

**„Lodge-ical“ Thinking and Development Communication: !Xaus  
Lodge as a Public-Private-Community Partnership in Tourism**

**By**

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## **Declaration**

I, **Lauren Dyll-Myklebust (student number 981201194)**, hereby declare that this thesis is my own original work, has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university, and that the sources I have used have been acknowledged by complete references. This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in The Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS) in the School of Literary Studies, Media and Creative Arts in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences at the University of KwaZulu-Natal.

**Signature:**\_\_\_\_\_ **Date:** 25 November 2011

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## **Abstract**

This thesis explores the interface between community development via tourism and the field of development communication *vis-à-vis* a case study of the community-owned and privately-operated !Xaus Lodge in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. The research is informed by Critical Indigenous Qualitative Research that employs interpretive research practices that aim to be ethical, transformative, participatory and committed to dialogue. The study valorises the voices of all lodge stakeholders analysing their expectations and how they negotiate the processes involved in the establishment and operations of the lodge. As a longitudinal study from 2006 until 2011 it focuses on the processes involved in transforming a failed poverty alleviation-built tourism asset into a commercial product with a range of benefits for the community partners. The processes involved are studied and shaped via participatory action research. This thesis generates a generalised public-private-community lodge partnership development communication model based on the findings of the !Xaus Lodge case study. The analysis of !Xaus Lodge is guided by development communication principles and practice such as the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model, as well as the notion of pro-poor tourism (PPT). The applicability of these policies, approaches and models is problematised highlighting the complexity of development on the ground, particularly with indigenous and local communities. This study sets out the importance of cultural relativity in development projects whereby possible differences in the stakeholders' history, epistemology and ontology should be taken into consideration if a project is to negotiate both the demands of commercial viability as well as the symbolic and spiritual needs of the community partners.

## **Acronyms**

ANC - African National Congress  
BEE - Black Economic Empowerment  
BTG - Best of Travel Group  
CFPD - Communication for Participatory Development  
CPA - Communal Property Association  
CRA - Cultural Resources Audit  
CBNRM – Community based natural resource management  
CBT - Community-based tourism  
DEAT - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism  
DTEC - Department of Tourism, Environment and Conservation  
EIA - Environmental Impact Assessment  
FEDHASA - Federated Hospitality Association of Southern Africa  
FGASA - Field Guide Association South Africa  
FTTSA - Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa  
GEAR - Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy  
KD1 - Kgalagadi District 1  
KTP - Kgalagadi Transfontier Park  
KNP - Kruger National Park  
MOA - Memorandum of Agreement  
NEPAD - New Partnerships for Africa's Development  
JMB - Joint Management Board  
PPP - Public Private Partnerships  
PPCP - Public-Private-Community Partnership  
PPT - Pro-poor tourism  
RDP - Rural Development Plan  
SANParks - South African National Parks  
SASI - South African San Institute  
SATSA - South African Tourism Services Association  
SMME - Small, medium and micro enterprises  
TFCA - Transfrontier Conservation Area  
TFPD - Transfontier Parks Destination  
TP - Transfontier Park  
WIMSA - Working Group of Indigenous Minorities

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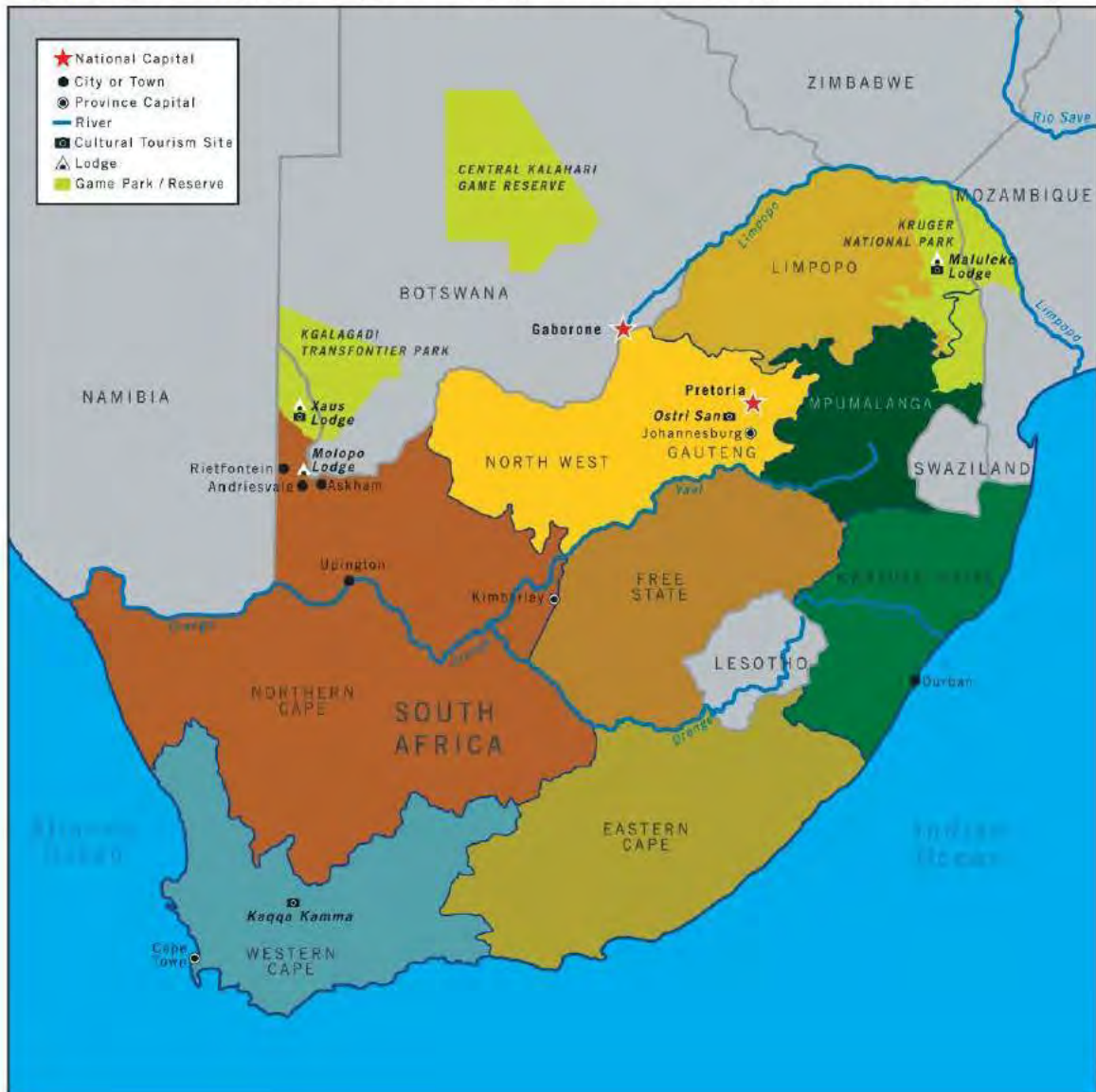


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# Map

Map. Showing !Xaus Lodge, surrounding area and other significant tourism and development sites referred to in the study



# **Chapter One**

## **A Background to the „Heart“ of the Kalahari**

### **Introduction**

In his wisdom late #Khomani artist, Vetkat Kruiper, explained that there is more truth spoken around the fire than the table as it is too hot to hide the truth away under it. You need to sit around the fire to discuss history, as parts of history cannot be burnt or hidden. I have heard a lot of the history of the people in the Northern Cape of South Africa, particularly the #Khomani Bushmen<sup>1</sup>, by sitting around the fire with them, as well as in books and articles relevant to my research. My research context is provided in terms of the two communities involved in the development initiative, namely the #Khomani Bushmen and the Mier<sup>2</sup> community of the Northern Cape of South Africa, and the development initiative itself - !Xaus Lodge located within the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) that borders South Africa and Botswana. Although the word „lodge“ may refer to sectarian organisations such as a Masonic lodge, which is the basic cell of Freemason, or the Orange Lodge associated with the Orangemen of Northern Ireland, in this particular thesis the word is used to designate a structure used for the purposes of leisure activities, such as a ski lodge, a hunting lodge, or in the case of !Xaus Lodge, a safari lodge.

In order to understand the relationship between the communities and !Xaus Lodge for the creation of a public-private-community lodge partnership model, this chapter describes the events and outcomes surrounding the successful 1999 land claim that resulted in the !Ae !Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement signed on 29 May 2002. The historical genesis of the two communities and the lodge itself will provide the nuances of this development partnership.

### **What“s in a name?**

It was agreed upon by all the parties involved in the lodge under study, that it is to be called !Xaus Lodge which #Khomani members Oom Tietes Rooi and Elsie Rooi explain means “heart” in the Nama language (Kruiper, email, 2006). The reason for this is that the guest

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<sup>1</sup> The #Khomani are a Bushman community of the southern Kalahari.

<sup>2</sup> The Mier are a coloured community also residing in the southern Kalahari. Coloured is a disputed term in South Africa. “It emerged early in colonial history to identify people of mixed European and African ancestry. Later it emerged as a specific cultural and linguistic identity that is dominant in the Western Cape Province” (Crawhall, 2001:28).

chalets overlook a magnificent pan in the shape of a heart (see Appendix A). On a fieldtrip to !Xaus Lodge in July 2007, however, ≠Khomani tracker, Andrew Kruiper and crafter, Deon Nobitson, refuted the definition of !Xaus as “heart” and explained that it means “hut” due to the chalets that were to be constructed on site close to the pan. This is but one example of the contradictions one stumbles across when conducting research in the Northern Cape (or in any research field). Concerned about the contradictions surrounding the lodge’s naming I consulted Nigel Crawhall, a sociolinguist who has worked closely with the ≠Khomani since the beginning of the land claim. His explanation supported the former idea behind the lodge name:

As I know, the name of the pan was original Xausendi, which means „diarrhoea“, as the water is brackish there. Ouma /Una pointed out that the pan was shaped as a heart, but that was a later observation, and she meant like a romantic heart, not literally like a human heart (Crawhall, email, April 2009)

The use of the term „Bushman“ instead of San in my research needs explanation. It is clear that the term „Bushman“ first came into use in the Cape area in the 1600s by early Dutch settlers, where „Bojesman/Bossiesman“ signified „outlaw“. „San“ is generally traced to the Khoi word „Sonqua“ signifying „original people“ or „foragers“ (Barnard, 1992), although both Robert Gordon (1992) and Alan Barnard (1992) make a case for its derogatory sense of „bandit“ or „rascal“. Barnard (1992: 7) further explains that; “[a]lthough „San“ is gaining wide acceptance among non-specialists, several ethnographers who formerly used it have now reverted to „Bushman“”. The primary reason that I use the term Bushman, however, is that my research participants refer to themselves as Bushman.

There is a desirability of differentiation from different Bushman groups. This is highlighted in the excerpt from the 1994-1995 Progress Report of the Kuru Development Trust, Botswana, “There are many groups among us, all of whom prefer to be called by their own names” (Tobias, 1998:21). It is important to avoid viewing different groups of Bushmen as one homogenous group. Anthea Simões (2001:11), however, points to the occasions where “a single term is required to describe common experiences between certain groups in southern Africa”. In these cases, it could be argued that words obtain their meaning from the social context in which they are used and it should be possible to recast the same term and infuse it with new meaning (Gordon, 1992). Social banditry should be made respectable again as, “of all southern African people exposed to the colonial onslaught, those labeled „Bushman“ have the longest, most valiant, if costly, record of resistance to colonialism” (Gordon, 1992: 6-7). Robert Hitchcock (2002) also raises the issue of ethnic terminology revealing that nobody had

asked the Bushmen by what name they should be known, while other tribes had names for themselves and thus knew who they were, the Bushmen want to be known by their own names and to have the respect of others. With this in mind I asked Miriam Motshabise (interview, July 2003) a resident in Ngwatle<sup>3</sup>, Botswana by which name she preferred to be called. Her answer was Bushman as:

San is...I think San are those who were speaking this, this language, from which are spoken by in Ghanzi, or the old ones were called San but not now. We are called Bushmen or Basarwa...Those ones [San] they were not wearing...there's a difference; they were not wearing...Nowadays we are wearing shoes, clothes. They were wearing some traditional dresses, skins. Others were walking without...naked!

„Bushman“ is also preferred in the Northern Cape. Crawhall (2001) worked as the South African San Institute's (SASI)<sup>4</sup> Cultural Programme Manager during the land claim researching the community's linguistic and social origins in support of the claim. He then led the Cultural Resource Audit (Crawhall, 2001) documenting the use of culture, knowledge and language to assist with future development initiatives. He explains that SASI uses the ethnic terminology preferred by the respective communities themselves. They talk about Bushman; SASI therefore uses that word even though it is considered pejorative in urban areas. Apart from the leadership, the word San is virtually unknown within the community. Politically correct agendas on terminology are useful in some contexts, where the term is used and understood internationally and is „sanitised“ for political use, but can be oppressive to people who view the term as derogatory within their social context. It is appropriate therefore to respect these research partners and I will make use of the terms that they use to refer to themselves.

≠Khomani crafter, Silikat Van Wyk's response to the question of preferred naming supports Crawhall's explanation. During a fieldtrip in July 2007 I asked Silikat whether he preferred the

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<sup>3</sup> Ngwatle is located in southern Botswana in a hunting concession area called Kgalagadi District 1 (KD1). The !Xoo Bushman reside in Ngwatle and are another group visited by the Rethinking Indigeneity project.

<sup>4</sup> A service organisation affiliated to the Southern African San leadership council known as the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA). SASI was formed in 1996, in order to assist and provide resources for the land claim. SASI is both a national and regional mandate. The national mandate is to work with identified Bushman communities in southern Africa and the regional mandate is to work with other service organisations and the political structures on issues of land rights, intellectual property rights pertaining to research and visual material, human rights, culture, heritage and language management issues, the status of education in the region and, the issue of tourism as a form of development (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

term „San“ or „Bushman“. His response was “*Boesman. Dis in my bloed*”<sup>5</sup>. He opened up a copy of *Current Writing* I had given him as it featured an article I wrote about my first meeting with him. He pointed to the article and photos of himself and said “*Silikat die Boesman doen hierdie werk*”<sup>6</sup> (Fieldnotes, July 2007). Silikat then made reference to what President Thabo Mbeki said at the land claim ceremony: “*julle moes San wees*”<sup>7</sup>. However, Silikat disagrees because when people speak about „San“ he thinks of people living in Rietfontein and not the ≠Khomani Bushman. Silikat ended off his explanation by writing the acronym SANParks in the sand and told us that the reason some people think that „San“ is the correct term to use is because it is used in naming the park. Jong Kruiper, son of traditionalist leader Dawid Kruiper answered in a similar vein foregrounding an essentialist Bushman identity (cf. Hall, 1996) and their connection to the land: “*Jy is a Boesman gebore. ’n Boesman beteken n’ mens van die veld en ek is lief vir die veld*”<sup>8</sup> (Fieldnotes, July 2007).

Having the „correct“ surname in the Northern Cape can be lucrative for some. The ≠Khomani traditionalist’s political economy is based on a traditional identity and commodifying this identity based on the Kruiper name. During the same fieldtrip I met Pien Kruiper, another of Dawid Kruiper’s sons. He walked up to Chris, a fellow student, and extending his hand introduced himself in a Bond-like fashion, “*Die naam is Kruiper, Pien Kruiper*”<sup>9</sup>. However, he stretched out his arm, not in a handshake but expecting a „hand out“. This is indicative of how research and media attention have positioned the traditional ≠Khomani in relation to entertainment and intellectual production (Tomaselli, 2007; 2005a) - organised begging replaces formal job descriptions. To be a „Bushman“ in the tourism sector holds currency, particularly if you are ≠Khomani and even more so if you are a Kruiper. I have dubbed this the „Kruiper currency“.

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<sup>5</sup> “Bushman. It is in my blood”.

<sup>6</sup> “Silikat the Bushman did this work”.

<sup>7</sup> “You must be San”.

<sup>8</sup> “You are born a Bushman. A Bushman means a person from the bush and I love the bush”.

<sup>9</sup> “The name is Kruiper, Pien Kruiper”.

Before I introduce !Xaus Lodge's community partners, I explain the definition of *community* used in this research. The term *community* is contested as it can be articulated in multiple ways including physical, political, social, psychological, historical, linguistic, economic, cultural and spiritual definitions:

For colonized peoples many local communities have been made through deliberate policies aimed at putting people on reserves which are often out of sight, on the margins. Legislation and other coercive state practices have ensured that people stay within their own community boundaries. Communities have also made themselves, however, despite policies aimed at fragmenting family bonds and separating people from their traditional territories (Smith, 1999:125-126).

These ways of defining a community are embodied in both the ≠Khomani and Mier experience, as will be elaborated on below.

### **Mier Community**

A group of us including Prof. Tomaselli, student Kamini Moodley and !Xaus Lodge operator, Glynn O' Leary, met with the Mier Mayor Sophie Coetzee at the Municipality offices in Rietfontein in August 2006 to discuss the challenges facing !Xaus Lodge. A couple of days before we challenged the 38 kilometres of red sand dunes of the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) to „recede“<sup>10</sup> Mier communal land with Mier members Pieter Smith, Jackie Mouton, and Willie Philander on our way to stay at !Xaus Lodge.

The Mier community mainly originated from the people of Captain Vilander<sup>11</sup> in the Cape who more than 150 years ago, settled themselves across the extended area that reached from Rietfontein at the central point to the Orange River and into the then German West Africa (presently Namibia) and Bechuanaland (presently Botswana) (SANParks, 2004: 15). They were embedded in a subsistence economy farming sheep, goats and cattle. They established their own system of governance over this land. The Philander Council granted farms to individuals in order to prevent white oppression. In 1984 the Concession Court of British Bechuanaland authorised the land grants as provisional titles (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park

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<sup>10</sup> Short for "reconnaissance". Although this has military connotations I use the word here and throughout the thesis as it was the word used by many !Xaus Lodge stakeholders to mean explore, inspect or scout an area.

<sup>11</sup> Story has it that Dirk Vilander discovered an aardvark burrow filled with water. When he tried to drink from the water, he noticed the water was full of ants. He named the area Mier, Afrikaans for „ant“ (SANParks, 2004: 15).



Agreement, 2002:164). However, like the #Khomani, the Mier were oppressed by the apartheid regime, depriving the community of their land use rights in and around the then Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (now the KTP). This negatively affected their livelihood as the establishment of the park in 1913 “deprived the community of access to the grazing and hunting areas, which the community utilised within the National Park” (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002:165). Furthermore, the Coloured Rural Areas Act 24 passed by the apartheid government in 1963 saw large portions of the land, which was reserved for the community, privatised against the will of the majority of the Mier community members. Twenty-eight farm units, which had to be held in trust by the Minister responsible for Land Affairs, were allotted to individuals and therefore were not able to benefit the wider community. In addition the erection of new boundary fences in the Gemsbok Park led to “further infringement on the land of the community reserve, without any fair and reasonable compensation” (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002:165). It can be argued, therefore that the Mier community identity was/is defined in terms of a “deliberate policy” (Smith, 1999:125-126). The classification of people of mixed-heritage (including the Bushman) under apartheid’s notorious Group Areas Act of 1950 meant they were resettled in the „coloured“ designated reserve of Mier in 1973 (Ramutsindela, 2003). The term “coloured” refers to an ethnic group who have a diverse heritage, including lineage from the sub-Sahara, although not enough to be considered black under apartheid (or post-apartheid) law. Although the term emerged in early colonial history as a racial classification, it evolved into a specific cultural and linguistic identity largely dominant in the Western Cape province (Crawhall 2001: 28).

In 1997 the Mier Local Council and South African National Parks (SANParks) attended the #Khomani Land Claim negotiations in “opposition to the claim” (SASI, 2004:2). This led to the Mier lodging their land claim in December 1998. They claimed restitution of the following rights: land rights lost by the community in the Mier Rural Area due to the sale of the 28 farms to individual farmers, land rights of families who were residing in the Park before it was proclaimed as a Park, and lastly extensive rights of usage, which the wider Mier Community exercised in the Park, including hunting and grazing rights (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002: 165).

Although their land claim “overlapped and competed with that of the San to the southern section of the Park” (SASI, 2004:2), the #Khomani did not object. Between 1999 and 2001

intense negotiations revolved around the three parties and rights in/to the KTP. This process was facilitated by Dawie Bosch (Bosch & Hirschfeld, 2002) and culminated in the conclusion of the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement on 29 May 2002.

The Mier community derive most of their income through commercial ventures, employment from government agencies and farming. Unemployment in both communities is high, but much more so among the #Khomani (De Villiers, 2008). In 2000, a year after the successful land claim, the level of unemployment in the Northern Cape was approximately 28.5 percent, but the figure for the #Khomani was much higher, at 47 percent. Following the land claim, an important source of income for the Mier is hunting. The Mier municipality owns 30 000 hectares of game farms. These and other privately owned game farms offer hunting opportunities and provide facilities for biltong<sup>12</sup> making. The area is still engaged in sheep and game farming. However, the lack of fresh water is a major constraint on development, since water pumped from underground source is of poor quality. Efforts are currently being made to extend the Kalahari East pipeline to Mier, to provide the much needed resource<sup>13</sup>.

During my fieldtrip to Andriesvale and !Xaus Lodge in July 2007 one of my objectives was to gain contextual information on the history and lifestyle of the Mier community. An „official“ history of the Mier community was difficult to source prior to our fieldtrip. Interestingly many questions about Mier history with Mier members were met with ambiguous answers. Leon Coetzee a qualified male nurse and !Xaus Lodge staff member explained that in reality there is no „Mier community“ per se. Rather, it is a municipality that governs the communities in Rietfontein, Philandersbron<sup>14</sup>, Loubos, Klein Mier, Groot Mier, Welkom, Askam and Noenieput. This points to how a community may be defined spatially. One of the few sources that feature the Mier, *The Green Kalahari Tourism* website, states that: “[m]ore than half of the 6000 people living in Mier have never left the area. Even so, the biggest asset of Mier is the rich culture and history of its people.”<sup>15</sup> However, there is no further explanation of the

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<sup>12</sup> Biltong is a kind of dried meat that originated in and is still popular in South Africa.

<sup>13</sup> Available at: [http://www.greenkalahari.co.za/mie\\_background.htm](http://www.greenkalahari.co.za/mie_background.htm), accessed on 4 October 2007.

<sup>14</sup> More than 70 percent of the residents of Philandersbron carry the surname “Philander” – some spelt with a “Ph”, some with a “V” ([http://www.greenkalahari.co.za/mie\\_background.htm](http://www.greenkalahari.co.za/mie_background.htm)).

<sup>15</sup> Available at: [http://www.greenkalahari.co.za/mie\\_background.htm](http://www.greenkalahari.co.za/mie_background.htm), accessed on 4 October 2007.

people's history. In describing the area, Leon Coetzee made a distinction between what he referred to as the "Brown Capital" located in Rietfontein and home to the Mier Municipality, and the "Boesman (Bushman) Capital" in Andriesvale. He did mention that he knew about Dirk Philander but that he was not sure of his family's specific connection to this ancestor as his matrilineal heritage was Griqua<sup>16</sup> and patrilineal heritage was Dutch (Fieldnotes, July 2007). Ellen Bok, another !Xaus Lodge staffer born in Rietfontein, told me that she too could not tell me about the Mier history although she would consider herself part of the Mier community. Like Leon her mother's family are Griqua, and her grandfather was from Ireland - a policeman who came to the Kalahari. She knows that her father would be able to explain the history of the area as he was born in the Park (Fieldnotes, July 2007). The claim to being born in the park is frequently used as an assertion of an „authentic Bushman heritage“, but interestingly Ellen was adamant that her family are not Bushmen.

Although I was not able to ascertain an „official“ Mier history, my fieldwork indicated two aspects of the Mier community. Firstly, in defining who they are, they make a distinction between themselves and the Bushman. This distinction in identity between the Mier and Bushman is mirrored in the #Khomani traditionalist's "assertion of distinctiveness from *Basters*"<sup>17</sup> (White, 1995: 20) as will be explained further in the chapter. Secondly, like the #Khomani group it appears that the term „Mier“ is an ethnonym and has also been constructed as a means of classifying a group of people within an area toward which development is being aimed. This term enables them to be written into land restitution and development policy such as the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002). Leon Coetzee said that he is not opposed to this classification as it can assist in development (Fieldnotes, July 2007).

Pieter Retief, !Xaus Lodge manager appeared to have some knowledge of the Mier history. Below is his explanation of the Mier history that he addressed to Swiss tourists in July 2008. Although it is presented for tourism purposes, I have quoted him at length as it is important in

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<sup>16</sup> It is difficult to state simply who the Griqua are. Historically, they are the "in between" people in South African history and society. The ethnonym emerged in the eighteenth century in consultation with a Scottish missionary. Ever since then the Griquas have been manoeuvring between a variety of identities – Khoekhoe, Khoesan, colonial, „coloured“ and Christian (Waldman, 2007).

<sup>17</sup> *Batser*: lit „bastard“, referring to people of mixed racial ancestry, officially classified „coloured“ under South Africa's Population Registration Act of 1950 (White, 1995:19), who moved into the Kalahari around 1865 (Ellis, 2001). The National Government of 1950 grouped together "San and other Khoisan minorities...with sometimes unrelated people in an amorphous category as „coloureds“" (Prins, 2000:2).

highlighting his interpretation of where the Mier came from and their relationship with the ≠Khomani. It also speaks to the local people's connection with the Park and their forced removal from it, including their resulting „lost tradition“. When asked from where he attained his information, he explained that it was told to him by a Mier community member, again pointing to the fact that much Mier history is sourced via oral transmission, with few known written or accessible sources<sup>18</sup>.

About 150 years ago a guy called Dirk Vilander moved from the Cape up to live north of the Orange River. Dirk Vilander was a *Baster* which basically means his father's a coloured and the mother is a black or a white and a coloured or a white and a black. They never fitted in the Cape, they were not accepted by either of the white or the black communities. He took his people, very proud people and they moved up and lived north of the Orange River. I know that they had some battle here – fighting the English military group and occupied the land. There's also some of them living in Namibia now....They are very proud to be called *Basters*.

They got into the Kalahari and I think at the beginning of the century - I know in the First World War Namibia was Germany occupied and South Africa was pro-British - they wanted to invade Namibia. They planned two routes; the one through the south, through Rietfontein or the other up this river, the Auob River that you guys drove in. Every ten or 15 kilometres they put up a pit, for people there to farm and look after the pits for protection and security. When they eventually invaded Namibia they never actually went through the Auob River, but they went through the southern route. But I think by putting water there actually introduced the area to western people.

In 1931 just after the Kruger National Park got proclaimed as a game reserve, so did this [referring to KTP] become proclaimed as a game reserve. The Mier people were farming all the way up the Auob River. If you drive now today and you look, every now and then, you get a cairn - a lot of stones packed on top of each other. They marked the boundary apparently, of the Mier farms. You also see some of the ruins still there.

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<sup>18</sup> Very little material exists on the Mier history. A couple of months prior to submission of this thesis, William Ellis, also conducting research in the Northern Cape informed me of two sources written in English that I would be able to understand. The first is a report (Wildschut & Steyn, 1990) on the past, present and alternative land use in the Mier Rural Reserve. Attempts to access this report were unsuccessful. The Surplus People's Project that conducted this research did not follow through on sending me the report. In addition I could not access Erasmus (1997) in the library nor via the internet.

The Bushman people lived all over the Kalahari. They lived within and hunted within the Mier farming area, in the park area, into Namibia and into Botswana as well. But when it became a game reserve the people were moved out. The Bushman people that lived here were moved out – they moved south of the Park. The Mier people were pushed to the south-west from us. In the 1970s and in the middle of apartheid I think they finally moved out of the Park, where they were totally stopped to gather food and hunt. They lived on farms south of the Park working as labourers. Again working for somebody else. Again pushed out of the area they normally occupied...working on white farms or coloured farms, losing their culture, losing their tradition, losing their way to hunt because now they cant come into the Park (Retief, guest presentation, July 2008).

### **≠Khomani Community**

I met the ≠Khomani community on my first field trip to the Northern Cape in July 2002. My interest in development communication<sup>19</sup> and tourism was first piqued when I registered for two courses offered by Culture, Communication and Media Studies<sup>20</sup> entitled; Media, Democracy and Development, and Visual Anthropology. However, actually *being* in the Kalahari for my Masters field research (Dyll, 2004) opened my eyes to the ambivalence and complexity of development more so than any text could convey<sup>21</sup>.

The Bushmen of the southern Kalahari in South Africa, Botswana and Namibia are distinguished from neighbouring people by their historical territorial occupation dating back to at least 120 000 years. “Archaeologists tend to agree that they are descendants of the original *Homo sapiens* populations” (Crawhall, 2001:6). They have endured an economic and cultural system built around a particularly harsh physical environment and non-hierarchical social system, a violent encounter with colonial forces and the apartheid regime, physical displacement and diaspora, and disintegration of families, social institutions and identity. These forces have led to a descent into poverty and vulnerability during the twentieth century

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<sup>19</sup> “The [study]...of the relationship between the practical application of communication processes and technologies in achieving positive and measurable development outcomes” (Servaes, 2008:15). To be discussed further in Chapter Four.

<sup>20</sup> Now The Centre for Communication, Media and Society (CCMS).

<sup>21</sup> As the broader research site (Northern Cape) and research participants for my Masters and PhD research are the same, I have drawn on my Masters dissertation (Dyll, 2004) in parts of this background chapter.

that has become its own cycle of marginalisation (Crawhall, 2001). The ≠Khomani embody this history.

This violence experienced by the Bushmen resulted in the dispersion of the ≠Khomani, their language and cultural practices. In 1991, the core surviving ≠Hanaseb<sup>22</sup> Bushman group led by the patriarch !Gam!gaub Regopstaan Kruiper settled at the tourist resort of Kagga Kamma near Ceres in the Western Cape. Regopstaan Kruiper began the fight to regain control of their ancestral lands. In 1995 they met human rights lawyer, Roger Chennels, who explained the new land laws that gave them the right to restitution for the losses they had experienced since 1913 (Crawhall, 2001). That same year the ≠Khomani lodged a claim for restitution of land in and around the then Kalahari Gemsbok National Park<sup>23</sup>, from which they were removed against their will in 1972. The lodging of this claim brought together approximately 200 adults who had, for the first time, come together as a community under the name of ≠Khomani (meaning „large group“). This ethnonym was constituted to “further the purposes of the land claim” (Tomaselli, 2005a: 3). Their diverse backgrounds, however, made it difficult for the ≠Khomani to form a cohesive community or identity which contributed to conflict and division (Robins, 2001). The claimants were descendents of Regopstaan Kruiper, most of whom had been born in the Park. After years of negotiation and verification with the help of Chennels and The Albertyn Law Firm in South Africa and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities (WIMSA)<sup>24</sup>, the claim was finally settled on 21 March 1999 (Grossman & Holden, 2002; Hitchcock, 2002). The years of negotiation and verification of a Bushman identity, however, had created some tension amongst the Northern Cape community. For the first time a Bushman identity held value for a poverty-stricken community.

The land restitution offered opportunities for two modes of development: agriculture and cultural tourism. Once the claim had been settled the previously scattered group parted once

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<sup>22</sup> The ≠Hanaseb are a Khoekhoe speaking Bushman group that were driven out of Namibia during the Nama-German war and joined the dominant ≠Khomani group in South Africa during the 1920s. Many ≠Hanaseb were part of the Bushman group who worked in the park and on local farms as cheap labour during the 1940s (Crawhall, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Renamed the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park on 7 April 1999 when the Botswana and South African presidents signed a treaty that linked the two countries’ portions of the park (SANParks, 2004: 4).

<sup>24</sup> WIMSA is an umbrella organisation whose objectives claim to promote San land and resource rights strengthening San leadership and institutions, and enhancing self-esteem and cultural pride among Bushmen.

more choosing different paths in which to use their new land, rights, and newly focused media and academic attention (cf. Buntman 1996a/b; Simões 2001; Weinberg, 2000). The resulting power dynamics saw the emergence of two communities, which relates to how “[c]ommunities have also made themselves” (Smith, 1999:125-126). Some became pastoralists and farmed sheep and goats. This group is nicknamed the *westerse mense* (western people) and many of them align themselves with the Mier. Others moved into small towns in the Northern Cape such as Upington, Rietfontein, Postmasburg and Olifantshoek. One small self-declared relatively alcohol-free group lived on a sand dune, known as *Blinkwater* (Sparkling Water), between April 2000 and May 2005 and then moved to Welkom, an urban settlement adjacent to the KTP.

The remaining 80 or so ≠Khomani that constitute most of the Kruiper clan, descendants of Regopstaan Kruiper, call themselves traditionalists. When Regopstaan died in 1995, his son Dawid Kruiper took over his leadership. Since 1991 Dawid and most of his patrilineal kin earn their prime means of income through cultural tourism migrating between Andriesvale in the Northern Cape (primarily on two farms named Witdraai and Erin) (see Appendix B), and the privately owned Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in Cedarberg. From 2003 migration to and from Kagga Kamma lessened for reasons that will be explained in Chapter Three. The Kruiper clan at Witdraai have adopted the identity of the romanticised image of pre-modern Bushmen popularised in the *God’s Must Be Crazy* (1980, 1991, 1993, 1996) films.

Despite having been recipients of nearly R8 million in development aid since 1999, the traditionalist Kruiper clan remains poverty-stricken and socially dysfunctional. Apart from working as cultural performers for both local and international film and television companies they earn a living from selling crafts to passing tourists on the roadside. In October 2000 the opportunity to start the ≠Khomani Sisen<sup>25</sup> Project arose, a craft project where ≠Khomani youth and adults use natural materials to create beads and artwork. It is a community-based initiative where a group of people have worked out their own system of management. SASI assisted with funding and provided facilitators to get the project started. This entails taking the traditional knowledge that local people already have about the production of the unique craft and helping to shape it so that it becomes a marketable product without losing its authenticity (Wildschut,

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<sup>25</sup> In the ancient N/u language spoken in the Northern Cape Sisen means “we work”.

interview, July 2003). In recent years this project has faced difficulties with the mismanagement, and at times, disappearance of funds (Fieldnotes, July 2007; 2008). Another project that is facilitated by SASI is the //Uruke Livelihoods Programme, part of which is a tracking experience led by local ≠Khomani members such as Toppies Kruiper.

The traditionalists define their identity in antagonistic terms against that of the *Basters* (with whom the *westerse mense* and Mier are closely associated) and who they believe lack their own language, culture and tradition and to be the illegitimate occupants of Bushman land (White, 1995). A sense of community is therefore based on local politics and history. Unlike the Mier, the ≠Khomani cannot be considered a community based on spatial relations as they are still semi-nomadic travelling from Andriesvale to different cultural tourism sites; in the past to Kagga Kamma in the Western Cape and Ostri-San in the North West Province (1999-2003), and today to !Xaus Lodge in the KTP. Although a hybrid product of South African society, long separated from a traditional lifestyle this group „play-act“ a traditional Bushman identity for the tourist spectacle (White, 1995). To a certain extent they have internalised the myth of the „authentic“ Bushman in order to earn money and attract funding.

Within the alternating experience of patronage and loss, the ≠Khomani's representation of themselves as pristine hunter-gatherers - and their assertion that they are thus distinct from *Basters* - marks a strategic attempt on their part to position themselves as authenticated subjects of the global Bushman image that has generated patronage and its benefits (White, 1995: 35). Hylton White (1995:20) points out how this may show the group's sense of cultural endangerment as they insist they are superior to the *Basters*: “The assertion of distinctiveness from *Basters* in this respect carries with it...a threatening and apocalyptic subtext of Bushmen losing their heritage and thereby becoming *Basters* themselves”. This results in “ethnic chauvinism” (White, 1995: 25) as the traditionalists view the *westerse* Bushmen as having “[become] *Basters*” (White, 1995: 20) with no link to ancestral languages and who are engaged in livestock farming (Ellis, 2001).

The boundary construction between Bushman and *Baster* links back to the creation in the Northern Cape of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park in 1931 and more relevantly, the Mier Coloured Settlement Area in 1930 (Ellis, 2001). The ≠Khomani were thereby dispossessed of their land and what is perceived as an “idyllic age of Bushman independence and prosperity” (White, 1995:31) was effectively ended as they lived alongside the *Basters* often as their



servants (Ellis, 2001). The strained historical racial relations between the traditionalist ≠Khomani and Mier will be analysed in Chapters Four and Five insofar as it may impact on the development of and operations at !Xaus Lodge.

Language is an important method of exclusion and division in the Northern Cape. There are about ten thousand South Africans who speak one of the Khoe, Ju or !Ui languages in the country. These include Khoekhoegowab (Nama), !Xun, Khwedam and N|u. There may still be speakers of Griqua (Xirigowab) but these have yet to be positively identified. There is a small N|u speaking community of twenty people in the Siyanda District (SASI, 2002). Almost all of those considered „traditional“ in the Northern Cape are people who speak a Bushman language (Ellis, 2001). A few ≠Khomani traditionalists can speak Khoekhoegowab (Nama). Nama is the most widespread of the Khoisan languages, spoken over an enormous geographic area (Namibia, Botswana and South Africa) with low population densities. It is spoken by pockets of isolated speakers such as the ≠Khomani. Only a minority of elders can speak the ancestral N|u language, as the Bushman identity was so heavily stigmatised that the language had been suppressed both by outsiders and by people within the community. N|u was displaced by Afrikaans and Nama after Bushmen started migrating to towns in the 1930s and were surrounded by non-N|u speaking peoples. In 1973 N|u was declared extinct. However, during the land claim SASI and Crawhall worked with Elsie Vaalbooi, a N|u speaker, and identified 25 other people who spoke the language and were previously scattered during the eviction from the park (cf. Crawhall, 1999; 2001; 2005). Today Afrikaans is the *lingua franca* spoken in the Northern Cape.

The complexities of the Mier and ≠Khomani backgrounds alerts one to the fact that development projects involving community partners have to take into account the people's epistemology, history and social structures in order to facilitate and develop programmes / models that are contextually and culturally sensitive. Critical indigenous qualitative research (cf. Denzin *et al* 2008), a methodology that guides my study, can aid this process. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

### **The Land Claim: Back to the Future**

During a ceremony on 21 March 1999 attended by the Northern Cape communities as well as the world's media to capture the spirit of the „New South Africa“, President Thabo Mbeki

signed a land claim settlement agreement. The kind of “excavation of an original [South Africa] culture” as embodied in Bushmen<sup>26</sup> “by writers, film and television makers, advertisers, photographers, poets and so on, to facilitate a South African path to a future beyond apartheid” (Tomaselli, 1993: 82) was crystallised in the land claim. It was an essential „looking back“ at the injustices of the past that allowed the ≠Khomani and Mier a start to a future in South Africa. This was reiterated in Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs, Derek Hanekom’s words:

We are here today celebrating more than just the settlement of a land claim. We are celebrating the rebirth of the ≠Khomani San nation...The revival of the language and culture gives proof that ≠Khomani San are who they claim to be: the first people of this country who know the truth about the natural world and the truth about our painful history. Today’s settlement emerges from our commitment as a democratic government to face our past and have justice done (Hanekom, speech, 1999).

The South African land reform programme has resulted in many displaced communities regaining land lost under the apartheid system. The land restitution programme aims to restore land lost to those people who were displaced as a consequence of such acts as the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Native Trust and Land Act of 1936. The programme only considers those people who can prove that they were forcibly removed after 1913. A Land Claims Court and Commission that was established under the Restitution of Land rights Act, 22 of 1994 is the body responsible for adjudicating these claims (cf. DLA 1997; Bradstock 2006).

The ≠Khomani submitted its land claim in 1995. What followed was a period of intense negotiations between Land Claim Commissioner, Wallace Mgoqi, SANParks, and the Mier local Council attending in “opposition” to the claim (SASI, 2004: 2).

The number of people who claimed ≠Khomani identity through the official government registering process in the Northern Cape during the land claim “posed unanticipated social and economic challenges for the status quo in South Africa who for a long time had thought the [≠Khomani] to be assimilated and almost extinct” (Prins, 2000:2). The process of registering the ≠Khomani with the Lands Claim Commission was time consuming taking five years to

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<sup>26</sup> Ntongela Masilela (1987) has tried to recuperate the idea of the „First People“ from Laurens van der Post’s writings as a way of identifying a common cultural heritage which predated all later immigrants to South Africa.

complete. By early 1999, 297 individuals had been registered (Bradstock, 2006:250). SASI was active in the registration process in order that a ≠Khomani Community Property Association (CPA) could be elected (Grossman & Holden, 2002:2). The CPA is intended to be a representative organisation, the executive committee of which consists of members elected by different districts within the Northern Cape. The purpose of the CPA is to manage the assets of the restituted land. A body called the *Raad van Oudstes* (Council Of Elders) was also formed during the land claim. The family groups such as the Vaalboois and Kruipers, among others, are represented in the Council of Elders, with each family group electing its representative. It served to help the CPA verify the existence of families on traditional land during the land claim. SASI Director, Meryl-Joy Wildschut (interview, July 2003) explained:

SASI's aim is the empowerment of the Bushman communities so that they can control their own resources, their own destiny, their own futures. We don't intend to be here until death us do part, if you can put it that way...While we are here we want to make sure that there is as much inskilling of the community as possible. So when SASI starts a project it's not a SASI project it's a community project that we are facilitating.

SASI's initial phase of support included a cultural resources audit for the ≠Khomani. A cultural resource involves "knowledge gathered from daily context in a particular cultural setting that can be mobilised to impact positively on the quality of life of the individual or group. They can include traditional indigenous knowledge systems, song, dance, or knowledge of community history" (Crawhall, 2001: 11). Wildschut (interview, July 2003) explained that the process of auditing indigenous knowledge was necessary for the ≠Khomani:

The community was completely scattered throughout the entire region, a lot of family ties have been broken, only the older people still held the knowledge in terms of language, and oral histories and traditions and so on. Many of the young people did not even know that they were Bushmen because that information was kept away from them because it was safer, I suppose in terms of the political era of the time during apartheid, to rather not acknowledge that you were Bushman because the Bushmen were always the downtrodden of the downtrodden. So with our new political dispensation the acknowledgement that there are indigenous people in this country happened...But obviously there's this...significant loss of cultural knowledge amongst the people.

In 1998, the parties involved in the land claim were nearing agreement when the Mier community lodged their own land claim in December, "which to an extent overlapped and competed with that of the San to the southern section of the Park" (SASI, 2004:2). However,

the #Khomani did not object and in the last few months finalised the terms that would satisfy both the #Khomani and Mier.

The land claim saw the restitution of land in and around the KTP agreeing to transfer the title deeds of six kalahari farms<sup>27</sup>, approximately 37 000 hectares, to the #Khomani CPA. In addition, approximately 25 000 hectares within the KTP was awarded to the CPA, in conjunction with an adjacent 25 000 hectares awarded to the neighbouring Mier community to be managed as “contract parks” (Grossman & Holden, 2002). The remainder of the calculated capital value of the claim became available for the purchase of additional land, or development of existing land (Grossman & Holden, 2002).

In terms of this settlement agreement SANParks, the Mier and #Khomani agreed that SANParks transfer the area that stretches from the south-westerly border of the KTP up to a line 10 kilometres south of the Auob River to the community parties. The community parties in response agreed to extend the conservation area to the area outside of the KTP that is under their control (including the farms outside the park).

The Mier Community’s land claim was settled in general, subject to property rights over about 25 000 hectares land inside the Park being granted to the Mier Community, that was subject to further negotiation. The #Khomani’s land claim was settled in general, subject to the following conditions that required further negotiations:

- Property rights over 25 000 hectares land inside the Park would be granted to the #Khomani, where the grant was subject to further negotiation;
- The #Khomani claims to commercial and symbolic rights in the Park were not accommodated fully, but it agreed with SANParks to negotiate further about the content of the community party’s further commercial and symbolic rights inside the Park.

The above conditions were finally settled in the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (29 May 2002:166).

A Joint Management Board (JMB) was established with the principal parties. These include the #Khomani CPA acting on behalf of #Khomani community, the Mier Local Municipality acting

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<sup>27</sup> The six farms are: Groot Erin, Klein Erin, Witdraai (noted for traditional use only as no livestock is allowed), Scotty’s Fort, Uitkoms and Miershoopan.

on behalf of the Mier community, and South African National Parks (SANParks). The JMB serves as a forum where representatives of the principal parties may take decisions on a basis of sufficient consensus 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 the contract parks and rights of the ≠Khomani Community in the remainder of the Park or prevent and dissolve any disputes thereof; and iii) promote integrated management amongst the ≠Khomani and Mier Heritage Lands (see Appendix C) and the remainder of the Park, and between these areas and the game enclosures, with the aim to effect balanced conservation and eco-tourism related development (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002:186).

The !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002) has also been signed by the South African government represented by the Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs, the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, represented by the Chief Lands Claims Commissioner, the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, and the Minister of Public Works in “national interest, to finally settle the land claims of the community parties and to establish a positive, co-operative relationship between the community and SANParks” (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement , 29 May 2002:167).

The central aspect of the land claim and !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, for this study, is the restitution of land for a co-operation lodge.

The principal parties commit themselves as a first step, and to effect co-operation, to establish a co-operation lodge, as provided for in clause 48. In the same spirit, SANParks agree to use its best endeavours to arrange that the National Parks Trust will provide funds, on a rand-for-rand basis in proportion to funds provided or obtained by the community parties, for the land that will be managed as a community park (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002: 169).

It is here that the !Xaus Lodge narrative starts. However, before I provide more background on the lodge it is necessary to outline some of the general problems experienced by the communities and other involved parties after the land claim and prior to the establishment of !Xaus Lodge. The next section will provide a background to previous land use, development

and tourism initiatives attempted in the Northern Cape and reasons for their lack of sustainability.

### **Land, Lies and Liability**

This thesis does not investigate the economics of land reform in terms of the communities' economic beneficial return (employment, small entrepreneurial projects, farming and larger tourism and lodge developments). Rather, it explores the relationships involved in !Xaus Lodge's public-private-community partnership (PPCP) with a focus on the forms of development communication and its multiplier effects in order to build a communication model for sustainable and culturally-sensitive public-private-community lodge partnerships. However, it is important to provide an overview of the land reform programme in terms of the ≠Khomani-owned land as a starting point to examine issues integral to a contextually sensitive model<sup>28</sup>. This section provides a detailed account of the land outside of the KTP owned by the ≠Khomani and Mier to highlight the constraints and opportunities to successful land use prior to !Xaus Lodge that may have relevance to the !Xaus Lodge experience.

The CPA was made responsible to manage the assets of the land after the land claim. The 37 000 hectares that consist of the six farms outside the KTP were successfully run on a commercial basis up until transfer. They were fenced, watered and had farm houses (one of which had a successful guesthouse) (Grossman & Holden, 2002:2). These farms used the land for either extensive livestock production or game farming of antelope species. In early 2002 it was calculated that approximately 30 percent of the ≠Khomani community reside on these farms (45 households)<sup>29</sup> (Bradstock, 2001:1).

However, the ≠Khomani have been unable to incorporate this asset into their existing livelihood. This stage of the land claim story was characterised by a lot of finger pointing, placing blame on foreign donors, local development agencies and NGOs, government and the ≠Khomani CPA.

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<sup>28</sup> Alastair Bradstock's (2007) report for FARM-Africa details other assets for poverty exit strategies, such as livestock holdings, access to credit, old age pensions, disability and child support grants, number of Economically Active Adults (EAA). However, a discussion of these assets are beyond the scope of this study.

<sup>29</sup> Rietfontein includes 91 households and Upington includes 27 households (Bradstock, 2001: 1).

One of the main criticisms was the CPA's mismanagement of land use. "What happened was that very quickly the CPA was seen as a power base or a political body within the community, within the CPA itself and outside" (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). Koos Lamprecht (interview, July 2001), ex-manager of Molopo Lodge in the Andriesvale area opposite the Witdraai farm, believes that the CPA must be held accountable for the "money that disappears in the middle". Lamprecht also expressed annoyance at the level of mismanagement on the farms in terms of „too much foreign funding“ and the lack of management on part of the CPA:

The overseas companies I believe have spoilt [the Bushmen]...if he opens his mouth he gets money. They don't want to work for it...I look at the bunch of land they were given around here, around this place. Here lies some of the best land in the Kalahari...But there's nothing on it. Because of the management...the people managing the organisation for them (Lamprecht, interview, July 2001).

Little progress was made and the situation deteriorated, with known mismanagement of funds and assets, devaluation of such assets, growing social problems, lack of real support from government and deep and bitter division between members of the families who had lived in the park (Grossman & Holden, 2002). There was also the opinion that SASI, as the ≠Khomani support organisation, with their assistance from FARM-Africa<sup>30</sup> should have taken immediate action in attempting to train and develop farm skills instead of being primarily focussed on the land claim and auditing cultural knowledge for cultural tourism (Grossman & Holden, 2002).

However, the FARM-Africa website<sup>31</sup> states that in 1999 they implemented a programme in collaboration with the national and provincial Department of Land Affairs. The programme aimed to train the new landowners in: i) crop and livestock production, ii) farm management, iii) irrigation techniques to increase productivity of their land; iv) assisting community members secure government grants to buy equipment such as tractors, water troughs and wind pumps and v) in drawing up long term plans to develop their farms using an innovative participatory land use planning model. "This approach enables groups to work jointly through

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<sup>30</sup> FARM-Africa started in Kenya in 1985. It was set up by Sir Michael Wood, then the recently retired director of AMREF (African Medical Research Foundation) and ex-East Africa director of Oxfam, David Campbell. Its mission is to "reduce poverty by enabling marginal African farmers and herders to make sustainable improvements to their wellbeing through more effective management of their renewable natural resources" (FARM-Africa website, 2008).

<sup>31</sup> Available at: <http://www.farmafrica.org.uk/mission.cfm>, accessed on 5 September 2008.

a sequence of steps to create and implement their plans, encouraging a sense of ownership- and commitment to work” (FARM-Africa, 2008).

What is interesting to note is that although the FARM-Africa website<sup>32</sup> claims that by 2008 their project had “implemented a project that will ensure long term sustainability and success for these people”. Alastair Bradstock (2007), in his report for FARM-Africa, acknowledges the constraints hindering the sustainability of land use in the Northern Cape.

Although the traditionalists are more interested in cultural tourism as an economic resource, the pastoralists or Mier are trying to use their land productively. However, the situation is still difficult. It is all well and good to have a piece of land but if your access to other resources is limited, this leads to frustration and disappointment. “Large distances between the beneficiaries” homes and their land has constrained the ability of members from both groups to integrate land into their livelihoods” (Bradstock, 2006: 252). Seventy percent of the land claim beneficiaries live approximately 100 to 300 kilometres from the farms without accessible affordable transport<sup>33</sup>.

The Bushmen lives on the land, but he doesn’t have a car and transport. He can’t go to a bank and arrange an overdraft, because...He has no guarantee because the land is not in his name, he doesn’t have a car and transport for that land. Now who’s going to help him? (Lamprecht, interview, July 2001).

A related problem is that many of the traditionalist ≠Khomani are living a „nomadic“ existence - a modern form of nomadism which involves travelling around South Africa to find employment at different cultural tourism ventures such as Kagga Kamma and Ostri-San. Generating income from performing their culture is how the ≠Khomani survived for years prior to the land claim. The introduction of land and the need to farm it in order to gain an income was a foreign concept to most of the traditionalists. The effect of this form of nomadism on the operations at !Xaus Lodge will be discussed in Chapter Five.

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<sup>32</sup> Available at: <http://www.farmafrica.org.uk/mission.cfm>, accessed on 5 September 2008.

<sup>33</sup> Proximity to the development site is also a factor for staffing problems at !Xaus Lodge as will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five.



For members of the community who did wish to farm, training was imperative. The farms contain low levels of soil nutrients that result from most of the Kalahari being covered in wind blown sand. This coupled with the low levels of precipitation (average annual precipitation of 200 mm) make crop productivity low. Despite this constraint, however, the conditions on the six farms are good for extensive livestock production as long as farmers are vigilant in ensuring animal numbers do not damage the production of the natural resource base over time (Bradstock, 2007: 2). However, the majority of the #Khomani have no basic agricultural skills and this “collective lack of capacity raises considerable challenges for the successful development of their farms” (Bradstock, 2006: 250). During the time that Bradstock’s (2006: 250) research was undertaken in 2002 he noted that the Department of Agriculture had been unable to transfer the technical skills required by the group.

The carrying capacity of all six farms is approximately 958 large stock units (Van Rooyen, 2002). Three farms have been developed to accommodate wildlife species such as gemsbok and springbok, and the other three farms for domestic species such as cattle, sheep and goats. Approximately two-thirds of the collective farm land was overgrazed after the land claim, but the infrastructure such as gates, water troughs, tanks and fences were in good condition. What needed to be initiated was a maintenance plan to prevent further deterioration of this land. Yet again, along the chain of relations between SASI, FARM-Africa, the CPA and the DLA, the land was not managed successfully. By 2004 the #Khomani had still not developed a business plan outlining their objectives and as a result the Department of Land Affairs’ development funds were not released (Bradstock, 2006: 251). The lack of action and assistance in business and agricultural skills training therefore negated the possibility of further development aid to the community.

Bradstock (2006: 256) looks beyond the local CPA and NGOs such as SASI and FARM-Africa and advocates that:

[I]f the government continues to transfer farms to black households that do not have the complementary assets required to develop them, then the Department of Agriculture will need to review its current support policy. It is apparent that both case study groups need technical agricultural extension support as well as training in management and administrative techniques in order for them to have a chance of making farming a main component of their livelihoods. This is currently not being supplied by the department.

