, 1983; Allen and Brennan, 2004; Rogerson and Visser, 2004). The communication champion is needed to negotiate relationships and responsibilities with all the partners through a combination of networking skills, business acumen and a willingness to listen. The lodge partnership must strive to overcome a sectoral fragmentation of responsibility by seeking ways in which they can integrate roles, responsibilities and resources in the local context as intersectoral connections create patterns of economic and ecological interdependence that support sustainability (Brundtland Commission 1987). Roles and responsibilities should thus be characterised by their direct and indirect connections with other sectors, interests and activities in the area (for example, farming, infrastructure, conservation, transport, craft production). Identifying these intersectoral connections can take place in partnership meetings and forums. Participation in doing so will likely instil a sense of ownership in the project.

One responsibility that should be assigned to each of the partners, depending on their connections with different sectors in the area, is the *mobilisation of organisations* (a phase that moves directly from this *action plan* phase as indicated in the model). The operator will be the partner to

mobilise the media to market the lodge in order to attract tourists, due to their industry knowledge and networking (to be discussed under *mobilisation of organisations* and *strategic communication*).

Management Agreement and Contracts

Based on a rigorous definition of interests, expectations and consideration of the feasibility of each over previous phases, the responsibilities, and roles as well as commercial and social change objectives need to be formalised in a well structured management agreement. This phase should also draw up and issue lodge staff contracts (White, 1995).

This agreement is more specific than the MOA signed in the *identification of partners* phase, as it expresses: i) operation rights; ii) terms of contract period for the operator; iii) amount of rental per annum by the operator to be made to the principal parties monthly; iv) payments and management fees – SANParks and the community partners should share equally in the management fees paid by the operator and use their respective shares of the fees in accordance with specific clauses of the settlement agreement for maintenance of infrastructure and contribution to related costs; v) all partners undertakings (responsibilities); vi) benefits intended for the community partner; vii) clear rights framework including detail on the formal and informal property rights; viii) application of conservation rules to the lodge; ix) procedures if extension of the lodge is requested; and x) final decision on lodge name.

Mobilisation of Organisations / Strategic Communication

Mobilising other organisations for support continues intersectoral integration. Support will need to be leveraged from different organisations for different reasons. Some examples may include NGOs, training institutions, schools, local health centres, local media organisations, stable supplier support (from marketing operations, for example in return for filming a commercial at !Xaus Lodge, Kalahari Salt, pays the lodge a fixed amount for each bag of salt sold). Providing training opportunities via outside organisations ensures that staff roles are not pigeonholed, but that the lodge assists the community in the development of marketable skills (which can feed back into a more empowering role / assignment of responsibility over time).

Mobilising organisations is part of the lodge's strategic communication defined as "purposeful communication by an organisation to fulfil its

mission" (Hallahan *et al.* 2007: 3). The 'mission' identified in this model is to create a competitive and sustainable tourism product.

In this case the 'organisation' would be the lodge, while the operator assumes the communication champion role. The role of the operator thus expands to not only include networking to leverage outside support by mobilising organisations but continues to facilitate open communication. Strategic communication relates to "how organisations present themselves and interact with their stakeholders" (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010: 391). These forms of communication include "informational, persuasive, and discursive as well as relationship communication" (Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse, 2010: 391).

In terms of a tourism product's strategic communication, mobilisation of the media is especially important for marketing reasons. The lodge needs to be marketed according to the context in which it is built, and like TFPD was able to do, to turn initial challenges into a 'unique feature'. For example, the location of the lodge far off the tourist route was redefined as a draw card in advertising the lodge as a peaceful, remote getaway. Promotional material (brochures, magazine articles, websites) need to represent the realities of what would be on offer so as not to disappoint visitors who could trigger negative reviews (see Finlay 2009a/b). As demonstrated in the Rethinking Indigeneity project, and particularly Kate Finlay's (2009a/b) action research at !Xaus Lodge, it is useful to have a third party perspective into the establishment and operations of a lodge. This 'third party' is yet another organisation that can be mobilised. The action marketing research approach, discussed in Chapter 9 can be a strategy in improving lodge marketing. Finlay's (2009 a/b) research concentrated on a semiotic and reception analysis of !Xaus marketing materials from 2007–2009. Representation was comprehensively studied in order to gauge the effect of promotional materials on guests and the target market. The semiotic analysis revealed the lodge operator's cultural assumptions and marketing strategy. Three focus groups drawn from the !Xaus target market were asked to interpret the messages. Questionnaires were elicited from respondents who had previously visited the lodge. The encoded/decoded similarities and divergences were compared. Divergences of meanings sourced from the different stakeholders (community owners/hosts, operator and tourists) in the textual and reception analyses were useful in understanding the types of communication in operation at !Xaus that have been incorporated in my research in the creation of this PPCP

development communication model. These divergences were discussed with partners and solutions were found to improve their marketing strategy.