The land restitution offered opportunities for two modes of development: agriculture and cultural tourism. Although the Mier were able to utilise the land for sheep and game farming, the ≠Khomani have been largely unable to successfully incorporate the returned farm land into their livelihood. This may be one reason for SASI's focus on a cultural tourism programme as the primary development strategy amongst the ≠Khomani. !Xaus Lodge in a sense synthesises the use of land and cultural tourism, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Cultural tourism as a development strategy in the Northern Cape has also attracted criticism. Generally it is often criticised as „cheapening“ culture by commodifying it (Buntman 1996a/b; Bester & Buntman 1999). However, the reality is that often it is one of the only forms of self-employment available for rural and indigenous communities. I recall a conversation that Michael Francis (2003; 2007) had with Canadian writer, anthropologist, filmmaker and land claims researcher, Hugh Brody<sup>34</sup>. Francis and I met Brody on 13 July 2008 at Molopo Lodge when he wandered past our camp site. Disappointed at the lack of progress and continued social problems that he observed in Witdraai from 2004 to 2008, Francis commented that the land claim had been a failure with its focus on cultural tourism and neglect of agricultural assistance. Brody (2002) defends the hunter-gatherer way of life and attributes farming to the demise of hunter-gatherer societies as they are absorbed into this western agricultural mode and „lose“ aspects of their traditional culture. However, in his conversation with Francis he did not differentiate between the farming and cultural tourism development options in the Northern Cape. Instead he explained that before the land claim the ≠Khomani were living in an almost slave-labour political economy earning little as farm labourers. Although the ≠Khomani continuously move from one tourism venture to the next, he says this is still an improvement on how they used to live - they are involved in formal tracking programmes instead of simply sitting on the side of the road marketing aspects of themselves, or working as cheap farm labour. He explains that farming is not a failure but a bigger development challenge as; the area is big, the ≠Khomani are not accustomed to the work ethic of *managing* a farm and the farm model that was implemented was not suited to the Kalahari. Based on what *has* developed from farming and cultural tourism, Brody believes that the land claim has been a success as it

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<sup>34</sup> Brody's knowledge of hunter-gatherer culture is gleaned from living and hunting with the Inuit's of the Arctic, salmon-fishing tribes in the Canadian North west and his work with SASI on Bushman history and land rights in southern Africa since 1997. He is the author of *The Other Side of Eden: Hunter-gathers, Farmers and the Shaping of the World* (2002).

has instilled some pride in the people, and institutional interest and support, for example from FARM-Africa, (whereas before they were left in squalor) and government interest (SAHRC, 2004) (Fieldnotes, 13 July 2008). !Xaus Lodge will be investigated as a fusion of these interests and whether or not it will be considered a successful aspect of the land claim.

The Cultural Resources Auditing Management (CRAM) programme in the Northern Cape values cultural tourism as a means of empowerment for the ≠Khomani (Crawhall, 2001). A major goal of development-as-empowerment in line with within the participatory development paradigm is “to move the locus of control from outsider to individual and groups directly affected” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 300). However, some ≠Khomani members still feel that the locus of control is not held by them. Issues around agency and structure *vis-à-vis* the pro-poor tourism (PPT) approach (Ashley *et al*, 2001a/b; Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Wang, 2001) and as observed within the !Xaus Lodge experience, will be discussed in Chapters Three, Five and Six.

During my first fieldtrip in 2002 Keyan Tomaselli and I interviewed Abraham Meintjies who is associated with the traditionalists and seems to be well respected by most in the area for his honesty and solid disposition. His experience in managing the *Tentepark* at Witdraai where most craft sales took place (before it was demolished by the community who appropriated its building materials to build their own shelters) highlights a patronising nature of relations between the CPA and SASI, and the broader community, and their lack of access to the proceeds of their own work. Abraham told us:

Professor, you’ve been here when the Tent Camp was in working order...I took the money that you and the other tourist gave me and used that to get some of the people involved. I didn’t go to SASI. But then...the committees cut off the tourists because they weren’t allowed to pay us here at the Tent Camp. They had to pay at the office...our community office...it is part of the CPA...that became a problem because we are working over here and we do not get the money...the people who are working do feel that they should at least receive R10 or R20 each Friday to help them get through the week. That gives one confidence (Meintjies, interview, July 2002).

Another reason for continuing poverty in the area, despite land ownership and significant infrastructural investment and development, is the communal alcohol abuse. In 2004, on receipt of complaints of the deteriorating situation from members of the ≠Khomani community, the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) intervened with an

inquiry into human rights violations. Its report addressed urgent issues such as the land claim, human rights, government delivery of services, education, policing matters as well as alcohol and dagga abuse which it noted as “indicative of and contributing to serious social problems” (SAHRC, 2004: 6). The local liquor store runs a flourishing trade close to the Molopo Lodge, particularly in the sale of what is known by the locals as „killing me softly“ – a popular alcoholic brew. This alcohol abuse affects their craft sales as travel agents have warned tourists to not stop at the Witdraai stalls because of the ≠Khomani’s negative behaviour under the influence of alcohol<sup>35</sup>. This led to many problems with development initiatives and the overall stability of the community (cf. SAHRC, 2004).

There were also allegations that the money earned from cultural performance for films and other media did not trickle down to the rest of the community, but was rather held in the hands of the community leaders. This is a complicated situation - when income is earned through cultural tourism there are reports that the community’s alcohol dependency again comes into play. As Former Molopo Lodge manager, Roger Carter, observed at the time:

My impression of Dawid [Kruiper] is that when he gets money for anything, its converted into alcohol and the whole community gets motherlessly drunk on all the alcohol and everybody lives happily ever after so I would assume that surely he shares the money, at least in kind (Carter, interview, September, 2000).

It is difficult to simply blame the ≠Khomani for being irresponsible, as do so many locals. For many years alcohol dependency was their means to ease the pain of their land loss and discrimination. However, today it discourages tourism, which is an important form of income in the area. The ways in which this alcohol dependency comes into at !Xaus Lodge will be discussed in the following chapters.

Once the farmland agreement was concluded SASI felt they should wait before embarking on the second phase of negotiations within the KTP. Their reason was to allow the ≠Khomani time to orient themselves to the fact that they are landholders as managing farmland was proving difficult and “it [gave] people the time to adjust and to grow because from having

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<sup>35</sup> “The Bushmen have been known to stop tourists’ cars on the side of the road by actually blocking the road, for example. Then they try sell their goods or beg for money. When the tourists do not comply they swear at them” (Carter, interview, July 2001).

nothing to sudden wealth it kills anybody, irrespective of who you are or where you are” (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

### **The Development Initiative: The Co-operation Lodge**

During my 2003 fieldtrip Anna Festus, the liaison officer between SANParks and the ≠Khomani told us that negotiations around joint management arrangements between SANParks, the Mier and ≠Khomani within the KTP were underway. Negotiations for a Co-Operation Lodge with the JMB continued, successfully facilitated by Dawie Bosch and on 29 May 2002 the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement was finalised.

In this agreement SANParks, the Mier Local Municipality and the ≠Khomani CPA, as the principal parties, committed to jointly establish the lodge. The aim of the lodge is to symbolise 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). !Xaus Lodge, is jointly owned by the ≠Khomani and Mier as “the community parties”. It is therefore located on the imaginary dividing line of the contract parks or heritage land of each community<sup>36</sup> (see Appendix C).

This land is referred to as a „contractual park“ since it is private land that has been made available for inclusion in a national park subject to terms and conditions agreed to by the ≠Khomani and Mier land owners and SANParks (de Villiers, 2008). Although owned by the community parties there are restrictions on use of their heritage land. The ≠Khomani may only use the ≠Khomani heritage land, and the Mier may only use the Mier heritage land for the purpose of activities pertaining to conservation and sustainable economic, symbolic and cultural use compatible with conservation, subject to the provisions of the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (29 May 2002:172). No part of the ≠Khomani or Mier land may be used for:

- residential or housing purposes, except where such use is necessary for, and does not infringe upon, the use of the area for activities related to conservation, eco-tourism and culture;

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<sup>36</sup> Implications of this location will be discussed in Chapter Four.

- agricultural purposes;
- mining purposes, with the understanding that the San and Mier Heritage Lands may indeed be worked for sand, stone, gravel, clay and earth, subject to provisions of the Minerals Act, 1991, by:
- the community parties for building purposes and for other commercial activities within one of the contract parks as allowed in terms of this agreement;
- SANParks for the purpose of fulfilling its obligation in terms of this agreement (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 29 May 2002: 172-173).

The planned use of the land inside the contract parks allows the following sustainable economic use:

- facilities for the pursuit of eco-tourism, including accommodation and other infrastructure, such as 4x4-routes;
- the relevant community party may pursue sustainable economic use itself, or in partnership with an outside party, or an outside party may pursue it in terms of an agreement with the community party;
- sustainable cultural use of the land includes:
- sustainable utilisation and consumption of plants and animals;
- educational purposes (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 29 May 2002:176).

Further specific terms and conditions for !Xaus Lodge will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five, creating a dialogue between: what was stipulated should happen in the agreement, what happened on the ground in the establishment of !Xaus Lodge, and development communication theory.

Another important partner to the contracting parties of !Xaus Lodge is its operator, Transfrontier Parks Destinations (Pty) Ltd (TFPD), a South African registered company formed in March 2005. It is the holding company of the planned operating subsidiary companies: TFPD owns Transfrontier Trails do Limpopo Limitada, a Mozambique registered company through which their Mozambiquan operations are conducted, and Victory Parade Trading 73 (Pty) Ltd. This company signed the !Xaus Lodge contract with the JMB on 24 January 2007. TFPD is 31.5% black owned. Its vision is to be able to offer an eco-and cultural tourism experience that will allow tourists to, actually or in spirit, emulate Kingsley Holgate's adventure of "dipping their calabash in the Indian Ocean and pouring the water into the

Atlantic Ocean” and at the same time being able to experience what the people and land in these generally remote areas have to offer (O’Leary, email, 2006). The operator’s functions and intentions will be discussed in the following chapters.

### **Rationale for the Topic and Issues to be Investigated: Rethinking Indigeneity**

My Masters dissertation (Dyll, 2004) explored how Bushman communities negotiated different meanings of development and hence identity construction. I reflexively analysed tensions and contradictions experienced between the !Xoo (of southern Botswana) and ≠Khomani communities, the development agencies and myself. In a sense this thesis is a continuation of my Masters dissertation with !Xaus Lodge as the development project around which to explore the confrontational and dialectical nature of human knowledge, and development as a negotiation between stakeholders in the practice of tourism. This includes: i) public sector policy with a focus on SANParks because as the conservation authority that is subsidised by the government sector they find themselves answerable to state policy and development strategies, ii) community expectations and roles, iii) private sector or operator responsibility and plans.

I am, therefore, well positioned to undertake this study as I build on prior research that I conducted within the ≠Khomani community since 2002, and have also established medium-term relations with the ≠Khomani and have their trust and co-operation. I have published on related topics such as development communication (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011); community development strategies in tourism (Dyll, 2009), auto-reflexive and indigenous ethnography as research methods (Dyll, 2007; Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008) as well as action research and research paradigm interaction (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming). Another reason for being well positioned to do the research is that the Rethinking Indigeneity project (within which my thesis is located as will be described below) was formally invited by TFPD CEO, Glynn O’Leary, to undertake an examination of the implementation of tourism at !Xaus Lodge and public-private-community relations within a development context. I, therefore, have full access to both company and public documentation. Formal links with the Mier Municipality of Rietfontein, the ≠Khomani CPA and SANParks had been established, and I have an ongoing working relationship with SASI.

The Kalahari is said to be an area with limited development potential, mainly due to adverse natural conditions. Population densities are low, and the people find it hard to sustain a living (Flyman, 2000). Other reasons, however, make the Kalahari a difficult environment in which to

initiate and sustain development that benefits subject communities. These have to do with human agency, with regard to both development agencies and the subject community. In the Northern Cape development and mobilisation function either through government funding or local NGOs, such as SASI, focusing primarily on cultural tourism projects with the ≠Khomani, or through local government, as is the case with the Mier Municipality.

Two-way communication and cultural sensitivity are fundamental to any development programme. Although development organisations may have the community's interests at heart, many programmes fail in the field because they ignore these two crucial aspects. Government-directed development has been criticised for using development projects to secure political goals, often at the expense of the supposed beneficiaries. This results in government and development agencies attempting to secure successful development *at*, and not *with*, local communities. The communities themselves also contribute to these problems; running up huge debts, perpetuating conflictual race relations, mismanaging funds and continuing alcohol abuse. Evidence of these problems was visible during my fieldtrips to the Northern Cape.

During the 1990s and into the new millennium:

tourism has begun to find much wider recognition as an economic sector with the potential to make a contribution towards „development“ in destinations areas...Several question marks have been raised concerning the efficacy of tourism-led economic development, especially when tourism is the „last resort“ for development planning...Given the often-limited opportunities for the participation of local people in the benefits of and decision-making about tourism, the oft-quoted arguments about tourism as a positive „vehicle“ for development“ have consequently been questioned (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 2-3).

My research aims to address some of these questions through investigating the power relations and development communication within the establishment and operations at !Xaus Lodge. There are many stakeholders with regard to !Xaus Lodge, and so the development communication that occurs around issues related to the lodge are varied and dynamic. These stakeholders are: the ≠Khomani and Mier communities as the community partners and landowners, the operating company (TFPD), SANParks, and the South African government. In the new South Africa tourism is seen as imperative for national reconstruction and development, and one that offers “enormous potential as a catalyst for economic and social development across the whole of the country” (DEAT, 2003:6).



However, there have been no previous studies on public-private-community lodge partnership development initiatives, during and after its implementation with a focus on cultural communication issues. Gustav Visser (2004:58) shows that only in the year 2000 did research engage with tourism within the discipline of cultural studies, the numbers then dropped again in 2002 while the numbers in disciplines such as Geography and Environmental Studies, and Tourism and Recreation increased. Early studies featured mostly macro-economic prospects of tourism and its accentuated benefits.

This unilateral economic view then led to a wave of studies that focused on the socio-cultural aspects of tourism and brought the benefits of tourism under scrutiny...[W]hen both the positive and negative benefits of tourism had been formulated, research attention was drawn to those alternative forms of tourism developments that were potentially sustainable, with minimal unwanted consequences (Visser, 2004:59).

I was therefore inspired to focus my thesis on an analysis of tourism-as-development-and-enablement to be investigated from a cultural studies perspective that may influence future tourism policy and models to be more culturally and contextually sensitive. There is a gap in the literature of the implementation of tourism-as-development that details the „nitty gritty“ that arises out of the cultural context.

The primary area of focus for my study revolves around the forms of development communication evident in the establishment and operations of !Xaus Lodge. In its simplest terms, development communication refers to the practice of systematically applying the processes, strategies, and principles of communication to bring about positive social change. Definitions of development communication have varied with time and place (cf. Manyozo, 2008) and will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapters. The reason for investigating the development communication strategies in connection to !Xaus Lodge is to aid in creating a model for future public-private-community lodge partnerships that will be more culturally and contextually sensitive to multiple epistemologies (ways of knowing) and ontologies (ways of being).

In the tradition of the case studies offered by Daniel Lerner (1958) and Jan Servaes (1996, 1995, 1991, 1989) this study aims to go beyond documenting the modernisation paradigm of development and its policy of „westernisation“-as-development, or the dependency theory and its critique of modernisation, or the participatory paradigm’s call for plurality. Using !Xaus Lodge as a benchmark, the study examines issues of indigeneity within development

communication relations, with reference to other ≠Khomani cultural tourism ventures. Existing development literature deals with processes involved in broader economic issues (the macro) but rarely with the unpredictable coincidences (personalities involved, prior research) that are an on-the-ground reality in the implementation of development projects.

My research is embedded within the CCMS Rethinking Indigeneity project that originated in collaboration with the University of Leeds, Centre for Postcolonial Studies (cf. Nicholls, 2009) and extended from Keyan Tomaselli's previous NRF-funded projects that have been ongoing since 1995<sup>37</sup>. This thesis is therefore set within a participatory framework whereby all research participant perspectives are „written into“ the research record. Indigenous informants are often viewed as living on the margins of society and as subjects of research and development, rather than as agents within these processes (Smith, 1999). This thesis allows the community research partners an opportunity to discursively engage and negotiate the plans, perceptions and at times, myths that the government (and SANParks), researchers, lodge operators and tourists may impose, as well as to share their expectations and vision for the lodge development. Researching tourism and development communication processes in this way allows one to „rethink indigeneity“ whereby community or indigenous participants make a meaningful contemporary claim upon the world and actively position themselves in a contemporary context<sup>38</sup>.

The Rethinking Indigeneity project's research objectives (Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis, 2008) ties in with the objectives of critical indigenous qualitative research (Denzin, Lincoln & Smith 2008), as will be discussed in the following chapter. The significance of this is that the Decade of World's Indigenous Peoples (1994-2004) has ended<sup>39</sup>. “Nonindigenous scholars have yet to

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<sup>37</sup> See [http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=735&Itemid=90](http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=735&Itemid=90)

<sup>38</sup> Research within this project that is relevant to my thesis includes; Dyll (2004, 2009); Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay (forthcoming); Finlay (2009a/b), Francis (2007; 2003), Lange (2006), Mhiripiri (2009), Simões (2001), Tomaselli (forthcoming; 2007; 2005a; 2003; 2002), Tomaselli, Dyll & Francis (2008) and Wang (2001).

<sup>39</sup> Proclaimed by the UN General Assembly in its resolution 48/163 of 21 December 1993. The UN's goal for the Decade was “to strengthen international co-operation to solve the problems faced by indigenous people in such areas as human rights, the environment, development, education and health”. The key to achieving this goal was to be found in the UN's theme for the International Decade – “Indigenous people: partnership in action” where it committed itself to encouraging the development of partnerships between indigenous peoples and states and other groups, and between indigenous peoples and the UN. These partnerships aimed to offer ways for indigenous peoples to develop their own solutions to the problems facing them. See <http://www.iwgia.org/human-rights/un-mechanisms-and-processes/2nd-un-decade-on-indigenous-peoples/1st-un-decade-on-indigenous-peoples>.

learn from it, to learn that it is time to dismantle, deconstruct and decolonize western epistemologies from within, to learn that research does not have to be a dirty word, to learn that research is already moral and political” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a). This thesis aims to be part of this movement, to make research meaningful to indigenous peoples, not only by including their opinions in the process of participatory action research, but by producing a model that may in some way benefit them.

Most rural people, like many within the Mier and ≠Khomani communities, have not had formal education and are disempowered in development discourses, as they do not easily communicate on an academic level. It is hoped therefore that by incorporating the words and stories of the individuals I meet and interview in some way provides them with more agency in terms of their development. The possible discrepancy between the individual stories and those of government departments, SANParks, local NGOs, and lodge management, aims to serve as a testament to the complexity of development.

### **Structure of the Study**

The structure of this study is influenced by the epistemic orientation of grounded research theory where emerging data is used to generate knowledge, rather than to verify an hypothesis. This research paradigm is relevant to my study of !Xaus Lodge for the following reasons:

[a] researcher does not begin a project with a preconceived theory in mind...Rather, the researcher begins with an area of study and allows the theory to emerge from the data. Theory derived from data is more likely to resemble “reality” than is theory that is derived by putting together a series of concepts based on experience solely through speculation (how one thinks things out to work) (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 12).

Constructivist grounded theory assumes that we produce knowledge by grappling with empirical problems. Knowledge rests on social constructions. We construct research processes and products, but these constructions occur under pre-existing structural conditions, arise in emergent situations, and are influenced by the researcher’s perspective, privileges, positions, interactions, and geographical locations. All these conditions inhere in the research situation but in most studies remain unmentioned or are completely ignored (Charmaz, 2009: 130).

The pre-existing structural conditions under which my research is conducted will be acknowledged in the following chapters, lending transparency to the research as a *process*. Although I do not overtly use the specific coding and conceptualisation techniques of grounded theory proper, the issues and themes that emerge from my fieldwork (as well as reading around the topic) will be used to generate a model for public-private-community lodge partnerships. Most importantly, in line with the constructivist grounded theory outlook, the following chapters will detail; how this study evolved, account for the observations made, how they are made and how interaction with research participants shaped meaning-making.

Induction also informs the structure of this thesis. This chapter has provided the background for the study and has described the research question. Chapter Two describes the study's methodology. Chapter Three reviews the literature relevant to the study that will be used as data against which to analyse Xaus Lodge. In grounded research, "data collection, analysis and eventual theory stand in close relationship to one another" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998: 12). Chapters Four and Five will, therefore, provide the data collected in the field and secondary sources and the data analysis that speaks to relevant theories within development communication. As studies approaching grounded theory research are drawn from data (data-driven), they are likely to offer insight, enhance understanding and provide a meaningful guide to action (Strauss & Corbin, 1998:12). My inquiry leads to Chapter Six, as the final chapter. The principles, issues, challenges and recommendations that develop from the data (read in the light of tourism and development communication theory and literature) are built into a model or "guide to action" for public-private-community lodge partnerships.

## Chapter Two

### Methodology: Critical Indigenous Qualitative Research and Action (Marketing) Research

#### Introduction

This chapter is an account of the methodology I employed in investigating the planning and operating processes within the context of my case study, !Xaus Lodge. The research is informed by Critical Indigenous Qualitative Research (cf. Denzin *et al*, 2008) and so aims to work towards some clarification on the theoretical perspectives, and practical application of its methods.

The ≠Khomani are an indigenous community<sup>40</sup>. Too often it is forgotten that the word “research” is one of the dirtiest words in the indigenous world’s vocabulary (Smith, 1999:1). Linda Tuhiwai Smith calls for a decolonisation of research methodologies to counter this image of research and its outcomes. “Decolonization is a process which engages with imperialism and colonialism at multiple levels. For researchers, one of those levels is concerned with having a more critical understanding of the underlying assumptions, motivations and values which inform research practices” (Smith, 1999: 20). She urges researchers to disrupt the rules of the „research game“ towards practices that are more respectful, ethical, sympathetic and useful vs. racist practices and attitudes, ethnocentric assumptions and exploitative research. Similarly, Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2008b) outline a Critical Indigenous Qualitative Research approach along with interpretive research practices that aim to be ethical, transformative, decolonising, participatory, committed to dialogue and community. “The researcher must consider how his or her research benefits, as well as promotes, self-determination for research participants” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b:2). This chapter accounts for the ways in which my study and the broader Rethinking Indigeneity

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<sup>40</sup> I am aware that scholars many problematise the term *indigenous*, “as it appears to conflate numerous, separate groups of people whose histories and cultures may be profoundly divergent” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008: 136). It is not my intention to essentialise diverse indigenous groups. For the purpose of this study I refer to the ≠Khomani as an indigenous group for two reasons. They hold First People status which is valorised by South Africa’s research agenda - unlike Bushman groups in Botswana who are denied this status as “recognizing a group as indigenous implies a commitment to let the views, values and aspirations of the group in question guide their own development” (Saugestad, 2001: 31, cf. Dyll, 2009; Robins, 2001; Smith, 1999). Secondly, they are known for their indigenous knowledge, defined as “the cosmologies, values, cultural beliefs and webs of relationship that exist within specific indigenous communities” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a: xiv).

project are influenced by these agendas, and the interpretive research practices as outlined by Denzin and Lincoln (2008b). Using illustrations from my fieldwork I provide an account of how “reverse cultural studies” (Tomaselli, 2005a) and “applied cultural studies” practices are employed in my research approach. As a non-indigenous scholar attempting to meet the above criteria I embed these illustrations within the local landscapes I have travelled and researched, foregrounding fieldwork.

Paradigm fundamentalism hinders the decolonising research project and all research must “resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretive strategy” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b: 2). This chapter proposes a hybrid approach that acknowledges the value in setting up a dialogue between cultural studies and conventional marketing research, in what may be considered Action (Marketing) Research for positive social change (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming).

Critical Indigenous Qualitative Research calls for research to be “unruly, disruptive [and] critical” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b: 2) demystifying western positivist research methods. My longitudinal study (2002 until present) within the Northern Cape has created rapport between myself and research participants and accords them the status of active participants as opposed to subjects of research. The descriptions of people’s representations of what is occurring in their worlds at times highlights the „messiness“ of development on the ground therefore „de-sanitising“ traditional research’s approach in „gathering blocks of data“, and rather allowing a multivoiced epistemology to be heard.

### **Self and Other<sup>41</sup>: The Role of a Non-Indigenous Researcher**

Strategies in reclaiming and reformulating indigenous cultures and languages, since the liberation/post-colonial struggles of the 1970s, have required an ambitious research programme geared towards social justice. Smith (1999) lists a number of intersecting projects that form part of this programme. Although termed “indigenous projects” Smith (1999: 142) explains

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<sup>41</sup> This is taken from a chapter, “Self and Other: Auto-Reflexive and Indigenous Ethnography” I co-authored with Keyan Tomaselli and Michael Francis in Denzin *et al* (ed.) *Handbook of Critical and Indigenous Methodologies*. The chapter “relies on basic ethnographic tropes of explication about our informants’ lives. This is coupled with reflexive examination of ourselves and of our research project. We discuss a form of anthropological/ethnographic participant observation that enable our informants to have direct access to information we have written about them in the form of an ongoing dialogue” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 348).

that “[s]ome approaches have arisen out of the social sciences, which in turn have arisen out of methodological issues raised by research with various oppressed groups”.

This thesis and the broader Rethinking Indigeneity project is closely associated with one of the projects outlined by Smith (1999), that of “Indigenizing”. Indigenism opposes the negative connotations of its meanings in third world countries under modernisation (cf. Lerner, 1958; Rostow 1960), where it has become synonymous with “the primitive”, or with backwardness among superstitious peoples (Jaimes, 1995). What is significant to the indigenizing project is that it can involve non-indigenous intellectuals “with a centring of the landscapes, images, languages, themes, metaphors and stories in the indigenous world” (Smith, 1999: 146). My study employs an indigenous methodology as it is “related to theorising indigenous issues at the level of ideas, policy, analysis and critical debate, and to setting out in writing indigenous spiritual belief and world views” (Smith, 1999:143). It is hoped that the analysis of !Xaus Lodge as a form of tourism-as-development and enablement will influence future tourism policy and models to be more inclusive of indigenous knowledge and participation. This methodology frames the questions asked in this study, determines the set of instruments employed and shapes the analysis within the decolonisation framework where researchers “have to clarify and justify their intentions” (Smith, 1999: 143).

“You will be changed”, Keyan Tomaselli tells his visual anthropology and development communication students when preparing for a field trip among the ≠Khomani, and the !Xoo of southern Botswana. I am one of those students. And I have changed. Not completely, but my experience „out there“ in the dry dusty desert heat surrounded by local people (and those people who visit the desert) with their hopes, flaws, expectations and personalities has changed the way I see things and my understanding of the world. What becomes central then to non-indigenous researchers embarking on indigenous methodologies is the clarification and problematising of the Self/Other relationship so as “to make accessible the normally unexamined assumptions by which we operate and through which we encounter members of other cultures” (Marcus & Fischer, 1999: ix).

In order to do this one can heed the advice offered by Johannes Fabian and his confrontational mode of ethnographic fieldwork (1985), and the act of representation of the „Other“ as praxis (1987) which also taps into Jay Ruby’s (1977) notions of reflexivity. Confrontation is an epistemological prerequisite for ethnography. Political-historical domination embodies

ideological crutches in the form of theories that deny the confrontational or “dialectical” nature of human knowledge about other human beings (Fabian 1985).

Ruby (1977:4) warns that “reflexive self-consciousness is not merely autobiography, but the ability to see ourselves as others see us – as co-present subject and object, as perceiving subject and the simultaneous object of others” perceptions.” Certain ≠Khomani such as the late Silikat Van Wyk frequently made me aware of this (Dyll, 2007), as will be discussed in this chapter. This self-consciousness entails “a simultaneous self-involvedness and self-estrangement a standing outside of oneself in a way that is foreign to the non-reflexive everyday self” (Ruby, 1977:4). Classically, published ethnographies are written as coherent wholes, and the muddle and confusion of everyday life, both in conducting field work and within the lives of the research partner<sup>42</sup> communities, is hidden from the record, or streamlined into often appealing theoretical coherence. It is the duty of the critical indigenous qualitative researcher to rather document this.

During fieldtrips one is almost automatically able to carry out this position of involvement and estrangement. I was involved through people speaking to me, believing that what they say would somehow impact on their situation, but simultaneously estranged due to the fact that my subjectivity „Others“ me. I am not proficient in the metaphoric Afrikaans spoken by many ≠Khomani, and I felt confusion due to gaps and contradictions in the stories I was told by different stakeholders or even members of the same community.

Moving from “here” (Durban) to “there” (Kalahari Desert or the Drakensberg), the Rethinking Indigeneity research team had to rethink our research assumptions, identities, and even our understanding of cultural studies. Our respective journeys positioned us both as insiders and outsiders and as purchasers (of information, crafts and skills). We are givers (of donated goods) and sometimes accused of being exploiters (of knowledge). We are also seen as heroes and villains, and as reporters, we evaluate the said in terms of the more usually unsaid. This is not an easy set of relations through which to negotiate. The complexity and tensions of relationships in Kalahari research are extraordinary, given the relatively small numbers of “Bushmen” subject to the intensive Western gaze and the

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<sup>42</sup> I refer to the lodge partners and people I interviewed (members of the Mier and ≠Khomani communities, the lodge operator, and other stakeholders) primarily as “research partners” as this implies a more active role in the research process as opposed to the terms “research subject” or “research informant”.



much smaller numbers of researchers, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), filmmakers, and other observers involved (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 351).

Belinda Kruiper<sup>43</sup> (see Appendix D) confirms two issues outlined above; firstly, the complexity and tensions of relationships in Kalahari research, and secondly the Rethinking Indigeneity project's objective to "evaluate the said in terms of the more usually unsaid" (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 351):

Research interest in the SAN which can be placed under various labels. To aid, to get a degree, to understand the other, to be part of SAN magic, whatever. Either way at some point how do we feel if this process has been going on for years and everyone with an opinion forgets the reality of humanity.

Suspicion, envy, joy, tears, hunger, all part of this reality and at what point do we stop offering the goods, the cash, the rides...I would love to see the SAN with good food, their own transport and no protocols that governs their lives and land. At what point is there exit? Language should be simple even in academics. I am pleased one group dared to break the norm. I do not believe it was to dishonour any works before and that which will follow. I believe the SAN chose this group to open up that which is not said even though these messages have been around forever. We choose to write and say what people want to hear and not what we feel or what the people written about really says (Kruiper, email, 10 April 2010).

The Rethinking Indigeneity project includes a number of topics that allows its researchers to "ponder the intricate processes of knowledge (re)construction" (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 351) including autoethnographic methodology as a topic in its own right. An auto-reflexive form of writing has become the way in which students and mentors analyse Self/Other relations. In so doing, this writing form reveals the reciprocal relations obtained between research partners and

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<sup>43</sup> Belinda Kruiper is an informed research partner, having lived within the community and being dedicated to their plights since the late 1990s. Literate individuals like Belinda living on the periphery with the #Khomani are organic intellectuals (Gramsci, 1971) of a kind. She completed her second year in social science at the University of Cape Town and married #Khomani artist Vetkat Kruiper. Their marriage and subsequent move to a sand dune at Blinkwater (to escape the communal alcohol abuse) was, at times, resented by the rest of the community. Belinda is therefore insider/outsider, refugee/chronicler, and therapist/practitioner. She defies borders and policies, articulates what is often left unsaid, and is both ally and adversary. Embedded in her comments are both the "ego" and the collective discourse. That she previously worked for SASI and the KTP gives her good insight into how to affect issues from a variety of perspectives (Dyll, 2004: 88; Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 369).

ourselves, as well as the processes and accountability of conducting research with indigenous communities that are often hidden from the academic text.

### **Interpretive Research Practices: Autoethnography and Reverse / Applied Cultural Studies**

Interpretive research practices inform critical indigenous qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b). Autoethnography falls within what Norman Denzin and Yvonna Lincoln (2008b:5) outline as interpretive research practices that:

turn the world into a series of performances and representations including case study documents, critical personal experience narratives, life stories, field notes, interviews, conversations, photographs, recordings and memos to the self... They bring researchers and their research participants into a shared, critical space.

Carolyn Ellis and Arthur Bochner (2001:739) define autoethnography as:

an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural. Back and forth autoethnographers gaze, first through an ethnographic wide angle lens, focusing outward on social and cultural aspects of their personal experience; then, they look inward, exposing a vulnerable self that is moved by and may move through, refract, and resist cultural interpretations.

Autoethnography is useful for the non-indigenous researcher in understanding the nature of the encounter (cf. Dyll, 2007; Lange 2007; McLennan-Dodd, 2007) and in foregrounding the complexities of the Self/Other relationship. Autoethnography in the form of personal narratives and fragments might not be directly useful at structural planning levels, but it can be significant in narrating in ways that make sense to people on the ground.

Within this method “empirical data sometimes becomes superfluous to developing personalised narratives, theorised diaries or fragments of narrative” (Tomaselli, 2010: 4). My thesis is, however, reliant on the collection and writing up of empirical data in order to develop action research strategies (cf. Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming) and to create a model for public-private-community partnerships (PPCPs) in lodge tourism. My research focuses on power relations in the operations at !Xaus Lodge between the conservation authority (SANParks), operator, lodge management, hospitality staff and cultural village/studio<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> The reason for the use of the word “studio” here will be explained in Chapter Five.

crafters. My research is therefore grounded in cultural studies - not in its traditional focus of analysing texts and images or “objectively describing institutions and functions, as if they belong to a large regulated system” (During, 1993: 1), but rather one that Tomaselli (2005a) terms “reverse cultural studies”<sup>45</sup>. This form of cultural studies informs my research as it goes beyond deconstruction and towards connecting with the material and ontological (nature of being) conditions on the ground. It inverts the power relations of the (typically) more powerful Self over the Other by understanding and „writing in“ the Other’s perspective and demonstrating that they have agency in explaining their development concerns, needs, and solutions. In this way reverse cultural studies can also be considered an interpretive research practice. In addition “it offers an autoethnographic framework in which verification is made possible, in which prior research is acknowledged and respected (and engaged), and in which triangulation (via the reporting of different researchers on the same observations/encounters) is encouraged” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 356).

Matthew Durington joined the Rethinking Indigeneity project from Temple University in the US in 2003 as a post doctoral fellow, and joined what was my second fieldtrip. Sitting under the big camel thorn tree at the Molopo Lodge campsite one day he turned to a group of us and said: “You know that what you are doing is not ethnography?” I felt quite disheartened because I was under the impression that we were guided by Bronislow Malinowski’s (1922:25) dictum that the ethnographer’s final goal is “to grasp the Native’s point of view, his relation to life, to realize his vision of his world”. However, Durington was referring to the fact that we do not work in the field for long periods of time, and the fact that we visit the communities twice a year for not more than three weeks leads to an episodic narrative-collecting participant observation. He dubbed this “applied cultural studies” that aims to:

explain events and processes in terms of broader social theories and critical methodologies. The diary is merely the narrative form; the content requires as rigorous an apprehension and understanding of the empirical world as does any analysis...Later, Matthew suggested that if the subject communities find our work useful, then that’s really what counts (Tomaselli, 2005a: 39).

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<sup>45</sup> This term is adapted from Manthia Diawara’s exploration of “reverse anthropology” in his film *Rouch in Reverse* (1995) that presents an intertextual dialogue to decentre the familiar images of African people as either the villainous „Other“ or mere subject of study through a discussion of ethnographic filmmaker Jean Rouch’s life and work (cf. Harrow, 1999).

Durington further explained that:

There is a step missing here after the autoethnographer looks through a „wide angle lens“ if they truly want to call what they are doing ethnography or anthropology or informative at all...there must be a discussion of the political economy of the culture, the actual setting, the actual people involved and some of the participant observation which is then highlighted by „personal experience“ (Durington, pers. comm., 9 July 2003).

It was during this discussion with Durington that the nature of my (and the wider project's) research became clearer. I am not concerned about calling what I do ethnography, but rather that my research and analysis is informative by including my research partner's perspective. I am therefore decolonising “cultural studies” tendency towards synchronic theoreticism [that] ensures that this historically discursive Other dimension is largely erased from further analysis when abstracted into theory in the First and Second Worlds” (Tomaselli, 2005a: 38). Guided by this objective, “applied cultural studies” can also be considered an interpretive research practice.

The post-Lit Crit strand of cultural studies celebrates resistance often in documenting the behaviour of alternative or „popular“ groups within society and the liberation of „the body“ and is offended with political economy and studies of how messages are manufactured and distributed (Windschuttle, 1997). “[W]hen cultural studies scholars talk about studying the „popular“, this refers mainly to relatively sanitised and developed First World space, places and people, where daily conveniences and luxuries taken as the norm by researchers, are simply beyond the experience of most of the world's impoverished population” (Tomaselli, 2005a: 23).

With this in mind, Tomaselli (2005a: 65) questions:

[h]ow can cultural studies offer any real solutions beyond the Western world and the pleasure of reading? Explanations are offered aplenty by this kind of cultural studies, but social action is rarely evident. This is not so in the Third World, which, as Starfield (2000) amongst others have suggested, should be praxis-based.

This is not to say that cultural studies in the Third World should simply ignore those of the First and Second World. Their theoretical trajectories must be integrated, as the processes they explain can impact upon the worlds in which we, as researchers, visit. In fact it was the Birmingham School in the 1950s that paved the way for a radical form of cultural studies in its attempt to recover democracy through critical engagement of articulations of socialism,

critiques of power relations and via a critical re-reading of social, anthropological and political theories (Johnson 1980; Hall 1981). This is the starting point in cultural studies’ move towards incorporating critical indigenous qualitative research. The next step is then to ensure that the research output has *use-value* for the research partners as “the scrambled development periodisation in these less-developed countries imposes largely different responsibilities on cultural studies approaches” (Tomaselli, 2005a: 65) [*my emphasis*].

It is important to realise that indigenous people operate in terms of different social, psychological and cultural practices and ontologies. Placing clean, sanitised explanations and theories onto the jumbled evidence observed from fieldwork often creates more problems. “The locals – our subjects, not our academic peers – do not relate to imported theory, practices and methods very well, if at all” (Tomaselli, 2008: 354).

Interpretive research practices aim to illustrate how the local is grounded in the politics, circumstances and economies of a particular moment. Denzin and Lincoln (2008b:5) warn that critical, interpretive theory will not work within indigenous settings if it is not modified, as “[c]ritical theory”s criteria for self-determination and empowerment perpetuate neo-colonial sentiments while turning the indigenous person into an essentialized “other” who is spoken for”. Avoiding the appearance of “speaking for” our research partners is tricky. How do we voice their concerns without assuming a paternalistic stance, or on the other hand internalising their concerns so that the question of bias and a lack of objectivity are raised?

The writing style that accompanies reverse cultural studies (Tomaselli, 2005a) borrows from autoethnography, in that our research partners can be written into the record as they are observed by and engage with the researcher. This interpretive research practice allows research partners to recognise themselves within the academic text. Much academic work is about the subjects or the observed and little of it is about *how* the researchers or observers establish relationships with their research partners/informants/subjects, how these were negotiated, and how the research partners made sense of them. Autoethnography, as used by the Rethinking Indigeneity project:

[helps] us to build relationships with individual informants, to assure them that their stories and concerns would not be written out of the academic record, the theoretical analysis, the technical report, and that while our work was of a documentary and exploratory nature, that the actual development work was the province of NGOs, the state and other agencies (Tomaselli, 2010: 18).

When I write I am mindful of the *moment* in which I observe and write (the socio-political context as well as the people I interacted with). In 2002 I observed how Toppies Kruiper drew abstract images in the sand to illustrate the communication difficulties experienced by the traditionalist ≠Khomani with SASI and the Sîsen craft shop. In response to Megan Bieseles and Robert Hitchcock's (2008) review of the book, *Writing In the Sand* (2008) in which I authored a chapter, I wrote:

This was in 2002 – four years after the land claim when much tension was evident in the Kalahari as to the best route for development. I remember people complaining of being *hartseer* (heartbroken) – so I think we did internalise this criticism [of NGOs]. But what is important in the interaction we had with Toppies and the reason I documented it was not to point out that perhaps communication with SASI was flawed...but rather that (again) the ≠Khomani have agency in explaining themselves, via a different channel – such as writing in the sand...and like Silikat they are not, as is argued by Bieseles and Hitchcock (2008: 202), being “portrayed as passive recipients of both aid and oppression” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2010).

This encounter with Toppies taught me that the „subjects“ of „development“ are deeply aware of their positions in the chain of relations. Often the theories employed in writing up data begin with the assumption that the people on the ground do not understand the structural processes that have determined their conditions and that they do not effectively seize opportunities facilitated by exogenous development projects and policy implications. Participatory development approaches that champion grassroots communication appear to be the preferred paradigm taught in Universities and included in development policy. However, empirical examples reveal that modernization remains the preferred development strategy (cf. Dyll, 2009) and behaviorist theories remain the preferred option in attempting to explain what is seemingly unexplainable in development projects with indigenous communities – this often results in placing the blame on communities if a project fails.

My and Charlize Tomaselli's encounter with late ≠Khomani artist Silikat Van Wyk in the campsite of Molopo Lodge on the morning of 16 July 2002 sums up the above discussion, providing an illustration of how, instead of “us” (researchers) holding the power to draw around “them” (research partners/informants/subjects), “they” also have the power to draw the line around us – both literally and figuratively. Silikat summoned us to “come out of the shadows and into the sun”. He drew what he called his “middle point” in the sand and invited Charlize to stand in the centre of it. He then told me to stand aside as he would only speak to

me in *die môre* (tomorrow) on the condition that I only ask four questions. As Charlize was standing in his middle point Silikat argued that she had “taken it away” and because of this injustice Charlize owed him R10. This encounter with Silikat reveals that he constructed the game in relation to enforced land dispossession. “His discourse - the rules of the game - plays on his objectification by researchers of him as a victim” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 364). However, he turns the tables by invoking the hidden discourse of colonialism, hoping that our white liberal guilt may pay up (Dyll, 2007). Not only does Silikat invert the typical Self/Other or Researcher/Researched relationship where, conventionally, control resides with the researcher, but he also evidences that he is aware of the structural and historical processes that have determined his lived conditions, and almost commodifies this exploitative history into a game in order to earn money, illustrating a well thought out selling strategy. The ≠Khomani have frequently been the object of the tourist and researcher gaze. However, they capitalise on this gaze in skillful rhetorical strategies to acquire an income (cf. Dyll, 2007; McLennan-Dodd, 2007; Mhiripiri, 2009).

It is the responsibility of researchers involved in indigenous methodologies to document how our research partners challenge the usual Researcher/Researched relations and to record their understanding of how they fit into, accept, shape or resist, determining processes and structures. Allowing their voices to be heard may prompt a form of agency for research partners. “This contributes to a type of reflexive indigenous ethnography where members of a community may interpret their own cultures through those who have the means to get the information “out there” - the researchers who reflexively analyse these nuances in the field, putting theory to the test” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 364).

Of course, the internalisation I mention above can result in accusation of bias and a lack of objectivity. „Being there“ in the field is the primary way of knowing for us, as researchers, and all we can do is document our observation as we see it and include the voices of our informants as we record them, bringing researchers and research participants into a shared, critical space.

I have, therefore, employed reverse and applied cultural studies, as interpretive research practices, in the field as well as in the writing up of my observations. These practices mesh with theory in order to make visible and analyse the partners’ relationships in the development of !Xaus Lodge. As illustrated in Chapter One’s explanation of each community’s history and notion of „community“, the community relations that operate within the setting of !Xaus Lodge

need to be made explicit, as they provide explanations for certain decisions made (or not made).

### **Foregrounding Fieldwork: Visiting the Northern Cape and Methods approaching Grounded Theory Research**

Denzin *et al* (2008) urge researchers to think through the implications of connecting indigenous epistemologies as well as theories and emancipatory discourses with critical theory and critical pedagogy – to move beyond the text and into the field.

The Rethinking Indigeneity project is based on a regularised series of fieldtrips to different Bushman communities<sup>46</sup> from 1995 until the present day ranging between ten and 22 days each. I conducted my fieldwork in the Northern Cape (Andriesvale) in July 2002 and 2003 for my Masters (Dyll, 2004). In August 2006 my fieldwork on !Xaus Lodge started, prior to its opening. This was a recce trip where I met representatives of the !Xaus Lodge Joint Management Board (JMB). They included Glynn O'Leary and Barry Grey of TFPD as the lodge operator, SANParks manager of the KTP, Nico van der Walt, government employees assisting with the project, such as Johann van Schalkwyk of the Northern Cape Economic Development Agency<sup>47</sup>, members of the Mier Municipality such as Mayor Sophie Coetzee, and members of the ≠Khomani community who were involved in the pre-opening phase, such as Oom Tietes Rooi and Belinda Kruiper (who was to be the manager). This was followed by a fieldtrip in January 2007 where Keyan Tomaselli and I were invited to the official JMB signing of the !Xaus Lodge contract. It was during this trip based in Andriesvale that I spoke to individual members of the broader ≠Khomani community, such as Gert Swart, Jan van der Westhuizen, Isak Kruiper, and Blade Witbooi about their expectations of the lodge and tried to establish how much they knew about the lodge and who was interested in working there. I returned in July 2007. This trip included four days in Andriesvale where I followed up my discussions with some people I had spoken to earlier in the year, as well as with Toppies Kruiper and Silikat van Wyk. Six days were then spent at !Xaus Lodge to observe it in its operational phase. Our large research team stayed „back stage“ (cf. Goffman 1959;

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<sup>46</sup> The ≠Khomani in the Northern Cape, the !Xun and Khwe in Platfontein, and the Duma in KwaZulu-Natal – all based in South Africa, and the !Xoo in southern Botswana.

<sup>47</sup> Van Schalkwyk has since become the manager for Partnerships and Industry Development within the Northern Cape Department of Tourism, Environment and Conservation (DTEC).



MacCannell, 1973; 1999) with the staff in the (yet to be filled) staff chalets. During this trip I was able to speak to the Mier employees, such as Ellen Bok - the chef, as well as Beverly Bezuidenhout and Leon Coetzee. The ≠Khomani employees working at !Xaus at the time were Deon Nobitson and Andrew Kruiper.

In November 2007 I was invited by Nelia Oets (a Rethinking Indigeneity research affiliate and friend to many ≠Khomani) and Belinda Kruiper to attend a blessing of !Xaus Lodge to be performed by well known healer and *sangoma*, Credo Mutwa (cf. Mutwa, 1964). This was an interesting experience which started off in Kuruman in the Northern Cape where we picked up Credo, his wife, Virginia and two younger *sangomas*, Thumi and Selo. However, Credo was not well and, therefore, did not attend the blessing. A mixture of American healers, self-named healers from Cape Town, documentary filmmakers, lobbyists, a Muslim Doctor, ≠Khomani members including Oom Tietes and Ouma Lena, social anthropologists, and the rest of the !Xaus staff were all present. This trip was different from the others but gave me a clear indication of what type of tourist would perhaps visit !Xaus Lodge if it were to be marketed solely on the spirituality of the Kalahari and its people. On the night of the blessing Belinda resigned as the manager saying that her place was with the people (in the broader community and with the artists in the !Xaus cultural studio) and that it was “time to put her spirit out there” (Fieldnotes, 25 Nov 2007).

In July 2008 I returned to Andriesvale for four days, and then to !Xaus Lodge for two days where Keyan Tomaselli, three fellow researchers; Kate Finlay, Karen Peters and Mark Nielsen (a research psychologist from Australia) and I were able to experience the „front stage“ (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973) of !Xaus Lodge’s comforts, as „tourists“. As a result I was able to gather information from the tourists we met (Australian and Swiss families) as well as conduct follow up interviews with ≠Khomani and Mier staff members and management (Pieter Retief and Arné), and observe the interactions amongst all three groups. My final fieldtrip to Andriesvale and !Xaus Lodge was conducted in June 2009. After four days in Andriesvale four of us (Tomaselli, two fellow researchers, Shanade Barnabas and Jonathan Dockney, and I) were yet again able to experience all the offerings !Xaus makes to tourists including game drives, early morning treks (walks), and the traditionally inspired meals made by the Mier staff. We joined a South African couple, returning to !Xaus Lodge, in all these activities. Participant observation was therefore the primary means of data collection during this trip. My final interview was conducted in April 2011 with Lys Kruiper who has been working at !Xaus

Lodge since it's opening in 2007. Her continued presence at the lodge allowed me to ascertain whether or not her expectations had been met and to hear about any changes that took place over the four years. This interview took place during a fieldtrip to Biesje Poort rock art site in the Northern Cape where we were members of a transcultural and transdisciplinary research team<sup>48</sup>.

The norm for most anthropological studies conducted by researchers from the Global North is to reside in the field for long periods of time. Their institutional research leave and budgets allows for this. The regularised series of fieldtrips, used within the applied cultural studies approach was developed as a way in which we, as South African researchers, who are not afforded this lengthy leave and workable budget, can cope with the institutional framework and economic constraints under which we operate.

My research is informed by qualitative techniques as it focuses on descriptions of people's representations of what is occurring in their world as "stories give theory flesh and breath" (Pratt, 1995:22). Denzin and Lincoln (1994: 2) define qualitative research as:

multimethod in focus, involving an interpretive, naturalistic approach to its subject matter. This means that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of, or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meanings people bring to them. Qualitative research involves, the studied use and collection of a variety of empirical material - case study, personal experience, introspective, life story, interview, observational and visual texts - that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals lives.

The use of semi-structured in-depth, face-to-face interviews combined with participant observation, and guided by methods approaching grounded theory research since 2002, has facilitated my understandings of the complexity of the Northern Cape as my research area. There is an advantage to a longitudinal study of !Xaus Lodge as a „pre-tourist site“ in relation to its operational stage. „Before“ can be studied in relation to „after“, and the processes involved between the two phases can be studied and shaped via participatory action research in relation to the lodge partners“ objectives and needs.

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<sup>48</sup> See *SUBtext* Autumn 2001. Available at: <http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/images/Subtext/subtext%.202011.pdf>.

My fieldwork and analysis was informed by a grounded research approach in that throughout my empirical information collection I developed analytical interpretations of my data to focus further data collection, which was used in turn to inform my developing theoretical analysis (cf. Charmaz, 2000). “The rigor of grounded theory approaches offers qualitative researchers a set of clear guidelines from which to build explanatory frameworks that specify relationships among concepts” (Charmaz, 2000:510). What I found most applicable with grounded theory, in relation to my research, is that theory is directly developed from data in contrast to using data for the verification of hypotheses that are developed within a preconceived theoretical framework. Grounded theory is therefore “an inductive method of theory development” (Glaser & Strauss 1967:114). Grounded theory proper entails a process of coding data and then grouping those codes into concepts and then categories in an increasingly hierarchical fashion. Ultimately, theoretical models emerge where categories are arranged into theoretical propositions.

Grounded theory as a whole represents not just a specific analytic schematic, as briefly outlined above, but more generally an episteme frame of mind. “Ethnographers, for example, commonly utilize a grounded episteme even when not utilizing the specific coding and conceptualization techniques of grounded theory proper” (Wasserman *et al*, 2009: 358). My research does not produce an actual grounded theory study but adopts some of its strategies (sampling technique and follow up interviews and inter-relating data collection and analysis) in generating a public-private-community lodge partnership model. The reason for this is primarily because grounded theory acknowledges that data collection and analysis is dynamic and multi-layered. I take heed of Phyllis Stern’s (2009: 58-59) reminder that “grounded theory is a theoretical interpretation of a conglomerate of data rather than a case report of a series of instances”, and researchers must avoid imposing pre-existing frameworks. I am, therefore, aware of my role in building the theoretical statements from the data collected from the literature I have read, field observations, interviews and the wider social context in which these are conducted and my own world view. Although I do not select codes, concepts and categories per se, certain themes and principals became apparent during the study that will be used in the model presented in Chapter Six.

More specifically, therefore, I am guided by the objectives of constructivist grounded theory<sup>49</sup> that:

assumes a relativist epistemology, sees knowledge as socially produced, acknowledges multiple standpoints of both the research participants and the grounded theorist, and takes a reflexive stance toward our actions, situations and participants in the field setting - and our analytic constructions of them (Charmaz, 2009: 130).

The ways in which my study speaks to these objectives is discussed throughout this chapter. Fieldwork included participant observation at !Xaus Lodge where I observed the type of communication and interaction between the lodge management, hospitality and kitchen staff, cultural studio crafters and tourists. This method was used to generate information and data on the use of structure and agency (cf. Ashley *et al*, 2001a/b; Wang, 2001) operating within the day-to-day responsibilities and cultural tourism in operation at the lodge.

Information from the semi-structured face-to-face interviews with all partners and stakeholders<sup>50</sup> to !Xaus Lodge consist of direct quotations from people about their experiences and opinions. This approach lead to the creation of rapport between me and my research partners according them the status of being active participants as opposed to objects of research (cf. Winston, 1997). This is because “interviews are not places where an interviewer goes and collects accounts that were pre-existing in the participant's head...rather interviews are places where meanings, interpretations and narratives are co-constructed” (Ezzy 2002: 100). Personal experiences, interviews and observations from the field are included so that the research operates “along a chain of more or less elaborated dialogues between a researcher and an ever-increasingly abstracted hierarchy of partners in the dialogue” (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2005: 11). It is here that data collection and analysis become interrelated, “analysis is necessary from the start because it is used to direct the next interview and observations” (Corbin & Strauss, 1990: 6). Systematically conducting the analysis as data is collected is a major source of grounded theory’s effectiveness as it guides the researcher toward examining the avenues of

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<sup>49</sup> A contemporary revision of Glaser and Strauss’s (1967) classical grounded theory.

<sup>50</sup> Community party representatives in the #Khomani CPA and the Mier Municipality as well as members of the broader communities not necessarily participating at !Xaus Lodge, such as the crafters in Andriesvale; the !Xaus Lodge operator and manager; SANParks; local development agencies such as the Northern Cape Economic Development Agency, SASI, and the tourists at !Xaus Lodge.

understanding and so makes it a method of discovery and one which grounds a theory in reality (Corbin & Strauss, 1990; Glaser & Strauss, 1967).

Community research partners, within the Rethinking Indigeneity project, request that their names be included in the write-up of interviews as they want to be written into history (cf. Tomaselli *et al.* 2008). They can appreciate the symbolic value of being included in research. For example, Gadi Orileng, a Botswanan who has assumed a Bushman identity clearly highlights this desire to take an opportunity of being filmed, however unsystematic, to construct his own story. Gadi (Orileng, interview, June 1999) explains:

I want to do it because we Bushmen are a people...they aren't well known, they are just known by name, or by their traditional...There are people who don't know what a Bushman is, or what sort of nation a Bushman is. It would be better if they had such pictures. And I who am a Bushman, can show these pictures to people and then tell them and then I must also point out the pictures to them, myself also, yes, because I'm a Bushman.

Purposive, opportunistic and snowball sampling<sup>51</sup> was used to identify individuals due to their affiliation or knowledge of !Xaus Lodge. This corresponds to sampling in grounded theory that:

proceeds not in terms of drawing samples of specific groups of individuals, units of time, and so on, but in terms of concepts...When a project begins, the researcher brings to it some idea of the phenomena he or she wants to study. Based on this knowledge, groups of individuals, an organization or community representative of that phenomenon can be selected for study (Corbin & Strauss, 1990: 8).

I was fortunate in already having established relations with most of the #Khomani crafters during my MA fieldwork and therefore had an idea of who may/may not be interested in working at !Xaus. Using this sampling method, individuals who are initially included in a study are used to gain access to other members of the population and the value in this for me was in studying communication patterns, decision making and diffusion of knowledge within a group (cf. Leedy & Ormrod, 2001). This type of sampling and grounded research is presented

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<sup>51</sup> A method of sampling whereby a research informant/participant finds relevant others to participate in the research and refers the researcher to these others, who may in time refer the researcher to other participants and so, over time, amassing a large number of informants (Terre Blanche & Durrheim, 1999; Katz & Liebes, 1993).

quite idealistically in texts that do not account for the challenges one may face with these methods when in practice. I could not conduct follow up interviews with all the people initially included in the study due to the semi-nomadism discussed above, or because an informant was inebriated, or simply did not feel like speaking to me.

The issue of language presented another challenge. Many of the ≠Khomani and Mier research partners speak Afrikaans, which I can understand and speak; however, an archaic and metaphoric Afrikaans dialect typifies the ≠Khomani expression. To assist with this challenge fellow researchers who are first language Afrikaans speakers; Nelia Oets, Mary Lange, Strauss Human and Shanade Barnabas were helpful in translating both during the interviews and in transcribing the interviews after the fieldwork. Oets in particular has a good understanding of this dialect as she has established close relations with the ≠Khomani over the past seven years, holds a degree in Afrikaans, and grew up on a farm in the Orange Free State of South Africa where a similar dialect is spoken. Taking the completed interview transcripts and written papers back to the communities where research partners, who have attended school and speak English and/or can read Afrikaans, can check our work, ensures that the information discussed is correct and may be contested by them.

Methods of documentation included audio recordings that were later transcribed, as well as written ethnography/field notes. These research techniques were supplemented with sustained email contact with Glynn O'Leary (TFPD), Johann van Schalkwyk (DTEC) and members of the community with email access such as Belinda Kruiper.

Often the field presents researchers with conditions for which their book reading and theories have not primed them: extreme poverty<sup>52</sup>, violence and illness. These realities are seldom included in academic studies unless written from a health perspective. Most research in the Kalahari is deductive, with one particular focus. The conditions of lived reality make for difficult writing and are seldom included in most romanticised anthropological texts. Researchers/authors must decide whether the accounts of chaos faced on the ground (social strife, frustration with people who fail to keep appointments) should be written in the text. Critical indigenous qualitative research would suggest so.

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<sup>52</sup> The Northern Cape holds the third largest population living in poverty out of the nine provinces (SARPN, 2008). Available at: <http://www.sarpn.org.za/documents/d0000990/>, accessed on 3 March 2010.

## **Methodological Structure and Analysis: Case Study and Research Paradigms in Partnership**

Case study documents are identified as an example of an interpretive research practice (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b:5). Evidence from the data collection and the perspective brought to bear on the evidence in the process of meaning-making will take the form of a case study. A case study is an object or unit of analysis about which researchers collect information or seek to understand ideographic as well as nomothetic<sup>53</sup> explanations of phenomena (Patton, 2002). The unit of study might be an individual, organisation, place, decision, event or even time period (de Vaus, 2001: 220). In my study the unit of research is the creation of the lodge itself, and the relationship and forms of development communication between the stakeholders of the lodge. As such my documentation of the creation of the lodge provides a record of the challenges and solutions to a PPCP and how best to create ventures that are geared towards economic empowerment for an indigenous community.

I test !Xaus Lodge as a PPCP and form of community development *vis-à-vis* other #Khomani tourism initiatives such as Kagga Kamma (cf. White, 1995) and Ostri-San (cf. Oets 2003; Mhiripiri, 2009). The successful Makuleke land settlement and lodge on the western border of the Kruger National Park (cf. de Villiers, 2008; Dyll, C., 2005; Ramutsindela, 2002) will set up a benchmark against which to discuss the !Xaus Lodge experience.

The !Xaus Lodge case study will interpret the research participants' opinions and stories shared with me in interviews, personal communication and participant observation to "reveal cultural and social patterns through the lens of individual experiences" (Patton, 2002: 478). This narrative analysis or narrative turn in qualitative inquiry (cf. Bochner, 2001) "honors people's stories as data that can stand on their own as pure description of experience or be analyzed for connections between the psychological, sociological, cultural, political, and dramaturgic dimensions of human experience to reveal larger meanings" (Patton, 2002: 478). Within narrative analysis "[m]eaning-making also comes from comparing stories and cases and can take the form of inquiring into and interpreting causes, consequences, and relationships" (Patton, 2002: 478).

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<sup>53</sup> Ideographic approaches refer to those methods that highlight the unique elements of the individual phenomenon (the historically particular) as in much of history and biography. Nomothetic approaches, in contrast, seek to provide more general law-like statements about social life, usually by emulating the logic and methodology of the natural sciences (Marshall, 1998).

A case study must be “appropriate for sharing with an intended audience” (Patton, 2002: 449). The intended readership for my thesis is of course scholars, but it also aims to be useful to groups involved in development - both development practitioners / tourism operators as well as indigenous groups through providing a descriptive account of the establishment and operations at !Xaus Lodge. It is hoped that something may be learnt for future PPCPs in working towards positive social change. Thus I present a model that has practical application for lodge development. The fourth intended audience is policy makers. There is a gap in the literature of the implementation of tourism-as-development detailing the „nitty gritty“ that arises out of the cultural context. Therefore, investigating the lodge from a cultural studies perspective and within a participatory development communication paradigm aims to influence future tourism policy and models to be more culturally and contextually sensitive.

The fact that there are multiple intended audiences calls for a document that does not just adhere to one research paradigm as it needs to address more than one perspective. Paradigm fundamentalism must be avoided within critical indigenous qualitative research. A possible reason for this may be found in Smith’s (1999: 67-68) explanation that these distinctions are irrelevant or not understood by subject communities:

[w]hile disciplines are implicated in each other, particularly in their shared philosophical foundations<sup>54</sup>, they are also insulated from each other through the maintenance of what are known as disciplinary boundaries...[D]ifferent research teams can be in and out of the same community...showing „as a collective“ little responsibility for the overall impact of their activities. At other levels criticism of individual researchers and their projects is deflected by the argument that those researchers are different in some really significant „scientific“ way from others. How indigenous communities are supposed to work this out is a mystery.

Cultural studies, typified by its lack of clear-cut boundaries and disciplinary certainty, suggests a field of enquiry rather than a fixed and stable discipline. While cultural studies lacks the definitive forms of a discipline as such, it is, however, recognisable in practice and as documented records, hence its existence is indisputable, thereby availing itself as a teachable and assessable field of study (Gray, 2003: 3-11, cf. Mhiripiri, 2009: 69). This fluid nature

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<sup>54</sup> By this Smith (1999:65) means that “[u]nderpinning all of what is taught at universities is the belief in the concept of science as the all-embracing method for gaining an understanding of the world”.



allows partnerships of paradigms and approaches to be included within cultural studies, or in this case applied cultural studies.

One criterion for critical indigenous qualitative research is that research must “resist efforts to confine inquiry to a single paradigm or interpretive strategy” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008b:2). In a forthcoming chapter entitled “Action (Marketing) Research and Paradigms in Partnership: A critical analysis of !Xaus Lodge”, Kate Finlay and I reflect on the traditional „tension“ between communication science and communication/cultural studies; the dichotomy between qualitative and quantitative research, central to communications scholarship since the 1980s (cf. Gerbner, 1983). Historically, qualitative research as embodied in cultural and media studies stresses critique and interpretation over hypothesis testing, measuring and describing. Quantitative scholars, conversely, are seemingly reluctant to admit qualitative, ethnographic or experiential methods, fearing implicit subjectivity, ideology and bias. Yet, as George Gerbner (1983: 361) observes:

Qualitative distinctions and judgements (as in labelling 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 judgement is not hurt by some attempts at precision.

Based on this schematic our analysis of !Xaus traverses the traditional „division“ between communication science and communication studies (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming). Gerbner (1983: 355) 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.

This description links to critical indigenous inquiry’s concern for the needs of indigenous people, and its agenda of using methods for explicit social justice or “humanizing” purposes (Denzin & Lincoln 2008b). It is key to our use of action (marketing) research, that will be described below, to not only understand the “human problems” and challenges of !Xaus Lodge but also to use the research 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 by making research productive in illuminating the dynamics of power in communication in society.

Similarly, Tomaselli (2005b: 36) 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”. Writing from a cultural studies perspective he does, however, caution us to not uncritically accept „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, 2005b:35).

Corporate communication that includes public relations and communication management, aims at creating greater understanding for, and perception of the ideals and purposes of an organisation (Dolphin, 1999:39). The adoption of transmission models of business communication can potentially negate the role of “message-making” set out by Gerbner (1983) - that of its capability to provide the basic humanising process of our species. Therefore, our research aims to:

stress those research tasks that can be seen (or used) to empower rather than control or even persuade people, to unmask rather than augment the established structure of power, and to reduce rather than exploit public vulnerabilities. It is no longer unusual to argue that a discipline should not condone the use of academic and research skills for purely tactical advantage without regard to ultimate social goals (Gerbner, 1983:358-9).

Finlay and my research based at !Xaus Lodge negotiates a fine line between the two positions, intersecting critical analysis with marketing research in our quest to develop a new business model which serves multiple collaborating sectional interests and which retains a critical edge required by cultural studies. Critique is the business of the academic enterprise, here operationalised in the service of local economic development and community participation (Dyll-Mykebust & Finlay, forthcoming). The resulting synthesis is reflected in the table below<sup>55</sup>, with what Finlay and I have termed Action (Marketing) Research serving as a paradigmatic example: (*see table overleaf*).

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<sup>55</sup> Adapted from Tomaselli (2005b:37).

**Table 1.** Action (Marketing) Research as a hybrid perspective (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming)

<i>Thesis</i>	<i>Antithesis</i>	<i>Synthesis</i>
<b>1: The Paradigms</b>		
<b>Communication Science</b>	<b>Cultural Media Studies</b>	<b>Action (Marketing) Research</b>
<b>Administrative Research</b>	<b>Critique</b>	<b>Implementation</b>
The 'Realists': Corporate communication Tourism as industry	The 'Idealists': Audience and reception analysis Tourists as guests	The 'Negotiators': Practical value for stakeholders: corporate-community partnership/collaboration
<b>2: On Science</b>		
Method is all!  Works only with figures  Accounting	Theory is all!  Only use numbers when unavoidable  Texture and experience	A meeting of method and theory.  Uses different approaches to the same research questions/problems  Numbers/texture/experience
<b>3: On Meaning</b>		
Reality is not a text!  All research is measurement  Cultural studies is dismissed as subjective and irrelevant	Reality is a text!  All research is interpretation  Scholars are historically and culturally bound	Reality is both text and lived experience  Qualitative judgements are prerequisites for quantitative research (statistics) which can inform policy and operationalisation
<b>4: On Models</b>		
The Shannon-Weaver Mathematical Model (Shannon & Weaver, 1949)  All communication is through black boxes. Find the parameters of the box and everything follows with the help of directional arrows and loops	Circuit of Culture (Du Gay <i>et al.</i> , 1997)  All communication is negotiation between subjectivities. There is only the circulation of meaning and its discrepant appropriation by group identities	Communication for Participatory Development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009)  Includes directional arrows within circular model. Shows relationships and dialogues between all stakeholders

## **Participatory Action (Marketing) Research**

In the 1980s when a new generation of indigenous scholars appropriated and reworked Western qualitative methodologies, epistemologies, and systems of ethics (Grande, 2004), critical theorists were working over the same questions. These two approaches interacted with each other producing a variety of hybrid discourses. Participatory Action Research (PAR) was just one of these (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a). PAR can be defined as:

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 & Bradbury, 2001:1).

Finlay and my chapter illustrates how PAR is beneficial in improving the process of social change in establishing !Xaus Lodge, managing challenges to its operations and creating it as a sustainable vehicle for the #Khomani and Mier communities. Focusing questions that guided our research at !Xaus Lodge include: i) to what extent are the economic and social circumstances in which the #Khomani and Mier find themselves a result of the marketing of a romanticised image in various media?, ii) how do the #Khomani and Mier wish to be represented; and what do they expect cultural representations to achieve amongst themselves and international „audiences“?, iii) how are such representations portrayed in promotional materials and how do these materials affect the expectations and experiences of tourists? (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming).

Finlay's (2009 a/b) research concentrated on a semiotic and reception analysis of !Xaus Lodge promotional materials from 2007-2009. Representation was comprehensively studied in order to gauge the effect of promotional materials on guests and the target market. We decided to make our research applicable to this end<sup>56</sup> through the participatory process of action research. A semiotic analysis of pre-given marketing materials revealed the lodge operator's cultural assumptions and marketing strategy. Three focus groups drawn from the !Xaus target market

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<sup>56</sup> We are not implying that cultural tourism businesses like !Xaus Lodge are the #Khomani's sole salvation. We are aware that "empowerment for the #Khomani lies with education and mobilisation on their own terms in developing greater agency" (Dyll, 2004: 126). However, when taking into consideration the area's high unemployment rate (cf. SAHRC, 2004), cultural tourism is a viable form of employment and a way to acquire marketable tourism skills.

were asked to interpret the messages<sup>57</sup>. Questionnaires were elicited from respondents who had previously visited the Lodge (see Appendix E). The encoding/decoding 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 are useful in understanding the types of communication in operation at !Xaus. These divergences will be incorporated into my PPCP model in as far as they speak to development communication.

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 (Goffman, 1959) in the staff accommodation. Unstructured e-mail interviews were conducted with O'Leary, regarding the marketing of the website (Finlay 2009b:63-64).

PAR is collaborative (Kemmis & McTaggart 1988:5). Understandings are generated 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. Our action aimed to produce worthwhile results for the community and operator partners through communication and collaboration to aid in the lodge's marketing. O'Leary provided us with information through interviews, emails and unsolicited feedback from past visitors to !Xaus, as well as news of developments in lodge operations. Research immediately contributed to changes in the lodge's promotional material (O'Leary, pers. comm., Feb 2009). This culminated in an informational booklet provided in the !Xaus chalets from 2009 detailing the background and purpose of the Lodge. The website and the brochure were later revised and guests were thus provided with a more nuanced understanding of the environment and community (O'Leary, pers. comm., Nov 2008).

Central to a participatory research approach is:

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<sup>57</sup> 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 & Liebes, 1993:25).

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 & Van der Riet, 2001:159).

PAR links with applied cultural studies where researchers problematise their positions within researcher/researched relations. It also permits the researcher to write as an individual and to present those interviewed as individuals and not merely as disembodied statistics.

Through what we dubbed Action (Marketing) Research (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming, see Table 1 above) our research seeks to develop an approach for the understanding and facilitation of the dynamics of development partnerships involving a community party, private and public sectors. It seeks to effect empowerment through facilitating the renegotiating, via dialogical encounters, of representations of the ≠Khomani and Mier (as well as the tourists) through illustrating how each of the groups are active participants in constructing their own cultural identities (not always victims of the researcher gaze) and as agents within the development process. As illustrated through Finlay's research, this study aims to affect actual development outcomes for the lodge, as well as, in my case, generate a replicable model that can be applied to other public-private-community lodge partnerships.

## **Conclusion**

Historically, from an indigenous perspective, "research" has been a dirty word. Paradoxically one can „clean“ the idea and process of research with indigenous peoples through the subversion of positivist, deductive research methodologies. This involves representing the „muck“ and „messiness“ of fieldwork, and the complexity of indigenous epistemologies and ontology through including the voices of our research partners.

Methods approaching grounded research theory, applied cultural studies and "reverse cultural studies" (Tomaselli 2005a) have aided my research process. This can result in highly fractured accounts that cannot fully explain the lives of those we research among/with, yet we, as researchers, can nonetheless say something salient about their situations through the experiences we relate.

Denzin *et al* (2008) and Smith (1999) articulate a research methodology aimed at critical praxis for western and non-western peoples/researchers interested in indigenous issues. In response to this I have illustrated that through my inductive research approach in studying !Xaus Lodge,

explanations can be created from personal fieldwork experience, where my research partners' stories and perspectives are championed and included into the final academic text. This provides texture in my research that aims to present (from a particular case study) the dynamics of PPCPs through a partnership of paradigms and methodologies. The final objective of my research is to generate a model for understanding such partnerships that could be adapted to other projects and influence policy and planning approaches in the interface between community development and tourism.

The following chapter presents the academic literature, policies and some case studies on South African tourism development, with a particular focus on PPCPs in eco-tourism, community-based tourism, cultural tourism and pro-poor tourism (cf. Ashley *et al* 2001; Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Wang 2001) that have direct relevance to !Xaus Lodge as a tourism site.

## Chapter Three

### Literature Review: Tourism as Development in South Africa

#### Introduction

This chapter outlines and reviews the academic literature and policies relating to South African tourism with a focus on eco/community-based cultural tourism. It examines contemporary case studies of „people and parks“ relationships which ideally should see local communities managing their development as in the case with the Makuleke Community on the western border of the Kruger National Park (cf. De Villiers, 2008; Dyll, C., 2005; Ramutsindela, 2002). This broader literature will frame my examination of failed tourism ventures involving the ≠Khomani such as the privately-owned tourist resort, Kagga Kamma where many of the community settled and worked as cultural performers (White, 1995), and Ostri-San in the North West Province (Oets 2003; Mhiripiri, 2009). Most tourism-as-development strategies with the ≠Khomani, as well as other indigenous communities both within South Africa and globally, have taken the form of cultural tourism (Dyll, 2009; Allen & Brennan, 2004; Jansen van Veuren, 2004). While !Xaus Lodge offers a form of cultural tourism, this thesis will examine issues relating to cultural tourism from a development-with-local/indigenous people“s perspective and will not necessarily examine the politics of representation often inherent in cultural tourism literature and theory (cf. Akama & Sterry, 2002; Bester & Buntman, 1999; Finlay 2009a/b; Garland & Gordon, 1999; Tomaselli, forthcoming).

The chapter will provide what Ntongela Masilela refers to as “consciousness of precedent” (2003, 2000, 1999)<sup>58</sup>. He explains that to be original and imaginative is to be historical. And to be historical is to possess a “consciousness of precedent” (Masilela 2003: 2). Although he refers to this as integral to artistic projects such as the role of film in the making of South African modernity there are points of connection between what Masilela calls for and what my research aims to do. Films tell stories and my research will tell a story of sorts; that of the ≠Khomani and Mier“s journey from the inception of the development of !Xaus Lodge during the land claim in 1999 to its operational stage ten years later.

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<sup>58</sup> Masilela borrows the term “consciousness of precedent” to discuss South African filmmaking in modernity from Thomas Crow (1999) who originally used the term to discuss the theoretical complexities of the history of form in contemporary conceptual art.



The challenges, strengths and weaknesses of past tourism and development projects will provide the “consciousness of precedent” for the public-private-community partnership (PPCP) model I aim to generate. These forms of tourism-as-development will be assessed against the establishment and operations of !Xaus Lodge (Chapters Four and Five) to examine what can be learnt for future public-private-community lodge projects.

Another connection to Masilela’s work is the focus on modernity (Ntongela, 2003; 1999).

Modernisation, modernity and modernism share a common root in the idea of the modern, which stretches back to antiquity as implying a break, or a discontinuity with the past. Modernisation is a process of change driven by reason and the process of industrialisation (Miller and Brewer 2003: 196)...A sociologically based definition of *modernity* explains it as a state in which people are exposed to the uncertainty and opportunity brought about by the destruction of traditional society (ibid.) (Tomaselli, 2006a: 4).

The experience of modernisation and modernity as described above is almost embodied in the Bushmen, and to a lesser degree, Mier community experience. The reality of the Bushmen encounter with modernity does involve a “break or discontinuity of the past” when they were dispossessed of their land resulting in a “destruction of traditional society” as their political economy changed from one based on a hunter gatherer society to one based on farm labour (cf. Guenther, 1977) often under slave labour conditions. In fact, the destruction was so acute that the N/u language was (prematurely) declared to be officially „dead“ in 1970. Many people did not know that they were Bushmen until they were approached by SASI during the land claim. “San families were spread around the country in a pitiful diaspora, receiving negligible wages or the right to live in exchange for hard labour on Kalahari livestock farms. They developed few other skills to support life in a rapidly modernising world” (Chennells, 2003: 275-276). As a result traditional practices and rituals fell away. As a result of this 30 year land loss coupled with social stigmatisation, the southern Kalahari Bushman “ceased to become a functioning or even identifiable community” (Chennells, 2003: 267).

Important to the !Xaus Lodge site is the argument that tourism development and modernity in a destination are inextricably linked in a variety of ways (cf. Travis, 1982; Lanfant *et al.*, 1995; Wanjohi 2002). The process of tourism development marks the beginning of modernity<sup>59</sup>.

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<sup>59</sup> Kibicho Wanjohi (2002:77), however, reminds us that “[p]aradoxically once a tourism destination has been developed to the extent that little of the vernacular culture exists then tourists tend to shun it in favour of new ones

Christian Rogerson and Gustav Visser (2004:2) concur: “[i]n terms of the developing world, the importance of tourism as a potential „passport for development“ or „engine of modernisation“ was acknowledged.” It is the idea of !Xaus Lodge as a possible “opportunity” for development for and by the ≠Khomani and Mier that will be interrogated in the light of past development and tourism projects. Related to this will be a discussion of the complex relationship between tradition and „modernity“ as embodied in !Xaus Lodge as a development opportunity. The !Xaus brochure (2007) markets a lodge that draws tourists into the “fascinating rituals, traditions and historical culture of...the first people of southern Africa”. Yet at the same time !Xaus is seen by many other stakeholders – South African National Parks (SANParks), the South African government and the !Xaus Lodge operator - as an opportunity for the ≠Khomani to engage with „the modern world“ and acquire skills that will allow them to not only survive, but prosper.

As noted in Chapter One my research focuses on tourism-as-development from a cultural studies perspective so that the „nitty gritty“ that arises out of the cultural context will be detailed and factored into the model. So while the scholarship on tourism and development is broad, the following literature review concentrates on socio-cultural issues and only brings an economic view into the discussion in as far as it impacts on the socio-cultural issues. What, historically, makes tourism in South Africa different from the rest of Africa?

### **Tourism in South Africa: A unique case**

The development of tourism in South Africa is incongruous to the international scholarship on tourism in the Third World which is often analysed in terms of dependency theories (Baran, 1967; Gunder Frank, 1967). Tourism in South Africa under conditions of dependence was curtailed by the international boycotts and sanctions implemented during the apartheid era (1948-1994)<sup>60</sup>.

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(Greason, 1996). This happens because cultural tourists are looking for archaic communities, which are unpolluted, close to perfection, the guardian of truth, beauty and goodness”.

<sup>60</sup> Although racial segregation began in South Africa in colonial times, apartheid as an official policy began after the 1948 general election. The 1990s saw then-President F.W de Klerk begin negotiations to end apartheid, culminating in the first multi-racial democratic elections in 1994, which were won by the African National Congress (ANC) under Nelson Mandela.

[T]he volume of international tourism flows was severely curtailed, leading to the closure of South African tourism promotion offices in many parts of the world. Moreover, apartheid legislation also circumscribed the potential for domestic tourism, as the majority of the country's black population could not enjoy access to a number of facilities (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 4).

The most important consequence of this for my research is that:

[N]ational parks were concerned primarily with conservation issues, to the neglect of the social welfare of surrounding communities. Accordingly, "caring for the environment" was often used as a pretext to exclude neighbouring black communities from protected areas and to remove them from their ancestral lands to make way for wildlife conservation. In short, under apartheid, South Africa's national parks operated as the exclusive domain of whites, with black South Africans not granted equal access and, in fact, viewed as a „threat“ to wildlife (Rogerson & Visser, 2004: 4).

The challenges to the 1999 land claim and establishment of !Xaus Lodge illustrate that the vestiges of these policies still shape South African politics, land reform and development.

The Bushmen have become a major motif within popular culture and in terms of the western or tourist gaze (Urry, 2002). A visit to a local bookstore will find a bewildering choice of books, biographies, travelogues, photographic collections and even musical recordings. The notion of „the Bushman“ or „the San“, as they are referred to in much literature, has become increasingly romanticised over time, beginning with the early twentieth century classic Laurens van der Post's *Lost World of the Kalahari* (1986). Bushmen have become the study of anthropology, most famously through the work of John and Lorna Marshall (Marshall 1957, 1980, 2002; Marshall & Marshall, 1956; Marshall *et al* 1984). In popular fiction *The Gods Must Be Crazy* (Uys, 1980) was the precedent for a string of popular films and ignited a debate within the academic literature, which is well rehearsed (Davis, 1985; Tomaselli, 2006b). Some of the more notable photographic collections are as early as Wilhelm van Bleek and Lucy Lloyd's (1911) *Specimens of Bushman Folklore* to more recent examples such as Galadriel Findlay Watson's *The Bushmen of South Africa* (2005). David Lewis-Williams has collaborated with others to produce a series of histories, ethnographies and illustrated manuscripts on Bushman art, including most recently *Deciphering Ancient Minds* (Lewis-Williams & Challis, 2011). Other writers who have dwelt on the fascination of Bushman iconography, in both its romanticised and scientific manifestations include Patricia Vinnicombe's (2009) *People of the Eland*.

The recurring motif of the simplicity of life illustrated in publications such as these is the antithesis of a fast moving, consumer-based society predicated on acquisition and capitalist values. Tourists travel to other countries and societies in order to “gaze upon or view a set of different scenes, of landscapes or townscapes which are out of the ordinary” (Urry, 2002: 1). Urry (2002: 3) refers to this as the “tourist gaze” and following his argument of this gaze one can suppose that (western) tourists visit areas such as the Kalahari in order to escape their everyday life and explore „the Other“:

Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is anticipation, especially through daydreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasure, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist practices, such as film, TV, literature, magazines, records and videos. Which construct and reinforce the gaze” (Urry, 2002: 3).

The Kalahari is one of the most mythologised areas in Africa, and even the world. The myth and romance that surrounds the Kalahari stems from literature on the Bushmen. The Kalahari is also known as a starkly beautiful yet „unforgiving” environment. Therefore, an “intense pleasure” may come from „gazing” at this “out of the ordinary” environment and people from the comfort of a four star lodge. The Bushmen are “visually objectified” (Urry, 2002: 3) in literature that then feeds into the tourist industry as it entices people to visit the areas in which the scenes from books in circulation are assumed to be available in reality. “The gaze is constructed through signs, and tourism involves the collection of signs. When tourists see two people kissing in Paris what they capture in the gaze is „timeless romantic Paris”” (Urry, 2002:3). Bushmen groups such as the ≠Khomani are not powerless in this objectification as some traditionalist ≠Khomani, for example, utilise this romantic “fantasy” and play on it to order to earn an income in modern society, as is discussed in this thesis.

### **A Turning point: From Isolationism to “Madiba Magic” and Responsible Tourism**

This section outlines the „new face” of tourism since 1994 of which !Xaus Lodge is a product. The isolationism of apartheid delayed South Africa’s entry on the global tourism stage. However, with the introduction of democracy and „Madiba Magic”<sup>61</sup>, the Iraq War and 9/11 in

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<sup>61</sup> Madiba is Nelson Mandela’s traditional clan name. When Mandela supported the 1995 Springbok team against all odds and they won the World Rugby Cup the phrase “Madiba Magic” was born. Since then South African and international media have used the phrase to describe events either attended by or the achievements of Mandela.

the United States, South Africa came to be perceived as a relatively safe destination for international tourism. Where 3.7 million tourists visited South Africa in 1994, the figure rose to 6.4 million in 2002. South Africa became the “fastest growing destination in the world. Overseas tourist arrivals grew by 20.3% and arrivals from Africa by 7.7%” (DEAT 2005:14). A record 8.4 million tourist arrivals in the country occurred in 2006, making foreign arrivals in the country three times higher than the global rate (SATOUR, 2007:2-6). This growth in tourism was boosted through a few key events; the sanctions against South Africa being lifted in 1990, South Africa’s peaceful democratic elections and the Rugby World Cup. These last two events are a part of what Rogerson and Visser (2007: 43) identify in the immediate post-apartheid years as the “Mandela factor”.

The growth in tourists to South Africa is related to the recognition of tourism’s potential as an economic driver. This is based on a number of factors: i) South Africa’s natural and cultural resources and the employment intensive nature of tourism, ii) its tourism attractions complementing global trends towards alternative tourism, iii) the ability of tourism to attract considerable private sector investment as well as to accommodate small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) development, iv) its potential multiplier effect for infrastructural investment, v) its ability to link with other production sectors (curios, farming vegetable to supply kitchens etc), and vi) its value as an export earner (jewellery) (Rogerson & Visser, 2004).

The turning point in South African tourism policy and strategies followed the acceptance of *The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (DEAT 1996) and the *Tourism in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution* (GEAR) Strategy (1998). What they outlined epitomised the then-President, Nelson Mandela’s call for respect and dignity for all, restitution for those who suffered under apartheid and a commemoration of South Africa’s past and a celebration of South Africa’s multi-cultural identity.

The White Paper’s (1996) key vision was to develop the tourism sector as a national priority, in a sustainable manner, therefore contributing to the improvement in the quality of life of South Africans. As a leading sector in the national economic strategy, it was argued that a globally

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The “magic” he symbolises is reconciliation, political acuteness and democracy which has strengthened South Africa’s international reputation (cf. Lotter, 2007).

competitive tourism sector would be a major catalyst in the reconstruction and development efforts of the government. Under the banner of “responsible tourism” the White Paper promotes principles that emphasise responsibility to: i) the environment through balanced and sustainable tourism activities; ii) the involvement of local communities living near tourism attractions; and iii) the protection of local culture through the prevention of commercialisation and exploitation. The local communities themselves are also to be accountable in this policy by operating in an environmentally sustainable manner and by promoting the respect, security and health of visitors, employers, employees, and customers. Responsible trade union practices and employment practices are also emphasised (cf. DEAT, 2005; Allen & Brennan, 2004).

However, Garth Allen and Frank Brennan (2004: 24-25) critique the lack of rigorous practical application that tourism discussions and policy offered at this time:

[N]o indication is given of how, and by whom these measures are to be implemented...Equally slippery is the image of economic benefits „flowing“ to local communities with no apparent recognition of the fact that, within resident groups, entrepreneurial individuals...or those in positions of traditional authority are quite likely to direct the benefits towards themselves. Moreover, there is no reference to what form these benefits will take, nor on what basis they are to be distributed.

The White Paper (1996) was the „trigger“ in identifying tourism as a priority for national economic development as well as including previously excluded peoples and communities into the sector through policies. Tourism in the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) (1998) then sought to “forge a framework for implementing these policies, particularly within the neo-liberal context of the GEAR macro-economic strategy” (Rogerson & Visser, 2004:7). Tourism in GEAR highlighted the need for an integrated approach where tourism should be “led by government and driven by the private sector, and in which it can also be community based and labour conscious” (Viljoen & Tlabela, 2007).

In 2003 the *Responsible Tourism Handbook: A Guide to Good Practice For Tourism Operators* was published. It acknowledges that the tourism sector’s growth has “placed a burden on the local economies, cultures and environment, which calls for responsible tourism” (DEAT, 2003:3). In perhaps addressing critiques of the lack of practical guidance or attempting to explicate “these measures” it focuses on the “triple bottom line” of economic performance, namely growth that is economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. The handbook uses the National Responsible Tourism Guidelines (Goodwin & Spenceley 2001/2002) to

provide practical examples and tips for owners and operators of tourism establishments such as hotels, guest lodges and cultural villages, to operate more responsibly.

An examination of this tourism management strategy will be presented in Chapters Four and Five. !Xaus Lodge is a tourism product post-1994 where the construction of the lodge was undertaken by SANParks and DEAT-sponsored poverty relief funds, with the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism being a signed party to the !Ae!Hai Heritage Park Agreement (2002: 167). This study, therefore, use this handbook as DEAT's benchmark to examine the lodge's establishment and operations along the lines of responsible tourism practice.

What is of direct importance to this literature review is that the handbook suggests that joint ventures and partnerships, such as !Xaus Lodge, should be striven for. !Xaus Lodge is therefore a testament to how "joint ventures, partnerships and other business linkages can be used to promote community based tourism initiatives" (DEAT, 2003: 13) as is discussed in the following chapters. The central question, however, is: beyond the "promotion" of community-based tourism initiatives is there sustainability? If so, what lessons can we learn from the !Xaus experience, and if not, what went wrong?

The three recommendations presented for linkages and partnerships are:

- Ensure that shares in a joint venture are matched by an input of land, lease rights, expertise, labour, joint management or capital. Document the investment made and respective shareholding;
- In any business agreement, be careful to document all parties' rights and responsibilities, and specify communication networks;
- Seek advice from agencies with experience in structuring tourism business agreements. Also seek legal advice to ensure professional contractual agreements are drawn up – detailing the sharing of risks and profits, as well as dividends, management fees and preferential loans (DEAT, 2003: 11).

### **Sustainable Development and Tourism**

As part of the "new tourism" (Allen & Brennan, 2004) in South Africa (and globally), development and tourism literature is riddled with sustainability rhetoric. Some have bemoaned the lack of analysis on the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of sustainable tourism (Milne, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; Hunter, 2002). It is not my purpose to provide an

extensive overview of this debate, but rather draw on points pertinent to my investigation of !Xaus. The general concept of sustainable development has been moulded and translated to suit the intellectual and practical frames of different sectors and disciplines, of which tourism is one.

The 1970s saw the world's natural resources being depleted often under the guise of „development“, however, poverty was just as widespread as ever. The concept of „sustainable development“ was therefore born - a concept that brought poverty reduction and environmentalism together. The Brundtland Commission's<sup>62</sup> *Our Common Future* report (1987: 24) introduces the concept of sustainable development:

Humanity has the capacity to make development sustainable to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. The concept of sustainable development does imply limits - not absolute limits but limitations imposed by the present state of technology and social organization on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. But technology and social organisation can be both managed and improved to make way for a new era of economic growth. The Commission believes that widespread poverty is no longer inevitable. Poverty is not only an evil in itself, but sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfil their aspirations for a better life. A world in which poverty is endemic will always be prone to ecological and other catastrophes.

A „general“ definition of sustainable development, therefore, contains within it two key concepts: i) the concept of „needs“, in particular the basic needs of the world's poor, to which overriding priority must be given; and ii) the idea of limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organisation on the environment's ability to meet present and future needs. This can be translated as a balance between social development and environmental conservation. This definition refers to the biosphere or global ecological system, but as I will illustrate in Chapter Four it also works on a local level.

In my study of !Xaus I explore how the lodge is a catalyst for the development of other sectors and activities in the Northern Cape such as pilot projects in furniture making. This is necessary as for “sustainable development to occur, it must be closely integrated with all other activities

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<sup>62</sup> Formally the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED)



that occur in the host region” (McKercher, 1993: 14). In short, sustainable tourism only really makes sense if it is used as shorthand for tourism’s contribution to sustainable development regardless of the type of tourism being considered (Hunter 1995, 2002). It can then be argued that sustainable tourism cannot be viewed as a fixed code but:

should be seen as a flexible or adaptive paradigm, whereby different tourism development pathways may be appropriate according to local conditions...A very widely accepted definition of sustainable tourism would almost certainly need to be rather vague and couched in the language of balance providing the underlying rationale for policy formulation (Hunter, 2002: 11-12).

The lack of theoretical underpinnings of the concept of sustainable tourism means that often sustainability in practice remains obscure. In some cases this „obscurity“ adopted by policy makers may be a “deliberate ploy where those with vested interests want the primacy of, say economic growth to remain hidden” (Hunter, 2002: 12). Many tourism projects have been created and marketed under the banner of “sustainable tourism” and claim to be holistic, based on attempts to integrate only two concerns: tourism development and nature conservation (Hunter, 2002; 1995). One cannot negate the importance of economic growth within sustainable development – it is a realistic and necessary goal. Less developed countries possess environmental and cultural tourism draw cards, and offer competitive prices when measured against the pound or the euro, and these have a powerful economic incentive to develop tourism as an economic driver. Tony Griffin (2002: 28-29) explains that:

If sustainable development is open to interpretation and is a multidimensional concept incorporating economic, sociocultural and ecological considerations, then less developed nations are understandably likely to place higher priority on the economic dimension.

However, it is unfortunate that in order to achieve economic development through tourism, many less developed countries have taken steps that could reduce their long-term direct benefits. They lack the capital to initiate tourism and provide the necessary supporting infrastructure. What often happens is that they grant control of tourism development to foreign interests (Griffin, 2002). Although there is no easy solution to this dilemma, what is encouraging is that in the past few years South African tourism policy frameworks have led to changed roles for government (public sector), the private sector and local people or communities in tourism development. This role change and partnerships between the three stakeholders have brought about some unique and successful cases of tourism development (discussed later in this chapter).

In light of the above discussion one needs to consider whether South African policy and legislation portray or overcome this parochial view of sustainable development in tourism, or in the words of the Brundtland Commission (1983:63) a “sectoral fragmentation of responsibility”. In addition, does tourism policy in South Africa obscure the primacy of economic growth or champion it as an obvious and necessary component to sustainable development<sup>63</sup>?

DEAT’s National Framework for Sustainable Development (2008) is influenced by the Brundtland Commission’s definition which is entrenched in the Constitution and formalised in law. The National Environmental Management (NEMA) Act no. 107 of 1998 defines sustainable development as, “the integration of social, economic and environmental factors into planning, implementation and decision-making so as to ensure that development serves present and future generations”.

Appendix F displays the commonly used image of three separate intersecting circles which depict sustainable development as limited to a fragile space where the social, environmental and economic spheres intersect. Appendix G, however, illustrates DEAT’s (2008:15) vision of sustainable development as openly acknowledging the importance of economic growth and assuming responsibility *across sectors* [*my emphasis*]. It is an integrated relationship between the economy, socio-political systems and ecosystem services in order to “eradicate poverty and severe inequalities” where governance holds all the systems together.

Evidence that South African policy promotes a holistic approach, which Colin Hunter (2002) states is often not evident, is illustrated in DEAT’s (2008: 14) explanation that it is:

imperative for us to go beyond thinking in terms of trade-offs and the simplicity of the „triple bottom line“. We must acknowledge and emphasise that there are non-negotiable ecological thresholds; that we need to maintain our stock of natural capital over time; and that we must employ the precautionary principle in this approach. We must accept that social, economic and ecosystem factors are embedded within each other, and are underpinned by our systems of governance.

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<sup>63</sup> Along with the two other main components: the meeting of human development needs, and environmental conservation.

!Xaus Lodge can be seen as a particular project created within this framework. Below I outline how this policy has translated to the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002). !Xaus Lodge is situated inside the KTP whereby “the land inside the contract parks shall only be used for conservation purposes and for sustainable economic, symbolic and cultural uses, which are compatible with conservation” (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002: 176). A community party may pursue sustainable economic use itself, or in partnership with an outside party, or an outside party may pursue it in terms of an agreement with the community party in the following areas:

- facilities for the pursuit of eco-tourism, including accommodation and other infrastructure, such as 4X4-routes;
- sustainable use and consumption of plants and animals;
- sustainable utilisation and consumption of plants and animals;
- use of land for educational purposes.

A chapter that I published in *Tourism Strategies and Local Responses in Southern Africa* (Dyll, 2009) highlights how DEAT's (2006) strategic framework for sustainable tourism development embraces the discourse of participatory development and the protection and promotion of indigenous rights. Objectives of this framework relevant for discussion in this study are to:

- develop tourism with dignity – encouraging mutual respect for all cultures and eliminating all forms of discrimination on the basis of language, religion, culture, race, gender, age, wealth and ability;
- provide tourism education, training, awareness and capacity-building programmes, especially aimed at previously neglected groups;
- use tourism as a catalyst for human development, focusing on gender equality, career development and the implementation of national labour standards;
- empower community structures through, for example, involvement in the marketing of cultural experiences and practices to tourists; and
- encourage community participation in the planning, development, implementation and management of tourism projects.

While these objectives are a positive reinforcement of a move towards participatory development, life at the grassroots level at times contradicts these good intentions (as discussed in Chapters Four and Five).

## **Eco-Tourism: From *Fences and Fines* to Community-based Tourism**

Eco-tourism is almost coterminous with sustainable tourism including concepts such as:

[P]lanning before development; sustainability of resources; economic viability of a tourism product; no negative impact on the environment and local communities; responsibility for the environment from both developers, the tourism industry and tourists; environmentally friendly practices by all parties concerned; and economic benefits flowing to local communities (SATOUR, 1994:6).

The government's Rural Development Plan (RDP) (1995) called for community based eco-tourism as the country's primary tourism development strategy. Allen and Brennan (2004:43) point out that:

Although the central thrust of rural development planning in South Africa is for sustainable development for all sectors of society, DEAT (1997) argues that there is a particular need to pay attention to those communities living in the vicinity of protected areas, some of which are found within the most populous and deprived areas of the country. These reserves are often nodes of economic activity, and contrast starkly with conditions immediately outside their well guarded fences. In order to improve the lives of the neighbors of protected areas, and thereby to reduce the obvious threat to natural resources within them, the Department established plans for collaborative activities with conservation authorities, local communities, the private sector and other agencies...Going further, those neighbouring communities must enjoy access to decision-making roles within the fences of the protected areas themselves. Conservation authorities have had their roles greatly extended, in that now they must see themselves as agents of development as well as conservation.

This relates to !Xaus Lodge in a variety of ways. !Xaus is situated within the KTP and is therefore within a "protected area" adhering to rigorous conservation rules. Both the #Khomani and Mier are neighbours of the protected area, as well as landowners of the 25 000 hectares awarded to each community. The Northern Cape is one of the most "deprived areas of the country" as it is the third largest population living in poverty out of the nine provinces at 61%<sup>64</sup> (SARPN, 2008). The KTP is following the South African trend of concessions, which promotes the principle of socio-economic development through public and private partnerships whereby concessionaires are given the opportunity to run lodges or tourism operations in

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<sup>64</sup> After the Limpopo at 77%, the Eastern Cape at 72% and the Free State at 68%.

selected zoned areas, making the KTP a “node of economic activity” in the Northern Cape area. Traditionally, the inclusion of local communities into a conservation area was seen as an “obvious threat” to natural resources. However, the new face of eco-tourism calls for an integration with land restitution where local communities can take part ownership within national parks and game reserves<sup>65</sup>, meaning that it is about balance and respect for natural resources, respect for community needs and participation in providing economic development opportunities.

The 37 000 hectares of farm land restituted to the ≠Khomani outside the park is formally recognised for eco-tourism purposes (Brick *et al*, 2009) and !Xaus Lodge is marketed as a luxury/reconciliation/cultural lodge where aspects of eco-tourism are inherent in its purpose and activities. The 25 000 hectares awarded to each of the communities was deregistered as a national park and restituted to the communities as a „contract park“ which they may use for any purpose, as long as it is conservation-based, and does not entail „permanent settlement“. “This will enable a wide variety of ecotourism opportunities, including hunting, camping trails, walking trails, a tourism lodge, all owned and operated by the San” (Chennells, 2003: 281).

As decided on by all relevant stakeholders to the !Ae!Hai Heritage Park Agreement (2002) and set out in the 2006 management plan, the communities must work together with SANParks to operate within the vision of the KTP. The land is to remain under conservation but benefits are to accrue to the ≠Khomani and Mier through certain commercial activities permitted within the V zone (or the area of the lodge), as well as sustainable resource use and other activities by the ≠Khomani permitted within the bigger S zone of the park. This S zone links to the cultural and symbolic rights that were granted to the ≠Khomani within the remaining 400 000 hectares of the park. These symbolic and cultural rights include the right to harvest plants and animals, and the right to temporarily stay on the land during „walkabouts“ - as a way to facilitate a reconnection with the land.

Managing the KTP for multiple resource use rather than the previous „preservationist“ approach to conservation offers challenges as well as opportunities. Although this study does not research the ecological, socio-economic and management components of this approach, it

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<sup>65</sup> See for example the case of Buffalo Ridge Lodge in Mpumalanga at (<http://madikwe.safari.co.za/madikwe-buffalo-ridge-lodge.html>).

examines the ways in which this new approach impacts on the protocols and development communication amongst the !Xaus Lodge stakeholders. In keeping with my attention to “consciousness of precedent” (Crow 1999) I briefly outline what the earlier preservationist or *fences and fines* approach entailed.

Game reserves and wildlife protectionist legislation was “rooted in separationist ideology” (Carruthers, 1994: 270) as legislation was passed to reduce African access to wildlife. In addition, with the colonial government clarifying the purpose of game reserves as “sanctuaries in which game could recover from the depredations of the nineteenth century” (Carruthers, 1994: 271) and subsequent sport hunting activities, indigenous communities were not included as partners, but were used for labour and became squatters on crown land (Dyll, C. 2005).

The change to a democratic South Africa and the associated new ideology behind conservation would force national parks to re-evaluate their principles. In order to survive, the National Parks Board would have to take account of historical factors other than Paul Kruger (in the case of the Kruger National Park) and Afrikaner Nationalism and come to appreciate the need to have black opinion on its side (Carruthers, 1994; Dyll, C., 2005). The perception of the National Park as an Afrikaner nationalist creation characterised by African dispossession and subjugation means that justification for the South African parks’ continued existence requires a new history, perhaps even a new myth (Carruthers 1994). The subsequent successful land claim by the Makuleke community within the Kruger National Park has proven Jane Carruthers correct. The Makuleke case study sets up a benchmark against which to discuss the !Xaus Lodge experience and its associated “myth”.

Historically, the conservationist’s programme was a strategy of protection. It aimed to preserve certain areas, their landscapes and species by the exclusion of people. As a result, the real costs of conservation were carried mainly by rural populations on the boundaries of conservation areas. The costs incurred were the loss of land, access and resources, damage to crops, danger to life and property, and loss of opportunity. It was often difficult for these people to live without breaking the law. After the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park was proclaimed in 1931 tensions rose between state officials tasked with „conservation“ and the Bushmen who regarded the Park as home. The government’s conservation paradigm at the time, in keeping with the trends of the Western world, was simply that environmental conservations and humans did not mix, and by 1956 the last of the resident Bushmen had been evicted from the Park (Chennells, 2003:275).

The urge to farm land added to the injustice forced upon the Mier and the ≠Khomani. Coloured-owned farms were handed over to white men and in numerous recorded cases Bushmen were arrested and incarcerated for „trespassing“ on land which had been, unbeknown to them, formally allocated to white farmers. The classification of Bushmen as „coloured“ under the Group Areas Act of 1950 meant they were resettled in the neighbouring „coloured“ designated reserve of Mier in 1973 (Ramutsindela, 2003). The area called Mier, therefore, became home to the two communities. However, apartheid’s wish that these two communities would “consolidate into clearly marked social and political units” (Ramutsindela, 2003: 46) did not occur and the differences between the communities had implications for the restituted land use. The Mier wanted to use the land for commercial purposes such as farming whereas the ≠Khomani attached cultural value to the land (cf. Robins, 2001).

Belinda Kruiper (2004: 21) recalls her ≠Khomani friends who, despite having seen their parents being imprisoned for „trespassing“, continued to enter the park, perhaps as a sign of rebellion in the awakening democracy in South Africa:

They called themselves the „die kinders van die vaal rivier“ (the children of the grey river), which became the Riverbed Kids. They were the real free spirits, the rebels who answered to nobody, who still lived in the old ways, coming and going as they pleased, making their crafts to sell to tourists, getting drunk and causing havoc. There was ongoing conflict between them and the Park in those days. They had no respect for fences and were forever being found illegally inside the Park and thrown out or arrested. But they kept coming back.

The *fences and fines* approach required an essentially militaristic enforcement strategy which proved counterproductive as it “resulted in economic hardship for local people, widespread resentment of park and national officials, and, often damage to the natural resources the parks were designed to protect” (Machlis & Tichnell, 1985: 1).

This approach to wildlife protection is now perceived by many conservationists to have failed in Africa (cf. Magome & Murombedzi, 2003; Dyll, C. 2005). An alternative approach whereby rural communities are given ownership rights or custodianship and management responsibilities for resources has been introduced under a multitude of names: Community-based Wildlife Management (CWM), Community-Based Conservation (CBC), and Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) which overlaps with Community-based Development (CBD). This new approach is founded on a number of

assumptions, one being that local communities are interested and willing to conserve wildlife on their lands. It is not my purpose to discuss the plausibility of the approaches but to simply provide a brief description of the change in policy in conservation within transfrontier parks that appear to champion the principles of community co-management.

A transfrontier park indicates that authorities responsible for areas in which the primary focus is wildlife conservation, and which border each other across international boundaries, formally agree to manage those areas as one integrated unit according to a streamlined management plan. In 2000 the KTP was the first declared a transfrontier park by the Presidents of South Africa and Botswana. Transfrontier parks or “peace parks” are often presented as an uncomplicated social good with no negative connotations. However, Charles Zerner (2000:16) warns against such simplistic thinking as all conservation and environmental management efforts are inevitably projects in politics:

Certain species, landscapes and environmental outcomes are privileged while others are peripheralized or disenfranchised. Each park, reserve and protected area is a project in governance: in drawing boundaries – conceptual, topographic, and normative; in implicating a regime of rules regulating permissible human conduct; in elaborating an institutional structure vested with power to enforce rules; and in articulating a project mission rendering the management regime reasonable, even natural.

This notion is reiterated by Allen and Brennan (2004: 36):

Conservation in South Africa has a reputation for professional management and scientific success. The white middle class tend to support conservation enthusiastically seeing it as a wholly worthy cause having no connection with politics or issues of race. However, conservation in the country has always been highly politicised, and has demonstrated strong links with the political economy.

Politics has certainly been at play in the development of !Xaus Lodge within the KTP. Christine du Plessis, SANPark’s People and Conservation Officer, acknowledges that there has been a “tangle of protocols and difference in communication styles” between the communities and the park<sup>66</sup>. This is discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

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<sup>66</sup> Article from *Wild* magazine Autumn edition. Available at: <http://www.xauslodge.co.za/images/KGALAGADI.pdf>, accessed on 3 June 2009.



Allen and Brennan (2004) present case studies in the complexities of the changing relationships between conservation agencies and the surrounding poverty-stricken communities within the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province. Although in different provinces, there are many similarities between what they found in KZN in terms of the impact of modernisation, when compared to the KTP – both areas are “sites of highly charged disputes over land use and land ownership” (Allen & Brennan, 2004: 45). Roles have changed in that communities are asked to form partnerships with government, conservation authorities and private operators using business models that may seem alienating to the majority of local communities.

Rural communities are often inexperienced in representing their own interests, and there are frequently conflicting claims among communities and individuals for the same piece of land. The government itself is inexperienced in dealing with problems of such magnitude and complexity (Allen & Brennan, 2004:35-36). By the same token conservation authorities are now being asked to adopt a developer’s role alongside their traditional focus on conservation. These issues are examined in detail within the context of !Xaus Lodge in the forthcoming chapters.

The White Paper on Tourism (DEAT, 1996) takes the role and reputation of conservation out of its chequered past and envisions direct and desirable expectations of conservation bodies and authorities. They must: i) ensure the biodiversity in the country, ii) learn to proactively integrate areas under their authority into the national and local tourism base by providing access to those areas to communities and to the commercial tourism sector, and provide appropriate facilities, iii) promote a range of attractive experiences for tourists that are not beyond the financial reach of the average South African, iv) assist the local people to come to understand the value of conservation by providing educational programmes, v) actively participate in the plans and policies for the future of South African tourism; and most importantly for this study, vi) they are obliged by the government to facilitate and promote partnerships in eco-tourism ventures between communities and the private sector.

!Xaus Lodge is not directly concerned with CBNRM as the stakeholders are not managing resources for conservation. Rather, the initiative is centred on using tourism at a community-owned lodge as an income generator within a transfrontier park. “The vision of all those involved in the process is that the final agreement will produce a model in which conservation of biodiversity is integrated with conservation of the culture and the very essence of the ≠Khomani San as a people” (Chennells, 2003: 271). What I am therefore interested in is

Community-based Tourism (CBT) for social development operating within, and respecting conservation principles. Integrated conservation and development involves many different approaches including developing income-generating activities such as eco-tourism in buffer zones, community conservation and partnerships.