If a lodge follows social business principles (Yunus 2007), this needs to be included in the marketing, particularly if the lodge does not have much to offer in terms of game and the 'typical tourist attractions'. Promotional material should explain that by visiting the lodge a tourist supports the community. However, in order to avoid "ag shame tourism" (O'Leary, e-mail correspondence, 12 May 2011) it is advisable to not represent the community as victims but rather as part of social entrepreneurship and as viable land investors by including their objectives, employment and entrepreneurial activities. Many establishments boost their market appeal and attract ethical tourists through the added value of their responsible behaviour (Ashley and Haysom 2006: 270). TFPD's approach to !Xaus Lodge development has gained it the Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa (FTTSA) and Imvelo Awards. They strategically use this social and environmental responsibility accreditation on their website. Marketing is about branding and this accreditation enhances the brand and provides a unique selling point. "Awards and accreditation give companies an entirely different level and type of exposure and verification" (Ashley and Haysom 2006: 271). Finlay's (2009b) reception analysis of !Xaus Lodge promotional media found that the website was the most effective medium for promotional communication. Another valuable function is its strategic use of advertising "iconic links" to respected tourism and conservation organisations to increase the lodge's credibility and provide multiple marketing platforms. These organisation's good names and what they stand for are thus indirectly *mobilised* to support the lodge by validating it in a variety of ways.

Missed Opportunities

The inclusion of *missed opportunities* is to acknowledge that when *external constraints* (for example, the lack of an essential resource, impractical policy, bureaucracy, strong vested interests, political factions) cannot be overcome, and if a partner does not deliver on what it undertook to do in the *action plan* phase, then missed opportunities will result, as signified in the model's broken line situated between *action plan* and *external constraints*. A case of missed opportunity was evident in Blade Witbooi and David Gooi being unable to attain their Field Guide Association South Africa (FGASA) certification after attending the training course, as an

examination needed to be written in English. The *lingua franca* in the area is Afrikaans, and therefore examining in English excludes the majority of the locals from formal qualifications.

When missed opportunities occur the partnership may need to revert back to the *action plan* and by extension possibly to the *understanding expectations, interests and values* phase (signified by the red bi-directional divergence lines) to restart the process.

Outcomes

Operational Lodge

Once operational, the lodge needs to develop a working system to best negotiate “structure and agency” (Wang, 2001). As suggested under *vision for the future* this may best be done by allowing the indigenous community *agency* in how they present themselves, but working within the lodge’s structure to ensure that operational needs are met to sustain commercial viability.

Many Mier staff had previous hospitality training and were therefore hired in that capacity. The ≠Khomani are skilled crafters and trackers, and are accustomed to tourist encounters and so were employed in that capacity. It is important, however, to not ‘pigeonhole’ staff into a single role and the lodge needs to be open to the promotion-from-within practice as a result of skills and service to the lodge. Assigning different roles to the strengths of a group of people will increase the likelihood that the group will execute their roles, leading to a sense of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1995), which further instils a sense of agency. Among the mechanisms of agency, none is more central than people’s beliefs of personal efficacy. If all partners achieve their objectives, the likelihood of collective efficacy increases, defined as a community’s shared belief in its collective capability to attain its goals and accomplish desired tasks (Bandura, 1986).

The creation of an ‘intermediary’ / ‘spiritual manager’ / tourist liaison role may be necessary once the lodge is operational. Feeling as if the information he was provided on a guided walk was “superficial and inconsequential” a !Xaus Lodge tourist observed:

I wish we could have gone into the desert with someone who could have really brought it all to life for us ... it doesn’t have to be about elephants and lions. The desert almost has a spiritual quality to it but it needs someone of great sensitivity to present it...The desert itself is about scorpions and porcupines, pygmy falcons, desert plants, the night sky, Bushman mythology and isolation.” (McDonald, e-mail correspondence, 12 August 2008)

The person to fulfil this role should thus be from the community which not only has a rich knowledge of the area, but is also skilled in 'customer relations' in order to capture, translate and present the nuances of the area. This intermediary will also need to be fluent in the *lingua franca* and English so that he/she can facilitate the interaction between tourists and other staff members who cannot speak English. Hospitality and service staff will more likely be able to speak English more so than crafters, due to higher levels of education, and so can also act as intermediaries between crafters and tourists.

An important question to address in a PPCP lodge is how management can balance cultural relativity, or the privileging of cultural differences which can lead to pluralistic intentions that some may view as 'chaos', with structure in daily operations. While an indigenous management and communication style may be difficult to implement in its entirety as commercial considerations need to be considered for lodge sustainability, indigenous elements should be integrated in the management approach. Creating a 'space' for participatory communication is essential. This needs to happen in a location that makes sense to all staff members, and will more than likely occur 'backstage' (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973). This 'comfort zone' may allow people to be more confident to discuss issues that may be divisive under formal meeting procedures. The location could be around a campfire (connotations of survival and conversational sharing) or under a favoured tree where employees may rest during the day, where both business and cultural/spiritual issues can be discussed. It should be a place where grievances can be discussed, and they should be held on a regular basis in order to facilitate consistent and open communication between all lodge staff and management in order to avoid future grievances, and to encourage information equity. While setting up weekly meetings in a broad community is challenging as people tend to prioritise such as work, it is easier in a lodge context, with a bounded group of individuals (see Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009) working to similar time schedules, to meet regularly.