It is useful here to provide a brief discussion on CBT. There are many definitions of specialised tourism activities – ecotourism, nature-based tourism, adventure tourism, cultural tourism and so on. As mentioned above these definitions vary with the markets for which they are being targeted. Broadly speaking, CBT is a means of development whereby the social, environmental and economic needs of local communities are met through the offering of a tourism product. Interestingly, studies find that a large majority of CBT products are based on the development of community-owned and managed lodges (cf. Goodwin & Santilli, 2009).

Harold Goodwin and Rose Santilli (2009:10) assume a much-needed critical stance when reviewing CBT interventions, explaining that:

as alternatives to mainstream tourism, ecotourism and CBT have such appeal that they are rarely subjected to critical review. There are very few studies of the actual contribution of either ecotourism or CBT to either conservation or community livelihood. However, despite very little demonstrable benefit the ideas remain attractive, largely because little effort has been made to record, measure or report the benefits accruing to conservation or local communities.

CBT generally enjoys little success. The most likely outcome for a CBT initiative is collapse after funding dries up. The main causes of collapse are poor market access and poor governance (Mitchell and Muckosy 2008) - two points that arose as challenges to the establishment of !Xaus Lodge, as will be discussed in Chapter Four.

In light of the lack of analysis on the theoretical underpinnings of the concept of sustainable tourism (cf. Milne, 1998; Sharpley, 2000; Hunter 2002), Goodwin and Santilli (2009) bemoan the absence of rigour in the use of the concept of CBT. They offer John Brohman's (1996: 60) definition of CBT as the most comprehensive:

Community-based tourism development would seek to strengthen institutions designed to enhance local participation and promote the economic, social and cultural well-being of the popular majority. It would also seek to strike a balanced and harmonious approach to development that would stress considerations such as the compatibility of various forms of development with other components of the local economy; the quality of development,

both culturally and environmentally; and the divergent needs, interests and potentials of the community and its inhabitants.

From a review of the academic literature it is clear that CBT is defined as tourism initiatives owned and/or managed by communities and intended to deliver wider community benefits. There is a broad range of criteria used to identify an initiative as CBT. From Goodwin and Santilli's (2009) 116 "expert respondents" (including funders, conservationists and development workers) the two most significant criteria used in the academic definition are community ownership/management, and community benefit. However, findings reflect that there is a major gap between the academic definition of the concept and the way it is used by practitioners.

A marked disparity exists between the views of experts nominating successful CBT projects and those managing the projects identified by the experts as successful. Neither the experts nor the managers place any importance on collective benefits, ranked 9th and 8th respectively. The experts place more importance on social capital (1st) and local economic development (2nd) than do the managers who rate them 4th and 9th respectively. It is not surprising perhaps that the managers place considerably more emphasis on livelihood impacts (1st) than the more general local economic development (9th) (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 5-6). These findings lead them to question "[i]f in describing successful CBT projects and initiatives knowledgeable practitioners are not using the criteria used by academics (collective or community ownership/management and benefits) to define the concept where does that leave the definition?" (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009:5). In turn this leads to the question: what about the community's definition of CBT and their criteria for a successful initiative?

Goodwin and Santilli (2009) are aware of a *community's contribution and investment* to CBT initiatives [*my emphasis*]. Communities incur costs when they engage in CBT projects as they contribute time and labour which have value. The biggest cost to the community could perhaps be opportunity costs. "For the poorest communities, engagement is prohibitive; they cannot afford to be distracted from subsistence activities" (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 4). The ≠Khomani and Mier's perceived costs and investment for working at !Xaus Lodge are discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

However, Goodwin and Santilli (2009) deny their readers the communities' perspective. In defining CBT they take into consideration what managers, development workers, and

academics label as criteria for successful CBT. The voice of the community in what they consider important criteria is not heard. This study aims to address Goodwin and Santilli's (2009:10) concern that CBT projects are "rarely subjected to critical review" by reviewing !Xaus Lodge and will go one step further in taking into consideration what the #Khomani and Mier outline as criteria for !Xaus Lodge to be successful. The establishment of PPCPs has become a popular means of local development in CBT and eco-tourism with local communities as integral stakeholders in these partnerships – their expectations and opinions should be documented and taken into account.

### **Pro-Poor Tourism**

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) (Ashley *et al*, 2001a/b) is a poverty reduction approach that calls for the use of industry to generate sustainable development for local communities involved in tourism development projects by including them in the design and implementation of these projects. "PPT strategies aim to unlock opportunities - for economic gain, other livelihood benefits or engagement in decision-making – for the poor" (Ashley *et al*, 2001b: 1). It is one core element of responsible tourism and sustainable tourism (Ashley & Haysom, 2006), and as it is an overall approach PPT interventions "often include, but go well beyond, „community tourism“ and are not confined to one sub-sector, product or niche market" (Ashley *et al*, 2001b: 1). The approach links with the participatory development communication paradigm (White, 1999, Servaes, 1991, 2008; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009) as it calls for people to take part in their own development, assuming an active role. Participatory models of development insist that to be relevant to their own experience, a strategy must come from within the community - this entails a process of dialogue between communities, the government, private sector and NGOs.

PPT acknowledges that participation alone is not enough. Caleb Wang (2001) notes that the approach attempts to offer practical solutions to the seeming contradiction between structure (working within established frameworks) and agency (allowing communities to determine the own destinies). Communities should participate within the structures provided by business, for the benefit of all parties rather than simply receiving benefits (cf. Ashley & Haysom, 2006). PPT calls for participation in tourism projects ensuring that operations are relevant and appropriate for the community as well as following a structure to ensure these projects generate economic and non-economic benefits. These goals, through supporting structure and agency, seem contradictory. However, Wang (2001: 54) argues that partnerships, such as those discussed in the following section, are able to offer a path between structure and agency. The

reason for this view is that two or more parties use their different strengths for mutual benefit. Local communities bring local resources, knowledge and a rich cultural heritage to the partnership. The private sector, for example, is essential in providing: i) technical advice helping community partners develop an understanding of the tourism industry, and ii) capacity building with skills training (Ashley *et al*, 2001b). The approach does caution, however, that “corporate engagement should be based on commercial opportunity and not just ethical appeal” (Ashley *et al*, 2001b: 1). Although experience indicates that conducting business in pro-poor ways can make commercial sense (Ashley 2005), “PPT is not a term that most business operators find attractive” (Ashley & Haysom, 2006: 266). Reasons for this will be discussed in Chapter Five in terms of the !Xaus Lodge experience. The government’s role lies mainly with policy, regulations and co-ordination. They can for example “consult with poor residents when making decisions about tourism” (Ashley *et al*, 2001b: 3).

Within these partnerships “[r]estriction, in the form of guidelines or a framework, can serve to direct freedom toward achieving goals” (Wang, 2001: 55). Whereas structure is needed to direct agency or participation, this structure should not be too absolute. “Just as a structure is necessary to guide agency, so too is agency necessary to allow people to choose which structure to follow and how to meet the duties imposed by structure” (Wang, 2001: 56).

Chapter Five will discuss the experience of establishing !Xaus Lodge and problematise whether participation in the terms outlined by PPT, as well as its integration of structure and agency is a romantic ideal or an approach with empirical relevance and application that unlocks opportunities for the poor.

### **Policy towards Partnerships and „People and Parks“**

South Africa’s history of under-funding (due to its poor performance during apartheid), a lack of community involvement, inadequate service and infrastructure in rural areas, a transport system that did/does not meet tourist needs, and lastly what is key for my study, a private sector reluctance to assume a role in the tourism sector, are attributed as some constraints leading to the country’s lack of tourism growth (Allen & Brennan, 2004; DEAT 1996).

The decade of the 2000s has seen a shift from the almost total exclusion of local communities to these communities taking a more proactive role in issues affecting their own interests. In addition:

Integrated conservation development initiatives, although still few in numbers, have been undertaken during the period of political transition in the country and have helped local people not only in their economic struggle, but also in the re-evaluation of their natural environment, now that the days of enforced removals are said to be over (Allen & Brennan, 2004: 25).

The post-1994 shifts in the policies that shape the South African tourism industry have led to changed roles for government, the private sector and local people in tourism development. At least five integral changes in policy assumptions regarding tourism development, economic growth and poverty alleviation are identified by Caroline Ashley and Zolile Ntshona (2003:6-95). Firstly, coastal areas and conservation zones are gaining popularity as commercial areas to be exploited within an overall development framework. Secondly, investment and operation of tourism facilities is the defined role of the private sector, rather than the government. Thirdly, the private sector role goes beyond that of commercial profit-making to include the development of arrangements with local communities for equity shares, benefit flows and/or contributions to local economic development. Fourth, the primary role of government is to forge the physical and policy environment to make investment attractive to the private sector and to provide incentives for local tourism development. Lastly, expectations vary over community roles, to include that of emerging entrepreneur, land-owner or beneficiary of economic opportunities.

This intersectoral integration requires the creation of an effective institutional framework. Expectations for each sector should be clearly delineated. The emerging entrepreneur, land-owner or beneficiary of economic opportunities are three of the sectors involved in the development of !Xaus Lodge. An important sector to !Xaus not elaborated on by Ashley and Ntshona (2003) is that of the conservation body. The Tourism White Paper (1996), however, is unambiguous in its expectations of public conservation bodies. Obviously environmental protection is their primary role. Recently, however, they have had to learn how to integrate areas under their authority into the national and local tourism base, by providing local communities access to those areas and the commercial tourism sector. Conservation bodies are also:

obliged by the government to facilitate and promote partnerships in eco-tourism ventures between communities and representatives of the private sector, also allowing the local entrepreneurs to integrate their operations outside the gates of the protected areas with the activities of tourists within them (Allen & Brennan, 2004: 43)

Over and above this developmental role the conservation bodies should assume an educational role by providing programmes that teach the value of conservation. They are a sector that is subsidised by the government and so at times find themselves vulnerable to state government policies and development strategies. The White Paper (1996) therefore encourages them to actively participate in the formulation of plans and policies for the future development of South African tourism.

The conservation authority operating in the KTP is SANParks, South Africa's premier protected areas management authority that overlooks 20 national parks. It has adopted a policy through park forums to guide all its national parks in their interactions with communities and interest groups. It receives worldwide recognition for its quality tourist services, but this scrutiny comes in another form. The pressure is on SANParks to "set the standard for people and parks and the potential benefits associated therewith" (de Villiers, 2008: 21) and to contribute billions of rands to the South African economy. In 2000 SANParks introduced an extensive commercialisation policy as government subsidies were declining. This has led to concessions being granted for the running of specialist lodges, such as !Xaus, shops and restaurants, and more recently PPCPs.

The concept of partnerships in CBT development within conservation areas is well illustrated in the „people and parks“ programme. The concept, however, is idealistic in that it implies that local people and park (authorities) exist in harmony for shared benefits. It is advantageous that South Africa has one of the best national park systems in the world, offering first class tourism opportunities associated with these protected areas. On the flipside, however, these areas have neighbours who are, in most cases, poverty-stricken and the observed images cannot be ignored by tourists.

A consensus exists amongst policy-makers and the broad conservation community that:

- protected area-based cultural and ecotourism ventures present excellent opportunities to stimulate local and regional economic growth;
- cultural- and eco-tourism offer numerous small-scale, labour-intensive employment opportunities; and
- the future of protected areas depends to a large extent on the exploitation of the direct and indirect commercial potential of such areas (De Villiers, 2008: 3).

South Africa's history of land dispossession and the continuing poverty for many of its people means that its solutions are complicated:

[L]iving together as parks and communities inevitably brings with it elements of competition and even conflict on issues such as land use, expansion of protected areas, damage caused by dangerous animals, land claims, resource use and commercial benefits arising from protected areas (De Villiers, 2008: 1).

Although practical steps have been taken in recent years to involve communities within protected areas, the development and implementation of a comprehensive policy framework remains elusive. People critique this lack of a framework, but as Bertus de Villiers (2008: 7) points out, "each protected area is unique and faces distinct challenges... There is no one-size-fits-all-model". This is a good reminder for me while on my fieldtrips scribbling down "lessons learnt" for the !Xaus Lodge model. While the model presented in Chapter Six aims to be replicable in other CBT-for-development contexts, it is also adaptable so that other „people and parks“ projects can develop solutions to their particular needs via useful insights from the !Xaus Lodge case study.

In what way is establishing and mobilising a partnership with the private sector important to the „people and parks“ programme? As discussed above with reference to SANParks, the government and its conservation constituencies will look to the private sector for much of the capital and expertise essential for establishing and operating a business-savvy tourism project (but still calling for RDP aims to be met). De Villiers (2008:8) believes that this is necessary as, "[w]ithout effective intergovernmental relations and public-private partnerships, protected areas will continue to grapple in the dark".

The fifth World Park Congress held in September 2003 was the catalyst giving momentum, legitimacy and urgency to „people and parks“ or peace parks efforts:

Getting heads of state on board was a crucial step. But the concept was so compelling and the benefits so manifold, that suddenly conservation was elevated to the top of government agendas all over sub-Saharan Africa. As a golden opportunity to promote social and economic upliftment as well as save the environment, it seemed like a winning formula (Bristow, 2003: 62-63).

Since 2003 DEAT has convened a series of „people and parks“ workshops with the aim of bringing together role players from different backgrounds to discuss the progress they have made and their experiences with people and protected-area interaction. There are numerous



legal instruments and policy documents that have institutionalised this highly contagious African model within the development, conservation and tourism sectors. Below, I will briefly outline aspects of these policies that further illustrate the roles expected from the different partners.

Firstly, the Convention on Biological Diversity (1992) looks to promote the sustainable use and benefit-sharing that arises from the protection of biodiversity. There is a strong focus on the benefits for local communities with the “enhancement of the involvement of indigenous and local communities...and maximizing commercial opportunities that arise from protected areas to local communities” (De Villier, 2008:15). If a „people and parks“ project is to have long-term sustainability, it is imperative that local communities are brought on board. The 2003 World Park Congress Recommendations influenced policy formulations within participating countries. “The South African government views the recommendations as a benchmark to evaluate progress made by the conservation authorities” (De Villiers, 2008:16).

Secondly, the conference highlighted the important role protected areas can play in poverty relief. This is a continuation of the centrality the then President Thabo Mbeki placed on Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) as a driving force for the ideals of the New Partnerships for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) in regional economic development within the tourism sector.

Thirdly, the CBNRM guidelines are contained within a wide variety of laws and programmes. They foreground the incorporation of indigenous knowledge in management systems, involvement of the community in policy formulation and implementation, the restitution of land and land rights, and building local communities’ capacity to effectively participate in governance (De Villiers, 2008:16). Although the government’s use of CBNRM is critiqued for not offering concrete steps on capacity building, I agree with the belief that local situations require local responses and so a uniform strategy is difficult to develop. A balance must therefore be struck between general principles and local ingenuity (cf. Fabricius *et al*, 2003). Although !Xaus Lodge stakeholders are not directly concerned with CBNRM in that they are not seeking to manage material resources within a protected area - the CBNRM definition can be expanded to include cultural resources. A type of CBNRM project at !Xaus or within the KTP is to link cultural experiences, such as tracking, with conservation. Fourthly, the National Environment Management: Protected Areas Act (2004) provides a legal mechanism whereby

informal agreements between park authorities and communities are formalised into legally binding statements. Two key objectives of the Act are to:

- promote sustainable utilisation of protected areas for the benefit of the people in a manner that would preserve the ecological character of such areas; and
- promote the participation of local communities in the management of protected areas, where appropriate.

As TFPD, the !Xaus Lodge operator, is a Black Economic Empowerment (BEE)<sup>67</sup> company, the last legal instrument drawn on is the Tourism Black Economic Empowerment Charter (2005), which highlights the role of the private sector in the „people and parks“ programme. The charter should apply to all privately owned enterprises within the tourism sector and aims at:

- increasing the number of black people who manage, own and control enterprises and productive assets;
- human resource and skills development;
- achieving equitable representation in all occupational categories; and
- investment in enterprises that are owned or managed by black people.

BEE status stands one in good stead with, for example applying for a tender as TFPD did for !Xaus Lodge. The Tourism Charter Council is responsible for overseeing the implementation of the charter and making recommendations to government. There is an element of the dominant modernisation paradigm in its belief that a „trickle down“ effect of the charter would reach even the smallest of businesses, even if it is indirectly. The presence of aspects of the differing development communication paradigms within the establishment and operations of !Xaus Lodge is discussed in Chapters Four and Five.

In spite of the trend of partnerships to kick start development opportunities in tourism (cf. Grossman & Koch, 1995), Gary Boshoff (1996) warns that it may not be so simple. He argues that despite the moral imperative of the discourse of participation - conflicts of interest at the grassroots level within communities, and the lack of educational and professional experience

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<sup>67</sup> BEE is defined by the BEE Charter (2005) as an “integrated and coherent socio-economic process that directly contributes to the economic transformation of South Africa and brings about significant increases in the number of Black people that manage, own and control the country’s economy, as well as significantly decreases income inequalities”.

among members of civil organisations have led to inefficient prioritising of needs and the misallocation of resources. Evidence from community development projects around the world indicates that consensus is particularly difficult to sustain in regions with a history of conflict, and that in these situations traditional power holders typically feel threatened by notions of democratic decision-making (cf. Gaventa, 1998; Brennan & Allen 2001). Implications of the conflict of interests and power relations inherent in the !Xaus Lodge case study are elaborated on in Chapters Four and Five.

Although including the critiques and challenges to the new tourism policies (including „people and parks“) via the !Xaus Lodge case study is imperative to address Goodwin and Santilli’s (2009) call for a critical review of CBT ventures, David Bristow (2003:68) reminds us that “despite the quibbles one may have about procedure, viability and implementation, peace parks do provide an ideal which we can all embrace”.

### **Public-Private-Community Partnerships (PPCPs)**

“National, state and local governments worldwide all face tremendous budget gaps and therefore are increasingly adopting Public-Private Partnership (PPP) models as a means to provide infrastructure service delivery”<sup>68</sup> There has been an increased realisation by the South African government for the need to structure sound deals with the private sector to improve public service delivery, while the private sector attain new business opportunities:

The state must complement its budgetary capacity with the wealth of innovative and special skill that is available in the private sector... The availability of state resources for these purposes must be used to leverage much-needed private sector investment in public infrastructure and services (Manuel, 2001).

Public-Private-Community Partnerships (PPCPs) is a new PPP model and aims to unlock the economic value of state or community-owned land, so as to revitalise rural economies, reduce poverty, increase community empowerment and promote sustainable resource use in the

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<sup>68</sup> See Institute for Public-Private Partnerships, available at: [http://www.ip3.org/ip3\\_site/public-private-partnerships.html](http://www.ip3.org/ip3_site/public-private-partnerships.html), accessed on 31 Oct 2011.

country's poorest regions<sup>69</sup>. PPCP has been identified as a strategy to alleviate poverty via increased investment, technology transfer and market access (UNDP, 2009). Community participation becomes clearer in this version of the PPP phenomenon.

In all PPCP arrangements the roles of the public, private and community sectors vary in terms of ownership, management, financing, and amount of risk borne. PPCP can combine private sector investment (e.g. in-market and technology support), public sector facilitation (e.g. including an enabling role played by the state and assistance by local governments) and community participation (e.g. as decision-makers, as producer groups, as asset owner/users, and as consumers) (UNDP, 2009). The !Xaus Lodge PPCP is as follows:

- Public - the capital for lodge infrastructure was provided by the South African government as part of a poverty alleviation project and the construction of the lodge was supervised by SANParks, the national conservation authority, who also facilitated private sector interest by issuing a tender for an operator;
- Private - TFPD as a marketing and management lodge operator was awarded the tender and drove the development process to revive the project;
- Community - the lodge and the land on which it is located is community-owned and thus the #Khomani and Mier communities provide the development asset and are integral in decision making and will be employed at the lodge.

### **Cultural Tourism**

In the 1990s a search began for a workable definition of cultural tourism until the Association for Tourism and Leisure Education (ATLAS)<sup>70</sup> formulated two widely accepted definitions:

- Technical definition of cultural tourism: all movements of persons to specific cultural attractions such as heritage sites, artistic and cultural manifestations, arts and drama outside their normal place of residence (Richards, 1996: 23).

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<sup>69</sup> See South African Government Information, available at: <http://www.info.gov.za/issues/govtprog/start.htm#com>, accessed on 1 Nov 2011.

<sup>70</sup> The ATLAS Cultural Tourism Project was the first and only international project which since 1991 has collected qualitative and quantitative data by 74 institutions globally (measuring and comparing from year to year focusing in the nature of demand, cultural tourist expectations and experiences and the level of popularity of different cultural tourism attractions. It produced the first comprehensive research on the issues relating to world trends and the main cultural tourism characteristics (Ivanovic, 2008: xxiii).

- Conceptual definition of cultural tourism: the movement of persons to cultural attractions away from their normal place of residence, with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy their cultural needs (Richards, 1996: 23).

The conceptual definition represents a breakthrough in defining cultural tourism as it identifies the two main cultural motives for tourism: “education (element of formal and informal learning)” and “novelty (authenticity and uniqueness)” (Ivanovic, 2008: 77). While this definition is useful in recognising the process-based nature of cultural tourism in taking into account motives and meanings, this definition was still too focussed on tourists and not the hosts. This speaks to Elizabeth Garland and Robert Gordon’s (1999: 268) warning of what they believe to be the inherent inequities between those who “do the touring” and those who “get toured”. Only in the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) Charter was the role of cultural tourism in protecting and conserving cultural resources acknowledged. Principle 5 of the 8th draft of the Cultural Tourism Charter (ICOMOS, 1999) elaborated on the ways in which tourism involving cultural resources and conservation activities should benefit the host community:

- Benefits of cultural tourism should be allocated on the principle of *equitable distribution* with the aim of improving the levels of socio-economic development and contributing to poverty alleviation (Article 5.1);
- Conservation management and tourism activities should provide equitable economic, social and cultural benefits for the host community (Article 5.2);
- The *revenue* specifically derived from tourism programmes to heritage places should be allotted to the protection, conservation and presentation of those places, including their natural and cultural contexts (Article 5.3).

These selected definitions are significant as they provide a platform for viewing cultural tourism as; firstly, a distinctive form of tourism (ATLAS) and secondly, an economically beneficial activity for the protection of cultural resources for the benefit of the host community (ICOMOS).

While issues relating to the politics of representation, the Self/Other debate and the tourist gaze (Urry, 2002) will feature in this study’s discussion of cultural tourism, it will primarily focus on its role within a tourism development strategy. It will, therefore, not engage in theories on

authenticity (MacCannell, 1973; Wang, 1999) and but rather on issues of empowerment (Garland & Gordon, 1999; Tomaselli, forthcoming) and developmental impacts or benefits.

Cultural tourism has been criticised as exploitative based on the positioning of the performers as „Other“ and „spectacle“ (cf. Bester & Buntman, 1999). On the other hand, however, the reality is that it is often one of the few forms of self employment for indigenous people (Ivanovic, 2008). It can be considered an effective means of income generation as people or communities can rely on cultural heritage resources rather than expensive infrastructure and technology. Cultural tourism has been acknowledged as having the potential not only to contribute to different countries“ economies, but also to substantially uplift the standards of life of the people of a region, through their involvement in this fast growing industry (cf. Akama & Sterry, 2002).

Cultural tourism is a growing sector of worldwide 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 (Tomaselli, forthcoming). In South Africa, cultural tourism has become a viable means of community development as it is aligned with the call for “responsible tourism”:

to involve the local communities that are in close proximity to the tourism plant and attractions through the development of meaningful economic linkages. It implies the responsibility to respect, invest in and develop local cultures and to protect them from over-commercialisation and over-exploitation (DEAT, 1996:19).

Labelling Bushmen as “the most famous cultural “Others” in the world” and also historically the world”s most disempowered and marginalised people, Garland and Gordon (1999: 270) argue that the Bushmen “represent a good test of the possibility of “progressive” cultural tourism development”. They, however, question whether attempts at “progressive” cultural tourism development is enough: “[c]an cultural tourism – tourism where the commodity being sold to tourists is not merely leisure or game viewing, but people themselves (or at least their cultural Otherness) – actually be empowering to the people who participate in it (Garland & Gordon, 1999: 270)? Political analysts argue that “the development of cultural tourism in Africa will in the long-run assist in the promotion of cross-cultural understanding between the local host communities and tourists. Tourism will, therefore, assist in removing existing stereotypes and misrepresentations of indigenous African cultures” (Akama, 2002: 14). Cultural tourism may be able to fulfill this idealistic role, but this will only be possible where

the performers themselves can engage the perceptions and anticipations of visitors who might bring with them all manner of positive and negative stereotypes to the encounter (cf. Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming). Whether !Xaus Lodge offers “progressive cultural tourism” (Garland & Gordon, 1999:270) will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six, in as far as it links to issues of participatory development communication.

There are many forms of cultural tourism in South Africa, from ad hoc survival strategies such as selling crafts on the side of the road and rickshaw rides on the Durban beachfront, to more formalised and capital intensive projects such as the Shakaland and Simunye cultural villages in KwaZulu-Natal (cf. Mhiripiri, 2009; Mhiripiri & Tomaselli, 2004). In order to elaborate on what makes !Xaus similar or dissimilar to other cultural villages I outline what cultural village tourism in South Africa entails. Cultural village tourism ranks as the second main form of cultural tourism, after black township tours (Jansen van Veuren, 2004). Cultural villages are purpose-built structures intended for tourism. A guided tour leads tourists through one or more reconstructed traditional homesteads that existed in the 19th or early 20th century explaining a number of traditional customs that are demonstrated by cultural workers/performers. Typically, the tour is completed by a performance of a traditional dance. Other typical features are a craft or curio shop, and numerous villages offer a traditional meal of overnight accommodation. The scale of these features varies from village to village. “Employment, as an indicator of scale, varie[s] from 2 to over 130 employees” (Jansen van Veuren, 2004: 140).

“The recognition of cultural tourism as an economically beneficial activity is confirmation of its appropriateness as a development strategy...for combating poverty and under-development” (Ivanovic, 2008: 78). However, studies have noted the tendency for outsiders to profit from indigenous cultural resources, and have questioned the extent to which marginalised communities and individuals may benefit from tourism based on their cultural resources (cf. Jansen van Veuren 2004, 2002; Barnett, 1997; Craik, 1994; Garland & Gordon, 1999). This leads to a discussion on the forms of ownership and operations of South African cultural villages. White private sector owners, who are outsiders to the culture depicted, constitute the largest ownership group. Jansen van Veuren (2004: 141) believes their aim is “primarily to make a profit” where ownership is held by individuals or families (small business), or to a white-owned larger corporations. The second type of cultural village ownership comprises of indigenous entrepreneurs “who establish cultural villages based on their own cultures” (Jansen van Veuren, 2004: 141). Profit is a primary motive but this is often coupled with “a strong

commitment to cultural conservation and education, and/or job creation in their communities” (Jansen van Veuren, 2004: 141). Finally, the third form of ownership is that held by the arms of the state (town councils, provincial governments and parastatal development agencies) and are hoped to hold a cultural and developmental function.

Both Koch (1999) and Jansen van Veuren (2002; 2004) have found significant variation in the developmental impacts of the three ownership types. What is interesting, however, is that today operation and ownership may not neatly fit into the categories outlined by Jansen van Veuren (2004). !Xaus Lodge, for example, presents a form of tourism where white private business operation, indigenous ownership and (initial) state funding have been amalgamated. The closest category however, is Indigenous Ownership (or partnership) (Jansen van Veuren, 2004: 143). The developmental impacts and benefits resulting from this form of ownership and operation will be discussed in Chapters Five and Six.

The final section of this chapter presents three case studies that consolidate the above information on tourism policy and literature and illustrate the ways in which these principles are/are not realised on the ground.

### **Case Studies in Cultural and Community-based Tourism**

The Kagga Kamma and Ostri-San cultural tourism ventures are examples of a type of „partnership” between tourism operator and an indigenous community, in this case the ≠Khomani. Kagga Kamma preceded the more people-centered policies that came along with the ideals of PPT, CBT, responsible tourism, and „people and parks” championed by the new South Africa.

The Makuleke Contract Park and !Xaus Lodge experiences illustrate that there has not only been a shift in policy but also a shift in the practice of tourism involving indigenous communities. My discussion of all three case studies: Kagga Kamma, Ostri-San and Makuleke Contract Park serve as a consciousness of precedent (cf. Crow, 1999) to the !Xaus Lodge experience and the model presented in Chapter Six. They will form a basis against which to compare !Xaus Lodge’s tourism development approach. Although the ≠Khomani’s involvement at Kagga Kamma and Ostri-San has been described by some as exploitative, there is value in looking back at what made this „partnership” exploitative – so that the same mistakes may be avoided at !Xaus Lodge and other tourism ventures. On the other hand, the historic Makuleke land settlement in May 1998 and development of a lodge in the Pafuri area



is a benchmark of CBT and a PPCP against which to discuss both the strengths and weaknesses of !Xaus Lodge as it “sets an excellent precedent for land claims in other important conservation areas” (*Sunday Times*, May 1998).

### *Kagga Kamma*

In 1991, about 30 Bushmen led by the patriarch !Gam!gaub Regopstaan Kruiper settled at the privately-owned tourist resort / nature reserve of Kagga Kamma near Ceres in the Western Cape under a patronage arrangement where they were “displayed to curious visitors as the last relics of southern Africa”s aboriginal population who remain true to their traditional foraging culture” (White, 1995: 2) until June 2003.

Of a visit to Kagga Kamma in 2001 Nelia Oets (2003: 45) remembers:

The Bushmen were all dressed in traditional clothes for the benefit of the tourists. As they realised we were not tourists they were quick to tell us that they do not normally wear their !ghais (loincloths). They would arrive at their cultural site in ordinary clothes and then quickly change behind some rocks before the tourists arrived. I was glad that we were not perceived as tourists and could interact with the Bushmen on a more personal level. We were even invited to join them around their fire one evening...I remember Gert saying that life was a little more bearable at Kagga Kamma but that it was a very silent place...He missed the noises of the nocturnal animals and birds in the Kalahari. The Kalahari, he said, was the home of his heart.

It soon became apparent, however, that there were problems at Kagga Kamma between some ≠Khomani employees and management. There are various reasons for this, one is that the ≠Khomani felt exploited by the bureaucracy of wage payments and medical aid, for example, and many of them left Kagga Kamma and returned to Witdraai to sell their artwork on the roadside, ensuring that they were the sole owner of the money their artwork generated (cf. Oets, 2003).

From Hylton White”s (1995) study of Kagga Kamma in 1991 and 1992, he argues that the ≠Khomani”s identity has been created in reaction to experiences of dispossession and wage labour, and as a strategic response to opportunities of patronage based on the global interest in images of „traditional” Bushmen. His study also identifies the limitations to this strategy and reports on the ≠Khomani”s living conditions while at Kagga Kamma.

Kagga Kamma's marketing strategy was premised on an encounter with the ≠Khomani portrayed as "a unique relict population, comprising living representatives of an ancient hunter-gatherer way of life" and promotional material depicted the ≠Khomani as "„Other" to the urban and industrialized world" (White, 1995:11). The primary activity at the resort was daily "Bushman visits" at the reconstructed Bushman camp where tourists met the ≠Khomani dressed in loincloths. Firstly, a brief talk was given, usually by a white game guide, on Bushman history, resettlement and culture. After this the ≠Khomani paused in their activities to give a „traditional" greeting. Dawid Kruiper responded to the translated tourists' questions while the men demonstrated hunting techniques with bow and arrow and encouraged male tourists to imitate them for photographs. The ≠Khomani women sat and made ostrich egg shell and beaded crafts and watched over their children as tourists were allowed to hold them and have photographs taken. The visit would close with another „traditional" greeting. Occasionally they would perform storytelling, music, singing and dancing at night in an amphitheatre near the tourist accommodation. Hikes could be arranged where the ≠Khomani would point out the rock paintings, plants and animal spoors within the area. ≠Khomani-made crafts were available in a shop. The characteristics of Kagga Kamma constitute it as a cultural village form of cultural tourism as set out by Jansen van Veuren (2004).

The discourses of heritage and conservation framed Kagga Kamma's marketing. Owner, Heinrich de Waal, depicted the venture as a "bold conservation initiative aimed at saving the Bushmen from extinction" (White, 1995:13) and the poverty that ruled their lives in the Kalahari. The Kagga Kamma information booklet (1991/1992) read:

Dawid and his group now once again are free to roam wherever they like and practise their own culture and crafts; even to hunt when they want to. Here they are living again in their traditional grass huts and are earning money by making indigenous handicrafts which they sell to visitors.

Based on the evident commodification of Bushman heritage at Kagga Kamma some public and academic commentary on the venture questioned the owners' conservationist rhetoric, arguing that "their material stake in what is above all profit-seeking private enterprise is a far more significant motivation than any stated concern for the Bushmen's cultural survival" (White, 1995: 16). It was also argued that the ≠Khomani were complicit in this commodified display for the same reasons as the owner – to earn an income:

There are in fact no Bushman today who still live in the traditional way as hunter-gatherers. All that the little people at Kagga Kamma have in common with their proud

ancestors is their high cheekbones and sallow skin...Dressed in rags and on the edge of starvation, they were happy to accept the chance to act like Bushmen (*The Argus*, 1991).

Both stakeholders were economically motivated, but the patronage at Kaggga Kamma enabled them to survive “without having to resort to rural wage labour for „coloured” stakeholders in Mier” (White, 1995: 39) which was reported by the ≠Khomani to be “fraudulent and degrading” (White, 1995: 33).

Although the ≠Khomani held little agency in the *type* of performance offered at Kaggga Kamma, they were not without agency in deciding to purposefully represent themselves as traditional hunter-gatherers in order to earn an income. They embraced the “rhetoric of bushman-ness” telling tales of their integration with nature, the significance of the /ai (loincloth) as a distinct Bushman apparel and in these ways they believed and portrayed themselves to be heirs to the Bushman tradition (White, 1995: 18). As discussed in Chapter One it is this „Bushman-ness” that distinguishes them from the *Basters* - an important distinction to the ≠Khomani traditionalists’ self asserted identity.

By presenting themselves as pristine Bushmen, who are nonetheless at risk of assimilation to the Baster category if their heritage is lost, the Bushmen echo the conservationist rhetoric of Kaggga Kamma’s owners and the global terms of the hunter-gatherer icon itself (White, 1995:25).

Staying at Kaggga Kamma, before the land claim, also secured a form of solidarity between the members of the group, in contrast to the dispersion that would result if they had not been there. White (1995: 40), however, outlines the ways in which the ≠Khomani’s position within the venture was “particularly disadvantaged”.

Despite their critical role as „the main attraction”, the ≠Khomani did not initially receive a cash income or share of profits from the venture. A small income was obtained through the sale of their crafts, but this was minimal as they were only retailed through the resort’s shop where turnover was slow. Payment was almost exclusively in the form of credit against their farm store accounts. To make matters worse:

cash [was] generally withheld even where there [was] no debt, which the management justify by arguing that the Bushmen are incapable of controlling their own finances...[and] if the Bushmen truly wish to live according to their traditional ways they should have no desire for either cash or consumer goods (White, 1995: 42).

In addition there was no written contract between the ≠Khomani and owners in which their rights and obligations were legally specified (White, 1995), further entrenching the ≠Khomani's dependency on Kagga Kamma.

Management claimed that there was a trust fund set up for the ≠Khomani where an "unspecified portion of the resort's profits [was] channelled" (White, 1995: 42). Part of this trust fund was to be used for a school, but during White's fieldwork, there were no developments towards this. More than ten years later the ≠Khomani were still negotiating, with the assistance of human rights lawyer, Roger Chennels, for a fair joint-venture agreement (≠Oma & Thoma, 2006). In addition, the private school that had been built had subsequently been closed as it was claimed that de Waal did not regard it as a priority need and was unwilling to support the ≠Khomani by paying the Montessori-trained teacher's salary (≠Oma & Thoma, 2006).

The ≠Khomani lived in shacks that provided little shelter against the elements; there was a lack of medical care (with tuberculosis present), and educational or recreational facilities. They eventually started to retaliate with regular non-cooperation with management. "If the latter had been tardy in addressing a particular grievance then the Bushmen [would] not appear on time for "Bushman visits" and then put on a weak performance to the management's embarrassment" (White, 1995: 43). The ≠Khomani soon realised that they occupied "a vulnerable and exploited position within the venture, even though it is a cultural survival initiative" (White, 1995: 50) and as a result some of them moved back to the Northern Cape. Another reason for leaving was to access the newly restituted land, where with no income, infrastructure or initial development plans they again found themselves facing poverty and despair. As a means of survival they continued to embark on the „traditional“ hunter-gatherer self-representation:

to position themselves as legitimate subjects of patronage, and thereby gaining access to a range of socio-economic benefits without having to compete in a wage market in which they have consistently occupied a peripheral and insecure position (White, 1995: 51).

The *Cape Times* reported that "fake Bushmen" were employed at Kagga Kamma for the gratification of tourists (Friedman & Gool, 1999). De Waal later admitted he offered

employment to coloured farm workers who were married to ≠Khomani as after the Kruipers had left “they urgently needed to keep the Bushman business going” (Robins, 2001: 839)<sup>71</sup>.

Having conducted research at Kagga Kamma from 1999-2001 Tomaselli’s (forthcoming) explanation differs from the allegations of what was considered Kagga Kamma’s exploitation of the ≠Khomani and of their being paraded for visitors as „spectacle“. According to Tomaselli (forthcoming) what had begun as a sincere and idealistic offer for sanctuary in 1991 had turned sour by 2000:

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 Kama. Also, the internecine strife that now typified Witdraai politics regarding how to utilise the land was another factor. One of the Kruiper’s 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.

Changes were made to Kagga Kamma operations in order to facilitate the ≠Khomani’s return. The ≠Khomani would no longer be paid a gate fee from tourists – income would come solely from craft sales and from filmmakers wishing to film the group, and their „performance“ site was closer to the lodge so that they could easily walk there. Tomaselli (forthcoming) outlines a few reasons for these changes:

- 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

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<sup>71</sup> However, Robins (2001: 839) acknowledges that during his conversations with Chennels many inconsistencies surfaced when attempting to define the exact boundaries of the ≠Khomani community.

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<sup>72</sup>, 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“.

Up until 2003, the negative reviews persisted, despite Kagga Kamma's attempt to create a partnership with the Boland District Municipality and the Western Cape Minister of Social Services (where there was an agreement that the three parties would appoint a social worker to attend to the Kruiper's well-being). Unfortunately, as is often the case, this initiative contained the seeds of its own demise. De Waal explains that an SABC journalist was invited to the launch of the new partnership by the Municipality. The journalist:

[c]ompiled 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...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

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<sup>72</sup> 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.

anything to do with the San again in future, as the negative publicity is just too much when compared to the good (De Waal, interview, Sept 2003).

Thus ended what seemed a naïve if not well-intentioned project just as it was about to enter a new PPCP phase to resolve the problems that had accumulated over a nine year period (Tomaselli, forthcoming).

Although their marketing is today still premised on Bushman heritage (rock art), and Bushman iconography still illustrates their website, there is no mention of meeting the ≠Khomani at Kagga Kamma. Rather, it markets a “celebrated San Cultural Tour [where] where guests can appreciate the ancient Bushman living sites at first hand and get an in-depth interpretation of the rock paintings from one of our expert guides”<sup>73</sup>. It is also still framed within a conservationist rhetoric, keeping up with the trend of eco-tourism stating that “[b]y practicing eco-tourism and through sustainable utilization of its natural and cultural resources we endeavour to restore the Kagga Kamma area to its original state as it was centuries ago” (ibid).

### *Ostri-San*

Ostri-San, near the Hartebeestpoort Dam in the North West Province, was a commercial Ostrich Farming enterprise owned by André Coetzee where Danie Jacobs (who had met, worked with, and befriended many ≠Khomani at Kagga Kamma) saw the potential for involving the ≠Khomani in what he thought would be a sustainable income-generating venture (Tomaselli, 2005a:135-150). Again, this was a place where the ≠Khomani were a tourist attraction, where they were represented and performed as a „pre-modern people“. The Ostri-San project, like Kagga Kamma was based on the commercialisation and „preservation“ of ≠Khomani culture and traditions. Jacobs explains that one of his objectives in facilitating the ≠Khomani“s involvement at Ostri-San was:

to educate them that they can still make a living out of their culture. And in that way ensure that their history, the habits of Bushmen even though it is only by telling stories, or maybe to speak only the language, will be survived and carried over to the generations to come (Jacobs, interview, Nov 2001).

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<sup>73</sup> Available at: <http://www.kaggakamma.co.za>, accessed on 24 July 2010.

Journalist and research affiliate, Elana Bregin's (2001) account of her visit to Ostri-San with the Rethinking Indigeneity project in November 2001 provides contextual information on the venture, as well as an indication of its tourism development approach<sup>74</sup>.

Ostri-San is a unique combination of commercial farming venture, cultural village, museum and exotic spectacle....The décor is, appropriately, Bushman theme....The venture is partly Danie Jacobs' brainchild....He explains that San and ostriches both inhabit the Kalahari. Both fit uneasily into the conventional categories of nature. And ostriches have always featured large in San survival. So for him, no other name would do...

I'm not sorry to leave the clinical environs of the ostrich production unit behind us and wander across to the adjacent Bushman section. Here, the walls are hung with sandstone slabs of Rock Art - facsimiles of the genuine articles found in the sandstone caves of the Cape Cedarberg Mountains and Natal Drakensberg. These are...the work of Danie himself, who has reproduced actual scenes from the cave... Standing beside a tepee-shaped skerm woven from the thatch of Kalahari dune grass, Danie takes us through an engrossing demonstration of „Bushman life as it was“...One can't help being awe-struck by the amazing knowledge, skill and enterprise of the Bushman people, their complete attunement to the environment in which they lived.

Danie leads the way energetically up the gravel path...At the top of the slope, is the Bushman „village“, where, beside the skerms, the people wait around their fire, clad in the expected traditional skins, the younger boys in beaded gxais or loincloths, the women bare-breasted and sporting ostrich skin skirts...The adults are hard at work, making their popular crafts to sell to tourists. With great precision, they burn their delicate animals, insect, and human figures onto bone shards and stone slabs; or string necklaces and bracelets from seedpods and eggshell beads....

The Bushmen...say they enjoy meeting people from other cultures and are eager for the chance to talk to them face to face, so that they can explain what they are about and clear up some misconceptions. It hurts them that they are continually talked about and written about by others, without any idea of what is being said. “The words never come back to us”, says group leader Isak Kruiper...How is it for them at Ostri-San? It is not home, they say, and their hearts long for the red sand dunes of their beloved Kalahari...But here is

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<sup>74</sup> It is worth quoting her and other research affiliates at length as I never visited both Kagga Kamma and Ostri-San. As Nhamo Mhiripiri (2009: 85) also recognises, this material is useful in creating “the mood, atmosphere and [to] provide the dialogic evidence”.



where survival is. They have a plentiful supply of Ostrich eggs to paint on, all the Ostrich meat they can eat, and the opportunity to sell their crafts to tourists.

Nelia Oets (2003: 48) was also present on the trip and, somewhat more critically, adds<sup>75</sup>:

Unlike the day before, when [the ≠Khomani] were busy around the fire with the children playing in the background, they were all huddled together on some blankets – adults at the back and the children in front. It was as though they were frozen in prearranged positions for the tourists’ benefit. Danie did most of the talking and the tourists seemed either very uncomfortable or totally disinterested, hardly looking at the Bushmen at all. The ≠Khomani women seemed particularly uncomfortable to be seen in their traditional outfits, bare-breasted...they crouched over, covering themselves with crossed arms. The easy interaction of the day before was gone and there was a definite distance between „us” and „them”. Afterwards I discussed this with Isak. It seems that the tourists are usually uneasy talking to the Bushmen and refrain from asking questions – something Isak would like very much: “Then you know when he leaves he leaves with something, some knowledge, some good thoughts. And he may then tell his friends: you must go there because that man knows what he is talking about” (Isak Kruiper, interview, 2001).

Oets’ criticism of the sense of exploitation she drew from the experience differs from Bregin. Their reactions illustrate two responses visitors may elicit from cultural tourism: the myth and „magic” of meeting an indigenous group different to yourself, and secondly, the disillusionment when realising that the performance may exploit and commodify a people and their culture. Mhiripiri (2009), who was also present, concurs with this sense of discomfort – both on the part of the ≠Khomani and himself as tourist/researcher. What is interesting is that both Oets and Bregin highlight how the ≠Khomani place value in their interaction with tourists. Chapter Five will speak more on this in attempting to answer Garland and Gordon’s (1999: 270) question:

Can cultural tourism – tourism where the commodity being sold to tourists is not merely leisure or game-watching, but *people themselves* (or at least their cultural Otherness) – actually be empowering to the people who participate in it?

This was not the case at Ostri-San. A few years after the group’s visit, Tomaselli (2005a:148) learned that Jacobs had left Ostri-San and in 2004 Isak and Lys Kruiper and Silikat van Wyk

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<sup>75</sup> Oets paid the ≠Khomani a less formalised visit the day before, without the presence of a guide. She enjoyed this informal visit more than what is described here.

had also left. It is not surprising that the ≠Khomani started to leave after Jacobs had gone. Although well-intentioned his paternalistic relationship with them set up a form of dependency:

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 (Jacobs, interview, Nov 2001).

Although he had a more compassionate and healthier relationship with the ≠Khomani than Coetzee, like most relationships and roles in the Kalahari, his role was contested and today some ≠Khomani still grumble about how Danie “stole” from them by making himself rich off their performances:

Do you want me to answer questions? I will tell you a story from my heart. I will tell you a story of my life. You see at Ostri-San at that me Andre place. He pay me nothing. Nothing. NOTHING. I there for nine months and I get nothing. (Silikat van Wyk, interview, 21 Aug 2006).

In 2005 social services investigated Coetzee for exploiting the children who were on display for tourists when they should have been at school. Henriette Geldenhuys (2004) confirms this in her *Sunday Times* article, “Shame of San kids on public display”. The ≠Khomani children were the main attraction and the owner had allegedly prohibited six children from attending school. When confronted, his supercilious retort was: “It is not necessary. Here they are exposed to tourists and that builds character...I am uplifting *my* Bushmen. I'm not exposing them to exploitation” (Geldenhuys, 2004: 5) [*my emphasis*]. Coetzee indicated that he felt he had ownership of the ≠Khomani and so in no way could Ostri-San be considered a partnership. Another reason he provided for the children not going to school is that most of their parents were destitute and could not afford schooling for them (Geldenhuys, 2004). Although Coetzee denied paying the children's guardians for allowing him to take the children to Ostri-San, Lys Kruiper told *Sunday Times* that he had given her and her sister money before taking the children. She explained that the responsibility had become too much for her and that she allowed them to go with Coetzee (Geldenhuys, 2004).

Lynn Meskell and Lindsay Weiss (2006), not only point fingers at Coetzee, but argue that Ostri-San's visitors (and to a degree the South Africa government) played a hand in this exploitation: “Given South Africa's liberal democracy and attention to indigenous rights, it

seems staggering that such abuses continue and that tourists (domestic and foreign) are so comfortable in their complicity” (Meskell & Weiss, 2006:94). It was instances such as these, however, that served as the catalyst for the South African Human Rights Commission (SAHRC) to intervene. Its report addressed urgent issues such as the land claim, human rights, government delivery of services, education and policing matters (SAHRC 2004).

History repeated itself at Ostri-San and although Jacob’s initial intention was to assist the empowerment of a marginalised community through their cultural resources, the overall “relationships of inequality, dependence and mis-communication” led to its demise (Tomaselli, forthcoming). Both Kagga Kamma and Ostri-San were products of their time (as is !Xaus Lodge) and their development or tourism approaches as well as their challenges serve as a consciousness of precedent of tourism ventures with the ≠Khomani. With reference to pro-poor tourism (Ashley *et al*, 2001a/b), they highlight cases whereby structure is emphasised at the expense of agency (cf. Wang 2001). The ≠Khomani were simply perceived as employees who were to „perform“ for tourists within a pre-determined schedule. They were not given the opportunity to engage directly with the tourist or allow a more „organic“ performance to emerge based on what they decided to do or what a particular tourist group was interested in.

The final case study, however, illustrates a successful PPCP venture in the new era (Allen & Brennan, 2004) of tourism during which !Xaus Lodge was also constructed.

#### *Makuleke Land Claim, Outpost Rest Camp and Pafuri Lodge*

A „people and parks“ relationship is often twinned with South Africa’s land reform policies. Both the Makuleke land claim in the Kruger National Park (KNP) and the ≠Khomani and Mier land claim in KTP and their resulting tourism endeavours are identified by De Villiers (2008: 20) as “practical progress that is being made at grass roots level” illustrating the intersection of land reform and „people and parks“ objectives which call for a partnership amongst the community, conservation authority, government and the private sector.

Similar to the Northern Cape where !Xaus Lodge has been built, the Makuleke region is situated in the one of the most remote and neglected corners of South Africa’s extremely poor areas (Dyll, C. 2005: 24), the northern part of the KNP known as the Pafuri area. This area, which comprises approximately 25 000 hectares was occupied by the Makuleke until August 1969 when they were forcibly removed from the land. Historically, the creation of the KNP

constituted a strand “in the consolidation of white interests over blacks, and in the struggle” between black and white over land and labour” (Carruthers, 1989: 189).

An unprecedented agreement and Deed of Grant was signed on 30 May 1998 between SANParks (including several government departments such as the Department of Land Affairs and the DEAT), the Makuleke and a few NGOs to provide for the return of ownership of the Pafuri area as well as some land outside the KNP to the Makuleke Community Property Association (CPA)<sup>76</sup>. A Deed of Grant means that SANParks gives ownership of Pafuri to the Makuleke with the proviso that no mining, farming or permanent habitation may take place without the permission of SANParks (cf. De Villiers, 2008; Ramutsindela, 2002). “What made it unique was the willingness of the community to let the land remain part of a national park subject to the joint management thereof by a Joint Management Board (JMB)”<sup>77</sup> (De Villiers, 2008: 73). “The Deed of Grant was hailed by the press and environmentalist groups as a perfect solution and a model for all land claims involving conservation” (Ramutsindela, 2002: 21).

An element that seems to be quite unique to this partnership’s management system is its establishment and use of three district development forums to improve communication and interaction between the executive and the beneficiaries. Ten people from each of the three districts that make up the Makuleke community are elected, making a total of 30 with whom the CPA executive consults. These forums serve as a sounding board to identify spending priorities, a means of communication with the wider beneficiary districts, a channel through which to distribute development funds for projects, and as a training ground for future CPA candidates (De Villiers, 2008: 75).

Like the land on which !Xaus Lodge is located the Pafuri area became a Contract Park managed jointly by SANParks and the Makuleke community. The agreement foresaw two main areas for strategic partner involvement, specifically; conservation management and

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<sup>76</sup> The CPA has a nine-member executive elected for a term of three years (De Villiers, 2008: 74).

<sup>77</sup> The JMB comprises three representatives each from the Kruger Park and the CPA, with the chairperson rotating annually between the Kruger Park and the CPA. The JMB meet at least four times a year or as the need arises. Decisions are made on consensus: “the agreement provides for a deadlock breaking mechanism if agreement is not reached” (De Villiers, 2008: 76).

commercial development. In terms of SANParks, and in particular the Kruger Park management as the strategic partner for conservation, the following applies:

- All commercial benefits arising from the land will accrue to the community, while SANParks remains responsible for conservation matters subject to the directives of the JMB;
- At expiry of the [25 year] lease the community may dispose of the land provided that SANParks is afforded the right of first refusal. A condition registered on the title of the land stipulates that whoever owns the land may only use it for conservation purposes (De Villiers, 2008: 74).

The CPA's strategic commercial partner comprises a committee that is responsible for; considering commercialisation options, inviting expressions of interest, making recommendations to the CPA as well as generally guiding and overseeing the implementation of the commercial aspects of the agreement. The law firm, Webber Wentzel Bowens provide the committee with ongoing assistance. For example, these advisors prepared invitations for expressions of interest for the establishment of two lodges (assessing submissions and drafting contracts that resulted from two successful tenders). Something that the Makuleke CPA enjoyed, unlike the #Khomani CPA and Mier Municipality, is a high level of funding, grants and training provided through agencies such as; the Ford Foundation, Daimler Chrysler, the Maputo Corridor Company, USAID and „Friends of the Makuleke“ (which comprises people in civil society with various skills and expertise in conservation and commercial matters) (cf. De Villiers, 2008).

Despite its eventual success the conflict of interests and competing demands of the government departments, SANParks and the local community that “haunt land reform in South Africa” (Ramutsindela, 2002: 16) played out in the Makuleke land claim. The JMB got off to a slow start and like the differing parties involved at !Xaus Lodge, the parties had their respective historic experiences and preconceived ideas about each other and it took time to develop a common approach. When Carla Dyll interviewed Lamson Maluleke<sup>78</sup> (Makuleke Community Representative and African Wildlife Foundation community development officer) in 2003 for her MA research (cf. Dyll, C. 2004) he revealed that it “will take time to see the real

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<sup>78</sup> The term Maluleke refers to the tribe name and Makuleke refers to the region once inhabited by the Maluleke tribe (Maluleke, interview, 13 Sept 2003).

partnerships”. The greatest source of remaining conflict is “the joint conservation management of the area” which he felt remained “wanting” (Maluleke, interview, 13 Sept 2003).

It was originally envisaged that the Kruger Park would employ Makuleke members to manage the operational activities in the region. This could have secured two benefits for the partnership; capacity building for the Makuleke and encouragement for the Makuleke to renew the lease so that the region would remain legally part of the national park and under Kruger Park management. However, De Villiers (2008: 77) discloses that “it is a sensitive issue with the Makuleke CPA that although the Makuleke own the land, their members are not employed by the Kruger Park to manage the region”. Maano Ramutsindela (2002: 22) speaks about this on the macro-level and questions whether, because of this lack of everyday involvement in and on their land, the Deed of Grant addresses the racial land ownership patterns in South Africa. Based on the fact that the Makuleke are still living in Ntlaveni, while their land rights are in the KNP, Ramutsindela advises that as “land reform is one of the mechanisms for changing the spatial manifestation of a racially divided society, the effects of the Deed of Grant need to be assessed” (Ramutsindela, 2002: 22). It is not my intention to provide this assessment but to rather draw on the Makuleke experience in „testing“ the !Xaus Lodge experience in order to generate a holistic model that will take such issues into account.

In spite of the above qualms, the CPA embarked on three major commercial projects after the handover. The first allowed limited hunting shortly after transfer of the land. However, I will only discuss the construction and operation of the Makuleke luxury lodges, as they directly relate to !Xaus. The two lodges are the main source of employment and a preferential employment policy exists towards the Makuleke.

Potential partners for both these lodges were invited to visit Pafuri in order to inspect the location of the intended lodges before submitting a formal tender. In 2002 Matswana Safaris was awarded a tender to construct a small luxury rest camp, called Outpost (since then the rights to manage the camp have been sold to another operator). It employs 22 staff and operates on the basis of 10% gross turnover for a period of 45 years, reviewable every 15 years.

In 2004 Wilderness Safaris was awarded a tender to construct the bigger luxury Pafuri Lodge (with the right to construct an additional lodge in the next three years). The concession agreement was signed in 2003 and was valued at R45 million. Much like the !Xaus Lodge operator who often times has stepped in and assisted with aspects of the area that strictly

speaking should be the responsibility of SANParks, Wilderness Safaris has contributed to the establishment of an anti-poaching unit. The lodge was opened in 2005 and employs 32. It has become a “sought after venue” (De Villiers, 2008: 81) aimed at the exclusive market. A total of R150 000 was paid upfront to the CPA and 8% rental is payable based on annual turnover.

Overall and within the „people and parks“ paradigm, the Makuleke land claim and subsequent development of the lodges have been so successful that the South African government appears to favour a Makuleke-type settlement for all claims affecting conservation areas. This is based on the following principles:

- title to land is returned to the claimants;
- the land must be preserved in perpetuity for conservation;
- some cash compensation or alternative land may be made available as part of the package due to the restrictions imposed on the title;
- the conservation management of the land must preferably be the responsibility of the government agency;
- the commercial exploitation of the land falls within the discretion of the land owners, subject to a management plan approved by the conservation agency;
- the area is co-managed by the conservation authority and the community through a joint management structure (De Villiers, 2008: 6).

Chapters Four and Five will detail how !Xaus Lodge has followed these principles that have been illuminated in the Makuleke experience, and will also discuss ways in which the !Xaus experience brought with it a new set of challenges once these principles were operationalised and how they were overcome.

## **Conclusion**

Although I have given fair attention to the issue of environmental conservation in this chapter, it must be noted that this thesis concentrates on the *people* part of the „people and parks“ relationship. I write from a cultural studies perspective focussing on power relations and development communication within !Xaus Lodge as a product of tourism.

This chapter has reviewed a number of different tourism approaches that intersect with each other discussing their relevance to !Xaus Lodge as the research site. They include: sustainable tourism, eco-tourism, community-based tourism, pro-poor tourism and cultural tourism.

Tourism may still be perceived as Southern Africa's solution to socio-economic development, however, Tim Foggin (2001: 2) warns that:

[P]eople in many other developing country tourist destinations are counting the cost of development that has failed to put their interests and rights on a par with those of their visitors. South Africans have to intellectually equip themselves and be accountable for the prevention of such scenarios.

Through the !Xaus Lodge case study the aim of this thesis is to make a contribution to broadening what Foggin (2001:3) calls "an underdeveloped tourism knowledge base" by generating a model that will offer culturally sensitive suggestions in approaching PPCP initiatives.

The following chapter will closely examine what happened on the ground in the establishment of !Xaus Lodge. Secondary research in the form of development communication theory, and tourism policies and literature is set up in dialogue with reflections from practical engagement in my fieldwork and primary data/findings to form an analysis of !Xaus Lodge's set-up phase. Cultural identity and indigenous epistemology are inextricably linked with land (cf. Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008). Understanding the relationship that indigenous people have with the land on which developments are implemented is vital if the local community partners are to truly form part of a partnership whereby their development expectations are taken into consideration.



## Chapter Four

### Great Expectations: Development Communication and Challenges in the Establishment of !Xaus Lodge

#### Introduction

Development is a complex topic as it is an irrelevant signifier unless one connects it to a specific context. Although most people would agree that “development means the improving of living conditions of society, there has been much debate on just what constitutes improved living conditions and how they should be achieved” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 34). Different development communication paradigms advocate different approaches to improve the living conditions of recipient communities<sup>79</sup>. The relevance of these theoretical positions is the manner in which they frame the developmental intervention of !Xaus Lodge, as will be discussed in the following chapters.

Chapter One provided a background to previous land use, development and tourism initiatives in the Northern Cape and reasons for their lack of sustainability. These included; mismanagement of funds by the CPA and lack of support from the government in providing funds for training in order to establish sustainable income-generating projects and training (e.g. agricultural skills). This was compounded by a lack of buy-in from the ≠Khomani community where projects were initiated and too much of a focus by NGOs on cultural tourism as the prime route to development. Community division, communal alcohol abuse, and the large distance between beneficiaries’ homes and restituted land hindered its integration into their livelihoods. Lastly was the lack of a concrete maintenance plan and assets/resources to prevent deterioration of land, and communal alcohol abuse.

Notwithstanding the above social constraints, !Xaus Lodge opens up every contradiction there is to tourism development planning. It is located far off the tourist route. The Mier and

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<sup>79</sup> See attached, as Appendix H, a table that sets out three development communication paradigms: i) modernization/dominant, ii) dependency/disassociation and iii) participation (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011). It provides a detailed historical context from which many of the approaches and strategies in operation today have emerged as well as the principles of these paradigms. Real world examples are provided throughout the table. It alerts the reader to authorities in the field and how they are linked to different aspects of each development communication paradigm. Theoretically, each paradigm advocates different approaches to change beneficiary communities’ living conditions. However, in pragmatic terms these approaches straddle the different paradigms; often a development initiative makes use of a number of approaches from the differing paradigms and can even involve a paradigm shift, as is discussed in this thesis.

≠Khomani owners had largely written off the project which they saw as having been neglected for five years. SANParks appeared to be reluctant in their involvement and DEAT also appeared to have lost interest – especially with regards to further funding to compensate for the environmentally inappropriate design. Glynn O’Leary of TFPD summarises this development apathy with his constant use of the phrase “*die geld is op*”<sup>80</sup>. This chapter documents the „great expectations” associated with building a lodge in a remote location, as well as the community partners’ expectations. It presents the associated challenges and context-specific considerations in establishing the lodge.

Theories that *say something* about what is observed on the ground, and which allow these theories to be critiqued from realities observed on the ground will be applied. After being in the field, “patterns inhabiting the quotidian mess become clearer, and the theory sometimes becomes the mess. [Researchers] look for reassurance in theory, in the textbooks, but eventually find it in their critiques of theory from the field” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 354). The research participants are important to my research process in constructing knowledge as they highlight the contradictions about which I then write - the construction of knowledge is therefore the result of the interface between my observations, research participant views, and development communication theory insofar as it assists with meaning-making.

### **Development Communication, Coincidences and Connections**

The critiques of development communication approaches and the processes thereof leads one to think that development studies may be the study of „failure”. These critiques are notably offered by development communication proponents themselves. Two main branches of development communication dominate the literature, namely „modernization” and „participation”. The current preferred paradigm of communication for participatory development<sup>81</sup> critiques the dominant modernization paradigm. Proponents of this paradigm established their theories and models in an attempt to address and overcome modernization’s failure in implementing sustainable development in poor nations and communities. The reasons as to why the study of development communication may be viewed as the „study of failure” are multiple (cf. Hottola a/b, 2009; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009) but are primarily based on the fact

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<sup>80</sup> “The money is finished”.

<sup>81</sup> Along with its earlier appearances as; “another development” as articulated by the Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation in the late 1970s, and the “multiplicity paradigm” (Servaes, 1989; 1991; 1995).

that there have been very few stories of success in terms of development tourism initiatives with indigenous groups. This thesis discusses the reasons for the shortcomings of a particular initiative (discussed in this chapter), and to revitalise the development communication discussion by documenting the innovative ways in which the !Xaus stakeholders were able to overcome these obstacles (discussed in Chapters Five and Six), as well as the unpredicted coincidences and consequences of these processes.

Definitions of development communication have shifted over the years, revealing the changing focus of the field from that of the exogenous introduction of technologies and innovations for economic growth (in the modernization paradigm) to one that valorises community dialogue and collective action in a more participatory interactive process whereby the intended beneficiaries play a more active role in their own development and poverty-reduction (in the participatory approach). Jan Servaes (2008: 15) provides a definition of the field as “the [study]...of the relationship between the practical application of communication processes and technologies in achieving positive and measurable development outcomes”.

Beyond this straightforward definition, the communication processes I observed around !Xaus Lodge not only demonstrate aspects of the different paradigms but also what can simply be described as coincidences and connections, or what Belinda Kruiper labels “the twists and magic” (interview, Aug 2006). The next two chapters will also document the unpredicted coincidences that played an integral role in the !Xaus Lodge development. By „connections“ I refer to: i) the networking that is needed in building viable partnerships, ii) the connections viewed as being facilitated by the spiritual world, and iii) the connections made by TFPD between the resources available, different stakeholders’ responsibilities, methods of community and stakeholder communication, business and market demands, community expectations and feasible deliverables.

Having observed these connections it appears as if TFPD, although a business entity and part of the private sector, was the development communication „practitioner“ in the !Xaus Lodge development context, if one were to use the following definition of the field:

Communication for development is the use of communication processes, techniques and media to help people toward a full awareness of their situation and their options for change, to resolve conflicts, to work towards consensus, to help people plan actions for change and sustainable development, to help people acquire the knowledge and the skills

they need to improve their condition and that of society, and to improve the effectiveness of institutions (Fraser & Restrepo, 1998: 63).

Reasons for this will be illustrated in this study. TFPD's interest in the community-owned lodge arose due to the connections referred to above. O'Leary (email, 7 Dec 2007) explains how networking, coincidence (or what some may believe as „the spirit“) as well as encouragement from the community played a role in attracting TFPD to the lodge:

Ruth [Teer-Tomaselli] was aware that we were involved in pursuing a project in the Kalahari. For that reason when she attended the launch of *Kalahari Rainsong*<sup>82</sup> she purchased a copy of the book which she gave to me. At about the same time, I was working with a video production company as Executive Producer of a television series called *Voices of Africa*.

I read the book one night on the plane travelling back from Johannesburg, almost cover to cover, and was fascinated by the story of *Kalahari Rainsong*. The poetry in particular struck me. I contacted the Director of *Voices of Africa*, gave him my copy of the book and suggested that he consider including some of Belinda's poetry in the series.

Some time after, Bjorn Rudner, the series director who had been very taken with Belinda and her situation in the Kalahari, told me that she and Vetkat were going to be passing through Cape Town on their way to Swellendam. This was in October 2005. Their visit to Swellendam coincided with my return from Mozambique where I had been on a visit to host a representative from the the WWF in the Netherlands who had provided some of the funding to the Mozambique National Park for the construction of Machampane. Whilst in Machampane I told him of the project in the Kgalagadi and of our need to raise capital. Again, by coincidence, he was also travelling back through Cape Town. Putting my persuasive skills to use, including showing him Belinda's book and particularly the Oupa Regopstaan quote about the "land being given but the rain not having come!", I managed to get him to agree to spend a night...Unbeknown to him I contacted Belinda and invited her and Vetkat to join us for dinner that night...

Belinda was her charming best that night...and I tried to persuade the WWF to find us some funding for what ultimately has become !Xaus Lodge, regrettably to no avail. But, that was the start of a very good relationship between Belinda and Vetkat, and us at TFPD.

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<sup>82</sup> Co-authored by Belinda Kruiper and Elana Bregin (2004).

Without any doubt it was their infectious enthusiasm and passion for the Kalahari and its people, their constant flow of smses of encouragement telling us of the red dunes and the night skies and their support whenever we visited the area in those early days, that kept us going and enabled us to see every obstacle and disappointment as merely another hurdle or challenge to overcome. Without their encouragement, !Xaus Lodge as we know it today may never have happened, we would almost certainly have „walked away“.

### **If you build it, they will come<sup>83</sup>: Modernization**

In the developing world tourism is not only about business and economic performance but can be managed in order to deliver the strategic goals of development through tourism policies. South African development and tourism policy has adopted the key phrases; „participatory development“, „grassroots communication“, „sustainable development“, „economic and social empowerment“ and „reduction in inequalities“ (cf. De Villiers 2008, Hottola 2009a/b). Empirical examples, however, reveal that the ideology of modernization at times remains the preferred strategy in development agendas. Modernization is not, however, an automatically workable model. Nevertheless, the World Bank, IMF and national development agencies continue to plan in terms of modernization approaches (cf. Bond 2004; Hirsch 2005).

The modernization paradigm predominated between the 1940s and 1960s and emerged from both macroeconomic and social evolutionary theory. The macro economic model was concerned with rapid growth as measured by gross national product (GNP). The two main factors were the productive resources available to a society and the economic institutions to guide the use of the resources (Weaver & Jameson 1978). The assumption is that investment produces goods and machinery, generating sufficient capital for industrialization, infrastructure and the redistribution of income and resources. The trickle-down of benefits and the diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1962) to the broader population, is an important component in this model. This top-down approach and assumed unilinear process of development and associated communication strategies constitutes what I refer to as modernization“s monologue (Dyll, 2009)<sup>84</sup>.

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<sup>83</sup> A line borrowed from the sports-fantasy film *Field of Dreams* (1989).

<sup>84</sup> “Lauren Dyll discusses the modernization approach to tourism development, both in theory and practice. She provides a necessary critique of one of the core ideologies hidden between the lines in the region’s development strategies... This auto-ethnographic work focuses on the seldom–approached corners of Southern Africa... listening to the voices of the people recently introduced to tourism... According to Dyll the modernization

The social evolutionary theory explains underdevelopment as a product of internal cultural barriers, such as the perceived ignorance, backwardness and irrationality of traditional societies. The problem was to remove these obstacles to ensure economic growth (Lerner, 1958), as it was believed that once the „limited production facilities“, „rigid social structures“ and „irrational psychological attitudes“ were eradicated each society had the ability to pass through five stages of economic growth reaching the ultimate goal of high mass consumption (Rostow, 1960).

!Xaus Lodge is a product of South Africa’s land restitution programme and DEAT-sponsored poverty relief funds. Its construction, which was SANParks’ responsibility, began in 2004 hence it can be argued that it was created under the banner of “responsible tourism” (DEAT 1996; 2003)<sup>85</sup>. DEAT allocated R6.5 million for construction. However, like so many other development initiatives in the Northern Cape its construction exemplifies many of the development mistakes made in strategies that lack sufficient knowledge of the local context (as is characteristic of the modernization paradigm), in cultural, environmental and market interest terms. Numerous challenges resulted from the location and poor construction.

The building of infrastructure with a lack of communication with all partners, and consideration of what that infrastructure needs in order to be operational attests to the idea that national development strategies are at times still premised on a modernization mentality: “if you build it they will come”, with no real consideration as to how the project may be sustainable. Despite an evolution in development thinking, most initiatives still focus on the diffusion model based on message delivery, informing the population of a project, illustrating the advantages, and recommending that they be supported.

The processes involved in the initial phase of the lodge creation supports the “if you build it they will come” mentality. Firstly the lodge’s location was determined by historical animosity between the #Khomani and Mier communities and hence built on the imaginary dividing line

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model, even though widely adopted, does not necessarily work for ethnic minorities such as the #Khomani and the !Xoo who are left in a marginalized position in the one-sided process which could be called „modernization’s monologue” (Hottola, 2009: 4).

<sup>85</sup> As discussed in Chapter Three this policy promotes principles that emphasise responsibility to the environment through balanced and sustainable tourism activities, the involvement of local communities living near tourism attractions, and the protection of local culture through the prevention of exploitation (cf. DEAT, 2005; Allen & Brennan, 2004)

of the contract parks or heritage land of each community (see Appendix C). Problems resulted from this. The lodge is situated far off the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP) tourist route serviced by atrocious service roads making the delivery of supplies and the access for tourists difficult and expensive. In addition, it is located in a part of the KTP with fewer animals which are an important tourist attraction in these parts (O’Leary, pers. comm., 13 July 2007a). These problems present a challenge to the tourism potential of the new development. It appears that DEAT who commissioned the *Responsible Tourism Handbook* (2003) should take heed of their own advice in terms of their economic responsibility of a new development. The *Handbook* is a guide for operators to function within the responsible tourism framework, but in positioning the lodge in such a remote area DEAT and SANParks made it difficult for an incoming operator to follow its economic guideline of setting targets to support local enterprises, products and services (e.g. 15% of services and products are to be sourced from enterprises located within 50km, increasing by 5% per year for 3 years) (DEAT, 2003: 9). Although !Xaus Lodge does purchase from small scale locally-owned suppliers within the Northern Cape (as will be elaborated on in Chapter Five), the 720 kilometre round trip over the bumpy sand dunes to the closest diesel, gas and grocery supplier places an inordinate burden on the lodge’s operations.

In order for the lodge infrastructure to be operational the following was needed: i) water ii) power, iii) communications, iv) access infrastructure (road or airstrip), v) working capital vi) furnishings and vii) vehicles (O’Leary, pers.comm, 23 Aug 2006). The big question (that is addressed below) was: who was liable to fund these?

Belinda Kruiper (interview, 22 Aug 2006) feels that these difficulties could have been avoided if community and stakeholder dialogue was encouraged:

Parks Board should have just sat [the #Khomani and Mier] down and said “You know when you are going to operate this for the tourists, people want water, they want to shower. Nobody tried...People were always like “O hulle bly maar baklei”<sup>86</sup>. This is typical of „the Kalahari people”. Nobody would take the time and of course at that stage I was out of the politics because I would probably have been one of the first to say “But you know from a tourism perspective nobody is actually there to empower them with...they listen to

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<sup>86</sup> “Oh they just keep on fighting/arguing”.

them and yell “*Nee, wat, laat hulle besluit*”<sup>87</sup>. What about guiding them with real truth and the realities of the western world out there. Then we wouldn’t have a lodge on the dune, sitting there and now we have to find water and all sorts of things.

Secondly, not only were there infrastructural challenges with locating a lodge in a remote area but there were design shortfalls as well. O’Leary (pers. comm., 23 Aug 2006) lists these as: i) no food and water storage, ii) no refuse storage facility, iii) no laundry (or water for that matter to run a laundry), iv) pathways to the main lodge (kitchen, lounge and dining room), 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 any dangerous animals, v) the roofing was also poorly designed. All of these design shortfalls had to be addressed, delaying the lodge’s opening.

The lodge’s design was rushed, not well thought out, and most importantly did not take local knowledge into account. Oom Tietes Rooi (see Appendix I) explained one 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 Oom Tietes and other locals advised the builders that they were using the incorrect thatch for the chalet roofs and that the strong wind on the dune would soon cause damage. It is reported that dune grass was used for the chalet roofs (not the same thatch that is used in long standing Park structures such as the Twee Rivieren chalets). Their warning was ignored and the wind wreaked havoc on the initial roofing, tearing it off, as well as the initial gravel walkway and foundations of the chalets (see Appendix J). This type of process again proves that:

In most developing countries, the system of access [and information flow] is essentially top-down with a central control center down through government and commercial bureaucracies. There is no bottom up definition of the flow of information that brings about real dialogue and mutual problem solving (White, 2009: 208, cf. also Thomas, 2008).

A lesson should be learnt from this: “[t]he centre of any development initiative has to be the people who are involved in the benefits” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 21). It is imperative that

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<sup>87</sup> “No, let them just decide”.



their views and ontology is not viewed as „backward“ or „irrational“, as is the case within the modernization paradigm, but that they are taken into account in development planning, as is recommended by pro-poor tourism (Ashley *et al*, 2001a/b). Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez (2009) also recommend the participation of the community in the planning stages of any development initiative. But when you ask „whose plan is it anyway?“ and „what do the people who are the subject of the plan actually want themselves?“ one runs into messiness. Few planners can cope with messiness as is evident in the location of the lodge - here it appears that the community had „their say“ by placing the lodge on the dividing line of the ≠Khomani and Mier land. However, was it ethical on the part of the development practitioners, in this case DEAT, SANParks and the ≠Khomani and Mier legal advisors to simply allow this decision to be actioned, resulting in numerous challenges for the feasibility and operations of the lodge? The implications of this location should have been explained to the community parties - but this would require time, money, adaptability on behalf of the development practitioners and contractors, and a “disposition to listen” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 9), that was noticeably in short supply during the construction phase. The social guidelines offered in the *Handbook* (DEAT, 2003: 4) are therefore questionable in the case of the lodge’s construction:

- involve local communities in planning and decision making,
- assess social impacts of tourism activities,
- respect social and cultural diversity,
- be sensitive to the host culture.

There are also discrepancies between responsible tourism’s environmental guidelines (DEAT 2003) and evidence of these considerations in the reality of the lodge’s „quick fix“ design and construction. The *Handbook* recommends that Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) consultants be engaged in planning a new development so as “to have the lowest possible ecological impact” and to report on “how any potentially negative impacts will be managed” (DEAT, 2003: 20). Despite my efforts to gather information on the lodge’s EIA from the relevant Northern Cape government departments, my inquiries were met with silence.

Chapter Three outlines the Brundtland Commission’s (1987) definition of sustainable development that refers to the limitations imposed by the state of technology and social organisation on environmental resources and by the ability of the biosphere to absorb the effects of human activities. Johann van Schalkwyk, the Northern Cape Tourism Manager of

Partnerships and Industry Development<sup>88</sup> who played a big role in cementing the successful partnership between the !Xaus Lodge operator and provincial government alerted me to how the balance between human development, or what is referred to above as “human activities”, and environmental concerns share a precarious relationship<sup>89</sup> (see Appendix K).

In order to reduce these types of effects, the *Handbook* (DEAT, 2003: 20) makes suggestions for the planning, design and construction of a new development. The following selected points are relevant to my discussion as they were *not* considered in the construction of the lodge:

- Ensure your consultants provide you with information regarding the availability of water in the area;
- Plan your design to minimise noise and harsh lights, which may impact on local people, visitors and wildlife;
- Incorporate local architectural styles to improve the aesthetic value of the development;
- Construct access roads, storage sites and waste disposal areas to reduce negative environmental impacts.

The reality is somewhat different. The only water source at !Xaus is exceptionally salty and is not suitable for use in washing machines or for guests to shower. As a result a water purification system was to be installed (O’Leary, pers. comm., 13 July 2007a). SANParks is responsible for the maintenance of infrastructure related to conservation and the integrity of nature. Efforts were made to ensure environmental friendliness, as for example local materials were used to build the lodge chalets (De Villiers, 2008). However, environmentally questionable features included a noisy, expensive fuel-intensive generator as the only electricity supply for the lodge. The generator is the only electricity supply and it uses 23 litres of diesel per hour. If it is on for 24 hours a day it would require a 30% occupancy to cover the

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<sup>88</sup> Previously the Northern Cape manager of the Department of Tourism, Environment and Conservation (DTEC).

<sup>89</sup> Van Schalkwyk (interview, 30 Jan 2007) questioned the area’s ability to “absorb the effects of human activities”:

Now if you take this time now to work on this project, and you then build into the hypothesis - what if it fails? What if it fails? You know the disaster that you sit with? Because try and imagine the plain land without any development, it was pristine, untouched. Now you sit with the option what do you do with it? Do you allow the infrastructure to just dissolve gradually? It becomes a study for archaeologists 500 hundred years from now. Do you break it down and export it out of the park? The point is buildings are there now and I think they are a much graver problem to erase or press the delete button on the project...Because the problem that has been created by building this lodge in this remote place has put us on a road where there is no return, there is only to go forward.

costs which would be R150 000 or R200 000 a month (O'Leary, pers. comm., 13 July 2007a). It would have been more environmentally (and in the long term economically) friendly to use solar energy as the main power source followed by wind energy with the use of the generator as a back up source. It could also have a potential negative environmental impact. If it is not stored correctly in a bunded area<sup>90</sup>, diesel could leak and contaminate the surrounding soil. As one of !Xaus Lodge managers, Douw Cloete explained, it has the potential to result in air pollution as it consumes eleven cubic metres per minute (email, 4 November 2009). In addition, the noise pollution could detract from the tourist experience as the lodge is supposed to offer a tranquil Kalahari get-away<sup>91</sup>. Although DEAT (2003:31) urges operators to “invest in renewable energy systems such as solar water heaters, solar pumps, windmills, photovoltaic systems and other low wattage appliances”, DEAT here failed themselves. Alternative energy sources often initially require more capital and time in setting up, however, their decision for a generator showed little responsibility to a more sustainable and conservation-friendly mode of energy.

As discussed in Chapter Three, the tourism industry is characterised by its direct and indirect connections with other sectors, interests and activities (e.g. farming, infrastructure, conservation and export). The Brundtland Commission (1987: 63) observed that:

Intersectoral connections create patterns of economic and ecological interdependence rarely reflected in the ways in which policy is made. Sectoral organizations tend to pursue sectoral objectives and to treat their impacts on other sectors as side effects...Many of the environment and development problems that confront us have their roots in this sectoral fragmentation of responsibility. Sustainable development requires that such fragmentation be overcome.

Although SANParks and the government had good intentions in the construction of the lodge as an economic driver for the ≠Khomani and Mier communities, it appears that they “[pursued their own] sectoral objectives” (Brundtland Commission, 1987: 63) in building a reconciliation lodge as quickly as possible. They should have considered the interrelatedness of all aspects of the development of a lodge within a conservation area - how energy, water, or even tourists for

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<sup>90</sup> Containment where an impermeable wall is built to retain water or contamination. Available at: [www.wasteonline.org.uk](http://www.wasteonline.org.uk), accessed on 8 February 2011.

<sup>91</sup> See [www.xauslodge.co.za](http://www.xauslodge.co.za).

that matter, would be supplied. This lack of foresight caused major obstacles to the lodge's scheduled opening. Extra funds were required to rectify these. DEAT's (2008:15) integrated model of sustainable development (see Appendix G) that acknowledges the importance of economic growth and assuming responsibility across the economic and socio-political systems and the ecosystem services is therefore not reflected in !Xaus Lodge's initial development.

In July 2008 fellow researcher, Mark Nielsen, commented that the !Xaus chalets look "too much like teepees". Nielsen's observations alerted me to think more about if and how the "local architectural styles...improve the aesthetic value of the development" (DEAT, 2003: 20). Almost a year later the design issue was raised again by van Schalkwyk (pers com., 22 June 2009) in his presentation at the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre. He explained that as a base problem to !Xaus Lodge there were design concept differences between SANParks, the community and the operator. While not referring to the actual aesthetics of the design it is important to note this here as he informed us that the concept of the lodge changed from a rustic 4x4-accessible lodge to one that aggressively took the form of a luxury facility, as per TFPD's preference. This choice will be elaborated on below and in Chapter Five as what this highlights is that the consultation process failed to generate a uniform approach to the project.

### **A Multi-voiced Epistemology in Development Narratives**

As an objective of this thesis is to explore the ways in which !Xaus Lodge is successful as well as its shortcomings, Mier and ≠Khomani expectations are essential as a benchmark to compare these successes and shortcomings against. In doing so I draw on my research participants' own words following critical qualitative research's call for discourses that produce a multivoiced epistemology in order to avoid turning the indigenous person into an essentialised „Other“ who is spoken for (cf. Bishop, 2005).

This thesis pursues two aspects of epistemology as connecting to the community parties and development. Firstly, as "the cosmologies, values, cultural beliefs and webs of relationship that exist within specific indigenous communities" (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a: xiv). I refer to cosmology with particular reference to a creation myth. I engaged in open (and at times very long and complex) conversations with research participants. I learnt that many of their expectations include, but also go beyond that of their material needs, linking strongly to their relationship with the land and „the spirit“ or spiritual connections (cf. Mhlana, forthcoming). In these instances, their way of knowing the world is different to that of the western scientific tradition's dualism that separates the "living"/human and "non-living"/environment. "Many

indigenous peoples have traditionally seen all life on the planet as so multidimensionally entwined that they have not been so quick to distinguish the living from the nonliving” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008: 151). This sense of interrelatedness speaks to “both an epistemological and ontological dynamic - a way of knowing and being that is *relational*...Such relating is undoubtedly a spiritual process” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008: 151). This is illustrated below in the #Khomani’s frequent reference to their spiritual connection to the land within what I refer to as „development narratives“.

Secondly I refer to epistemology as “the philosophy of knowledge. It asks questions we have long taken for granted: “What is knowledge? What is intelligence?” (Aluli-Meyer, 2008: 230). By writing in the Mier and #Khomani’s expectations and visions of !Xaus Lodge, or development narratives, I aim to reveal my research participants as co-producers of knowledge. Critical qualitative research honours the experiences of indigenous persons and builds on these in a step towards empowering indigenous people in the research process, documenting how “they...name the world for themselves” (Smith, 2000: 229). “The point here is that different ideas or priorities of knowledge (epistemology) are often dismissed given the nature of who is in control politically and ideologically” (Aluli-Meyer, 2008: 230). In addition modernist knowledges are situated in written texts, legal codes and academic canons (cf. Quiroz, 1999). Although there are similarities between indigenous and western scientific knowledges, a “profound difference between the two knowledges involves mainstream societies’ perception and qualitative evaluation of them” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008: 150). As is already illustrated above, and will be discussed below, community parties are seldom “in control” of development and the perception of local knowledge is often characterised by dismissal of its role in the development process. However, their beliefs and ideas need to be understood if they are to be respected in a partnership.

James Howard Smith (2008) illustrates how the Taita people of Kenya interpret development thought and practice in line with the changing understandings of witchcraft. The Taita express their views on the consequences of development, for example the unequal distribution of wealth, opportunities, and the fear of „falling behind“ in terms of magic or the occult. In so doing, Smith chronicles a useful way of framing development, not in terms of economic indicators (as is the preferred western form of evaluation), but as part of the Taita epistemology or cosmology, hence providing an indigenous view of wider politics and instances of resistance to western conceptions of development. I aim to provide a similar discourse in terms of the

≠Khomani and Mier views of !Xaus Lodge as the development „phenomenon“. Their views of the lodge became a lens through which to gain an understanding of a multitude of related issues that could be helpful in facilitating dialogue between themselves and lodge management/other stakeholders and so could be relevant for the public-private-community partnership (PPCP) model presented in Chapter Six. These issues range from the research participant’s concepts of identity, land, skills, development, ownership, tourism, politics in the area (historical and contemporary) and the nature of work, often linked to the metaphysical world.

Belinda Kruiper (2004: 17-18) affirms the need to rid oneself of western scepticism when working with or engaging the ≠Khomani:

Before I came to the Kalahari, my rational self would have dismissed [a lot of] stories. But the desert teaches you to think differently, to be more open to what is less tangible, to the world of the spirit. Things happen here that have no logical explanation. In these desolate open spaces, where technology does not impose a different energy holds...I can’t explain how Oom Jan could call rain by watering the *vygies*<sup>92</sup> that grew around the [KTP] reception area. But he could. Or how Isak could heal my chronic dizzy spell by giving me a red *vygie* to hold...They conflicted with...my Dutch Reformed upbringing that had conditioned me to believe that such manifestations were of the devil. However, little by little I came to understand them in the context of the Bushman world, and to accept that the spirit world is as much a part of God’s design as the physical world is.

Being alert and respectful to these instances of „magic“, „spirit“, „connections“ assists my understanding of “the context of the Bushman world” and aids in producing culturally sensitive research, that will in turn lead to a PPCP that takes the local people’s epistemology, culture and voices into consideration in the process of a development initiative.

Bushman cosmology reflects a world view where the different levels of daily life and the metaphysical world interact. In her research on water stories by people of mixed descent, such as the Eiland Women in the Upington Gariep area in the Northern Cape, Mary Lange (2011, 2006) illustrates how San and Khoekhoe worldviews continue to be reflected in present-day oral narratives by the local people. She explains that “this continuation is not likely a simple

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<sup>92</sup> A small succulent brightly coloured flower or ground cover that grows in dry conditions.

lineal passing on “but often rather the result of...a significant reworking and reconfiguration (Ouzman 2007)” (Lange, 2011: 74)<sup>93</sup>. Despite “shifting identities” (Hall, 1997), particularly amongst the Khoisan (cf. Simões, 2001), the Gariep River people’s cosmology continues to include a belief in the Water Snake. Lange (2011; 2006) explains that this is not surprising considering that the genetic heritage in today’s Gariep river population includes /Xam, and Khoekhoen herders of Southern Africa. The reason for the perpetuation of belief systems such as that of the Water Snake is clarified by Hoff (1997:22):

Although the Khoekhoen and /Xam have been subjected to substantial culture change, it is still possible to trace their views on the Great Snakes, because beliefs are rooted in a group’s world-view, usually the last facet of its culture to change during acculturation (Moller 1976:7; Van Rooy 1978:1)...An anthropological definition of a group’s world-view would be their basic thoughts, on both conscious and subconscious levels, about their world or their reality.

Although Lange’s (2011, 2006) research demonstrates the continuation of a San cosmology as evident in the oral narratives of Khoisan and African mixed descendents in the Northern Cape, I demonstrate below that the same can be said of the development narratives of the ≠Khomani and Mier who are also from this area and are Khoisan descendents.

Returning to the Kenyan context, Smith (2008: 38) chronicles the Taita’s „reactions to development“ as linking to their cosmology centered on the occult and to religion:

[L]ate colonial development was synonymous with the modern and the future; it implied the victory of reason over primitivism, superstition and magic (all of which defied governance). But for Africans, development was something withheld, something spectral, and so too were the objects and institutions that were synonymous with reason and secularism for Europeans (Smith 1998)...Rather than referring to a known telos synonymous with civility and modernity, development became synonymous with the impossible and the absolute, and was permeated by religion and religious imagery of redemption and salvation. Thus the concept of development and the means for achieving it, always had the quality of magic, and gaining access to development’s fruits in turn often seemed to require recourse to magical powers.

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<sup>93</sup> Lange’s (2011; 2006) research is within the same tradition as earlier research by Isaac Schapera (1930) who discusses a continuation of the worldviews of San hunter gatherers, the /Xam, by the Khoikhoi/ Khoekhoen herders, and Ansie Hoff’s (1997; 1993) research on the inclusion of /Xam views of the Water Snake in Khoekhoen informants’ oral narratives.

≠Khomani CPA committee member, Hans Padmaker's response to my question of what the benefits of !Xaus Lodge may be, similarly sheds light on how the process of development is signified in terms of „redemption“ and religion:

I think there are a lot of advantages for the ≠Khomani. Although some people have been sceptical for some time, you know, because of the remoteness. The fact that [the] Lodge is remote and they think nothing would happen about that. But if it could be possible and trust not only in our abilities or the operator's ability, or ≠Khomani CPA, or Mier Municipality. But also depend on the Messiah, or as the Bushmen say Thukwa...you see trust in God the creator of you and I. And I believe that despite our faults and our sins and things like that we could get somewhere. I mean we would have to market it you see in order to promote people coming to the lodge again and again and again (Padmaker, interview, 30 Jan 2007).

Padmaker associates the success of !Xaus Lodge as not only dependent on the stakeholders involved but also on Thukwa's „forgiveness“ “who dwells on high, and to whom they showed great respect, especially during great storms of thunder and lightning...saying, if it thunders, the Great Chief is angry with us” (Schapera, 1930: 381). A similar creator god within Bushman cosmology, as identified by David Leeming (1937/2010: 75), is Kaggen.

As there are many Bushman peoples, there are many creation myths. In [the story relayed by Lemming] the creator god takes the form of the praying mantis. His name sounds like “kaggen” (sometimes written as Cagn)...the term means praying mantis, and that insect is sacred to the Bushmen. Mantis, as the people called him, was the creator of almost everything, and in the old days he lived here with humankind. It was the foolishness of humans that drove him away in disgust and left so many of us hungry...A significant aspect of this story is a common motif in all African creation myths; the creator becomes disgusted with humankind and simply leaves (Deus Otiosus)...This creation myth expresses the human sense of the inadequacy of the species.

The shifting identities, reworking and reconfiguration of beliefs and world-views previously mentioned are evident in Padmaker's merging of the Bushman creator god, Thukwa and “the Messiah”. This is a deity that speaks to the Calvinistic emphasis on the Old Testament as a God of Wrath. In addition, Padmaker also refers to the practical elements in what the lodge will need to do in order to be a success. Directly following his explanation of the Messiah or Thukwa's role, he acknowledges the importance of marketing. Further on he points to the need for skills development amongst the people, in particular a skill that some development



practitioners and tourism operators may take for granted - the ability for the development beneficiaries or employees to construct and follow a simple budget: “for people who come to work here. I think they need budget skills. Everybody no matter whether you are educated or not because educated people sometimes don’t save” (Padmaker, interview, 30 Jan 2007). Padmaker’s development narrative illustrates the interaction between the practicalities of daily life in making a success of a development initiative and the role of religion/a deity in „allowing“ this process to happen, as a form of redemption from their god.

Smith’s research offers (2008:38) more similarities between the ≠Khomani I spoke to and the Taita’s interpretation of development:

[I]n recent years, the sign development has become unhinged, and freed, from its referents in two major senses. First...it has become *dislocated from the state*, as communities try to acquire control over the meaning of the concept, and the *objects of their desire* while in the process defining themselves as communities [*my emphasis*].

The day after the JMB signed the !Xaus Lodge contract, I interviewed indigenous healer Oom Jan van der Westhuizen who was with his nursing wife and four children at Andriesvale, Northern Cape (see Appendix L). Sounds of a community church service’s Afrikaans singing and preaching filled the air. Linking to the notion that the sign of development has become *dislocated from the state*, Oom Jan does not simply view !Xaus as a state-funded development project but rather as a link to his desire to live on the land again:

My spirit was so large and so full even before there were the ≠Khomani with their efforts and longing to return to and govern their land – the park has stolen my entire heart – my entire being, my entire soul. The park means much more to me than this western life. The park is the joy of my heart. Because I can do all I want to in that park. And in that park no-one is an enemy of another. You make enemies for yourself if you so wish. Because in the western world, in the people, are other things...And it is the fear of our hearts as we have various strains of thought - we are at a point today where we can’t tell right from wrong...I am keen to work, work for a living, for a future for my wife and the children as I have eight children with this wife and two from the world....I would very much like to live free, free in nature... dance a little at night - and if the male lion charges us we can chase him away from the women and the children so that the spirit and soul can become stronger again...the heart of nature is far more beautiful than the heart of people.

Being in the park symbolises a form of „salvation“ as it will allow them to free themselves from modernity and allow their “spirit and soul to become stronger again”. This connects to the

creation myth (Leeming, 1937/2010) that expresses the human sense of the inadequacy of the species in that humankind's behaviour, and perhaps here equated by Oom Jan with the „trappings“ of the western world, had led to the disappearance of the gods.

Oom Jan is a respected traditional healer within his community and is a member of the CPA and JMB. Despite his involvement in local politics it is clear that he is not concerned with the materiality of consumption. Instead he is concerned with his spiritual calling. He remembers: “It was my great grandmother's spiritual calling. She raised me in my childhood and I was a very wise small boy. I had many visions over time and I have seen many things. The calling was always, „Lord, please give me and my descendants their land back!“ And these things sank so deep into my heart, my soul” (van der Westhuizen, interview, 28 Jan 2007). Lange (2011; 2006) describes how respect for certain people within an indigenous/local community may result from the allocation of power to those whose intelligences extend beyond the material, tangible world, affording enhanced access to the spiritual world. This is also explored by David Lewis-Williams and David Pearce (2004: 188) regarding San shamans: “Some San people are able to tap in to spiritual knowledge...They do not display this privilege in any material way: They do not wear gaudy clothes or carry emblems of superiority, yet they are respected nonetheless”. This respect once more emphasises a continued power invested in those members of a community who display an ability to communicate with the spiritual world and contribute to mediation on behalf of individuals or the community (Lange 2011; 2006). It is therefore encouraging to know that Oom Jan sat on the CPA and JMB during the initial set-up phases of !Xaus Lodge.

In asking Oom Jan if he thought there would be any challenges associated with the local people working at the lodge the particular „western trapping“ that perhaps played a role in „destroying their spirits“ became clear - alcohol:

My greatest worry revolves around the six farms because on these six farms are communities and I have seen death amongst these communities, and the death is the vine. The juice of the vine destroys our people. It has overpowered our people in the battle to create a violent people, murderers, rapists and a soiled spirit. And therefore it is very important, very important, that I must work with my people, speak to my people, share with my people, so that they can be freed of the stigma under which they live (van der Westhuizen, interview, 28 Jan 2007).

Alcohol abuse was also highlighted by John Festus, a young #Khomani man who was raised by master tracker Vetpiet Keinman. I explained to him that there would not be access to alcohol for staff while working at !Xaus Lodge (also thinking to myself that perhaps this is another form of „redemption“ that !Xaus offers having heard Oom Jan’s explanation of the social disintegration caused by alcohol abuse on the farms). His candid response reveals the persistence of this problem when there is access to alcohol within the community and as a real challenge for the operator to take into consideration: “It’s the same like if you’re in jail, because in jail there’s no alcohol and maybe you’ve got a sentence or awaiting trial for a couple of months. So you have to get used to the fact of no alcohol. But like an open area, it’s different” (Festus, interview, 28 Jan 2007).

Oom Jan’s expected benefit for the community is that !Xaus presents a means for local children to have a future. This vision of the future is based on a reinstatement of the past in a return to the land and the sharing of traditional knowledge:

The elders who have been around for about fifty years hold the large portion of knowledge. This knowledge should be returned to our children. We don’t know what the future holds for them or how they view their futures. But as we know the state in which our country finds itself we wish to plan a new future for them in the wild where they will be and become something else in the far future. And that is why I think !Xaus will perhaps give us a good future and life and a bright future ahead. That which we do we do not do for ourselves. We do it for these children because I think it is the children of this day that will take us into a new way of life (van der Westhuizen, interview, 28 Jan 2007).

This explanation resonates in Smith’s (2008: 38) discovery of the reaction to and interpretation of development in Kenya:

the concept [of development] has become increasingly disconnected from the categories of tradition and modernity, each of which seems increasingly beyond the control of any person or community. Kenyan development efforts consist, then, in attempts to acquire control over the future by drawing on the past.

The significance of !Xaus Lodge for Oom Jan also ties in with the expectation of the lodge as providing an opportunity for community participation within its own development and hence a sense of empowerment “to see if we can’t do something about it ourselves and that is why it is so important to us” (van der Westhuizen, interview, 28 Jan 2007). He also acknowledges it as an economic driver by stating: “It is our high ideal as we have seen that !Xaus is our first big

development whereby income can be generated in the two communities” (van der westhuizen, interview, 28 Jan 2007). The idea of ownership comes into play here.

Isak Kruiper (see Appendix M) another traditional healer who also happens to be on the CPA explains: “Look it was our dream, right from the start, to come to an agreement where our people have the privilege to come into the Park and see their own place” (interview, 28 Jan 2007). His expectations support the typical importance placed on the location of !Xaus Lodge within the Park and the spiritual connection to the land: “Look [the Park] is our source of love. It is our place. We were born here and we grew up here...Because, you see, our spirit and our source is after all in the Park. And today I can sit here and say I am very proud of this place”. Being a traditional healer, his expectation of access to the Park and the ownership of !Xaus Lodge within the Park is that it will allow him to source indigenous plants important to his healing practices: “And I often think that - if you look at our indigenous plants - that it will be a very good thing for me. Because we are very close to our indigenous plants there that we use. And also the knowledge is linked widely to that place. It is a special place” (Kruiper, interview, 28 Jan 2007).

The creator god Kaggen holds shamanistic associations and takes the form of different creatures. “It is said that Mantis could become any animal he wanted, but most of all he liked becoming an eland bull. The elands are still his favourites and only they know where he is” (Leeming, 1937/2010: 75). The connections and coincidences around the development of the lodge have been interpreted by some ≠Khomani as Kaggen/Mantis or „the spirit“ talking or giving its blessing to the lodge development. This is evident in Belinda Kruiper’s (interview, 22 August 2006) memory of the time when Glynn O’Leary first visited what was to become !Xaus Lodge:

It’s either the myth, or the coincidence or the spiritual stuff, its big! And I don’t think even you, as students know your roles in this. You just doing what we doing, focusing on...your interview...I’m just Belinda trying to do this and that, falling around. Glynn is coming in seeing this, he’s committed to the role, he was switched by reading *Kalahari Rainsong*. They see it as a good opportunity...and by the end of it they want to see a healthy thing running for the community. The other thing that’s interesting is when we go to scout and recce the lodge, the animals acknowledge us. When Glynn and Vetkat were alone in the vehicle they saw the leopard. When we left and Hannes Steinkamp stayed behind as one of the Mier guys to look after the lodge for that week he came back straight to my house and said: “*Daar’s ’n eland-bul wat hier loop en hier is nie spore nie. Die eland loop en as ek*

*op sy spoor gaan is daar nie spore nie....hier's groot goed aan die gebeur*".<sup>94</sup> So there's a spiritual eland that's moving and in the Bushman lore the eland is the most sacred animal and it's the bull. So it seems like in the ancestral body they are blessing all of this.

What is of significance here is not only that the above quote is evidence of Bushman cosmology still coming into play in how the local people viewed the development phase of the lodge once TFPD became the operator, but that it was a Mier community member, Hannes Steenkamp, that thought *something* of the presence of the eland at !Xaus Lodge. The ≠Khomani are typically associated with traditional beliefs and folklore, but here Hannes as part of the *westerse mense* (see Chapter One) is also alerted to what the presence of an eland may mean for the lodge: "big things". With this knowledge of what the eland represents in Bushman cosmology I was excited to see a whole herd of them during a field trip in July 2007 whilst driving to !Xaus Lodge. This was the first time, since visiting the KTP from 2002 that I had seen eland (see Appendix N).

Oom Jan recognises the turn around or paradigm shift once TFPD became involved - he complained about how one man had placed a tender for the lodge then realised he was bankrupt and left. A year later TFPD entered the story and he felt that they were:

spirited enough to stand in for us and I think I have trust in him. He is a man that thinks about development and that strength for my community. I have great trust in that man...And I have spoken to them and have heard good things. People have their bad things, their bad spirit and their dirty spirit, sometimes have different misunderstandings but I heard good things coming up and therefore I have good expectations for my communities in the days that lie ahead (van der Westhuizen, interview, 28 Jan 2007).

Isak Kruiper also acknowledges the difficult process in getting !Xaus Lodge established:

We had different players who came to identify the place and who said: "all right maybe I can take this over. Maybe I can build it up". But up to now most of them had failed. And then some came and started to build the place up to what it is today. And now at last we can move forward...with !Xaus Lodge we could...if we can stand together then we can expand and we might now move forward (Kruiper, interview, 28 Jan 2007).

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<sup>94</sup> "There's an eland bull walking about, but there are not tracks. The eland walks and when I go on its trail, there are no tracks. There are big things happening".

Thus, !Xaus Lodge appears to be symbol of „correcting wrongs“ (again redemption) and an opportunity to „move forward“ (again salvation). Festus, who felt ostracised from his family and community left the Northern Cape in 1996 for Pretoria where he was unemployed and homeless. He returned to the Northern Cape in 2006 a few months before the JMB contract signing for !Xaus Lodge. Festus (interview, 28 Jan 2008) views the opportunity to work at !Xaus Lodge as a „personal form of salvation“:

Everything had stopped there. Now I can say it's the second time I heard about the lodge and see how things are going. They are more on a mission to get everything in place... It did not start as a dream of mine. But I will go there now. It's important for me for things to come right, and good things to happen.

One of his reasons for returning was to “get connected to the people”. The motif of !Xaus Lodge as a reconciliation lodge between the two communities themselves, as well as with SANParks is illustrated in Isak Kruiper's response above: “if we can stand together”. This is echoed in Festus's (interview, 28 Jan 2007) explanation that the success of the lodge will depend on good communication and the ability to rise above past community conflict: “Our people are very divided, they don't allow other's opportunities... They can make a success and the best of that place, if they just get their strategies and plans together and stand together”.

Belinda Kruiper's (interview, 22 Aug 2006) vision for the lodge supports this:

I feel that this Lodge, spiritually, is a peace symbol to actually realise we're all power, we all have power - one has this knowledge and one has a degree. And I'm hoping that there's this underlying relationship in how it is operated and the decision making...that there won't be meetings anymore, there will be a knowing that this place is running as a symbol of peace.

Being a young woman from the Mier who has studied hotel management at a college in the Eastern Cape, Beverly Bezuidenhout (interview, 17 July 2007) decided to work at !Xaus Lodge in order to earn money and in the hopes of further training or skills development. TFPD told people who interviewed to work at !Xaus Lodge that if the management see potential in someone that they will be sent on a hospitality course if the lodge had sufficient capital. She believes the lodge to have good potential in attracting celebrities and was particularly excited by the idea that it could attract celebrities such as Charlize Theron. Mary and Sharon are also young women from the Mier that I spoke with now and then while our research team stayed in „the backstage“ with the staff during our July 2007 fieldtrip. They presented similar reasons for

wanting to work at !Xaus Lodge. They added that they had previously worked at Molopo Lodge but they had left as a manager had not treated them as equals, and so far !Xaus Lodge had been a better working environment for them. It was promising to meet these young women who were taking advantage of the lodge development. However, there were a few people, such as Liedjie Witbooi who, when I spoke to her, was working part time at the Sîsen craft store. She said she would never be able to work at !Xaus Lodge as it is too far away from her family. She is the sole breadwinner and has two children who go to school in Askham. !Xaus Lodge's remoteness impedes its full integration into the wider community's livelihoods.

Oom Jan (interview, 28 Jan 2007) also expressed concern on the remoteness of the lodge saying "it is also so difficult for me. I took a wife from far away, from a different culture and traditions. And I have to respect her rights too – that is the times in which we live". He respects the fact that his wife does not have the same calling to be in the Park as she is not Bushman. This is an illustration of Maano Ramutsindela's (2002; 2003) critique of the South African land reform programme in that the long distance between the beneficiaries' restituted land and their homes does not allow the beneficiaries to fully engage with and benefit from development programmes.

The envisioned expectations by the local people who are the owners and employees of !Xaus Lodge are as follows: i) a return to the land as their source of strength to renew their spirits, ii) income generation in job creation, iii) skills development and training, iv) participation in their own development venture, v) the creation of improved relationships between the community parties and SANParks and between the community parties themselves, and lastly vi) the development of a sustainable project from which their children will benefit. Most of the development narratives above exhibit a "consciousness of precedence" (Masilela 2003) in returning to the past, which is symbolised in a return to their land, as their desired development outcome. The land was, and still is, a physical and spiritual resource for survival.

Nhamo Mhirpiri (2009: 183-184) highlights the complexity of the situation:

Although the notion of an authentic originary Bushman is largely impractical it is not that pristine original state that people want to return to. The dynamics and inherent paradoxes in the romantic wishful need for a primal, originary and imaginary Bushmaness frequently articulated by Silikat and other #Khomani in the Northern Cape is a longing for return to the past. However, it is not the past they want to return to. What they have is the symbolic language for describing their present marginalized position and what suffering

was like. Bushmanness is a metaphor for where they are today as a development of past history - it is a language with a double register, literal and symbolic.

Local people's epistemology cannot be ignored in making recommendations for development. If development communication studies is going to desist being „the study of failure“, development practitioners cannot compartmentalise indigenous modes of thinking and views of development, as is the western tradition, but should build in strategies to take the holistic epistemology of indigenous peoples into account in planning and implementing development programmes.

### **Community Communication Processes**

Above I document some of the community members' expectations of !Xaus Lodge. However there was also a sense, when walking around the farms and up and down the long dusty road where some crafters sell their wares, that many people who were not directly linked to !Xaus, by either sitting on the JMB or the CPA, were in the dark about the plans, developments and opportunities of the lodge.

Given the oft-limited opportunities for the participation of local people in the benefits of and decision-making about tourism, the arguments about tourism as a positive vehicle for development have consequently been questioned. As illustrated in Chapter Three, tourism-as-development literature (Rogerson & Visser, 2004; Allen & Brennan 2004), as well as development communication literature warn of the limited economic impacts of tourism and initiatives under conditions of dependence where there is a lack of community involvement. Dependency is a potential outcome of development in tourism ventures if decisions are made without consulting the community parties at a grassroots level and if adequate training and management skills are not provided for the community parties to eventually manage their own resource, which in this case is the lodge. Generally speaking, poor communication and the lack of strategies for feedback have delayed the creation of good relationships, essential for sustainable community development, among government, NGOs and local communities. DEAT's (2006) strategic framework for sustainable tourism development acknowledges this idea and encourages community participation in the planning, development, implementation and management of tourism projects". However, frequently there is a discrepancy between what policy promotes and operations at the grassroots level.