A related question to address is how to balance the nature of the tourist demand with cultural sensitivity and progressive cultural tourism (Garland and Gordon, 1999) that challenges the typical tourist gaze (see Urry, 1990) and presents a non-essentialist and dynamic indigenous identity (see Dyll-Myklebust 2011: Chapter Three). Firstly, it is key to introduce the community partner as integrated participants in a global monetary economy who are not only the beneficiaries but also the land investors and entrepreneurs in the partnership.

Secondly, cultural tourism activities need to be centred on interactive and educational encounters between the host and tourist forging intercultural relations and breaking the purely observational nature of many cultural villages that critics argue sustain the asymmetrical power relation between those who observe (Western Same) and those who are observed (indigenous Other) (cf. Bester and Buntman, 1999). Community partners interacting with the tourist on an interpersonal level that is informative and not simply 'spectacle', will provide the hosts with agency based on Freire's schema in "[restoring] to people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experience and values" (Tomaselli and Aldridge, 1996: 61). These interactions should also satisfy the anthro-tourist's desire for cultural enrichment (see Dyll-Myklebust 2011: Chapter Five).

Community partners need to understand the importance of meeting tourist expectations. Tourism generates income by importing tourists rather than exporting a product (McKercher 1993). In a PPCP the community partner's cultural heritage is likely to be one of the draw cards to the lodge. However, if community partners are similar to the #Khomani, these traditions are sometimes used as a reason to not deliver on a particular task or activity (see Chapter 6 in this volume). While stakeholders should not be forced to a timetable/schedule or structure that clashes with their world views, traditions or self-respect, alternatives should be sought so that tourist expectations are met. A possible solution is that in the regular staff meetings dialogue can work to establish a list of possible activities giving the staff the choice as to when they will conduct them for different tourist groups, instilling a sense of participation and ownership in lodge operations. This links to the suggestion that there should be a variety of cultural offerings (not necessarily only based on past traditions, but new emerging cultural practices) in order to satisfy both the tourist demand and implement progressive cultural tourism.

Indicators and Evaluation

The phases and strategies discussed above are aimed at instituting operational stability where the lodge becomes commercially sustainable and profitable; meeting both its economic and social change objectives. The *indicators* in this model represent the intended outcomes for when the development process in establishing an operational lodge is effectively

completed. As illustrated in the model by the term *multiplier effects* to characterise these indicators, its success should not only be determined by becoming operational and commercially viable but also by its capacity to: i) stimulate socio-economic empowerment, and ii) build local social skills and capacity that equates with individual empowerment.

The two-way arrow between these grouped indicators suggests that they are integrated. Socio-economic empowerment indicators may include: i) direct community financial benefit; ii) long-term asset creation; iii) support of local business; iv) opening new markets for local artists; v) leveraging supplier support (from marketing operations). Individual empowerment indicators may include: i) direct individual employment benefits; ii) direct new skills benefits; iii) promotion-from-within in practice; iv) information equity; v) supporting local education; vi) micro-enterprise development and self-representation; vii) social capital¹² and social trust.

The broken arrow leading down from the *multiplier effects* to the *action plan* and up to the *evaluation* phase illustrates the interrelatedness of these components. Ideally the indicators should share common characteristics with the objectives and success criteria set in the *action plan* and they will be used to evaluate the lodge's performance. A simple form of evaluation is therefore to assess the lodge's outcomes in light of the partnership's objectives, success criteria and expectations that were developed in dialogue between all partners. A wider, industry-based form of evaluation would be to apply for accreditation, such as Fair Trade in Tourism and best practice awards.

Conclusion: Value for Continual Improvement

Physical reality can be represented in a number of ways, each of which alters the process of development. The PPCP model will therefore not be operationalised in exactly the same way as outlined above and will also change according to different development contexts. The model presented

¹² Social capital includes “[f]eatures of social organization, such as social networks, norms, and trust, which facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 1323). While this is represented in the CFPD model as a social change indicator I refer to social capital based on the facilitation offered by IXaus management staff in assisting the *Khomani and Mier understand legal paperwork in purchasing homes for example.

here crystallizes my findings in the best practices of establishing a lodge to the stage where a lodge becomes operational. There is no closure to this model. This model looks to set up a lodge to the point where there is value for continual improvement “understood as the transformation of a community into a “learning organization” that continuously seeks ways to advance” (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009: 1320). Maintaining stable operations will require further dialogue, negotiations, strategic communication and dedication to an adaptive management approach that embraces multiple values and expectations. This process is shown in the model by the broken arrow moving from evaluation back to vision of the future indicating that the partnership may “renew the process, moving forward to a new round of objective setting and collective action, either for the same problem or for a new one” (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009: 1319).

Research may have become a dirty word to some and much development communication and tourism-as-development literature is riddled with stories of failure. We need to transcend ‘development’ not by pulling down the shutters but by formulating different paths to the same end (Simon 1997: 183).

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