In the Northern Cape, communication is hampered not only by the lack of infrastructure but also by the absence of efforts to address prejudices, misconceptions and misunderstandings (SAHRC, 2004). Members of the broader ≠Khomani community claim that they do not receive feedback on developments from the CPA. When I questioned Hans Padmaker about how the CPA communicate with the broader community his response was: “According to our constitution we have to engage ourselves in meetings every third month” (interview, 30 Jan 2007) and continued to tell me how the CPA members communicate amongst themselves. Prodded for further information on how they inform the *wider* community about plans and how money is spent, he changed the topic. Oom Jan van der Westhuizen (interview, 28 Jan 2007) admits that although the CPA holds regular meetings with SANParks:

we don’t give sufficient feedback to our communities. They don’t know what beautiful things have already been placed on the table for them. But it is also very difficult to speak to them due to finances and conflict within the communities. There was also division within the CPA but from the beginning, in January, the sixth and seventh January, we worked on the conflict within the management.

In addition, members of the CPA allege that continuous attempts to communicate with the Minister and Director General of the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) and the Minister and Director General of DEAT have failed. They claim that this amounts to an infringement of their right to be heard by civil servants, to observe administrative action and to benefit generally from cooperative governance (SAHRC 2004). If this is the case, then DEAT’s (2006) objective to “empower community structures” is not being met (cf. Dyll, 2009: 52).

Chapter Three introduces the Makuleke land claim and contract park case study that has an almost iconic status in terms of PPCPs. Two lessons may be learnt from this case study. The ≠Khomani CPA should adopt the use of development forums that have proven to be a success in the Makuleke CPA management structure. Ten people from each of the three districts that make up the Makuleke community are elected, making a total of 30 people with whom the CPA executive consults. These forums serve as: i) a sounding board to identify spending priorities, ii) a means of communication with the wider beneficiary districts, iii) a channel through which to distribute development funds for projects, and iv) as a training ground for future CPA candidates (cf. De Villiers, 2008). “An added benefit of the forums is that they legitimise CPA decisions and involve more beneficiaries in the process of decision-making and governance” (De Villiers, 2008:75). As a result a sense of involvement and hence „ownership“ in the project by local people increases.

Secondly, the Makuleke CPA's distribution policy of income generated from their two lodges provides a model that other community committees and development structures can learn from. Community projects are the focus instead of per capita cash payments. While people and communities need capital to survive, equal attention to creating sustainable community projects is key. The #Khomani have squandered the millions of rands that have been pumped into the CPA or through Dawid Kruiper's leadership since the time of the land claim. There is almost nothing (besides !Xaus Lodge) to show for it – many people still have no marketable skills and are living in poverty. In terms of the Makuleke experience "the CPA and the trust believe that indirect benefits such as increased employment, development of infrastructure and training will in the long term bring more benefits to the community than small, one off cash payments" (De Villiers, 2008: 80). There have been four concrete outcomes as a result of this distribution policy: i) donations to the amount of R50 000 – R70 000 to local schools to purchase computers, improve security and upgrade the buildings, ii) establishment of a community funded and owned bed and breakfast complex which the community outsources to an external operator to run as a cultural ecotourism venue that ties in with their other two lodges, iii) construction of a CPA office providing the community with a permanent administration office, and lastly but perhaps most impressively, iv) a major electrification project funded by the CPA which saw each of the Makuleke villages being included on the electricity grid (cf. De Villiers, 2008).

This in particular is impressive as it shows how the Makuleke broke the cycle of dependency so often exhibited in rural communities, and therefore were not subject to suffering from the government's delay in action. They proactively used the knowledge of future development plans in their area to push the government to follow up on their promises by proposing that the South African government use the compensation money from their land claim to immediately electrify its villages. In exchange, the Makuleke would receive the compensation funds with interest (Koro, 2005). In this way they strategically used communication processes and knowledge of the government's development plans to benefit the broader community, illustrating yet again that they have created a workable development model "that more rural communities can use to speed progress in their area" (Koro, 2005: 3).

Although every development context is different and solutions from one context can not be easily transplanted into another, it would be these types of strategies and thinking outside „the development communication box“ that could increase !Xaus Lodge's chance for success. As

outlined in Chapter Three, the Makuleke land claim and establishment of a contract park was not without its problems. However, the challenges that faced the Makuleke land claim and lodge constructions are almost compounded in the !Xaus experience owing to the fact that there are two community parties and the ≠Khomani community itself is divided along traditionalist and *westerse mense* lines. “The capacity of the ≠Khomani and Mier to engage in commercial ventures differs substantially and that in itself complicates the partnership” (De Villiers, 2008: 43).

### **Dynamics of Three Partners: Power Plays and Double Vision**

The nature of relations between the ≠Khomani and Mier, or *Basters*, is one of several historical obstacles, which leads to contemporary problems in the Northern Cape. Historically, the two communities have a strained relationship with SANParks (as a previous „representative“ of the apartheid state). It was feared that this tension could negatively effect the establishment and operations at !Xaus Lodge.

#### *Inter-community tension*

The ≠Khomani have, since 1865, lived alongside the Mier often as their servants (Ellis, 2001). In the mid-1970s the ≠Khomani were reclassified as „coloured“ in terms of apartheid laws and were evicted by a new park administration. Many were forced into casual labour as farm workers in the adjacent Mier district (a „coloured“ or *Baster* reserve), while others were scattered throughout the subcontinent. In the intervening years the clan became impoverished and were believed to have lost their language and culture (Weaver, 2000: 14). Dawid Kruiper’s account exemplifies some of the harsh experiences of enforced rural proletarianisation, entailing insecure employment and hard physical labour: “Then I began to work under the *Basters* - herding sheep and doing piece-work for very little money...We suffered there in [Mier]. But what could I do? I had no land anymore. I still had to feed the children (White, 1995: 33). From 1987 to 1989 some ≠Khomani, particularly from the Kruiper clan, gained “white patronage” when a Kuruman tour operator put on tourist shows at the Kuruman show grounds with the ≠Khomani as the main attraction (White, 1995). After dispersing again “[t]hey reconstituted once more in 1991 to resettle at Kagga Kamma under yet another patronage arrangement” (White, 1995:33). However, the conditions in which they lived and worked were oppressive (as discussed in Chapter Three). The Bushmen soon realised that they occupied “a vulnerable and exploited position within the venture” (White, 1995: 50) and some

of them moved back to the Northern Cape. They still embarked on the „traditional“ hunter-gatherer self-representation:

to position themselves as legitimate subjects of patronage, and thereby gaining access to a range of socio-economic benefits without having to compete in a wage market in which they have consistently occupied a peripheral and insecure position (White, 1995: 51).

Now that they are landowners some ≠Khomani wish to separate from the memories of their servitude, break their ties of dependency on the *Basters* and establish a sense of „pure Bushmaness“, which so far has entitled them to restitution grants and media attention (cf. Buntman, 1996a/b). The traditionalist ≠Khomani’s past grievances concerning the initial alienation from their land are not directed at the state but at the *Basters* who they view as having benefited from the proclamation of Mier, and whose demarcation of private property was viewed as responsible for the Bushmen’s suffering.

The antagonistic assertion of a Bushman-*Baster* boundary is thus founded on experiences of dispossession that are regarded as ending an idyllic age of Bushman independence and prosperity. The difference that is marked is one between aboriginals who are „rightful occupants“ and immigrants whose presence is „illegitimate“. In this context, the assertion of hunter-gatherer identity in the present is an expression of historical grievance and a claim to entitlement (White, 1995: 31).

This tension continued into the time of the land claim. A key step in attempting to ease it was that:

As a contribution towards ensuring sustainable traditional land usage adjacent or close to the Park, the Mier community agreed to transfer 7000 ha in the Mier Rural Areas, adjacent to the land of the ≠Khomani San Community in the Park, through the Minister responsible for Land Affairs, in capacity as trustee of the Mier Rural areas, as a gift of the Mier Community to the ≠Khomani San community, in a gesture of reconciliation (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002:166).

### *Power Plays*

Sitting on her verandah at her home in the small dusty settlement of Welkom, I asked Belinda whether she believed or had heard if the rift between the two communities delayed the establishment of !Xaus Lodge in any way. Her response highlighted the dynamics of the inter-community relationship:

Park agreements started being in the pipeline and committees were set up, and then I heard about some place, and there's a lodge. The underlying animosity amongst these communities is not at a level where...because if there's a funeral now then these people who fight go to one funeral. So it's a weird situation. It's a power-play because it's about money and sustaining themselves with money and food. So that's why there is a power play. But in essence the Kalahari people, they do get along if there is nobody else around (Kruiper, interview, 22 Aug 2006).

The Northern Cape, however, is full of NGOs, lawyers, private operators and lodges working with the local people so it is inevitable that there will be people around. It is therefore necessary to examine the power relations within development schemes to ensure that they are participatory and not prescriptive. Modernization in general is optimistic, however, its practitioners lack self-criticism. In order to avoid the same mistakes generated from many of modernization's programmes we have to ask ourselves: development for whom and under what circumstances? This may be easier said than done as will be demonstrated in Chapter Five in the list of parameters for participatory development.

One of the issues often ignored in literature on tourism and community development - but also in literature on public-private partnerships in general - is the issue of power relations. Differences in capacities and access to information influence these relations, and hence the impacts of private sector operations (Spierenburg *et al* 2009: 169).

Through interviewing different people in the Northern Cape community since 2003 it is evident that people from each of the two communities feel that the differing community has had an upper hand during and after the land claim. It is generally felt amongst the #Khomani that they are excluded from development discussions in the area and even when some people do attend meetings they do not always understand the development discourse, what their expected roles are, as well as the possible consequences of development initiatives. This pro-literacy bias, inherent in the modernization paradigm (Melkote & Steeves, 2001), is therefore seen to work in favour of the more educated and skilled Mier community. On the other hand the Mier feel that the "strategic essentialism"<sup>95</sup> (Robins, 2001: 850) bias works in favour of the

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<sup>95</sup> Corresponding with Stuart Hall's (1990: 223) essentialist model of cultural identity reflecting the "common experiences of shared cultural codes which provide us as 'one people' with stable, unchanging and continuous frames of reference and meaning".

≠Khomani as their traditional self-representation awards them additional heritage rights, media attention and donor funding.

Many ≠Khomani lack formal education and depend primarily on cultural tourism as a means of survival. If one were to situate the two communities in terms of Everett Rogers' (1962) diffusion of innovations studies<sup>96</sup>, one could argue that the Mier are perceived by society as the early adopters and the ≠Khomani as the laggards, based on their media behaviour and social status (Dyll, 2009: 54). This is illustrated in Oom Tieties' experience while finding a water source for the lodge. Oom Tieties herded sheep on the land and in so doing gained great knowledge of the area, either by walking the land himself or by hearing stories. Based on this he informed TFPD of a possible water source. Belinda Kruiper claims that his suggestion was not taken seriously and nothing was done about it until the Mier confirmed the water source. Belinda sees this as part of the power play and a lack of trust in the ≠Khomani's knowledge that is not based on education proven with formal certificates, as the dominant modernisation development communication paradigm would require:

They will now get the eloquent ones, the ones who have their matrices and maybe went further but it's these people like Oom Tieties that hold the knowledge. They walked the dunes. They didn't go out and get their degrees. They remained here...learning every dune. That day Oom Tietes said at that join cross: "There's this spot going through Kleinman, if we go this way you get to a crossing at Sanderson's farm, there's a road that goes past the borehole and that borehole has got fresh water. You could possibly have a pipeline extended". But now it takes the Mier and Nico [of SANParks] to do it for us. I'm not pleased...and this is where they also power play each other because some are more educated. I mean Oom Tietes said this on the first meeting, what Jackie [from the Mier] and them said tonight on another trip (Kruiper, interview, 22 Aug 2006).

This confirms that people who are not formally educated are not taken as seriously, and that society's perception and qualitative evaluation of indigenous knowledge (cf. Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008) is dismissive. In this respect Rogers' (1962) notion of „the laggard“ still

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<sup>96</sup> Diffusion studies differentiated groups of people in terms of personality, media behaviour, social status and how these categories affected their rate of adoption. For example, early adopters were usually younger, had higher financial and social status and were equipped with better mental ability than later adopters, called laggards. Diffusion of innovations therefore emphasised the nature and role of communication in facilitating dissemination within local communities.

exists. However, in development initiatives with local communities this should not happen. One reason for the persistence of this mindset is that respect for local people's knowledge is often perceived as a threat to positions of power (cf. Bessette 2004; Fischer 2000). Evidence from community development projects around the world indicates that consensus is particularly difficult to sustain in regions with a history of conflict, and that in these situations traditional power holders typically feel threatened by notions of democratic decision making (cf. Brennan & Allen 2001).

The concept of „joint management“ of a national park is new to South Africa and “having two communities working together with different levels of education, experience and capacity makes the JMB's task even more challenging” (De Villiers, 2008: 43). If one considers the power relations in PPCPs there can be a real danger in multi-stakeholder forums. An example from the Makuleke land claim illustrates this. The Transform (Training and Support for Resource Management) project was a joint venture between The Department of Land Affairs and GTZ, a German development agency, introduced in 1995 to challenge the control the National Party still held over SANParks. Transform supported the Makuleke Ecotourism Project, whereby the community would establish a game lodge on disputed land in partnership with the private sector. However, in 1996 SANParks joined the Transform steering committee and hence the nature of Transform's support for the Makuleke community changed.

Within the multistakeholder format used by Transform, which did not make a distinction between primary and secondary interest groups it was possible for SANParks to participate directly in the planning of the projects directly affecting them. The result was a reorientation of GTZ funding away from the Ecotourism Project and towards a range of alternative community development projects [that benefited SANParks] (Spierenburg *et al*, 2009:172).

Fortunately the Land Claims Commission recognised and exposed this conflict of interest and structured a decision-making process accordingly. “A rigorous distinction was made between the Makuleke and SANParks interests, a step that clearly undermined existing power relations between the two and strengthened the community's overall bargaining position” (Spierenburg *et al*, 2009: 172).

Each partner comes to an agreement/partnership with different priorities. Dealing with national conservation agencies, policies and business or development models is not always easy for

community partners. Private tour operators and SANParks have more experience with the negotiation of contracts. The traditional power holder in the !Xaus Lodge partnership is SANParks. The politics that stem from this is often symbolised, by the #Khomani, in the motif of the jackal and the lion. This is a local discourse that explains SANParks (the lion) as the traditional power holder:

We have also had a tremendous struggle with the Parks. We call them the young male lion as he is a rich gentleman and we are the small jackals that just get a small bit of bread, or just wait for a small piece here and there of the bones or to scratch open the stomach contents once the young male lion is finished. And we ask that they share those moments with us in a free spirit and just see the troubles and the struggle of the poor and with us fight against it and try to work it out and also give back to the people what was lost to them over all the centuries (van der Westhuizen, interview, 28 Jan 2007).

In 2006 Belinda feared that SANParks may be the only beneficiary out of the three signed stakeholders, as they are confident within „the development game“ while the community parties are ill-equipped to fully handle and take advantage of the situation. She recalls how she questioned people present in a meeting: “What about us all making one place work now? Because the lodge to me is the peace sign. It’s all three parties, so why are you all scattering as opportunists again?” (Kruiper, interview, 22 Aug 2006). Johann van Schalkwyk (30 Jan, interview, 2007) supports this with his observation of the development sector:

The frustration I have had in the last few years being in the development field is that you get people that come with highly, highly complicated plans. They use sophisticated terminology. They use graphs and this is supposed to benefit a simple community...but they don’t understand any of it. They might show in their faces that they are happy and whatever. And I can tell you that the only thought that goes through their heads is “good god these must be very clever people hey?” But they don’t understand it and therefore they cannot access it, intellectually, spiritually. They cannot even *own it* because they can’t get access to what it all really means. All it means is that it’s supposed to change their lives for the better but they don’t know how to participate because they don’t understand.

Despite the historical tension between the communities and SANParks, which certainly still filters through today, there does seem to be an improved relationship with SANParks where they “assist the local people to come to understand the value of conservation by providing educational programmes” as per the White Paper on Tourism (DEAT, 1996) requirement. Isak Kruiper (interview, 28 Jan 2007) explains: “Look at Toppies. He has moved up to being almost a master tracker and he is still learning. And when we get lectures in the Park then he is the one



who takes the trackers and the guides into the field and lectures them and we really appreciate that”.

What is needed is the understanding and the acknowledgement on the part of SANParks, private operators and the development sector in general that community partners lack negotiation and discursive skills in formulating contracts and finalising decisions, and to not take advantage of this. Rather, strategies should be set in place to accommodate for this lack of skill. “There is a plentitude of unrealized human resource potential in the peripheries of Africa...the concepts of development through tourism can be well understood in rural communities with limited access to information if somebody actually takes on the task of explaining their content” (Hottola, 2009b: 191). People and practioners who do this are what Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez (2009) call “champions” as will be discussed in Chapter Five.

### *Double Vision*

The government and even NGOs have been accused of depending on and exploiting the idea of the „authentic pre-modern Bushman“ to turn the Northern Cape into an attractive tourism area. This notion is supported by Steven Robins” (2001) discussion of „donor double vision“ and how the global discourses on indigeneity are brokered by NGOs in order to attract funding. This image of pristine First People is then reappropriated at the grassroots level by the ≠Khomani. The South African government, NGOs, donors and the ≠Khomani themselves are therefore dependent on the image of the „traditional Bushman“ in order to attract funding. This discourse appears to be pigeonholing the ≠Khomani as being able to engage only in cultural tourism as development, negating opportunities to develop themselves in other ways, such as in agricultural, management and administrative skills. Some ≠Khomani welcome a change from cultural tourism and wish to start other development projects. Abraham Meintjies (interview, 17 July 2002), the previous manager of the *Tentepark* in Witdraai, where the majority of cultural tourism took place explained:

All my previous plans came to nothing. I’m now starting with a new idea for the whole of next year to see if that will be successful...the project of a vegetable garden for the lodges around here. Fresh vegetables and so on to supply them with. That is the first development idea that I can put forward.

However, during my research trip in July 2009, there was still no vegetable garden. The presence of such a vegetable garden could have been linked as a pilot project to !Xaus Lodge -

but the lack of time given to projects that were not cultural tourism-based means that this was another „missed opportunity“. Without assisting these initiatives, the economy of “organized begging” (Ellis 2001) will continue. There is dependency on NGOs, both for handouts and as scapegoats, to lay the blame for the lack of progress.

Development is particularly difficult due to the „donor double vision“ of Bushmen as both First People and modern citizens-in-the-making (Robins 2001: 833). The contradictions embedded within these discourses on tradition and civic citizenship deters development. Possible consequences include:

- further intra-community division between the „traditional“ ≠Khomani and *westerse* Bushmen,
- concentration on cultural tourism as the sole means of development for the „traditional“ group, and
- dependency on donors, film companies and researchers based on their image as „traditional pre-modern Bushmen“.

This dual mandate speaks to the problematic colonial legacy of the dichotomy between modernity and tradition. However, the everyday experiences of the ≠Khomani negate the neat dichotomy of „modern“ and „traditional“. “The hybridized conditions of everyday life in the Kalahari include „local“ knowledge, practices and identities as well as [Bushman] access to „exogenous“ cyber-technologies, fax machines, cellular phones and international indigenous peoples“ conferences in Europe and North America” (Robins, 2001: 835).

The history of tension between the Mier and the ≠Khomani and the challenges this tension may present are compounded with the intra-community conflict within the ≠Khomani group itself between the traditionalists and *westerse mense*. This conflict can destroy a programme (cf. Boshoff 1996). The conflicts within the ≠Khomani community are such that some observers doubt whether they can be referred to as a single „community“. The differences of opinion within the ≠Khomani community and the problems experienced with the management of the CPA complicates cooperation. “There is an on-going threat that projects approved by one sector of the community may be rejected by another, or that allegations of nepotism would arise if only certain people benefit from a project” (De Villiers, 2008: 43).

Donor double vision can obscure intra-community differences along class, age or gender lines. These „ethnic“ strategies of mobilisation also tend to ignore and degrade cultural hybridities in

the name of „pure essences“ and cultural continuity, thereby encouraging the kinds of tensions between traditionalist / „pure“ and „westernised“ ≠Khomani. Moreover, “such an approach could render the [Bushmen] increasingly dependent on powerful donors and create obstacles for [Bushmen] communities seeking to develop independent and effective local community and leadership structures” (Robins, 2001: 850). During my fieldtrips I was interested to see whether the image of the ≠Khomani as premodern „pure“ Bushman was brokered by !Xaus Lodge in any way.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has problematised the !Xaus Lodge development context by analysing: i) the ways in which the dominant/modernization development paradigm was manifested in the development process, ii) the community partners’ expectations and visions for the lodge, often framed within an indigenous epistemology, iii) the challenges and possible solutions to communication with and between community partners, and iv) the dynamics between stakeholders in developing partnerships. I have accounted for the dynamics in the relationship between the ≠Khomani, Mier and SANParks as the three signed parties to the Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002). What happens when there are four partners to a development initiative? Does this added „partner“ complicate relations further by introducing yet another interest group, or does it aid the process of development? The impact of TFPD as the operator in this joint initiative will be detailed in the following chapter as it represents a turning point in the establishment of !Xaus Lodge. With the appointment of TFPD as the lodge operator in 2006 there was a paradigm shift from a modernisation top-down approach to a more participatory communication approach in its operational phase.

## Chapter Five

### Participatory Development Communication: Principles and Practice in the Establishment and Operations of !Xaus Lodge

#### Introduction

The participatory development communication approach is the implicit framework in which !Xaus Lodge operator, Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD), has positioned itself. Although TFPD does not describe it in such terms, an examination of the approach's theoretical underpinning, taken with the empirical model, provides evidence of a similarity. Implications of this development paradigm shift and ways in which the above-listed development impediments were overcome will be discussed in this chapter in order to incorporate these lessons learnt into a public-private-community partnership (PPCP) model to be presented in the next chapter. An analysis of the steps taken in establishing !Xaus Lodge is offered *vis-a-vis* Lawrence Kincaid and Maria-Elena Figueroa's (2007/2009) Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model as a participatory development framework that acknowledges the reality of conflict between stakeholders in this process. It would take the careful creation of viable strategic partnerships with each partner willing to play a role in order to „resurrect“ this tourism development project. This chapter documents how this was done, through the leadership of TFPD as the lodge operator. “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” (Tomaselli, forthcoming).

As disenchantment grew with the modernization paradigm the emphasis changed from viewing communication as an *input* towards envisioning communication more holistically and as a support for people's self-determination at grassroots level. The participatory development communication paradigm represents a move towards serious emphasis on cultural and local dimensions of development and a two-way process of communication. Classical modes of rural and urban development are questioned by proponents of this development paradigm (Servaes, 1991, 1995, 2008; Hamelink, 1995, 2002; Casmir 1991; White, 2008, 2009; White, 1999; Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009) and by literature on “new tourism” (Allen & Brennan, 2004).

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is one example of this “new tourism” and can be argued to be tourism's answer to participatory development (Ashley *et al*, 2001a/b). PPT is a multi-level

approach as interventions can be taken at three levels: i) destination level, ii) national policy level and iii) the international level. The destination level is relevant to my discussion of !Xaus Lodge as “pro-active practical partnerships can be developed between operators, residents, NGOs, and local authorities, to maximise benefits” (Ashley *et al*, 2000: 6). PPT is linked to the participatory development paradigm as it not only champions economic participation of the poor in tourism (expanding formal employment and casual earning opportunities in providing good, services and casual labour), but also less tangible aspects such as participation in planning processes, capacity building and training that could lead to a renewed sense of community pride (Ashley *et al*, 2001a). “While there is a great deal of talk about what tourism companies should do, and several guidelines outlining useful actions, there has been little analysis to date of corporate experience of implementing pro-poor approaches” (Ashley & Haysom, 2006: 272). As will be shown, the PPT approach is similar to that devised by TFPD. However, TFPD assert that their approach, located within the “for-profit philanthropy” model (Kelly, 2009) “is, *as a term*, almost exactly opposite to what TFPD are trying to portray” (Muller, email, 12 May 2011) [*my emphasis*]. The for-profit philanthropy model is a branch of the wider concept of “social business” which signifies a profit-making company driven by a larger mission. It carries the energy and entrepreneurship of the private sector, raises capital through the market economy, and deals with “products, services, customers, markets, expenses, and revenue – but with the profit-maximization principle replaced by the social-benefit principle” (Yunus, 2007: 23). The next two chapters will examine the implementation of TFPD’s for-profit philanthropy model with reference to PPT principles thus comparing and problematising both approaches.

### **Setting the Foundations**

In order for community development to really assist the poor, it can no longer be as highly prescriptive as it is with modernization’s monologue, which privileges mass communication and neglects informal communication channels that are frequently more salient to poorer sectors in society, especially those in rural areas. Participatory communication opens up horizontal communication, therefore deconstructing modernization’s monologue through *dialogue* that enables participants to identify and explore issues that have meaning for them (Dyll, 2009: 58). Issues of local ontology and grassroots communication are viewed as crucial to any programme attempting to secure development. “Participatory communication joined forces with participatory research and action research, and in turn also contributed methods” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 19).

Freire's (1990: 52) liberatory pedagogy of the oppressed places its emphasis on *praxis* as "action and reflection on the world in order to transform it". An important concept within this pedagogy is that of "conscientisation and radical social action" which plays a large role in the empowerment and therefore development of the oppressed (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 37). Conscientisation in Freire's schema "restores to people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experience and values" (Tomaselli & Aldrige, 1996: 61). It "is identified with cultural action for freedom, [and] is the process by which, in the subject-object relationship...the subject finds the ability to grasp, in critical terms, the dialectical unity between self and object. That is why we affirm there is no conscientisation outside of praxis" (Freire, 1990: 160). This is a process that is engendered through action-reflection and dialogue towards what Freire terms authentic communication (Thomas, 1996).

Freire describes conscientisation and dialogic communication in terms of education and oppression, however, his critical pedagogy enjoys widespread acceptance as a normative theory of participatory communication in development (Servaes, 1995). It can, therefore, be appropriated to characterise newer approaches to development of previously „oppressed“ or marginalised peoples, such as the #Khomani and the Mier. Freire argues that oppressed people "internalise values and habits which sabotage their critical thought" (Shor, 1993: 29) and that "self depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalisation of the opinion of the oppressors" (Freire, 1990: 38).

Freire calls for value to be placed on people's existing knowledge; to use their preferred media as well as the language and images that make sense to them. Freire (2002: 181-182) 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 cultural synthesis is an „ideal“, it is beneficial to bear this in mind as a guiding principle in development communication.

Belinda Kruiper advises that for problematising and establishing solutions to development issues, and perhaps assisting in the implementation of innovations, "NGOs should let the Bushmen draw in the sand to explain how they feel and what they want. They are not stupid or illiterate, they have different ways and one is drawing in the sand" (Kruiper, pers comm., 13 Sept 2002). This made sense to me as in a previous conversation with Toppies Kruiper, he drew pictures in the sand to reaffirm what he was saying or perhaps to explain more clearly. He

described the traditionalists' relationship with SASI, the Sisen Craft Project and the *westerse mense*. He also explained the idea behind the cultural village that had been built a couple of years before<sup>97</sup>. In encouraging mainly top-down methods of communication, development practitioners cast doubt on the validity of local methods and knowledge.

Servaes includes a word of caution, observing that participatory research, just like any preceding theory, can be manipulated toward the elites' own ends (Servaes, 1996) and so practitioners need to be conscious that they do not fall into this trap. In addition Freire's pedagogy may not be best suited to all contexts. Conscientization and its praxis have influenced many popular communication strategies including community radio and popular theatre in Africa. However, these examples seem to generally happen in overt situations of crisis; in heightened oppositional consciousness. It is difficult to implement Freire's theories to the everyday African context where there are many minority groups instead of one large proletariat (Thomas, 1996). This is evident in the !Xaus Lodge context with so many partners to one development initiative. Limits to participation do exist and a reconciliatory, multi-cultural approach based on mutual understanding is more viable than a one-dimensional approach to liberation. Thomas (1996) further critiques Freire's belief in the primacy of the party, concluding that a new „birthing“ is required if Freirean notions are to remain valid where recognised and unrecognised and organised and unorganised sectors of society are taken into consideration. He proposes that Freirean thought be blended with other theories and practice in order to contextualise a development program.

### **Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) Model**

A model of participatory development needs to be theoretically sound, useful to communication scholars, community leaders and communication practitioners. Kincaid and Figueroa (2007/2009) took up this challenge in developing their Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model to organise and synthesise development communication literature and to address the issues of dialogue, conflict, management and mutual understanding in development initiatives with community parties. The CFPD model addresses Thomas's (1996) call to build on and merge Freirean thought with other theories, strategies and practice in order to contextualise development initiatives.

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<sup>97</sup> Unfortunately the village was not successful.

Stakeholders usually are individual members of the community itself, but they also may be organized groups within a community, local or regional authorities, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), government institutions providing services at the community level, and policy-makers. The guiding philosophy of CFPD...can be traced to the work of Freire (1970)...who conceived of communication as dialogue and participation for the purpose of creating cultural identity, trust, commitment, ownership, and (in today's term) empowerment (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1313).

The CFPD model is relevant to my study of !Xaus Lodge as it takes into account the complexity of community tension, power relations and different styles of leadership:

The model also resolves 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 & Figueroa, 2009: 1311).

Below I examine !Xaus Lodge's establishment and operations in terms of the CFPD model in order to illustrate if and how a "participatory collective process of change" was achieved, leading to concrete gains or "social changes such as a shift in the power structure and means of earning a living" (Kincaid, email, 17 Sept 2010). The model's principles have, in some ways, been inadvertently operationalised, and problematised with the lodge's particular set of challenges. Kincaid (email, 17 Sept 2010) shares:

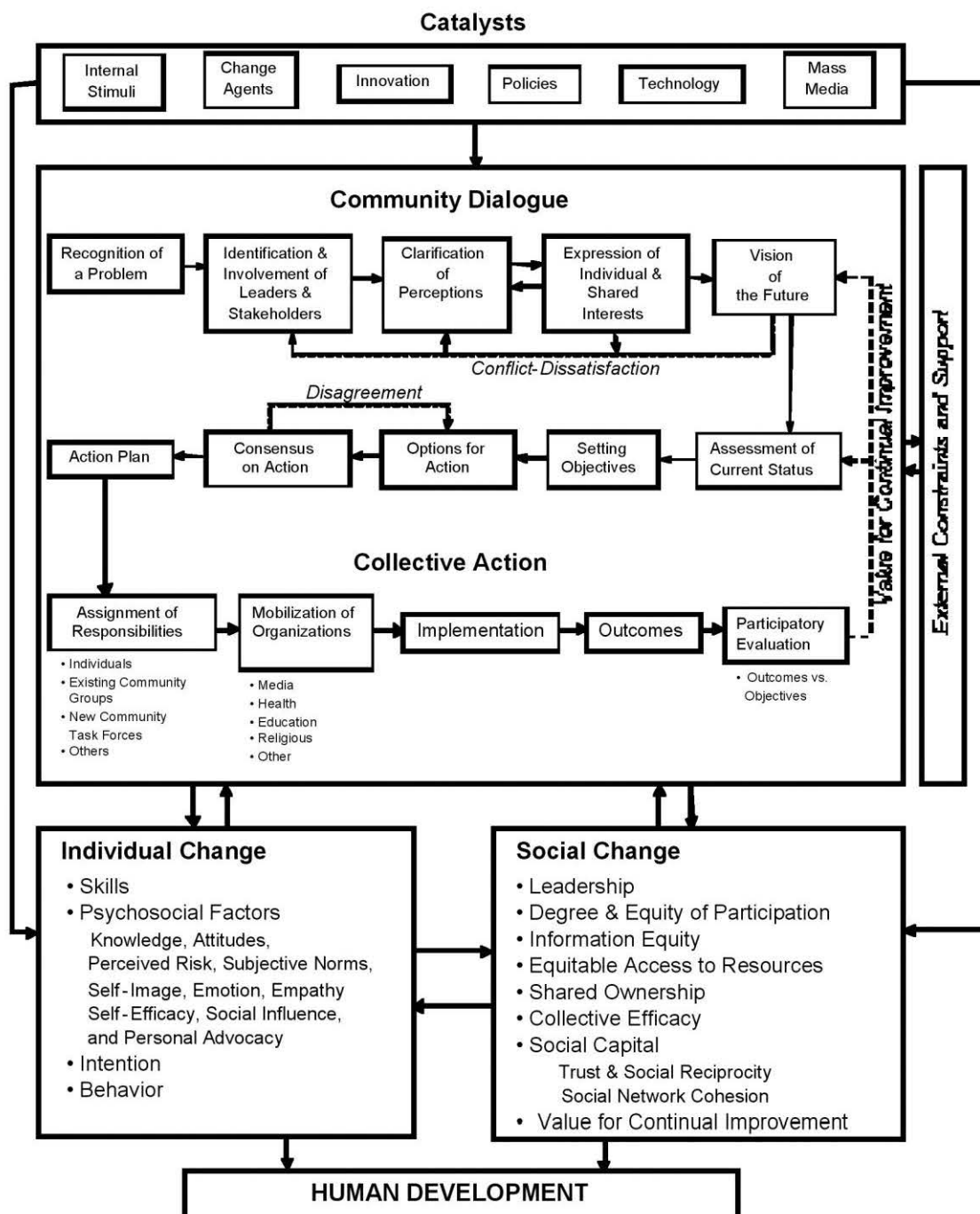
Our model is more firmly rooted in group dynamics and social network change than broad societal „social change“...The emphasis shifts to the *process* of change and then describes a very detailed framework for how that it can be done.

The CFPD model includes directional arrows within an almost circular figure as it demonstrates relationships and dialogues between all stakeholders. Arrows neatly illustrating a smooth progression from one step to the next imply that the model's steps occur in chronological order. In my application of !Xaus Lodge I realised that although most of the steps were present in some form or another, they did not operationalise in the exact sequence set out in the CFPD model and that there are direct links between steps that are not necessarily accounted for by Kincaid and Figueroa (2009). Kincaid does, however, explain that "[i]t's a set of guidelines...It takes no position on how groups reach decisions (rather a menu of potential ways)" (email, 17 Sept 2010). Thus, the CFPD model is not a rigid, linear process but rather follows or acknowledges how a communities' response to a certain step or situation influences



that particular initiative's next set of steps or actions. It is an integrated model, illustrated in the arrows moving back and forth between the main components of the diagramme, demonstrating the model's insistence for communication loops and feedback instead of the traditional approach of the transference of exogenous ideas.

**Schematic Model 1.** Communication for Participatory Development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2007/2009)



### **CFPD in action: Application to !Xaus Lodge**

The first major component of the CFPD model is the **Catalyst**<sup>98</sup>. The model acknowledges six catalyst subcategories, namely: i) internal stimuli, ii) change agents, iii) innovation, iv) policies, v) technology and vi) mass media. “How change begins is not very clear in most of the literature on development communication” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1316). For !Xaus Lodge a change in national policy (as discussed in Chapter Three) was the initial catalyst to the creation of the lodge as an income driver for the ≠Khomani and Mier communities. DEAT acknowledges the business of responsible tourism as is evident in its policies but not how to implement it. This is where the lodge’s second level catalyst (not represented in the CFPD model), TFPD, comes in. As the lodge operator, TFPD’s ability to negotiate relationships and responsibilities with all the stakeholders involved their networking skills, business acumen and willingness to listen enabled them to „save“ a development initiative that the government could not. It was at this stage that the CFPD mandate came to life in terms of the !Xaus experience: “a planned activity, using local media and dialogue among various stakeholders about a common problem or shared goal to develop and implement activities that contribute to its solution or accomplishment” (Bessette, 2004: 4). TFPD can then be considered as an external change agent in the Freirean sense:

[E]xternal change agents should (1) function as facilitators or catalysts who help community members to discuss and decide how to improve their lives, and (2) recognize that people have the ability to identify their needs and conduct self-assessments, make decisions about courses of action, and participate in the political processes that affect their lives (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1312).

CFPD’s **Community Dialogue** and **Collective Action** components describe a sequence of steps that, at times simultaneously, take place within the development context with the objective being to solve a common problem (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

#### *Recognition of a problem*

The **Community Dialogue** phase starts off with the *recognition of a problem* through dialogue. “Dialogue alone can produce considerable individual change in terms of knowledge,

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<sup>98</sup> The main components of the CFPD model (**Catalyst**, **Community Dialogue**, **Collective Action**, **Individual Change** and **Social Change**) have been placed in bold while the steps within these components have been placed in italics, in order to prompt the reader that these are descriptors directly referring to the schematic model.

emotional involvement, and aspiration, as well as social change in terms of shared ownership, collective efficacy, and the emergence of new leaders” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1316). Cees Hamelink (2002: 8) supports this development agenda of building capacity for social dialogue:

To solve the world’s most pressing problems, people do not need more volumes of information and knowledge – they need to acquire the capacity to talk to each other across boundaries of culture, religion and language...This sounds obvious and facile. In reality however the dialogue is an extremely difficult form of speech. In many societies people have neither time nor patience for dialogic communication. The dialogue requires the capacity to listen, to be silent, to suspend judgement, to critically investigate one’s own assumptions, to ask reflexive questions and to be open to change. The dialogue has no short-term and certain outcome. This conflicts with the spirit of modern achievement-oriented societies.

Hamelink (2002) highlights the capacity to listen as integral to establishing dialogue. This notion forms a large part of agents or champions who often work within the “grey zone”:

There are a few good development situations where communication shines – and many extremely bad ones – but most of the time we are working somewhere in the middle. Here the conditions are never right and we often wonder where we are going and why, but keep on trying – that is why we call it the grey zone...Often it feels like navigating an obstacle course: clarifying what is being asked of us, understanding the conditions we work in, and on that basis adjusting our expectations and our communication methodologies (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 57).

Establishing !Xaus Lodge could be described as operating in the grey zone “where the conditions are never right” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 57) that directly links to CFPD’s *recognition of a problem*. The problem was based on finding a company that would be bold enough to attempt to operate the lodge with its associated challenges. While taking Keyan Tomaselli and me for our first tour of the vacant and almost-condemned !Xaus Lodge, O’Leary (pers. comm., 26 Jan2007) described the grey zone he faced when he became involved:

I guess „the bureaucracy” is the best way of describing it where on the one hand at the Ministerial level you get great support for whatever it is, but then within the department people are not interested. Or you get great support within the department but then they can’t get the Ministerial buy-in. And all of this happens at the same time that the president stands up on a platform and says: South Africans know very little about the First Peoples of southern Africa. We need to understand more. They need to be given opportunities to

develop. Yet you still hit all these stumbling blocks...and then at the end of the financial year all these departments return their money and say: well we couldn't actually spend the money because we didn't have any decent projects on which to spend the money. It's desperate, absolutely desperate!...So we've just decided you have to do it at some stage and then you've got to worry about the rest that follows...We can all walk away and they won't have created the jobs. Nothing would've happened and the lodge would've fallen into the ground and everybody will find every excuse to walk away from the project. So you know it just takes brave people to say, you know although it isn't really our problem we're going to make it our problem and we're going to find the solution to the problem.

### *Identification and Involvement of leaders and stakeholders*

TFPD's leadership in taking on this challenge applies to the CFPD model's next step: *identification and involvement of leaders and stakeholders*. The identification of stakeholders was clarified in both the Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement<sup>99</sup> (2002) (see Chapter One), as well as in the establishment of the Joint Management Board (JMB) in 2003 between the park, the #Khomani and Mier communities for the management of the contractual land. The first major project overseen by the JMB was the construction of !Xaus Lodge and the search for a suitable operator. On 24 January 2007 TFPD become the official operator, and therefore another signed stakeholder to the initiative. Due to the apathy around the project TFPD took on a leadership role to find solutions in establishing and operating a lodge situated in the middle of the desert.

Identifying the stakeholders was therefore quite straight forward, though difficulties occurred when trying to establish each stakeholder's *level of involvement* and responsibility to the lodge. The common assumption may be that as TFPD is a business entity its leadership and business-oriented strategy would be aligned against the community parties and reinforce existing inequitable power structures. "Tourism companies, after all, are profit-seekers, whose business is commercial tourism, not development" (Ashley & Haysom, 2006: 265). TFPD's involvement at !Xaus fractures this type of relationship. It is clear from the #Khomani and

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<sup>99</sup> The parties to this agreement include: the #Khomani CPA, which acts on behalf of the #Khomani Community; the Mier Local Municipality, which acts on behalf of the Mier Community; SANParks; The Government of the Republic of South Africa, represented by the Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs; the Minister of Agriculture and Land Affairs in her capacity as minister; the Commission on Restitution of Land Rights, represented by the Chief Land Claims Commissioner; the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism; the Minister of Public Works.

Mier's excerpts in Chapter Four that they felt TFPD and O'Leary were familiar with the nuances of the Kalahari and trusted that TFPD would act in their best interests. "An equitable form of leadership is more likely to happen when a wide, as opposed to small, range of members and groups in the community participate and endorse a particular leadership structure" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1316).

Quarry and Ramirez (2009) explain that the presence of a champion, or social entrepreneur, assists in navigating through the grey zone. TFPD, and particularly O'Leary who is TFPD's primary representative in this research, embodies certain principles of a champion, described as:

individuals or organizations with a sincere respect for the views of the people with whom they work and with people's ability to solve many of their own problems...They are Freirean in their outlook...they have a sincere belief in helping people discover their own potential...[T]heir presence has often been the key to making something that might have been humdrum into a successful initiative (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 62-63).

Similarly Caroline Ashley and Gareth Haysom (2006: 275) advise that in "conducting business differently and developing local business linkages" for PPT, the designation of a champion as the driver of the process is essential. By this they mean the integration of opportunities for poor people within the company's business practice, and not just as a stand-alone philanthropic activity that usually takes the form of donations. I will illustrate how TFPD integrated pro-poor opportunities into its business practice, and the ways in which TFPD, as well as individuals within SANParks and the provincial government, demonstrated their champion status.

Returning to the discussion on each stakeholder's level of *involvement* and responsibility, I outline the principal parties' *required* involvement and core contributions, as stipulated in the Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002: 195-2002) [*my emphasis*]:

- The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism shall make an amount of R6.5 million available for the design and construction of the lodge;
- The land required for the lodge and its associated infrastructure, shall be jointly registered in the name of the community parties. The community party(ies) who owned said land...makes said land available for such a transfer at no cost;
- The party(ies) on whose land the lodge is situated, make the land for the lodge and related infrastructure available for free;

- The ≠Khomani community consent to access for guests of the lodge from and to the remainder of the Park (in as far as its consent in terms of this agreement may be necessary) and to further access for the Mier Community and someone connected to that party, and herewith makes its trade names available for the marketing of the lodge,
- SANParks shall grant access from and to the remainder of the Park for guests of the lodge, subject to the standard conditions on access to the Park;
- SANParks consent to the access of the concessionaire and its staff and suppliers from and to the remainder of the Park in terms of the concession conditions, which shall contain provisions similar to that of other concessions inside parks controlled by SANParks;
- SANParks agrees not to compete on an unreasonable basis with the lodge within the remainder of the Park;
- The principal parties shall offer the business opportunity to operate the lodge as a concession to the public;
- The concessionaire that operates the lodge shall pay a concession fee....as agreed to by the principal parties and coupled to the turnover of the lodge or according to an improved measure, shall be payable.

Fixing the infrastructural shortfalls and providing a means of access to the lodge (service road) required further funding. As five national level government departments, along with SANParks, signed the Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002) TFPD believed that the state was responsible, but the state had lost interest, believing it had played its part in building the lodge. Although TFPD were told time and time again that “*die geld is op*”<sup>100</sup> further negotiations saw the state provide R1.5 million for furniture and fittings and SANParks completed the delapidated walkways and chalet doors. In addition TFPD spent R1.5million of their time and money in order to reach the point where all parties were willing to sign the lodge contract (Fieldnotes, July 2007).

These negotiations and tussles over *how* the agreement should be interpreted continued over some time, and were a direct result of the type of sectoral fragmentation of responsibility (Brundtland Commission, 1983) that riddles these types of initiatives. TFPD therefore set to

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<sup>100</sup> “The money is finished”.

work via business savvy networking in order to achieve a common ground for all stakeholders from which to build viable strategic partnerships. “Accomplishing this goal is hardly ever easy, especially in the context of entrenched local power, political factions, social norms, and strong vested interests outside the community” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319).

#### *Clarification of perceptions*

An email from O’Leary (27 Nov 2006) describes the “war of wills” that occurred in what in the CFPD model is termed, *clarification of perceptions* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2007/2009) phase. There were difficulties in finalising the terms of the !Xaus Lodge contract. At first SANParks dismissed the #Khomani and Mier’s considered position with regard to TFPD’s proposed amendments to the !Xaus management contract without consultation with the community parties. This led to human rights lawyer, Roger Chennels, who has been working with the #Khomani since 1995, to write to SANParks on behalf of the #Khomani and with the Mier’s support declaring a dispute in terms of the Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002). O’Leary concluded that: “All sorts of threats of legal process followed but I’m happy to say that Roger called last night to tell me that the matter has been amicably resolved at a JMB meeting held yesterday with the communities expressing their outrage, SANParks apologising and in the main, our proposals being adopted” (email, 27 Nov 2006).

TFPD went beyond the typical private sector partner role in driving these negotiations. However, it was also the presence of individuals both in the provincial government and SANParks that cemented the beneficial outcomes in establishing !Xaus Lodge. There were frustrations based on national government’s lack of delivery in bringing the lodge to a suitable operational phase and although provincial government did not commit to do so in the agreement, Van Schalkwyk (pers. comm., 26 January 2007) responded that the Department of Economic Development would not turn its back on the project: “It is a transformation project which is a priority with us in tourism. It is going to be a community-based enterprise so from a departmental view I feel we do have a responsibility. We cannot wash our hands of a project like this”. Assuming this responsibility asserts van Schalkwyk’s champion status as his relationship to the lodge and its community parties is one of service (cf. Quarry & Ramirez, 2009).

A similar dedication to !Xaus Lodge’s fruition was observed in KTP manager, Nico van der Walt. The park’s relationship with the community parties is a complex one; premised on past

unequal power relations as is described in the jackal and lion motif, but also one where the park is looking to take on a semi-participatory development role by involving community members in park projects (De Villiers, 2008). This complexity is personified in the community partner's relationship with van der Walt. Belinda Kruijer explains that although he is more trusted than the previous park manager, the shadow of the previous management still influences the ≠Khomani's attitudes and actions:

Bettie and Pien won't go and do it if Nico is running it...I'm just using Nico's name as "park management" now. Nico is a whole man; he's a really good man. Nico doesn't even know him and his wife are part of this magic. But Dries Engelbrecht has run this park with an iron fist and he still is....The community has a problem that Nico's not strong enough to say "*Nee Dries!*"<sup>101</sup> That's why I'm glad Glynn said yesterday how the people love him and respect him. We are tapping into his humanity...He's part of the shift. Nico is a park warden, back against wall. Suddenly here comes the lodge, suddenly Belinda's with him on every trip, Vetkat, Oom Tietes, people he's never sat at a braai with. His world is changing. So, somewhere that world and what Dries is demanding is going to come together. We just trust Nico will fall into, I don't want to say "our side", but yes...the beauty side of things (interview, 22 Aug 2006).

Van Der Walt demonstrated that he was "part of the shift" by attending JMB meetings with a willingness to listen, and so in this way can also be considered a champion (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). In doing so he has contributed to a shift in the power structure between the park and the community parties.

Quarry and Ramirez think that [an unequal] power structure can be changed only by an awareness that the problem lies within this power structure itself and through the willingness to "opt out" of this structure by establishing a relationship with the poor which empowers them, not by reproducing in them the existing power structure, but by helping all to realize that a relation of mutual service and mutual esteem is for the benefit of all (White, 2009: 218).

Despite his personal commitment to the "mutual service" in making !Xaus Lodge work, the community may have criticised van der Walt's failure to go against the entrenched power structure. However, the community needs to understand that "decision-making is often

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<sup>101</sup> "No Dries!"



complicated by the fact that the park manager has limited delegation, which means that he has to submit recommendations on most JMB decisions to his seniors at SANParks head office for consideration” (De Villiers, 2008: 35) especially regarding policy.

By clarifying the perceptions, meanings, values and interests of each party, dialogue may either lead to convergence / co-operation, or to divergence / conflict. The original convergence model (Kincaid, 1979) illustrates that convergence does not mean consensus; it specifies only the direction of movement when dialogue is effective. The extended convergence-divergence model (Kincaid, 2002, adapted from Howard 1999) consists of six phases (see Appendix O): i) a scene setting phase that creates an informationally closed system for dialogue, ii) a build-up phase leading to final positions taken within a common frame of reference (mutual understanding), iii) a resolution phase in which participants mutually agree on a common position they trust each other to implement. Mutual understanding helps to ensure each participant’s trustworthiness, but if flaws are revealed in the resolution stage, mistrust can arise and throw participants back into a new build-up phase with an increased possibility of, iv) a climax phase when emotion and reason do not lead to changes in position and mutual understanding, leading to v) a conflict phase in which neither participant will change and hence must resort to their threatened fallback positions. In the final, vi) resolution phase, either cooperation or conflict is implemented. If participants agree on a common position that they can *trust* each other to implement, then the outcome will be cooperation.

The dialogue between all the different !Xaus stakeholders finally leads to a common frame of reference with each stakeholder becoming aware of their responsibility to the lodge, thus creating a type of mutual understanding, with each party agreeing on a common position that it could trust the other to implement (*resolution phase*). The parties then co-operate in the collective action of providing further funding (*implementation phase*).

Although the Makuleke land claim is overall a success story, it is also reported that:

[T]hey struggled to define a favourable relationship with the private sector and ended up signing a contract that significantly reduced their control over their part of the TP. It seemed that the agendas of the public sector i.e. SANParks, and the private sector, i.e. a tour operator, strengthened each other in enforcing the strict and categorical conditions towards conservation in a national park on the Makuleke community (Spierenburg *et al* 2009: 181).

This is unlike !Xaus Lodge where there is a favourable relationship between TFPD and the community partners. TFPD worked tirelessly, through negotiations and dialogue with SANParks to ensure that what was promised to the community was honoured.

O'Leary realised it was important to *clarify the communities' perceptions* regarding the time and work it would take for !Xaus Lodge to become operational and accrue benefits. Managing expectations is set out as a challenge and concomitant tip in implementing PPT. "[A] slow pace must be accepted, and expectations managed, without dampening the enthusiasm and drive that are still needed. Change is likely to be incremental - one thing leads to another; but this also means not sticking rigidly to a plan and being opportunistic when new options emerge" (Ashley & Haysom, 2006: 276). At the JMB signing O'Leary addressed the different stakeholders saying "*dan beign die werk*<sup>102</sup>". He toned down community expectations, so that they were realistic according to what was possible with regards to training, lodge resources and capacity building. This is a direct lesson learnt from the Makuleke experience: "New landowners must be willing to accept a slow start before a project can build momentum" (De Villiers, 2008: 83).

In spite of her lack of experience in managing a formally run tourism venture, Belinda Kruiper was selected to be the !Xaus Lodge manageress due to her knowledge of the area and the ≠Khomani and Mier people. Before the lodge became operational her role was to facilitate in identifying community members to be employed at !Xaus as well as *clarifying their perceptions* of work. She was in a sense an intermediary between TFPD and community members when they could not directly address TFPD. This was a big responsibility and a decision that illustrated TFPD's "sincere respect for the views of the people with whom they work" and their "sincere belief in helping people discover their own potential" (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 62-63). She was also to facilitate the ≠Khomani's commitment and buy-in to the lodge after they had largely written it off as yet another white elephant. She remembers:

Dawid and them were not interested in this lodge. Isak Kruiper came with me with a proposal: "*Vergeet die lodge,*" *het hy vir my gesê, "Roger en ek is hier met 'n ding besig; ek en jy kan groot geld maak"*<sup>103</sup>. And I said to Isak: "No, the lodge has been built, who's

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<sup>102</sup> "Now begins the work".

<sup>103</sup> "Forget about the lodge," he told me, "Roger and I are busy with something; you and I can make a lot of money."

going to honour six million?...We should all work together to fill the lodge” (Kruiper, interview, 22 Aug 2006).

Kruiper was not only entrusted as the community liaison, she would also inform TFPD of local and reliable food suppliers in the area to service the lodge, as well identify possible lodge employees. It is almost unheard of for these types of initiatives to automatically place a community member in an official management position on the pure basis that he/she has the people’s trust and has a way of communicating well with different groups of people (cf. De Villiers, 2008). Kruiper admits that this was a risky decision for TFPD based on her past activism for ≠Khomani rights and the fact that she openly disagreed with the fact that the ≠Khomani could not build huts on their restituted land as per the Heritage Park Agreement (2002):

I’ve already sort of mentioned this to Glynn. I said “Don’t trust me as a manager, I’m going to shake this because it is our land...but for now I’m happy to wait for you to have the full go and run the Lodge.” But I know it’s going to be returning home...The Bushman are waiting to move there and sit in their *xais* and operate from the lodge, but living in the area....They can’t go to live there yet, even their land, they can’t go build structures. You know what I mean? Its all part of you can access the land for your ritual dadadada (Kruiper, interview, 22 Aug 2006).

TFPD appreciated Kruiper’s honesty and openness and took heed of many of her suggestions for lodge operations. She suggested that the lodge work on versatility, bringing people in at different times so the employees feel they can go and be with their family (Kruiper, interview 22 Aug 2006). This became an important strategy in lodge operations as will be detailed below.

Our research team’s role at !Xaus Lodge is, in a way, similar to Kruiper’s. It was our responsibility to provide an on-going study of !Xaus Lodge and its stakeholders, as a third party perspective, having an already-established knowledge base of the area and its peoples. In doing so we not only recorded factual evidence but provided insights that aimed to assist the stakeholders in managing !Xaus Lodge and for community party concerns to be raised (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming)<sup>104</sup>.

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<sup>104</sup> This is elaborated on below in the section headed *Mobilization of Organisations*.

### *Expression of Individual and Shared Interests*

The next phase represented in the CFPD model is *Expression of Individual and Shared Interests* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2007/2009). Through dialogue a !Xaus Lodge Management Agreement was signed by all the relevant parties on 28 February 2007. It expressed the operation rights, terms of contract period for the operator, payments and management fees, SANPark's undertaking as well as the benefits intended for the community parties. The following points provide a summary of what was stipulated:

- the Contract Period is for an initial twenty year period;
- the Operator shall, six months prior to termination of the initial period, have the right to submit a written application to the JMB for a renewal of the Contract Period for an additional twenty years;
- the JMB reserves the right to reject the written application by the Operator, if the application is rejected, the JMB shall have the right to enter into a solicited tender process for the appointment of a new operator;
- On occurrence of the solicited tender process, the Operator shall upon conclusion of such a process, be granted first right of refusal, in which case the operator shall be granted the opportunity to improve on the contractual provisions of the winning bidder and as such, be awarded the opportunity to continue the management of the Lodge under the new stipulated provisions;
- Besides what is expressed in the Management Agreement, the Principal Parties shall not require payment by the Operator for or in respect of the Operation Rights or in connection to the Project;
- The Operator will be responsible for any rates and taxes (excluding income tax and VAT) that may become payable arising from the activities conducted upon the Management Area;
- Neither the Principal Parties, the State nor any Relevant authority shall be liable for any payments except as specified in the Management Agreement;
- The re-naming of the lodge shall be done in consultation with the Principal Parties and subject to their approval;
- At the end of the Contract Period, the Operator shall hand over the Management Area, the Lodge and all Assets (excluding all Movable New Assets) and its rights or interest to the #Khomani and Mier communities as co-owners of the Lodge, free of charges of any kind, and in good condition (only the following assets shall be considered

immovable: buildings and all fixtures and fittings of a permanent nature, roads, bridges and all infrastructure associated with the provision of water and sanitation including dams, boreholes, power lines and cables but not power generators, windmills and waterholes and fencing);

- SANParks undertakes to: i) comply with the Kgalagadi and Contractual Park Management Plans, ii) provide reasonable assistance to the Operator in the form of advice; introductions and documentary support in its dealings with any Relevant Authority in connections with implementing the project;
- The management area can accommodate a maximum of 40 people - 24 tourist beds and five staff units are currently available. Any proposed extensions of the lodge and facilities will be subject to approval from the JMB and EIA process, and the availability of water will be a limiting factor;
- The Operator agrees to pay the Principal Parties a Management Fee as follows: i) 5% of the Lodge's gross annual turnover up to R5 000, 000, ii) 7.5% of the Lodge's gross annual turnover from R5 000 000 to R7 500 000, iii) 10% of the Lodge's gross annual turnover above R7 500 000. In all cases the turnover will be adjusted and escalated annually at the beginning of each Contract Year, by an amount equal to the Consumer Price Index. This shall be subject to a Minimum Rental of R80, 000 per annum by the Operator. Irrespective of which of these elements determines the final amount payable, the payment will be made to the Principal Parties monthly within 7 business days after the end of each month;
- The Principal Parties shall share equally in the Management Fees paid by the Operator. The #Khomani and Mier Communities shall use their respective shares of the Fees in accordance with specific clauses of the settlement agreement: i) employment of funds obtained by Community Party from Contract Party and ii) Maintenance of Infrastructure and Contribution to related Costs;
- With regards to the Empowerment Objectives the Operator shall take into account SANParks and State policies and objectives on Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment.

In addition, after the first ten years of operation, a #Khomani and Mier Community Trust will be established to receive a 10% equity stake in the lodge management company. !Xaus Lodge

aims to assist in leveraging donor funding for off-site community health, agricultural, educational and job creation projects<sup>105</sup>. TFPD meets part of its BEE objectives in employing almost all the lodge employees from the local communities<sup>106</sup> where unemployment is rife (SAHRC, 2004). This was possibly modelled on the Makuleke lodges where a preferential employment policy exists towards the Makuleke (De Villiers, 2008). The !Xaus Lodge Management Agreement thus clearly pursues economic empowerment objectives for the community parties that are closely aligned to PPT's focus on strategies for the: i) expansion of business opportunities for the poor, ii) expansion of employment for the poor, and iii) development of collective benefits for the wider community (Ashley *et al* 2001b: 2).

### *Vision of the Future*

The expression of each partner's interest and undertaking leads directly to the CFPD phase: *Vision of the Future* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2007/2009). Differences in interest are easier to resolve "if a community creates a clear "ideal picture" of the future that it wants to achieve. Such a common vision expresses the changes and benefits that community members expect to achieve, helping individuals and subgroups to see how their interests fit into the larger picture" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1317; cf. Weisbord, 1992; Weisbord & Janoff, 1995). Through interviewing certain #Khomani and Mier community members about their expectations of the lodge, their vision for it became clear. With their permission I informed TFPD on what they had expressed in order for TFPD to be aware of these expectations in implementing management systems and training etc. TFPD was to be mindful of the fact that the #Khomani's *vision* 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. Belinda Kruiper was ever-present to inform TFPD of the implications this may have on operations. In more tangible, material terms the community partners saw !Xaus Lodge as:

- as a form of employment;
- an opportunity for participation in their own development and empowerment;
- an opportunity to „move forward“ away from the hurt of the past and create !Xaus Lodge as a peace symbol;
- an opportunity to gain skills and training;

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<sup>105</sup> See <http://www.xauslodge.co.za/our-origins.html> Accessed on 24 July 2009.

<sup>106</sup> See <http://www.xauslodge.co.za/our-origins.html> Accessed on 24 July 2009.

- an opportunity to learn how to manage personal finances.

The *overall vision* or concept of the lodge was another contentious issue between the stakeholders. It essentially boiled down to a SANParks model that envisioned a more rustic 4x4 stop-over type of lodge, versus TFPD's „big business“ model of aiming to create a luxury lodge as a competitive tourist destination.

O'Leary explained the importance of changing the label on the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park map (SANParks, 2004) from “Kleinskrij Community Lodge” to “!Xaus Lodge”, not only to reflect the name change but because in his experience in the tourism industry when tourists read or hear “community-based/run lodge” they assume that the facilities may be run down or the establishment badly managed (O'Leary, pers. comm. 24 Nov 2008). From a „development first“ policy perspective CBT is a relevant topic, and is highly commendable on paper. However, Harold Goodwin and Rose Santilli (2009:10) assume a much-needed critical stance when reviewing CBT interventions, explaining that:

as alternatives to mainstream tourism, ecotourism and CBT have such appeal that they are rarely subjected to critical review. There are very few studies of the actual contribution of either ecotourism or CBT to either conservation or community livelihood. However, despite very little demonstrable benefit the ideas remain attractive, largely because little effort has been made to record, measure or report the benefits accruing to conservation or local communities.

TFPD's reasons for the name change thus appears warranted as in reality, CBT generally enjoys little success and often the most likely outcome for a CBT initiative is collapse after funding dries up due to poor market access and poor governance (Mitchell & Muckosy, 2008) - two points that have been discussed as challenges to the initial establishment of !Xaus Lodge. Hottola (2009b) questions whether autonomous community-based tourism projects should continue to be seen as a strategic resource for communities, or if their future should be based on partnerships under state and private sectors. Although it is assumed that the private sector puts more weight on profit and competitiveness than „poverty reduction“ and empowerment, it is the private sector that delivers most of this through jobs and the multiplier effect. CBT is often viewed as “an inefficient playground for people trying to learn the business but not capable of managing it in a sustainable way” (Hottola, 2009b: 185). TFPD was aware of the connotations of „failure“ associated with CBT and in consultation with the community partners omitted the word “community”. O'Leary explains that “we are undeniably commercial” and

had asked the community partners if they wanted people to come to the lodge *just* to support them, or because they want the tourists to enjoy the facilities like they can at any well-run lodge (pers. comm. 7 May 2010). Although Kruiper had a different vision for the lodge she initially recognised O’Leary’s vision as holding some value: “he’s seeing a project that can make us earn money right here. So give us something back that’s not just a smile and a pat on the shoulder” (Kruiper, interview, 22 Aug 2006).

As discussed in Chapter Three, PPT can take the form of community-based tourism (Ashley *et al*, 2001b: 1). TFPD argues that its *vision* of !Xaus Lodge diverts from PPT: “We are not in *ag shame*<sup>107</sup> tourism. That the asset owners are poor, and that a consequence of good management is a reduction in community poverty, is not a reason for tourists to visit. We don’t sell guilt trips, which has unfortunately characterised a lot of CBT and PPT” (O’Leary, email, 12 May 2011). Upon reading Ashley and Haysom (2006) it appears, however, that PPT and !Xaus Lodge’s differences in *vision* may only be one of semantics. Ashley and Haysom (2006: 266) acknowledge that “PPT is not a term that most business operators find attractive”. They argue that whether a company or tourist product is labeled „pro-poor“, „responsible“ or „fair“ is not the issue, rather a company should focus on their commercial viability and growth and seek to optimise the impact of tourism business in a manner that takes account of opportunities for poor people and focus on expanding them. This means moving away from a corporate social responsibility “donations approach” and to rather integrate processes that will lead to pro-poor growth<sup>108</sup> by “doing business differently” (Ashley & Haysom, 2006: 265). This would most likely take the form of a partnership as advocated by Hottola and demonstrated in !Xaus Lodge. PPT:

is not just about community tourism and small medium, and micro enterprises (SMME’s)...nor is it just about tourism in poor areas, nor is it a niche product which is sold as „interaction with local people“...or simply a donation to the community. This indicates a resistance to thinking in terms of core business operations and how they can be adapted (Ashley & Haysom, 2006: 266).

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<sup>107</sup> A South African expression of pity or compassion.

<sup>108</sup> Growth which includes the poor and provides them with net benefits (Ashley & Haysom, 2006; Ravallion, 2004).



TFPD does conduct its business in a manner that is different to many private sector partners in a joint venture. In many ways their business model is closely associated to what Ashley and Haysom (2006) advocate.

Van Schalkwyk (pers. comm., 22 June 2009) notes that one of the base problems in establishing !Xaus Lodge was uncertainty as to who the project leader was and that the initial consultation process failed to generate a uniform approach to the lodge. Belinda Kruiper seemed in agreement with SANParks on the lodge design, questioning whether a luxury lodge would be possible to create in such a remote area. However, the feasibility of it was not her only concern. She also questioned: “is the lodge in the end going to be much more than a four star lodge that brings international tourists for a cultural experience and a game drive?” (Kruiper, interview, 22 August 2006). The “more” that Kruiper refers to links to the spiritual aspects of the lodge and the local partners and whether that would be factored in to the final model. She foresaw as a type of spiritual tourist destination at !Xaus Lodge:

Americans will come and eat *roosterbrood*<sup>109</sup>...when we eat and travel, could we just not do a tin of baked beans, do we have to book into lodges where you go and it’s the eland and the gemsbok meat. I mean...the meats are stacked up and you’re wondering... tomorrow that meat is going to be heated up again and the Bushmen would never eat an eland heated up...So, there’s so much we could offer from a real culture that people would pay for, especially spiritual tourism that is growing hugely and I keep on throwing it out to Glynn...I’m not saying Glynn is ignoring it, but he’s doing what Glynn does. He’s a businessman...I’d rather do that than cater for a person who’s going to be finicky. And the wind will come. Who could now get those people to not complain if they had to be stuck inside due to the wind? We could create magic by getting them all into the lounge area, burning some candles and creating a story day and taking their minds off the wind. So, it actually is about the creativity of the entertainment. Because the forces we can’t change in the Kalahari....Nobody sees the other side of things, they all just want this lodge happening so that their people can be employed, but I will work on the spiritual...the spiritual culture is what we’re enhancing here.

Kruiper is therefore dismissive of the type of tourism based on “oh we saw a Bushman and we bought a craft at !Xaus Lodge” (interview, 26 Nov 2007) which correlates to Daniel Boorstin’s

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<sup>109</sup> Bread toasted on the fire.

(1964) analysis of the “pseudo event”. Echoing Jean Baudrillard (1988), Boorstin argues that contemporary Americans cannot experience reality directly, but prefer “pseudo events” like tourism:

Isolated from the host environment and the local people, the mass tourist travels in guided groups and finds pleasure in inauthentic contrived attractions, gullibly enjoying „pseudo events“ and disregarding the „real“ world outside. As a result tourist entrepreneurs and the indigenous populations are induced to produce ever more extravagant displays for the gullible observer who is thereby further removed from the local people...Such visits are made, says Boorstin, within the „environmental bubble“ of the familiar American-style hotel which insulates the tourist from the strangeness of the host environment (Urry, 2002: 7).

It is this “environmental bubble” or American-styled tourism model that Kruiper wanted to avoid at !Xaus Lodge. Dean MacCannell (1999), however, challenges Boorstin as he believes that “all tourists embody a quest for authenticity, and this quest is a modern version of the universal human concern with the sacred” (Urry, 2002: 9). The recent secularisation of notions of religion has widened scholarly interpretation of what constitutes sacred tourism places and experiences (Olsen & Timothy, 2006). People take spiritual journeys in a quest for meaning to their individualistic and industrialised lives and thus spirituality now involves the „discovery of self“ and a reconnection with the environment. Africa as the birthplace of humankind is thus a prime destination for spiritual tourism. A spiritual tourist can thus be defined as “someone who visits a place out of his/her usual environment, with the intention of spiritual growth (which could be religious, non-religious, sacred or experiential in nature” (Haq & Jackson, 2006: 5). During Nelia Oets and my trip to !Xaus Lodge in November 2007 I met people who would be considered spiritual tourists. They had gathered at !Xaus Lodge for its blessing ceremony. Belinda Kruiper invited us, along with healers, film makers, NGO workers, researchers and doctors, to the ceremony with the following words that invoke a call for spiritual tourism – to connect to the spirit, people and the land in a healing process:

A cultural lodge was born, and now overlooks an exquisite pan called Skrij Pan deep inside the park (see [www.xaus.co.za](http://www.xaus.co.za)). The lodge was named !Xaus by the locals...I would like to revive the [blessing ceremony] planning as soon as possible for many reasons...At !Xaus a lion lives, seen only by some. The healers in Botswana say it is Vetkat, and his spirit is directing...Please visit soon, make this dream to bring peace and love back to the First People a reality. We need you to travel here, we need to share us. I need to give the world a message through you. !Xaus is not just a lodge. It is a place chosen by spirit. It is

here where we wish to milk the eland again, the best nutrition for any infant to grow. Credo<sup>110</sup> and Virginia Mutwa are waiting; they are bringing sangomas to dance the night. The healers from Botswana would like to join in (email, 1 Aug 2007).

A visitor from California, Ellena Ruben Goodman, introduced herself as a healer. She explained that she came to !Xaus in response to Kruiper's email and a dream she had. Discussions with her provided me with insight as to the type of tourist that may visit !Xaus if it followed Belinda Kruiper's model. Goodman reaffirms the need for spiritual tourists to escape their individualistic, industrialised lives and to become integrated with the land displaying ecological consciousness:

[Y]ou come from the concrete jungle all your life and you're structured. You come here when there is nothing instantly...I don't know how the animal life is here, but I don't think that is going to be the draw of this lodge. My sense is that, it is the land. It is the earth, the sand, the land, the vegetation on the land, the animals, the beings. So the energy that is created and that lives here is uninterrupted....To have guides who hopefully are Bushmen or other people who are so connected in their own way as people who lived here that we can have the opportunity to have a taste of how they understand and live life. To come here in this kind of place is an opportunity to really strip what we, all of us; black, white, coloured, South Africa, US, Europe, it doesn't matter...build up on us...So I think one of the things that a lodge in so isolated a place provides is the opportunity to strip away the superficial...to be able to live close to the land and vegetation, and with the interaction with the humans, particularly the Bushmen (interview, 26 Nov 2007).

Thus, while a Christian is likely to view their connection with God as being the driving force of their spirituality, New Agers may find more connection with nature or the land (Pernecky, 2006; Willson, 2010). Another reason for being at !Xaus was that Goodman wanted "to know what we can do to be in a relationship to help our brothers and sisters who are among the disconnected....to remember" (interview, 26 Nov 2007). Spiritual tourists are therefore less likely to travel in order to enjoy luxury facilities at an „exotic gateway“. They travel because

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<sup>110</sup> Oets and I went to Kuruman on 22 November 2007 to pick up sangoma/author/healer/artist Vusumazu Credo Mutwa (1964), his wife and two apprentice sangomas, Tumi and Selo. It was like arriving at an African-styled Alice's Wonderland. The outside area of his home as well as the smaller adjacent kraals was populated with big corrugated iron and colourful clay statues of people and animals from African mythology. Verses relaying stories of African people in history were dispersed throughout the area. Unfortunately en route to !Xaus Lodge Credo fell ill and was taken to hospital in Upington and was therefore unable to attend the blessing ceremony. Tumi and Selo joined Nelia and I for the rest of the journey.

they are interested in learning, “inner directed, self-reliant, active and somewhat meditative” (Chesworth, 2006: 7). Scholars have explained this as a move towards “voluntary simplicity”:

living in a way that [sic] is outwardly simple and inwardly rich. This way of life embraces frugality of consumption, a strong sense of environmental urgency, a desire to return to living and working environments which are of a more human scale, and an intention to realise our higher human potential – both psychological and spiritual – in community with others (Elgin & Mitchell, 2003: 146).

South African author Elana Bregin (Bregin & Kruiper, 2004), also present at the !Xaus blessing, concurs. She thought it was a pity that !Xaus was marketed as a type of „safari lodge“ as she says that people are “hungry for this simple way of being – they need to be brought to consciousness of the fragile ecosystem and to visit with respect without western trappings” (Bregin, interview, 26 Nov 2007).

This highlights the contradistinction between the sacred (in this case !Xaus as an opportunity for spiritual development) and the profane (!Xaus as an opportunity for economic growth in the area). Goodman’s (interview, 26 Nov 2007) challenge to !Xaus Lodge captures this tension:

If the people you market are being told that the existence of this lodge benefits the Bushman people or the return of the Bushman people to their way of life that they want to live, then I think that needs to be visible...You cannot just rely on people getting it, without hitting them over the head with it. That their presence in this lodge is helping to facilitate that return to nature...My concern is not so much in the success of the business venture. My concern is that it be successful in its intent. In that it be successful as a force that contributes to the restoration of the Bushmen and the animals...That is what will make this community lodge truly a community lodge and not just a marketing tool for the lodge...The fact that it can succeed by virtue of being in service to that is wonderful...It will be responsible to a much greater force than economic.

Like the ≠Khomani both Bregin and Goodman see the existence of !Xaus Lodge as facilitating a return to nature (the sacred). It, however, is not as simple as “being successful in its intent” (Goodman, interview 26 Nov 2007) as different stakeholders have different intentions and visions, and TFPD’s intention is to create a sustainable tourism asset that would bring economic benefits to the poverty-stricken community. In addition spiritual tourism has been conceptualised as a niche form of tourism (Haq & Jackson, 2006; Willson, 2010) and in order for !Xaus Lodge to operate at a sustainable level it needs to attract a wider variety of tourists, as will be elaborated on below. As TFPD were the driving force behind the lodge, as well as

the partner that has experience in the tourism industry, their model was the one that was to be the final *vision* of the lodge to work towards. This is therefore another instance of conflict as is reflected in the CFPD model.

### *Assessment of Current Status*

With the existence of these types of conflicts it is essential that a project *assess its current status* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2007/2009) as it serves to “tell a community where it is now and how far it has to go to realize its vision of the future” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1317). The feedback I received from lodge staff, as well as from TFPD implied that an organic, qualitative form of assessment had been adopted at !Xaus. Our research group visited !Xaus Lodge in July 2007, during its first month of operations. There were staff grievances with regards to the nature of work. It is not important at this point to discuss the content of the grievances, but rather the way in which it was handled. The grievances were communicated to Belinda Kruiper who in turn asked O’Leary for a meeting (which turned into a series of meetings). O’Leary chose to engage with Kruiper and other staff „back stage”<sup>111</sup> on the sand around the fire close to the staff chalets. Tomaselli (forthcoming) explains the significance of this as a form of assessment:

The early and mid-morning informal discussions around the campfire between me, Glynn, Nelia, Belinda, Kristen, Lauren, Deon and Andrew (the latter were two ≠Khomani staff working at the Lodge at the time) were the most productive. These occurred in the run up to the arrival of the first guests, while they were at the Lodge, and after they had left. The campfire provided the epicentre for strategy meetings, discussing problems, feelings, and debating outcomes, goals and solutions. This is the environment that makes sense to the ≠Khomani, and in which conflicts and differences are resolved. These sit-downs are the essence of cooperation and communal planning; they become platforms for the discussion of issues that would be stressful and divisive under formal meeting procedures. This is the basis of strategic partnerships, where each party brings honesty to the circle. This was a place of free speech, where issues of spirituality, business, and financial objectives were integrated, where proposals were offered and challenges issued. Our role as researchers was to try to negotiate the discourses and stories and to understand discursive processes

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<sup>111</sup> Back stage is the area where staff members and cultural performers retire, live and socialise between performances / shifts to relax and the front stage is the meeting place of hosts and guests or customers and service persons (cf. Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973, 1999).

while suggesting contexts to understanding differences and to offer ways to approach their resolution.

In this way O'Leary created a space for participatory communication to work. "People usually know what is best for them. The role of the communicator here it to believe that and be open to the possibility for dialogue, listening and discussion" (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 17). According to an email sent by O'Leary almost a year later, these types of discussions continued: "When I was at !Xaus last week Agerob, Soros and Corné [all ≠Khomani staff] were there. We had a very good discussion with them when we had a staff dinner together about how they would like to become more involved with the guests and activities. Very positive input from them" (O'Leary, email, 1 May 2008). Although this phase is only reflected once in the CFPD model it is a step that should be repeated frequently not only to deal with possible grievances but also to assess the present situation in order to avoid future grievances. Another suggestion is that these discussions should not only occur between TFPD partners and !Xaus Lodge staff but that !Xaus Lodge management should also encourage these types of discussions and openness with both the hospitality and the cultural studio<sup>112</sup> crafters. Lys Kruiper, who has been working at !Xaus since it's opening in 2007, said she was happy with the way things are at !Xaus but that at times she, and the other cultural studio crafters feel excluded. When I questioned her as to whether meetings are held to discuss these types of problems she explained that they usually take place when O'Leary is there. She adds, "the lodge staff have meetings but not the Bushman people. Why can't they include us if we are there? It makes me feel bad" (Kruiper, interview, 1 April 2011). Although it is difficult to schedule a set time for staff meetings due to the busy nature of a lodge, it is important, however, for management to allow all staff members the opportunity to call a meeting or sit in a general meeting. This will ensure that neither of the community parties feel sidelined and that an opportunity for feedback is provided on a continual basis.

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<sup>112</sup> 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. The term "cultural studio", on the other hand, speaks directly to what the ≠Khomani do – they create their art or crafts in that space (Retief, email, 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 „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".

### *Setting Objectives*

Once stakeholder's perceptions are clarified, they can begin to *set objectives* and take appropriate action. *Setting objectives* (Kincaid & Figueroa 2007/2009) "tends to make everyone's individual and shared needs explicit. A strong attitude of "What's in it for me?" may undermine the whole process and have to be replaced by one of "What's in it for all of us?" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1317). TFPD, in consultation with the JMB, mapped out the types of pilot projects they aimed to establish or support, either as an additional service at the lodge or as a stimulus for on-going economic activity in the area.

Firstly, they proposed that a wellness or health centre be established in one of the chalets. Spa treatments are a service provided by many hotels and lodges in the tourism industry and it was believed that this would be an additional source of income for the #Khomani working at the lodge. The benefit in this case is that training would not be necessary as many #Khomani, particularly people such as Lys Kruiper, Lena Malgas and Jan van der Westhuizen who had all expressed interest in the idea, already know traditional healing techniques<sup>113</sup>. It was thought that as !Xaus Lodge was to be marketed as a cultural lodge (cf. Finlay 2009a/b) that this service would be an attraction.

A major *objective* was to train staff in areas where official and qualified skills were needed such as field guiding and hospitality. Field guide training was of greater importance than hospitality as most of the Mier staff had either previously attended a hotel management course, or had experience working at a lodge or guesthouse. To supplement employment opportunities, and to make up for the lack of big game in the area !Xaus Lodge would provide visitors with a cultural experience. One of the activities to be offered at the lodge is walking in the *veld* with a #Khomani field guide who would offer their understanding and knowledge of the area, explain folklore as well as provide general information about the life of today's Bushmen. Another planned activity for the lodge was to invest in a telescope. #Khomani staff would offer folklore stories relating to the cosmos. The ancient tradition of storytelling would be merged with modern technology as an aid in interpreting the Bushmen's oral heritage of the night sky (Fieldnotes, Aug 2006). This type of activity is framed within a rethinking indigeneity

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<sup>113</sup> See Rehad Desai's film *Bushman's Secret* (2006) featuring Oom Jan van der Westhuizen and other #Khomani as traditional healers.

paradigm as it offers ways in which indigenous peoples, who are usually assumed to be „remnant First peoples“, to engage in a contemporary technology in storytelling.

The lodge aimed to represent the area and its people in its décor and furnishings. This was also a strategic decision to support micro industries in the area. A number of individual artists and small local businesses benefited from the multiplier effect of !Xaus Lodge, as will be discussed below under *Outcomes* and *Individual and Social Change* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2007/2009).

Other ways in which the lodge aimed to stimulate and sustain economic activity in the area was to establish an agricultural project or vegetable garden either at Rietfontein in the Mier area or at the Welkom settlement, situated adjacent to the KTP. It was envisioned that this agriculture project would be able to supply fresh produce for both the lodge and the local community. As a longer term objective !Xaus Lodge also aimed to create a multi-purpose resource centre at Welkom. TFPD identified a derelict building that was a failed Rural Development Plan (RDP) project. The lodge proposed to restore the building in order to provide a space for a home industries store where locals can sell their products to passing tourists, or to even establish a type of restaurant run by a local management team. The resource centre would also service the lodge via radio contact informing the lodge when guests had arrived at that point and providing a means of communication in case of an emergency (O’Leary, pers. comm., 13 July 2007).

Objectives were also set in terms of: i) the type of tourist/visitor the lodge would target through marketing, ii) the estimated rate !Xaus would charge their visitors and iii) the occupancy the lodge needed to secure in order to sustain itself and make a return on investment. The price was set at R1700 per night per person including all meals (O’Leary, pers. comm., 28 Aug 2007). At first I thought the cost too high for a South African tourist to visit the lodge. However, in O’Leary’s explanation it became clear that if anything less was charged the lodge would run at a loss. This price would cover transfers to and from the lodge, the cost for activities such as fuel for game drives, remuneration for the field guides, storytellers and hospitality staff, as well „surprise costs“ such as cleaning linen in an area with no water – linen is washed at the Tweerivieren laundry making it a 200 kilometre round trip and fuel costs are factored into this. From this price there are specific deductions which include: i) VAT, ii) tour operator commission, iii) a booking fee paid to SANParks and iv) a management fee paid to the principal parties. The target market was therefore set at high income earning or well off South Africans, and international tourists (Finlay, 2009b). Thus, its objective was to attract a market with “a fairly high disposable income and [who] are seeking a range of experiences that



include travel as a way of enriching their often very busy and stressful lives” (Marsland, 2006)<sup>114</sup>.

The next three phases of the CFPD model (2007/2009) are all centred on *Action*. The value in the CFPD model is that it acknowledges that disagreement may occur between *Options for Action* and *Consensus on Action*, therefore fracturing the “blindly optimistic or Pollyanna stance” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1317) often observed in many development programs. A limitation of the model, however, is that it fails to provide answers to questions relating to how conflict can be managed for different types of problems (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). The discussion below aims to offer insights into possible solutions to problems pertinent to tourism development partnerships.

#### *Options for Actions / Consensus on Action*

!Xaus Lodge’s *options for action* are almost synonymous with the objectives set out above. The *options for action* and *consensus on action* steps are combined in this section in order to analyse some of the decision-making processes in the final set-up phase of the lodge. The placement of these steps on the „linear path” of **Community Dialogue**, as illustrated in the schematic CFPD diagramme implies a separation with possible disagreement as link between them. *Options for action and consensus of action* was an ongoing consultative process in !Xaus Lodge’s case. Combining them in my discussion will emphasise this processual nature.

The employment process was facilitated by Kruiper who identified certain ≠Khomani individuals interested in working at the lodge. In addition, TFPD sent a letter to the CPA and the Mier Municipality asking them to facilitate employment applications. They received approximately 50 applications from Rietfontein, 10 from Andriesvaale and 10 from Welkom. All applicants were debriefed on the lodge requirements and expectations. The two main points of consideration was that work at the lodge would be based on a rota system with three weeks working at the lodge and one week off, and that no alcohol consumption would be allowed at

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<sup>114</sup> This is a finding from Finlay’s (2009b: 49) research on !Xaus Lodge’s marketing strategy based on the fact that much of !Xaus Lodge’s marketing was produced and consumed in upmarket travel and lifestyle magazines such as *Getaway* and *Wegbreek*.

the lodge. Those who agreed to these conditions were then shortlisted and after individual interviews the final thirteen people were hired<sup>115</sup>.

At its opening in July 2007 we observed the intercultural communication between the operator, management, staff, and tourists. This phase brought to light the differences in epistemologies, ontologies and the understanding of the nature of work between the different partners. In simple terms this tension was a result from some partners championing the sacred, “characterized by a symbolic order of conceptual relationships and representations” (Muller, 2000: 77-8), and others, the profane defined as “the material world of everyday sensual experience in which meaning comes directly out of social and interpersonal engagement” (Muller, 2000: 77-8).

This „teething stage“ of the lodge links to CFPD’s *consensus on action*. It was at this point of the process that lessons were learnt and there was a simultaneous move to divergence and convergence in the project. For example, crafter and guide, Deon Nobitson’s attitude towards „work“ illustrates the differences in understanding of the nature of work between the lodge operator and himself (see Appendix P).

For its inauguration all lodge staff were asked to assist in whatever way possible to prepare the lodge for its first group of tourists. Nobitson complained that they were asked to perform other tasks at the lodge, such as making beds, but refused as “there is no earning”. For him, work means “being himself”, doing what he usually does, sitting around the fire making crafts, creating his own space and time and, only after that, would he be able to assist elsewhere (cf. Dyll 2009) (divergence). This is one of the grievances that were resolved around the fire (convergence). Nobitson’s reluctance to engage in mundane tasks and to rather focus on his “soul work”, or “just being” (Fieldnotes, 14 July 2007) links to the “*praat is onse werk*”<sup>116</sup> concept of work as articulated by Anna Festus, Dawid Kruiper’s assistant, or what I have previously explained as „Kruiper currency“. Not only is this indicative of how research and media attention have positioned the traditional ≠Khomani in relation to entertainment and

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<sup>115</sup> This would be expanded to 20 people when the lodge started to run at full capacity (De Villiers, 2008: 36).

<sup>116</sup> “Talking is our work”.

intellectual production whereby any type of encounter with them should have a price tag, but it is also an expressed expectation of the wider #Khomani group. For many of them, going to work at !Xaus lodge meant a return to the land, a spiritual reconnection, where they could „be themselves“ again.

Wang (2001: 80) recommends that “[o]ne way to ensure participation at all levels of a tourism project is to set the goal of tourism operations as the community assuming control of the whole venture. This would entail community members to perform all the tasks necessary in the running of an operation” (Wang 2001: 80). However, this is based on the assumption that all employees or community parties are willing, or have a desire, to “[assume] control of the whole venture”. This should not be viewed as an automatic expectation on the part of the community parties simply because it ties into participatory communication and pro-poor tourism objectives. For example, when I asked Lys Kruiper (interview, 1 April 2011) if she would like training in any area her response was “For me, I am happy to do my own tradition and be my own boss. I don’t need training for that”. By “doing [her] own tradition” Lys refers to making and selling her crafts and she demonstrates a lack of desire for skills development.

This was not the only case in which cultural sensitivities (by some #Khomani employees) „dashed“ with the more pragmatic needs of setting up and operating the lodge. TFPD were aware that from the start Belinda Kruiper would not only assist in setting up the business of the lodge, but they also appreciated that she had what she termed, the “spiritual interests” of the people at heart in facilitating their reconnection with the land (Kruiper, interviews, 22 Aug 2006). In this way Belinda positions herself as an indigenist: “that [she is] one who not only takes the rights of indigenous peoples as the highest priority of [her] political life, but who draws upon the traditions – the bodies of knowledge and corresponding codes of values – evolved over many thousands of years by native people’s the world over” (Churchill, 1993: 403). In so doing she conflates her position as manager and activist to create a type of self-styled spiritual manager.

As !Xaus Lodge was going to be marketed as a cultural lodge partly dependent on the Kalahari’s associations with spirituality, it was thought that this type of management would work. TFPD have a certain type of spirit in its commitment to making !Xaus Lodge work, and

it respects the lodge employee's traditions and world-views<sup>117</sup> but this is different to the spirituality exhibited in Belinda and as time would tell, other ≠Khomani. "All peoples have their own distinct beliefs of what knowledge is and what knowing entails. This idea is an example of epistemology specific to people and place" (Aluli-Meyer, 2008: 218). As desert people living in the extremes of the Kalahari the ≠Khomani have a "different way of knowing and thus being" (Aluli-Meyer, 2008: 218) compared to operators and management that come from urban areas where business is usually „the order of the day“. Regardless of the disturbance brought by modernity into their lives and despite the fact that many of the ≠Khomani I spoke to did not grow up in the park<sup>118</sup> their epistemology is marked by a connection to the land, as discussed in Chapter Four.

Tomaselli (forthcoming) asks: "How to define spirituality when the two ontologies (Cartesian and indigenous) meet? What kind of indigenous management and communication style can be devised from this integration, and how is this developed?" Kristien van den Oever, a Rethinking Indigeneity research affiliate from Vrije Universiteit in Amsterdam and a management consultant, joined our fieldtrip to !Xaus Lodge in July 2007. Drawing on Stephen Covey's (2004) management organisational model which he calls the Whole-Person Paradigm (including the four indispensable parts of human nature; body, mind, heart and spirit) she notes how "Glynn and Gillian<sup>119</sup> speak more about the „heart“. Belinda speaks especially about the „spirit“ or the „soul“. That's another concept" (van den Oever, email, 3 Aug 2007). Covey (2004) asserts that without a holistic understanding of each of these components problems will arise in an organisation:

- low-trust: if the conscience or *spirit* is ignored consistently by an organisation the symptoms of spitefulness, internal strife, victimism, defensiveness, information hoarding and defensive, protective communication may result;
- disempowerment: if the *heart* is not listened to there will be no passion nor emotional connection to the goals, enthusiasm or commitment inside the organisation;

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<sup>117</sup> "An anthropological definition of a group's world-view would be their basic thoughts, on both a conscious and subconscious level, about their world or reality" (Hoff, 1997:22).

<sup>118</sup> The fact that some ≠Khomani were not born in or did not grow up in the Park is often used by academics and even some ≠Khomani to deligitimise any claim to the land or being Bushman.

<sup>119</sup> Glynn O'Leary's wife.

- misalignment: there would be no discipline built in the organization's *body* politic including structures, systems, processes and culture if there is no execution or systemic support behind the priorities of the organisation and if an organisation fails to utilise the complete potential of the people;
- differences in vision: this happens when the *mind* or shared vision is neglected in an organisation and can lead to people acting with hidden agendas, playing bad political games and using different criteria in decision making<sup>120</sup>.

Van der Oever (email, 3 Aug 2007) concludes that Kruiper foregrounds the „spirit“ or soul of the project as the “motor behind giving meaning. People want to contribute to work/or matters that they can agree with or stand behind”. In foregrounding the „heart“ O’Leary displays “passion, optimism, enthusiasm and emotional alignment with their organisation” (Van der Oever, email, 3 Aug 2007). Following Covey’s (2004) argument, recognition of each of these parts of human nature/motivation/needs are integral to the successful performance of an organisation but when one of them is championed by a party to the inattention of the others, problems will occur. This is illustrated in the !Xaus Lodge case as TFPD (operator) and Kruiper (management/community liaison) were speaking from different „parts of the body“ or different „languages“.

The management and communication style, borrowed from the Bushmen’s tradition of sitting around the fire and sharing views in order to resolve a problem had worked at the lodge and could be a short-term strategic answer to the question posed by Tomaselli above. However, Belinda’s concern for the spiritual or sacred continued once the lodge became operational. Kruiper believed that instead of advertising four star facilities, !Xaus Lodge should rather stress the simplicity of the Kalahari in order for visitors to experience its “stillness”; a spiritual service of sorts (Fieldnotes, 23 Nov 2007). In line with spiritual tourism Kruiper’s rhetoric of healing became more pronounced. “In presenting herself as a spiritual leader engaged in healing she exuded a passionate subjectivity and engaged with guests and students in novel ways, drawing on discourses of cultural enchantment, some of which may be appropriate, some not, depending on whether one is front or back stage” (Tomaselli, forthcoming). During the blessing ceremony trip this rhetoric was suitable and was the „common language“ by most of

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<sup>120</sup> Available at: <http://championsclubcommunity.com/covey/2010/03/17/four-chronic-problems-and-their-acute-symptoms/>, accessed on 4 May 2011.

the visitors. I was able to observe how the lodge would operate if it were to follow Kruiper's spiritual management. There was a blurring of the binary between host and guest as Kruiper delegated duties to everyone present – staff and guest made lunches together for example. She thought of this as “healing in connection” (Fieldnotes, Nov 2007) and it worked well for the weekend as the people present had congregated with the purpose to „heal“ and „reconnect“.

However, this is not the norm in tourism, and service is often at the top of the list in tourist expectations (Finlay 2009b). Not all guests would relate to these New Age<sup>121</sup> or spiritual sentiments. This became clear when Kruiper ill-advisedly spoke of the grievances she had with aspects of !Xaus Lodge's development and different stakeholders when addressing a paying American guest at the front stage of the lodge (Fieldnotes, 16 July 2007). While voicing one's concerns as a stakeholder is encouraged in participatory development approaches, when the sustainability of a project is dependent on its image and its levels of service it is advisable that front stage and back stage are not confused or conflated. The type of activism, as displayed by Kruiper, can play an integral role in keeping dialogue open between stakeholders. However, in observing the guest's discomfort it became clear that these issues need to be addressed *with other stakeholders* that have the agency to engage in discussion in order to negotiate a solution. For the „typical“ tourist being addressed with such back stage issues (labour matters, differences in approach, policy, procedures, goals, visions) may „burden“ the him/her with matters he/she did not expect to deal with while on holiday. This could in turn affect the lodge's commercial viability with poor reviews.

In July 2007 a couple from Zimbabwe with experience in managing tourism ventures at Victoria Falls were hired to assist with the overall management of the lodge. During the blessing ceremony in November 2007 Kruiper resigned in her role as general manager, literally taking her branded !Xaus Lodge cap off, placing it on the sand beside her saying “it's time to out my spirit out there” (Fieldnotes, 25 Nov 2007). As a way to negotiate this divergence (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) !Xaus Lodge then appointed Kruiper as “Arts and Culture Manager” so that she could focus on cultural concerns and the cultural studio where there was a certain amount of autonomy, yet still remained as „a bridge“ between the staff and

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<sup>121</sup> The New Age movement “stresses the sanctity of nature, harmony of the cosmos, resurrection of ancient spiritual traditions, and self improvement in the realms of spirit, mind and body” (Timothy & Conover, 2006: 138; cf. Willson, 2010).

management. Less than three months later Kruiper resigned completely from !Xaus Lodge as she and the new !Xaus manager, Pieter Retief's ontological concerns and management styles clashed.

Nobitson also resigned. He felt that he did not have access to opportunities to "network", such as being granted permission to use the single internet portal and vehicles (Fieldnotes, 27 Nov 2007). Although he initially insisted that he was present at !Xaus Lodge to simply "be himself" by making and selling his craft or tracking he displays a desire for personal development, entrepreneurship and engagement with modern technologies in order to "network". He resented the structure that he felt was imposed on him at the lodge, saying: "if they would let me do my own work in my own time, not with a structure and a plan they would get outcomes from me" (Fieldnotes, 27 Nov 2007). This again points to both the differences in stakeholder ontologies specifically with regards to the nature of work, as well as highlights the tension between structure and agency in projects with indigenous people (Wang, 2001), as discussed below.

What is being negotiated here is not a simple division between a „western/modern“ (management/operator) versus an „indigenous“ (≠Khomani) outlook on the nature of work. Donors and NGOs provide financial aid according to specific agendas, which Steven Robins (2001: 833) terms the "double vision" of Bushmen as both First Peoples and modern citizens-in-the-making. These global discourses on indigeneity and democracy are brokered by NGOs and reappropriated at the grassroots by the Bushmen. However, the neat binary between these two roles attributed to indigenous communities within development is problematic as it works along „pure essences“ that bear no reality to the complexity on the ground.

Indigeneity has often been construed as a throwback to long-defunct Manichean categories formed in opposition and resistance, rather than as a meaningful contemporary claim upon the world. Such facile dismissals of indigeneity overlook the complex nature of claim and presence constituted by indigenous populations, both as individual communities and in these communities' attempts to articulate wider, global formations (Nicholls, 2009: 203).

The ≠Khomani's everyday experiences attest to this complexity:

The hybridised conditions of everyday life in the Kalahari include „local“ knowledge, practices and identities as well as [Bushman] access to „exogenous“ cyber-technologies, fax machines, cellular phones and international indigenous peoples' conferences in Europe and North America (Robins, 2001: 835).

By Nobitson claiming that as a Bushman at the lodge he only wants to make crafts and track he strategically deploys aspects of a traditional lifestyle in defining who he is. However, his reason for resigning rests on the fact that he was not allowed access to technologies that would allow him to network in creating his own project and he appropriates business-like jargon in explaining that he would therefore not deliver “outcomes” (Fieldnotes, 27 Nov 2007). Nobitson thus exemplifies what the Denver exhibition of 1925 had already found within the Heikum San of the Etohsa Pan in Namibia: that Bushman communities are avid modern consumers of global culture as well as “uncanny manipulators and stagers of their own increasing commoditized image” (Nicholls, 2009) based on the rosy myth of the “bushman-as-noble-hunter...living in innocent contentment with nature’s abundance” (Gordon, 1997: 123)<sup>122</sup>. Their long-standing contact with projects of a similar nature to this early exhibiton have led to many Bushman communities acquiring a keen knowledge of what researchers and tourists are looking for in the encounter and their engagement in this encounter is perhaps what they constitute as „work“ or „being themselves“. In most cases what the researcher or cultural tourist is searching for is the authentic Other. “The primitive, one might conclude, is a simulacrum of the self that the modern industrialized and globalized subject would like to imagine that he or she might once have been” (Nicholls, 2009: 208) and this search has been attributed as a “critique of the West” (Wilmsen, 1996) in seeking out cultures that are „pure“, “unpolluted, close to perfection, the guardian of truth, beauty and goodness” (Wanjohi, 2002: 77).

However, this search is like a modern day quest for the Holy Grail. One needs to consider the nature of what is being searched for. How otherwise does one make judgements on how real or pure something is? As discussed above even the most marginalised communities have been altered by modernity. In development-as-tourism planning and operations, as well as for wider research purposes a distinction needs to be made between „authenticity“ and „simulacrum“ (Ellis, 2001). The community members are real flesh and blood on the ground with real needs and they deploy strategies such as those described above in order to meet these needs. Cultural tourism is an effective means to poverty alleviation and job creation, particularly for

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<sup>122</sup> The Denver exhibition of 1925-1926 in which a group of American and South African photographed and filmed the Heikum San was pivotal in creating and disseminating this image. “Most postcards [presented] bushmen as decadently impoverished....The Denver exhibition was the first attempt on a large scale to present a systematically romanticized image of bushman” (Gordon, 1997: 3).



marginalised communities (Ivanovic, 2008) as they can rely on cultural heritage resources rather than expensive infrastructure and accommodation in order to earn income. The ≠Khomani thus actively embrace these stereotypes of the “authentic Bushman” as a systematic way to earn money. These strategies feed into the simulacral subject - the brand, the tourist or media image, the „hyper-real Bushmen“ - as a means of survival. This involves agency on the part of the Bushman and in frequent cases, the ≠Khomani drive the research process or tourist encounter. They are always engaged in the “struggle for the real” (Geertz, 1977) by building on this notion of authentic Bushmen and „selling stories“ to tourists and researchers that support this image. This should not be viewed as deceit but rather as the ≠Khomani exercising their agency in „the encounter“.

Although the ≠Khomani are *au fait* with the workings of contemporary daily life, !Xaus Lodge has introduced the „world of capitalism“ to the ≠Khomani (and some Mier) in a more formal way than they have previously experienced. They are accustomed to sitting on the side of the road being the masters of their own craft stall where ad hoc production, design and sales (as well as the fascinating stories told to the tourists in marketing their crafts) is determined by them. Within these circumstances the ≠Khomani have total agency in their day to day work.

However, in order to operate in a more formal capital intensive business venture a certain amount of structure is needed in order for the lodge to run smoothly, providing the tourist with the services that they pay for. If this structure is followed successfully it aids in the sustainability of the project with return guests and positive word-of-mouth reviews. This in turn provides the ≠Khomani with agency at a more macro level in earning regular income and being the owners of a successful lodge that will allow them to live an improved lifestyle.

Wang (2001) supports this idea in his explanation that PPT can successfully integrate structure and agency if based on collaborative partnerships between the community stakeholder and the private stakeholder where “parties use their different strengths for mutual benefit” (Wang, 2001: 55). “Poor communities often possess a rich cultural heritage and knowledge of the local environment whereas “private operators should participate in product and market development to ensure commercial realism” (Ashley *et al*, 2001: ix). Creating viable partnerships brings with it a set of challenges as this chapter attests to. However, the point I want to make is that from his investigation into four case studies of cultural tourism, Wang’s (2001: 55) findings demonstrate that structure and agency are not contradictory and “structure, instead of standing in opposition to freedom, can provide a support and a reference to guide freedom towards a

goal". He bases this explanation on an examination of Freire's revised pedagogy - instead of conflating the teacher/student roles, integration and structure should be provided by the teacher along with the student's participation as the "teacher is different not only by virtue of her or his training but also because the teacher leads a transformation that will not happen in class by itself" (Freire & Shor, 1987: 95). Similarly, tourism development partnerships can provide economic and non-economic benefits "only if the community follows a structure to ensure that tourist expectations are met and that their project is successfully marketed" (Wang, 2001: 54).

Kruiper and Nobitson resisted the structure required in !Xaus Lodge's first year of operations and thus resigned, thus illustrating a case of divergence. Their departure illustrates a simultaneous move to convergence or greater sense of "local culture" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1313) with improved internal uniformity amongst the !Xaus Lodge staff:

Within the boundaries created by dialogue itself, convergence occurs because those who do not agree or see an issue the same way as other participants tend to stop participating and "drop out" of the group, perhaps forming a competing faction within the community. 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. This convergence process is enhanced by *bounded normative influence* - "the tendency of social norms to influence behavior within relatively bounded, local subgroups of a social system rather than in the system as a whole" (Kincaid, 2004: 38) (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1313-1314).

### *Action Plan*

The recommendation to draw up a "specific timetable for each activity that has to be accomplished" thus "[creating] realistic deadlines for moving effectively toward the solution of the problem" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318) may be too simplistic when working with indigenous communities that do not typically structure their time so formally. In a multi-stakeholder project there is a need for consistent reconsideration for *options for action* that Kincaid and Figueroa (2009: 1318) advocate can be facilitated via dialogue: "a dialogue process that leaves people feeling that they share ownership of a project which is expected to increase their commitment, involvement, and sense of collective self-efficacy if the project succeeds". !Xaus Lodge's action plan was developed along a „trial and error“ basis with observation and feedback from the communities to address issues in the action plan.

An example of this was the change made to the action plan for the work rota system. Temporary sojourning found in a ≠Khomani tendency to nomadism, between different ventures – both formal and informal - in dispersed locations, lessened staff dependence on, and commitment to, his/her work at !Xaus. The original idea was to have staff work three 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, hunting season) the ≠Khomani craft sellers can make more money sitting on the side of the road selling to passing by tourists, than at !Xaus (Gert Swart, pers. comm., 25 June 2009). !Xaus Lodge manager, Pieter Retief admitted that at first he did not understand how the ≠Khomani worked. He soon realised that they have an “itch to move” (Fieldnotes, July 2009) and so in April 2009 changed it to a two week rota – two weeks on, and two weeks off, which worked well.

Over the last few hundred years Bushmen have operated in a mobile landscape, “forming and shifting their political and economic alliances to take advantage of circumstances as they perceived them” (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 11). This form of modern nomadism and the lodge’s openness to adapt the rota system according to the ≠Khomani’s needs and lifestyle highlights its participatory approach. It also indicates that TFPD are aware of the community parties’ costs when they engage in tourism, such as time and labour. The biggest cost to the community could perhaps be opportunity costs. “For the poorest communities, engagement is prohibitive; they cannot afford to be distracted from subsistence activities” (Goodwin & Santilli, 2009: 4). While the traditional ≠Khomani do not engage in subsistence activities such as farming, the Mier do and so this rota system also works in their favour, while the ≠Khomani’s form of „subsistence“ is selling crafts to the widest possible market. In addition, !Xaus Lodge as a development initiative is far removed from the staffers everyday lives and families, which negates the communities’ full potential in „owning“ the development initiative (Ramutsindela 2002; see also Chapter Four). Allowing the community parties to return to their homes on a more regular basis is a strategy that inadvertently addresses the challenge of a long distance between a community member’s home and place of work.

#### *Assignment of Responsibilities*

The assignment of responsibilities is the first part of the CFPD model’s **Collective Action** phase. As a strategy to deal with any possible tension between the ≠Khomani and the Mier, as well as the differences in their skills and work experience (see Chapter Four) !Xaus Lodge

made a distinction in *assigning* the members from the two communities different roles or *responsibilities*. The #Khomani employees work as guides for wilderness walks and in the small cultural studio making crafts and interacting with tourists. The Mier employees generally see to the hospitality duties including the everyday running of the lodge such as cooking, room maintenance and reception duties, as well as wilderness walks (see Appendix Q). 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. Nelia Oets, a research affiliate, believes that these roles complemented each other as they built on the strengths of each community partner, and she compared it to the „ying and the yang“ of !Xaus Lodge (Fieldnotes, 24 Nov 2007).

### *Mobilization of organizations*

During the collective action phase, it may not be necessary for community members to take responsibility for all of the tasks that need to be accomplished, especially if there are organizations that can help. Thus, one of the assigned tasks may be to obtain support and assistance from preexisting community resources, such as schools, local health centers, and local media organizations (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318).

One of the areas in which TFPD needed to mobilise assistance from outside organisations was in training staff. According to responsible and pro-poor tourism literature, part of a viable partnership is the provision of training by the private sector. Fortunately for the Makuleke they had access to a range of well-established NGOs, government departments and other organisations that assisted the community by providing a “considerable flow of expertise, skills training and development projects to the area” (Spierenburg et al, 2009: 175). This was not the case for !Xaus Lodge and thus TFPD *assumed the responsibility*<sup>123</sup> in mobilising a number of organisations in getting !Xaus Lodge operational. As a member of the provincial government, Johann van Schalkwyk, however, reflexively suggested that it is not only the private sector but also the government’s responsibility to provide training and skills development:

I can tell you we can speak very positively about this lodge, we can make plans on paper, we can struggle to find the definition of the product that we have to sell here and so on. But it’s not going to be easy to operate this lodge. What I think is part of the survival of this lodge is that you have to have very good, very committed relationships with for

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<sup>123</sup> This links to the assignment of responsibility phase discussed directly above.

instance the government in the sense that if you need people trained in order to help this lodge to sustain itself. You must actually help the lodge to not spend much of its own money on training. Bring the government in to train the community. So the benefit is for the community that is going to be employed there. It's that kind of relationship that we have to establish (interview, 30 Jan 2007).

A working model for training staff in tourism development ventures is a combination of good basic education, preferably to secondary or tertiary level in a university or a polytechnic, and task-specific training by the receiving company (Hottola 2009a). However, this is highly unlikely in the context of the margins of the Kalahari. The Mier and ≠Khomani have different levels of education (see Chapter Four). In most cases the ≠Khomani's primary education, if it exists at all, does not provide enough for skilled-based tourism careers. Often this is resolved by tour operators providing education for their staff. Vocational training should not be the responsibility of tourism operators alone because they need to focus on the core aspects of their operations. "Providing adequate education is the responsibility of governments, and in fact one of their primary responsibilities" (Hottola, 2009: 191).

A lack of training leads to community partners only being able to assume limited roles within a tourism initiative, perpetuating the placement of local people within the preconceived roles of what they are „naturally“ able to do such as housekeeping, hospitality or performance/entertainment. Without formal training they perhaps develop skills in how to operate within a particular initiative. However, formal training, for those who seek it, will allow them to develop marketable skills that will assist them in applying for higher paying and perhaps more empowering positions. This feeds back into *assignment of responsibilities* (a link not overtly highlighted by the CFPD model). After receiving training, a community partner may assume a more empowering role within the development project. Hence, it is imperative that training from an outside organisation is mobilised.

While there are experienced trackers amongst both the ≠Khomani and the Mier, SANParks and DEAT policy stipulates the presence of two trained armed guards with a tracker in a group of 10 people during *veld* walks. It was therefore essential that those people wanting to work as field guides attend an accredited course and receive a Field Guide Association South Africa (FGASA) certificate. In 2007 a training course for field guides was arranged in partnership between SASI and SANParks, and was conducted by Drum Beat offering various levels of accreditation. The plan was to deploy field guides at !Xaus Lodge and Twee Rivieren. "If

successful, it would be the first service available in a southern African national park whereby visitors accompany the San through their traditional lands” (De Villiers, 2008: 36). !Xaus Lodge mobilised this training opportunity and paid for Blade Witbooi and Dawid Gooi to attend the course and they reportedly performed well (O’Leary, email, 10 March 2011). However, there were certain external constraints and assumptions associated with this training, highlighting that although participatory development “emphasizes the expansion of people’s choices, those choices never are totally free and unconstrained by forces outside of their control” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319). However, the

project to train guides is...not problem free. Many of the San live some distance from the park and making themselves available to accompany visitors on a regular basis may cause logistical issues. From a cultural perspective, the guides may not always be immediately available for work. The socioeconomic conditions in which many San live may also not be conducive to the planning and precision that the tourism industry demands. Although the San will have to be encouraged to provide reliable and consistent services, visitors for their part will have to appreciate that due to cultural and social realities, a guide may not always be available. It is expected that at least during the initial years tourists would have to adopt a „take it as it comes“ approach (De Villiers, 2008:40).

Over and above the logistical and ontological reasons outlined by De Villiers (2008) above, an external constraint directly impacted on both Witbooi and Gooi *not* benefiting from this training. In order to pass the armed guard course and receive certificates, an examination needed to be written in English. The pro-literacy bias (cf. Melkote and Steeves, 2001), associated with the modernization paradigm, is thus still harmfully impacting members of marginalised communities. This insensitivity to the specifics of the Northern Cape disputes DEAT’s (2006) objective to “develop tourism with dignity...[and] eliminate all forms of discrimination on the basis of language, religion, culture, race, gender, age, wealth and ability”. The *lingua franca* spoken in the area is Afrikaans, and therefore examining in English excludes the majority of the locals from attaining formal qualifications. Bureaucracy serves as an external constraint, alienating Blade and Dawid from employment at !Xaus Lodge. When I spoke to Witbooi he explained his decision to not work at the lodge: “At the lodge we would have taken the visitors for walks. But I just felt...see I don’t have a certificate yet. I still have not been empowered. And that is a big job. A responsible job...Look I also need the acknowledgement through my certificate. Then I am legal. Then I will be empowered” (Witbooi, interview, 11 July 2007).

Until a solution was found to the lack of accredited trackers at !Xaus Lodge wilderness walks had to be conducted within a 1.5 kilometre radius from the lodge with guides checking the area before taking tourists out (O’Leary, pers. comm., 13 July 2007a). In a follow up interview, O’Leary (7 May 2010) explained that Witbooi and Gooi had finally received their accredited tracking certificates by means of a verbal test. The experience had nevertheless caused frustration for Witbooi and Gooi as well as for !Xaus Lodge operations because Witbooi and Gooi’s resulting despondence and lack of trust saw that they never worked at !Xaus Lodge.

Thus “dialogue and collective action also are affected by contextual factors in the environment that constrain or support the progress of a community toward its envisioned goals” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319). **External Constraints and Support** is another major CFPD component and is positioned in the model’s figure as running vertically alongside the **Community Dialogue** and **Collective Action** components with two-way arrows to indicate how these components are mutually influential in the development process. This also demonstrates:

that for some problems, a community may have to change the external environment before it can take effective action to achieve its objectives. Doing so means advocating, as a cohesive group, for resources to support the implementation of a community plan (e.g., strengthening services and access to technology) (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319).

TFPD was critically aware of this and due to the lack of cohesion within the community parties as well as their lack of experience in advocacy, TFPD assumed their champion (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009) status and continued to mobilise organisations for support in establishing !Xaus Lodge.

In June 2009 I observed that some of the people working at !Xaus lodge were not from the immediate geographic area. !Xaus manager, Pieter Retief explained that it was difficult to find staff from the Mier and ≠Khomani who were, firstly willing to work in a remote lodge, and secondly, who had some form of field guide training, or even a driver’s license. Assuming that staff would be automatically available presented a challenge once the lodge was operational. As a strategy to employ skilled people but who are still from the Northern Cape, !Xaus Lodge approached !Khwa ttu, a San Culture and Education Centre in the Western Cape who provide field guide and tracker training<sup>124</sup>. !Khwa Ttu recommended people from the !Xun and Khwe

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<sup>124</sup> See <http://www.khwattu.org> . Accessed on 6 November 2009

communities in Platfontein, a settlement near Kimberley. In finding this solution to their employment challenge TFPD coincidentally found an answer to their training problem. They enrolled two #Khomani employees, Elvis Swartz and Andot Malgas, for training at !Khwa Ttu. Both young men were able to go as they had completed high school and were therefore able to sit for the !Khwa Ttu entrance exam (Fieldnotes, 28 June 2009).

TFPD also mobilised assistance from SASI. For example, in July 2008 !Xaus Lodge undertook a review of employment terms in consultation with SASI “to evaluate what, if any, changes needed to be made in both short and longer term employments” (O’Leary, email, 7 July 2008).

As another „organisation“ to mobilise, Kincaid and Figueroa (2009: 1318) view the local media as a key facilitator in community dialogue and mobilisation and identify several ways in which it can be instrumental in this task. These include its ability to: i) support the diagnosis of problem situations and the presentation of a problem to a community, ii) support the exchange of ideas and experiences between distant communities, iii) inform a community about available services and how to access them, iv) training community members to use the media to inform the public about their needs, v) helping communities to obtain legitimisation and support from authorities, and vi) praising/rewarding communities for their achievements and, thereby, enhancing members’ self-esteem and collective self-efficacy. Aware of the power of the media, TFPD mobilised the media in another way that has not been directly acknowledged within the CFPD model and is relevant to the tourism industry - marketing. While the local media was not used to facilitate participation amongst the stakeholders as outlined by Kincaid and Figueroa, it is vital that TFPD mobilised the media to market !Xaus Lodge in order to attract tourists so as to make a return on investment for the operator and provide an on-going rental income stream for the community partners.

TFPD therefore made use of promotional media (brochures, magazine articles, website<sup>125</sup> etc) (Finlay 2009a/b) and social media (such as a !Xaus Lodge Facebook page<sup>126</sup> and Twitter) to market the lodge. Although traditional print media in the form of magazines articles in *Getaway* and *Wegbreek* advertised the lodge, TFPD’s marketing strategy was primarily

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<sup>125</sup> Available at <http://www.xauslodge.co.za>, accessed on 1 September 2011.

<sup>126</sup> Available at <http://m.facebook.com/xaus.lodge?slog=346719543&seq=1275355195&fbtype=65&refid=0>, accessed on 1 September 2011.



conducted via what O'Leary terms "word-of-mouth", thus emphasising the use of electronic media forms and the social media (pers. comm., 28 Aug 2007).

Facebook, like other forms of social media, inverts traditional communication practices, providing a forum through which audiences/participants, or guests as in the case of !Xaus lodge, can provide instantaneous feedback, input, dialogue and critique in relation to a given topic, event or space / place (cf. Smith *et al* 2011). In addition, participants can post photos on the page, or "like" something and in this way it serves as a consistent form of marketing (see Appendix R). This was a key strategy on TFPD's part given the growth in use and popularity of the social media as a communications tool. Facebook has a wide marketing reach with more and more people accessing it globally every day. Over a six month period from March to August 2011 Facebook's fan growth speed shows that on average 53 058 people join per day, 396 372 people join weekly and 85 5678 people join bi-weekly. There are over 4.175 million South Africans on Facebook representing approximately 8.5% of the total population of the country, and over the past six months over 700 000 South Africans have joined Facebook<sup>127</sup>. Finlay's (2009b:127) reception analysis of !Xaus Lodge's promotional media found that the website was the most effective medium for promotional communication:

Through mentioning the vocal recommendations and magazine articles in their questionnaires, respondents imply that these factors influenced their decision to visit the Lodge. !Xaus Lodge's websites' influence is more concrete – a number of respondents specifically state that the website persuaded them to visit the Lodge.

The website's iconic links to other websites within the tourism industry could account for its influence on possible visitors. Over the years the !Xaus Lodge website has linked to organisations such as; the South African Tourism Services Association (SATSA)<sup>128</sup>, the Best of Travel Group (BTG)<sup>129</sup>, SANParks<sup>130</sup> and the Peace Parks Foundation<sup>131</sup> (see Chapter Three).

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<sup>127</sup> Available at: [www.socialbakers.com/facebook-pages/20531316728-facebook/last-6-months](http://www.socialbakers.com/facebook-pages/20531316728-facebook/last-6-months), accessed on 1 September 2011.

<sup>128</sup> Available at: <http://www.satsa.com/Pages/About.asp>, accessed on 11 May 2009.

<sup>129</sup> Available at: <http://www.botg.de/index.php?id=22>, accessed on 11 May 2009.

<sup>130</sup> Available at: <http://www.sanparks.org>, accessed on 1 September 2011.

<sup>131</sup> Available at: <http://www.peaceparks.org/>, accessed on 1 September 2011.

SATSA is a nonprofit, member-driven association that represents; private tour operators, accommodation establishments, transport providers and many other organisations within the South African tourism industry. BTG is a Dutch tourism website that offers tours in a variety of countries, including a stay at !Xaus in their Northern Cape Kaleidoscope tour (Finlay 2009b). Finlay (2009b: 90-91) uses Peircian semiotics (1931-1958) qualified by Tomaselli's (1996) Phaneroscopic Table to explain the relevance of these iconic links:

At the level of firstness, these iconic website links stand for the organisations they represent. At the level of secondness, the reader would comprehend this iconic link to the organisations simply through reading their names as they are both spelt out in full. If one was unsure as to what the companies were one would simply have to follow the links. Having a reciprocal relationship with BTG and being an accredited member of SATSA brings with it connotations of credibility. On the BTG site it displays an international and a New Zealand award, both for best brochures of the year in 2007/2008 and 2008 respectively. At the level of thirdness, readers would „make sense“ of these trustworthy connotations and would most likely feel assured that they would be attending a quality place of accommodation.

The link from the SANParks website was also listed by Finlay's questionnaire respondents as their !Xaus Lodge information source. The relevance of this iconic link is that “!Xaus is situated in the KTP [which] reinforces the idea of conservation and wildlife, as does the text's promotional slant” (Finlay, 2009b:145).

The purpose of these cross promotional activities between organisations is explained by Glynn O'Leary in his correspondence with the Origins Centre, a University of Witwatersrand initiative. It is a museum that explores and celebrates the history of modern humankind and tells the story of the emergence of human being in South Africa. It showcases an extensive collection of rock art and fossils discovered in South Africa, as well as the development of art, symbolism and technology in Africa. “The Origins Centre seeks to restore the African continent to its rightful place in history - at the very beginning of mankind's journey to humanity. This is demonstrated in the centre's slogan: We are who we are because of who we were”<sup>132</sup>. O'Leary's email (27 Aug 2008) to the Origins Centre explains TFPD's rationale in linking with them, highlighting !Xaus's role as a cultural heritage and development project:

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<sup>132</sup> Available at: <http://www.origins.org.za/about/>, accessed on 1 September 2011.

To our mind !Xaus Lodge provides an opportunity for your visitors who have been exposed to the Origins Centre to also visit the ≠Khomani and Mier people at their Lodge and on their Land that has been restored to them. Such tourist visits have an important role to play in contributing to the restoration of the dignity of the communities concerned, because not only do they provide visitors with a glimpse of the heritage and cultural activities of the two communities but they are also crucial to the economic well being of the lodge and its beneficiaries.

In more practical terms, O’Leary stresses the importance of a cross promotional link with the Origins Centre via linking with their website:

This way people visiting our site would be able to access yours and learn more about the Origins Centre and its work and offerings and those visiting your website would be made aware of !Xaus Lodge and be able to access our website...We would particularly like to get the website link operational as soon as possible as this would complement those that we already have from the Peace Park Foundation and South African National Parks websites (email, 27 Aug 2008).

The benefit of mobilising electronic and social media is thus not only in the provision of multiple marketing platforms but also in the positive connotations that are produced by iconic links with credible tourism organisations. These organisation’s good names and what they stand for are thus indirectly mobilised to support !Xaus Lodge by validating its accreditation in a variety of ways (see Appendix S): either as a travel destination (SATSA, BTG), a promoter of cultural heritage (Origins Centre), or of wildlife conservation, ecotourism and job creation (Peace Parks Foundation and SANParks).

Tomaselli’s Rethinking Indigeneity project (within which my thesis is located) was formally invited by O’Leary to undertake an examination of the implementation of tourism at !Xaus Lodge and public-private-community relations within a development context. We are thus another organisation that TFPD mobilised as “a research partner that would assess the nitty gritty of the !Xaus experience in terms not constrained by conventional science, instrumentalism or reductive economics” (Tomaselli, forthcoming). TFPD shaped some of their initial business decisions on studying the project’s publications on cultural tourism and development communication (Dyll, 2004; Dyll, 2009; Mhiripiri & Tomaselli 2004; Tomaselli 2007, 2005a, 2003, 2002; Tomaselli & Wang 2001; Wang 2001), including the analyses of Belinda Kruiper’s role as an organic intellectual amongst the ≠Khomani before offering her a

key position at the Lodge (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008). In !Xaus Lodge's operational stage, Finlay's textual and reception analysis its promotional material "helped to inform [!Xaus"] „marketing and awareness" approach which...culminated in the info book revised website and text changes to [!Xaus"] brochure" (O'Leary, email, 27 Nov 2008). Guests were thus provided with a more nuanced understanding of the environment and community. The Rethinking Indigeneity project's international team of researchers also provided feedback on their observations of the stakeholder relations when visiting !Xaus Lodge, offering analyses from a variety of disciplines. Upon receiving the !Xaus report that included the research team's observations and suggestions on how to manage issues arising after the July 2007 trip, O'Leary (26 Sept 2007) emailed:

The value to us of your involvement in an on-going study of !Xaus Lodge and its stakeholders and role-players, derives from the third party perspective that you provide, having an already established knowledge base of this area and its peoples. Having read your document it is clear that it not only records factual evidence but provides valuable insights that will assist us in meeting (hopefully!!) the challenge of managing !Xaus Lodge.

Our reports and research also impacted on the management style and operational decisions at the lodge: "Reading the document has rekindled the "importance of fire" in the Kgalagadi and with this in mind we are going to create a "*skerm*"<sup>133</sup> behind the kitchen with its own fireplace so that this can be used by all our personnel as a "natural" morning and late evening gathering place without having to "artificially" relocate to the boma" (O'Leary, email, 26 Sept 2007). This methodology, termed action (marketing) research (Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming) has been described in Chapter Two.

The „resources" that are offered by the organisations that are mobilised, support the *implementation* of the action plan and thus signify the **external support** that is noted as influential in the development process within the CFPD model.

### *Implementation*

!Xaus lodge is a private-sector driven initiative for community development operating within a PPCP and the preceding steps account for its *implementation* in how it was set up and

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<sup>133</sup> A shelter usually made of poles/branches and grass.

established operations. The discussion here will thus analyse *implementation* in terms of the daily operations and cultural (tourism) aspects of the lodge. The *implementation* phase is directly related to the *action* steps (*options, consensus and plan*), as well as the *assignment of responsibilities* step. For example, “In Nicaragua, uneven community involvement in the planning of a hygiene project resulted in fragmented and unclear information about the project’s goals and implementation process, undermining members’ interest” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318). There were concerns of a similar nature in implementing daily operations at !Xaus Lodge. Although not directly linked to the nature of participation by all partners, it revolved around the representation of each of the community partners within lodge operations and promotional media. Uneven representation of each of the communities could result in fragmentation, resentment and undermining a particular community parties’ interests.

The economic driver for both !Xaus Lodge and those owned by the Makuleke is the success of tourism to all locations. They share similar backgrounds in their establishment of tourism to the lodges. The Pafuri area did not have a substantial level of tourism due to factors such as “its remoteness, lack of supportive tourist facilities outside the park, limited infrastructure<sup>134</sup>, the prevalence of malaria and the harsh climate” (De Villiers, 2008: 78). The marketing strategy, however, used this to appeal to a specific tourist market - those wanting a „true wilderness“ experience. TFPD adopted a similar marketing strategy by turning its initial challenge of remoteness into one of its strongest selling points - to be off the „beaten track“ and surrounded by the silence of the Kalahari in the „heart“ of the desert. “Replies obtained from a few [questionnaire] respondents express their enjoyment of the photographs of the “unusual location”<sup>135</sup> and the “remoteness of the Lodge”<sup>136</sup>...Another aspect which the visuals have in common with the text is that it is this feature of the Lodge (that of its surrounding environment) which should be promoted more thoroughly”<sup>137</sup> (Finlay, 2009b: 127). In support of this idea an Australian tourist that had visited !Xaus Lodge noted: “The sense of wilderness and isolation at !Xaus are its biggest assests and I would suggest you need to use them. The

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<sup>134</sup> “The infrastructure on the land at handover comprised a main access road from the Pafuri gate, fencing and a few boreholes.

<sup>135</sup> See respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript 1.6 in Finlay (2009b).

<sup>136</sup> See respondent 5, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript 1.6 in Finlay (2009 b).

<sup>137</sup> See respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript 1.14 in Finlay (2009b).

desert has a spiritual quality to it but needs someone of great sensitivity to present it” (McDonald, email, 12 Aug 2008).

Another similarity between !Xaus and the Makuleke lodges are that they are located in Transfrontier Parks. As !Xaus Lodge is off the tourist route that runs along the Auob river within the KTP, it attracts less animals (due to less watering holes) which tourists would hope to see. The Kruger Park combated this problem for the Makuleke lodges by resettling game into the region. As this was not an option for !Xaus Lodge, TFPD’s strategy was to focus on the cultural offerings of the lodge and its community owners. This is clearly communicated in its promotional material: “the focal centre for experiencing the scenic unspoiled splendour of this vast arid land; to be drawn into the fascinating rituals, traditions and historical culture ...the first people of southern Africa”<sup>138</sup>. In summary, therefore, the central idea in !Xaus’ promotional material is that of promoting a remote, culturally owned lodge in the Kalahari (Finlay, 2009b).

In correspondence with outside organisations TFPD make it clear that: “[c]entral to [their] thinking is that *both* the ≠Khomani and Mier communities should see the lodge as a place where their heritage and indigenous knowledge has currency and thus allows them to encourage in their children an understanding that the retention of their heritage and indigenous knowledge is an asset that has value” (O’Leary, email, 27 Aug 2008) [*my emphasis*]. This thinking should encourage the equal representation of each community party’s culture, heritage and indigenous knowledge. However, there was a stage in which it was generally thought that the ≠Khomani were the primary focus. Belinda Kruiper (interview, 22 Aug 2006) warns that uneven representation could fuel community tensions as it relates to power dynamics. “The animosity...lies because of the power again and feeling important, it’s not because nobody wants the process to go forward. And then people do make more of the Bushman than the Mier but then why?” The answer to this question lies in the ≠Khomani’s First People status and how it is valorised in national and indigeneity discourses (cf. Dyll, 2004, 2009; Hanekom, 1999; Nicholls, 2009), as well as public interest in the Bushmen due to these discourses and their constant media attention.

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<sup>138</sup> Available at: <http://www.xauslodge.co.za>, accessed 8 November 2008.

In the lodge's opening month Beverley Bezuidenhout (interview, 17 July 2007), a Mier employee who worked in the kitchen at !Xaus lodge, told the !Xaus manager that "the food should be more traditional from now on as this is a „cultural lodge“. She pointed out that: "tradition is not only about what you do and say, but also what you eat". TFPD had thought of this but it became customary to have cultural Mier dishes<sup>139</sup> on the menu after the staff had shared their views on the matter. The ≠Khomani's cultural offerings are more varied including; tracking, making crafts and teaching tourists to shoot with a bow and arrow in the cultural studio - activities that are thought to be "aligned to their „first people“ status" (Finlay & Barnabas, forthcoming). Johann van Schalkwyk advises that it is essential that both community parties' heritage and cultural practices are represented, and that there is variety in the offerings of each. Over and above Mier culinary skills as representative of their culture, van Schalkwyk explains that:

[The Mier] foundation is a Nama foundation. And the Nama's have got an interesting culture. Which is a different kind of...for instance dancing culture and song. So if you can get them to organise themselves for instance and do what is called the *Nama stap* or Nama joy, you will bring variety to the guests...And in that way give the Mier people an opportunity to show some of their culture...And I do think that should be part of the success recipe of the Lodge is variety because if you need to repeat visitors you can't always give them the same menu.

Despite the fact that both communities were represented in the promotional material as well as the chalet information book there was evidence that the Mier felt side-lined in comparison to the amount of attention given to the ≠Khomani in lodge operations. The lodge was not run as it usually was during the blessing ceremony in November 2007 and one evening, the ≠Khomani staff (and not the Mier staff) joined the guests for dinner. This became a catalyst for some complaints from a few Mier kitchen staff who were disgruntled that "*die Boesman saam met doe gaste eet*"<sup>140</sup> and they felt that in general the ≠Khomani were treated as celebrities and the Mier simply as staff. (Fieldnotes, 27 Nov 2007). The ≠Khomani's first people status results in them operating in the front stage (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973) of tourism ventures as the performers and artists with valuable indigenous knowledge that can be shared with guests.

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<sup>139</sup> Such as *afval* (tripe) or fine venison with maize.

<sup>140</sup> "The Bushmen were eating with the guests".

Whereas the Mier felt that they were assigned to the back stage (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973) cooking in the kitchen.

When interviewing tourists to !Xaus in 2008 and 2009 few made mention of the cultural offerings of the Mier; comment mainly revolved around the ≠Khomani. When visiting the recreated cultural homestead or going on a guided walk the tourist is treated as, and assumes the position of, a visitor who is interested in the culture of the Bushmen. The recreated cultural homestead was produced for the benefit of the tourist interested in the ≠Khomani „traditional“ culture as was the tracking activity. These activities are part of the business plan of !Xaus as they aid in attracting tourists to the Lodge (Finlay & Barnabas, forthcoming).

In her written observations on the July 2007 trip to !Xaus Lodge, van der Oever advised that: “service staff should not be underestimated in their (intermediary) role between tourists and Bushmen and between management and Bushmen” (email, 3 Aug 2007). They can also act as representatives of the local culture. This role needs to be clearly communicated with the staff involved and they should be given time in which to perform this role. For example, Bezuidenhout (interview, 17 July 2007) dismisses the idea that the Mier were „purposefully assigned to the backstage“ in telling us that *all* the staff were told that they should interact with the tourists and share the culture of their people. She says that she would try to tell them “the stories from the Kalahari” but had not yet had the chance as they were busy when the tourists were there. In order for the Mier to interact with the tourists and share their stories, time should be set aside, apart from their housekeeping and kitchen duties, in which this can be facilitated. The Mier would thus feel empowered in representing themselves and speaking to tourists. Due to their easier access to higher education and hence travel out of the Kalahari, more Mier staff can speak English in comparison to the ≠Khomani and could thus also act as translators for international tourists, translating with the nuances of the Kalahari due to their cultural proximity to the land and ≠Khomani<sup>141</sup>.

Representation also relates to *how* the operator and management represent the community parties on a more interpersonal level with tourists. Chapter Three discussed the way in which

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<sup>141</sup> As noted in Chapter Two, the ≠Khomani speak a „metaphoric Afrikaans“ that differs from the Afrikaans spoken outside the Kalahari. As the Mier have been the ≠Khomani’s neighbours for years they are likely have a better understanding and interpretation of the nuances inherent in this dialect, as opposed to a translator from outside the Northern Cape.



both Ostri-San and Kagga Kamma adopted and promoted the essentialised image of the premodern Bushman in both attracting tourists and in introducing the contemporary ≠Khomani to tourists. During my time at !Xaus I observed how both Glynn O'Leary (operator) and Pieter Retief (manager) challenged this tourist gaze (Urry, 2002) and instead flagged issues on questions of „authenticity“ and focussed on the dynamic identity of the ≠Khomani, thus signalling a move towards “progressive” cultural tourism (Garland & Gordon, 1999: 270) (see Chapter Three). At !Xaus Lodge the ≠Khomani and Mier are introduced as integrated participants in a global cash economy who were successful in a land claim and are now owners of the lodge. O'Leary often tells tourists that: “If you arrive wanting to see Bushman as they were 100 years ago, you’ve arrived 100 years too late” (Fieldnotes, 2009). In addition, the ≠Khomani are not required to wear traditional clothing, although as entrepreneurs mindful of tourist expectations they sometimes wear them in order to increase their earning power.

Both O'Leary and Retief draw on Western consumer iconology when making useful comparisons between what some may wish to retain as the dichotomous relationship between Same and Other. They disrupt this relationship by questioning the visitors on their ideas of „authenticity“. Manager, Retief (guest presentation, 15 July 2008), for example, addressed a group of Swiss and Australian tourists saying:

A lot of people read books about [the Bushmen] and some people read the wrong books. You know I always explain it like this, if I ever go one day to New York city and I don't see Bruce Willis running through the streets guns blazing should I be disappointed?...So just, within myself, I just want you on the right level maybe, and maybe just get your hearts right...Um the Bushmen people here are not an exhibition, its not the zoo, its not a show. I'm going to take you to visit my friends.

Although challenging the “authentic Other” stereotype is a valuable strategy in implementing “progressive cultural tourism”, actively working against the “performative” aspect of cultural tourism may generate negative consequences in terms of tourist expectations. A number of tourists visiting !Xaus between 2007-2009 responded that the the cultural experience was lacking in some ways as merely being introduced to the ≠Khomani was not sufficient (Finlay 2009b). Subsequent to his return from !Xaus Lodge, Ian McDonald (2008), an Australian tourist, remarked in an email to O'Leary:

Our interaction with the four occupants of the village was extremely limited, none of us speak Afrikaans so we didn't understand what they were saying. Watching them string ostrich shells on to bits of twine wasn't quite what we had been hoping for...Our hope had

been for an interesting and informative interaction with the Bushmen. The brochure speaks about accompanying them into the desert, learning about their survival secrets, hearing about their mythologies etc. None of this happened. I understand the difficulty of working with them and am well aware of the fact that our romanticized ideas about the nomadic Bushmen belong only in the past. However, I wish we could have gone into the bush with someone who could have really brought it to life for us.

One year later Pieter explained that planned activities are difficult to implement and that he did not want to force the ≠Khomani to do certain activities at certain times as “the last thing [he] wants to do is make the Bushman a tourist attraction” (Fieldnotes, 28 June 2009). When I asked Lys Kruiper if they tell tourists stories her response highlighted the difficulties that come into play if a lodge were to try to schedule activities according to certain times whilst still maintaining cultural relativity in its operations. She explained: “We don’t really tell the old stories in the day. It’s our tradition” (Kruiper, interview, 1 April 2011). The principle of cultural relativism is privileged in participatory development communication discourse in the sense that programmes and operations should emphasise and tolerate difference in diversity or what Servaes (1989) calls “plurality in one world”. This is vital in PPCPs where each partner should feel that their position or culture is worthy in its own right and is of equal value. “Cultural relativity sees the fracture or divergence from order...to chaos or pluralistic intentions where cultural differences explain differences in world views” (Lubombo, forthcoming). Whilst respecting difference in world views is essential to a working partnership, there does need to be a degree of “order” or, as PPT practitioners would describe it, “structure” to operations. Bob McKercher (1993) suggests that one of the eight fundamental truths about tourism is that, unlike other industrial activities, tourism generates income by importing clients rather than exporting its product. The ≠Khomani are a draw card to !Xaus Lodge, they need to understand that and fulfill their responsibilities in this role contributing to the lodge by continuing to “import” visitors to the lodge. 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 for so that tourist expectations are met.

From McDonald’s excerpt above he exhibits aspects of two types of tourists, namely the postmodern tourist and the anthro-tourist. As a post-modern tourist simply observing the ≠Khomani do what they usually do was not enough. In addition, he displays a certain reflexivity in understanding that cultural tourism is performative and a “staged authenticity” (MacCannell, 1973). Postmodern tourists:

realize that what is being shown to them in images and on the tour itinerary is a construction that the primitive pastoralists. On display are actors in a touristic drama devised for their pleasure. Images are understood as if they were in a novel or a Hollywood movie, for entertainment value. The constructedness of the image and story becomes transparent. These tourists do not really take seriously the Western fantasy of the primitive untouched pastoralists, but this does not detract from their enjoyment of travel experience (Bruner, 2002:392).

This explanation of the post-modern tourist portrays them as playful consumers of visual images. This links to two more “fundamental truths of tourism” as examined by McKercher (1993): i) tourists are consumers, not anthropologists, and ii) tourism is entertainment.

There has, however, been a paradigm shift from tourism as a route for escapism to one of enrichment with the emergence of anthro-tourists (who are similar to „spiritual tourists“ discussed above):

They are “[t]ourists interested in historical background, cultural identity, cultural meanings and heritage [and] engage in processes of personal discovery (Isaacson 2001; McLennan-Dodd 2003; Sætre 2003; Taleb 2007). They divulge development in personal character, empathetic realisations, and a general appreciation and respect of cultural differences and those who make an effort to act their imagined ethnic selves for cultural Others (Mhiripiri, 2009: 253).

McDonald (email, 12 Aug 2008) felt that “the information [they] were given regarding the geology, climate, flora, fauna and human history of the Kalahari was superficial and inconsequential” demonstrating his need for a much deeper and more meaningful encounter.

A solution to provide both what the postmodern tourist and anthro-tourist seek, as well as to implement an empowering process with the ≠Khomani and Mier is to offer an interactive and educational encounter between host (≠Khomani and Mier) and guest (tourist). There have been times when the ≠Khomani have taught guests how to shoot with a bow and arrow. In keeping with van Schalkwyk’s call for variety another form of interaction could centre around craft making. The guests could work with ≠Khomani crafters in designing and making a necklace with the ≠Khomani explaining the source of their materials (ostrich egg shells etc) and the techniques used (bone engraving etc). The guests could suggest what materials should be used relative to the custom requirements and environmental protections required by their home

countries so that they could then purchase the item. Information sharing and intercultural relations would therefore be forged.

The purely observational nature of many Bushman villages may be one of the factors that attract criticism from academics and journalists (Bester & Buntman, 1999) who argue that the asymmetrical power relation between those who observe (Western Same) and those who are observed (indigenous Other) perpetuate a form of symbolic colonialism (Garland & Gordon, 1999). However, “being represented is not itself an issue. Representation is both income-generating and offers promise of power” (Tomaselli, 2005a: 148). For example, the more structured „teaching environments“ offered by Zulu villages in KwaZulu-Natal is arguably more empowering than simply being observed. “The pride that performers and guides exude when speaking about Zulu culture is testimony to a recuperating identity” (Mhiripiri & Tomaselli, 2004: 261). In speaking about their culture the hosts are active in influencing the meanings generated from an encounter, instilling a sense of agency. The role of dialogue is thus again highlighted as an integral component of empowerment. Isak Kruiper resented the lack of opportunity for this type of dialogue when he worked at Ostri-San. Elana Bregin (2001) explains:

The Bushmen...say they enjoy meeting people from other cultures and are eager for the chance to talk to them face to face, so that they can explain what they are about and clear up some misconceptions. It hurts them that they are continually talked about and written about by others, without any idea of what is being said. “The words never come back to us”, says group leader Isak Kruiper.

Isak Kruiper (interview, 2001) appreciates the sense of pride that could be instilled if given the opportunity to speak to tourists: “Then you know when [the tourist] leaves he leaves with something, some knowledge, some good thoughts. And he may then tell his friends: you must go there because that man knows what he is talking about”. The fact that many ≠Khomani do not speak English presents a challenge to these types of activities, particularly with international tourists. A solution would be to hire a person from the Mier community who can speak English. He/she would fulfil an intermediary role at the lodge and would be employed to facilitate these intercultural interactions.

As discussed earlier, this is easier said than done as some ≠Khomani may be reluctant to embark on formalised activities and would rather “just be themselves”, whilst others in the group may see the value in these activities. It is essential that these interactive encounters are

facilitated at the lodge and that the community stakeholders are guided as to the importance of meeting tourist expectations. Cultural concerns and differences in rationalities (sacred and profane) need to be respected as in some cases the ≠Khomani may refuse to take part in an activity for a valid reason. For example, they will not take guided walks in wind as they are not able to view tracks easily nor hear animals that could be close by. While this may be frustrating to management who have promised tourists a guided walk, credence need to be given to the ≠Khomani's decision as they are more in tune with the environment and are thus aware that not being able to hear animals may place a group of people in danger. Instead of setting an activities agenda with specific times for activities throughout the day, a guiding timetable should be created in dialogue with the staff before each group of tourists arrives with an outlined number of activities that need to be conducted during a group's visit, but giving the ≠Khomani the agency to choose the day and time they would like to conduct the activity. This inclusion in decision making could foster participation in operations and a sense of ownership in the lodge.

#### *Outcomes: Individual Change and Social Change*

The CFPD model lists a number of specific development indicators listed under **Individual Change** and **Social Change** which are noted in the schematic diagramme as being mutually influential on each other. I view these changes as synonymous to the *Outcomes* presented in the **Collective Action** phase. Some of !Xaus Lodge's concrete gains (e.g. skills development) as well as the social changes (means of earning a living) correspond with some of the indicators listed by Kincaid and Figueroa (2009). However, my discussion of !Xaus Lodge's outcomes does not strictly adhere to this list as the context of the development process is specific to tourism development which results in different forms of outcomes. Instead, it will be structured along the lines of empowerment (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Empowerment is synonymous with the participatory development communication model:

What a participatory model means, in short, is introducing an alternative socio-political-economic system which gives to...those working in the informal economy access to education, technical knowledge, credit, good marketing conditions and other factors of production. The term widely used for this model is *empowerment*, that is, giving to the poor the social, economic, political and psychological power over these areas of their lives so that they can get the *resources* to realize their hopes, initiatives and endeavours (White, 2009: 215).

Achieving empowerment is not an easy task as it not only requires dealing with institutions of power and influences that are anchored in national and global structures, but also the active participation of people in interventions that affect their welfare. Power relations come to the fore in both the theorising and practice of empowerment. “To reshape the the field of development communication we must situate its discourse and practice within contexts of power” (Wilkins, 2000: 1). The complexities of power inequities need to be addressed in both development projects themselves as well as research on development. I have analysed these power relations in Chapter Four as well as this chapter in order to account for the dynamics involved in PPCPs, so that power relations and social power can be understood as “a continual negotiation process in a field of many resource holders” (White, 2004: 8).

The concept of empowerment has been theorised and problematised in its application (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). The term „empowerment“ is sometimes glibly used but notoriously difficult to achieve in practice. There is good reason for this. Participatory development needs certain parameters that are not always present in the development context:

- a cohesive community;
- full participation and open communication between donors and beneficiaries, as well as between partners themselves;
- the presence of an NGO, organisation or “champion” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009) that has the trust of and works with the broader community so that they do not feel alienated from the „development discourse“; and
- access to resources and basic services (e.g. in !Xaus Lodge’s case suitable basic skills training in hospitality, as well as in banking and bookkeeping).

This chapter has also illustrated the assumptions and difficulties involved in community partners taking on leadership or management roles that may be viewed as “empowering”. These include a lack of education/skills as well as the desire by some #Khomani to simply “be themselves” and not attend training to develop these skills. This is clear in Lys Kruiper’s (interview, 1 April 2011) response that “For me, I am happy to do my own tradition and be my own boss. I don’t need training for that”. Another challenge centres on differences in partner’s rationalities where disagreements over the nature of work have resulted in instances of mistrust. However, despite these challenges !Xaus Lodge has achieved certain levels of empowerment in terms of: i) economic and social empowerment, and ii) individual empowerment via agency. I subscribe to Melkote and Steeves’ (2001: 37) conceptualisation of

empowerment that highlights these aspects of empowerment in defining it as “a process in which individuals and organizations gain control and mastery over social economic conditions, over democratic participation in their communities and over their own stories”.

Beyond its differing conceptualisations, empowerment can take on different forms within a project, either as: i) a process suggesting that actions, activities or structures may be empowering, or ii) an outcome whereby such processes result in a level of being empowered (Perkins & Zimmerman, 1995). A distinction between empowering processes and outcomes is critical in order to ascertain the type of empowerment involved within a development project. Empowerment as a process is frequently seen in CBT initiatives whereby the community members drive the development. This is aligned to Servaes’ (1999) call for self-reliance or severing ties of dependency on providers of development resources, “especially ending dependence on the planning and guidance of more powerful partners” (White, 2004: 9). However, as discussed above, CBT ventures are seldom commercially viable due to the fact that they do not have the skills and resources that a private operator can bring to a partnership. Thus, economic empowerment as an outcome is seldom realised. Both forms of empowerment are, however, evident in the !Xaus Lodge case study:

- empowerment-as-a-process<sup>142</sup>: i) the community partners are consulted on aspects of the lodge development both in formal JMB meetings and informal „backstage“ meetings where all partners enter into dialogue to discuss issues and provide feedback, ii) all partners are treated as experts in one area or another – if not business skills then with regards to local knowledge, iii) opportunities for training and skills development are provided.
- empowerment-as-an-outcome<sup>143</sup>: i) has taken the form of economic empowerment as the lodge’s economic success has led to marginalised people participating in the modern economy, and ii) both the Mier and the #Khomani are (finally) associated with a successful development project.

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<sup>142</sup> Also referred to as participation-as-a-means.

<sup>143</sup> Also referred to as “participation-as-an-end”.

Not all of !Xaus Lodge's planned projects (listed under *Setting Objectives*), such as the vegetable garden, the wellness centre and the multi-purpose resource centre, were implemented due to a variety of external constraints and a lack of „buy-in“ from the community. However, some of the objectives were successfully implemented, such as its support of local business in furnishing the lodge and the provision of training. In addition, the lodge has become a catalyst for more economic activities than was originally envisioned, which will be detailed below.

!Xaus Lodge not only initiated economic empowerment, but also created a space for individual empowerment which I understand as being closely aligned to the concept of agency. Agency is the capacity of people to order their world (Giddens 1984); it is the capacity to create, reproduce, change and live according to their own meaning systems. It is the power for one to effectively define one's self as opposed to being defined by others (Voth 2001: 852). The cultural tourism being developed at !Xaus Lodge aims to “teach tourists to see their „Bushman“ hosts as modernizing producers of tourism in their own right, and not just as objects of touristic commodification” (Garland & Gordon, 1999:267). In being able to engage with the tourists on a more interpersonal level than was afforded them at Ostri-San and Kagga Kamma, the ≠Khomani are able to “define one's self” (Voth 2001: 852) in engaging tourist perceptions themselves, as well as being able to gain control over their own stories (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 37). The fact that the ≠Khomani have a choice as to whether or not they wear traditional skins at the cultural studio, as well management's willingness to change the rota system based on the ≠Khomani's need to travel more regularly between their homes and the lodge implies that they are able to “live according to their own meaning systems” (Voth 2001: 852).

“There are very few studies of the actual contribution of either ecotourism or CBT to either conservation or community livelihood” (Goodwin and Santilli 2009: 10). !Xaus Lodge is a community-owned and commercially managed lodge, and therefore differs from eco-tourism and CBT in some ways, but it shares some of their “responsible tourism” (DEAT, 2003) objectives (see Chapter Three). Allen and Brennan (2004: 24-25) critique the lack of rigorous practical application that tourism discussions and policy typically offer: “[N]o indication is given of how, and by whom these measures are to be implemented...Equally slippery is the image of economic benefits „flowing“ to local communities...[as] there is no reference as to what form these benefits will take, nor on what basis they are to be distributed”. The discussion in this chapter has addressed this critique in analysing how responsible tourism measures have



been implemented at !Xaus Lodge including the different partner's roles in this implementation.

The following section will document the actual contribution the lodge has had on the Northern Cape community's livelihood and particularly for the local partners working at the lodge, thus continuing an evidence-based enquiry. The table below outlines these specific outcomes in relation to whether they speak to socio-economic empowerment (social change in the CFPD model) and/or individual empowerment and agency (individual change in the CFPD model), and contextualises these outcomes in terms of the CFPD model and/or broader tourism-as-development literature. These benefits are the result of the processes in establishing !Xaus lodge and so generally take the form of empowerment-as-an-outcome. Since opening in 2007, and with only 24 beds, !Xaus Lodge has generated more than R5.1 million in income. The tables<sup>144</sup> below detail this economic development, as well as more individual forms of empowerment conferred upon the Gordonia area<sup>145</sup> and in partnership with the Mier and ≠Khomani communities.

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<sup>144</sup> Information adapted from !Xaus Lodge's Gordonia Economic Benefit Statement issued March 2010 and the !Xaus Lodge submission for the Imvelo Awards for Best Practice in the Economic Impact Category, 28 July 2010.

<sup>145</sup> Gordonia is the extended district in which the Park is located including Upington.

**Table 2.** Socio-economic empowerment outcomes conferred upon the Gordonia area by !Xaus Lodge

Socio-Economic Empowerment		
Type of Outcome/ Benefit	Example from !Xaus Lodge	Link to CFPD model and/or development-as-tourism literature
Direct community financial benefit	<p>Lodge is a growing community asset (between 2008 and 2010 the guest occupancy of the Lodge increased from 14% to 23%).</p> <p>Percentage of monthly turn over is paid to community owners:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>This grew over the years from R1 221 404 (2008), R2 350 043 (2009) to R2 989 644 (in August 2010 at the time of the Imvelo Awards submission).</li> </ul> <p>TFPD pays a management fee to SANParks, the ≠Khomani and the Mier:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Each of these three stakeholders (SANParks, the ≠Khomani Communal Property Association and Mier Municipality) were paid R24 444 in 2008, R41 532 in 2009 and R52 055 in 2010.</li> </ul>	<p>The first two outcomes listed in this table relate to: <i>Equitable access to resources</i> (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009).</p> <p>In line with the point above with regards to the difficulty in achieving economic empowerment, Kincaid and Figueroa (2009: 1322) concur that: "Of all the community outcomes specified by the CFPD model, equitable access to resources may be the hardest to accomplish...There is a consensus that development programs should make an effort to avoid reinforcing existing socioeconomic structures if they impede community members' equitable access to available resources, especially resources generated by their efforts..."</p>
Long-term asset creation benefit	<p>≠Khomani and Mier are owners of the lodge and all its furnishings, now worth R11 million.</p> <p>World class tourism destination that brings regular income to the communities.</p> <p>Any asset acquired through donor or grant funding is also owned by the lodge and therefore its communities.</p>	<p><i>Equitable access to resources</i> cont.</p> <p>"...Strictly speaking, the social changes specified by the CFPD model are changes <i>in</i> the system, whereas far-reaching social-structural changes are changes <i>of</i> the system.... Increasing access to resources, such as education, employment, and income, which often are beyond the reach of certain societal groups or classes, not only changes the dynamics of social interaction but (also) leads to improvements in the quality of life, in general" (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009: 1322).</p>

	<p>After the first 10 years of operation, a #Khomani and Mier Community Trust will be established to receive a 10% equity stake in the lodge management company.</p>	<p>Five integral changes in policy assumptions regarding tourism development, economic growth and poverty alleviation are outlined by Ashley and Ntshona (2003). The most pertinent change with regards to the !Xaus experience is that the private sector is encouraged to go beyond that of commercial profit-making to include the development of arrangements with local communities for equity shares, benefit flows and/or contributions to local economic development. TFPD has taken on this role and has succeeded in doing so.</p>
Support of local business	<p>With a clear multiplier effect operating on the broader local economy, !Xaus Lodge spends all possible operational money in the Gordonia area:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• In financial year 1 March 2009 - 28 February 2010 over R1 million of purchases were made by the lodge in Askham and Upington.</li> <li>• This represents over 92% of the operational spend during that period.</li> <li>• The total spend for the first eight months of 2010 was R1 102 814, up from 2008 when the figure totaled R684 367.</li> </ul> <p>Specific examples of local support include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Themba Masala, a local artist, has sold more than R50 000 worth of goods through the !Xaus Lodge curio shop, as well as to !Xaus Lodge itself as décor.</li> <li>• Vezokuhle Sewing Co-operative in Upington created all the soft-furnishings the lodge, and continue to provide new bedcovers and other customised items. Since 2007, over R75 000 has been spent with them;</li> </ul>	<p>!Xaus Lodge has thus been beneficial to the growth of other sectors in the community, increasing the likelihood of sustained development which is dependent upon a project being “closely integrated with all other activities that occur in the host region” (McKercher, 1993: 14).</p> <p>This may lead to a sense of <i>collective efficacy</i> (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009), defined as a community’s shared belief in its collective capability to attain its goals and accomplish desired tasks. Such efficacy involves the belief that effective collective action is possible and can succeed (Bandura, 1986).</p>



	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Wooden chairs and beds were branded with Kalahari images by ≠Khomani crafters who were paid for their art work;</li> <li>• Art pieces by Vetkat Kruiper were bought and are displayed in the chalets and reception area (for the above 4 points see Appendix T);</li> <li>• Transfers (when requested by guests) are done by a member of the Mier community;</li> <li>• Local guesthouses are promoted by !Xaus Lodge to their guests as other places to stay while in the area;</li> <li>• Wines from the Orange River cellars are stocked at the lodge's bar;</li> <li>• Firewood is purchased from the local community;</li> <li>• Kalahari Supermarket in Askham (population 150) sells goods to the lodge on a weekly basis.</li> </ul>	
New markets for local artists	<p>!Xaus Lodge sells the art of the artists and crafters mentioned above as well as that of the ≠Khomani working at the lodge.</p> <p>Various additional markets have opened for ≠Khomani crafters:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• SANParks requested name tags for their staff in the same style that are used at !Xaus Lodge; small items are commissioned for use as giveaways at international trade shows.</li> <li>• Decor items are purchased for use at other destinations managed by TFPD.</li> </ul>	<p>Speaks to the shifting expectations of community roles in the policy assumptions and objectives of new responsible tourism in SA (cf. Rogerson &amp; Visser, 2004) where the community is not only the land-owner or beneficiary of economic opportunities but also an “emerging entrepreneur” (cf. Ashley &amp; Ntshona, 2003; Rogerson, 2006).</p> <p>It also addresses one of pro-poor tourism's objectives: “the importance of improving the access to market opportunities, in terms of overcoming barriers of physical location, establishing linkages with established operators and transcending social constraints (such as gender) on poor consumers” (Rogerson, 2006: 45).</p>

Leveraging supplier support  
(from marketing operations)

Companies wish to use the lodge for marketing their products or for adverts/film and pay a contribution to the lodge-managed community fund that provides educational bursaries:

- Oryx Salt in Scandinavia pays the lodge a fixed amount for each bag of salt sold. This is advertised on the salt packet. A similar agreement is being reached by a linked company, Kalahari Salt, in Germany, in return for filming a commercial at the lodge;
- Sergio Herman, a Michelin-awarded Dutch chef, used !Xaus Lodge to do photo shoots for a new cookbook. He and the large crew paid to stay at the lodge and the cookbook, which is being given to Landdrover customers in Europe, has extensive references and links to !Xaus Lodge.
- Guests are offered the opportunity to make contributions to the bursary fund for the High School in Rietfontein.

Links to *Social Capital* defined as “features of social organization, such as social networks, norms, and trust, which facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1323). This point links specifically to *social reciprocity* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1323) or “the mutual interchange of favours, privileges, and benefits in a relationship”.

While this principle is characterised by voluntary favour-giving and receiving in the CFPD model, *social reciprocity* in the business world is operationalised by TFPD in asking for assistance with local economic development in return for providing companies with unique marketing opportunities.



**Table 3.** Individual empowerment outcomes for ≠Khomani and Mier owners generated by !Xaus Lodge

Individual Empowerment		
Type of Outcome/ Benefit	Example from !Xaus Lodge	Link to CFPD model and/or development-as-tourism literature
Direct individual employment benefits	<p>85% of lodge staff are members of the local community:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Remuneration packages include wages, accommodation, food, uniform and transport, and a pension fund with retirement, death and disability benefits;</li> <li>• Most employees come from the Mier with some ≠Khomani having recently joined the hospitality team;</li> <li>• Their income is critical to people who live in the area with 90% unemployment.</li> </ul>	<p>Tourism's developmental role was established with the White Paper (DEAT 1996) promoting the development of responsible and sustainable tourism with a strong emphasis in job creation and enterprise development in support of the country's previously neglected black communities.</p> <p>This in turn provides the ≠Khomani with agency in earning regular income that allows them more capacity in ordering their world (Giddens 1984), and breaks ties of dependency and 'organised begging' where social resources have meaning only at the level of the personal, in terms of immediate consumption (Tomaselli, forthcoming).</p>
Direct new skills benefits	<p>Provides employment internship opportunities.</p> <p>Support formal training at !Khwa ttu and SA College of Hospitality.</p> <p>Staff who leave the lodge to further their careers after receiving on-the-job training at !Xaus are applauded as examples of achievement in the community.</p>	<p>Xaus Lodge as a development project has directly impacted individual change variables (cf. Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009) such as skills development and related psychosocial factors such as an increase in self-efficacy, and an improved self-image and social influence for the community members who have received training.</p> <p>"Among the mechanisms of agency, none is more central... than people's beliefs of personal efficacy. Perceived self-efficacy refers to beliefs in ones capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required to manage prospective situations...such beliefs contribute significantly to human motivation and attainment" (Bandura, 1995).</p>

Thus, some ≠Khomani's assertion that they do not want training may not only be linked to 'maintaining tradition' but rather a result of low perceived self-efficacy.

The complementary relationship between individual and social change (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) is clear in the case of training/skills development. The acquisition of skills for people "to organize and execute the courses of action required to manage" (Bandura, 1995) their lives is a positive outcome. However, if only a few individuals practice this behaviour, there will be little evidence of the skills development level across a community thus maintaining the low level education status quo in the Northern Cape.

The lodge's practice of applauding individuals as examples of achievements may strengthen and create efficacy beliefs through the vicarious experiences by these community members as role models. "Seeing people similar to themselves succeed by perseverant effort raises observers' beliefs that they, too, possess the capabilities to master comparable activities" (Bandura, 1995: 3). This may increase the community's *value for continual improvement* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1320) understood as the transformation of a community into a "learning organization" that continuously seeks ways to advance.



Promotion-from-within in practice	<p>The current Head Chef, Ellen Bok who started as a cook is now a back-up lodge manager as a result of skills and service to the lodge.</p>	<p>Perceived <i>shared ownership</i> (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009) is achieved in allocating leadership positions (such as management) to community members. This increases the sense of agency that one has in a joint project. “[T]he more a community is “involved and committed” the higher the empowerment and sense of collective self-efficacy that the community will develop” (Figueroa et al 2002:9).</p>
<p>Opportunities for dialogue and feedback (empowerment-as-a-process)</p>	<p>Open flow of information between TFPD and the community:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Gordonia Statement showing income, expenditure, community revenue and local expenditure is prepared monthly;</li> <li>• O’Leary of TFPD conducts presentations at Rietfontein (Mier) and Andriesvale (≠Khomani) to present the Gordonia Statement, discuss activities, progress and challenges with members of the community - these meetings are arranged by the community leaders.</li> </ul>	<p>“High levels of <i>information equity</i> likely positively affect participation in the implementation of a program, shared ownership of it, and distribution of benefits. Conversely, a successful participatory project is expected to reduce information inequity in a community” (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009: 1321).</p>
Supporting local education	<p>!Xaus Lodge sponsors a bursary and trophies for Rietfontein’s Combined School’s annual tourism awards for the Grade 10-12 top performers:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• An awards and bursary plan was implemented to ensure that learners are encouraged to excel in the subject and to provide an opportunity to gain insights into the industry and the opportunities that a career in tourism offers.</li> <li>• An internship at !Xaus Lodge is offered to a top student.</li> </ul>	<p>This meets two aspects of responsible tourism (DEAT, 2003), specifically with regard to social responsibility: i) supporting local education and ii) promoting a local tourism culture. <i>The Responsible Tourism Handbook</i> (DEAT, 2003: 16) advises that operators:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Offer to provide tourism lectures at local schools;</li> <li>• Invite local school children to visit your tourism operation;</li> <li>• Jointly identify community projects for improvements, e.g. a local school. You may wish to ‘adopt a school’, provide bursaries to local school children, or support promising young stars.</li> </ul>



Micro-enterprise development	<p>Craft studio at !Xaus Lodge accommodates crafters who make and sell their crafts to guests:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Used by the ≠Khomani, they receive a daily stipend, food, transport and accommodation while at the lodge to meet and communicate with the guests;</li> <li>• Crafts made while at the lodge, but not sold before departure by the crafter, are sold in the craft shop - no commission is charged on these sales;</li> <li>• Share in gratuities left by guests;</li> <li>• Between 2007-2010 52 crafters have used the facilities at one time or another;</li> <li>• Curios purchased by tourists from the lodge's shop jumped from R55 600 in 2008 to R75 800 in 2009 and to R100 000 in 2010.</li> </ul>	<p>Relates to:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>Equitable access to resources</i> (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009);</li> <li>• A general guideline in maximising the potential of PPT strategies is that: a diversity of actions across levels is needed - it requires action at micro, meso and macro level on several fronts, including product development, marketing, planning, policy, and investment (Ashley <i>et al</i> 2001a).</li> </ul>
Representation (empowerment-as-a-process)	<p>≠Khomani do not provide a choreographed, stereotypical "song and dance" for the visitors, but instead provide a 21st century view of their life and skills.</p> <p>The ≠Khomani and Mier are encouraged to speak to the tourist themselves, instead of being 'spoken for'.</p>	<p>Signals a move towards "progressive" cultural tourism (Garland &amp; Gordon, 1999: 270) by signalling a "fully modern subjectivity" thus challenging tourism's tendency to represent indigenous partners as "not quite like us, not yet" (Garland &amp; Gordon, 1999:283).</p>
Facilitation	<p>In acquiring a new and stable income, some lodge employees are able to improve their livelihood, but may lack the skills and 'know-how' in negotiations - !Xaus Lodge serves as a facilitator in negotiations with legal documents etc.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manager Pieter Retief assisted a regular crafter and his sister in understanding the paperwork required in purchasing a house.</li> </ul>	<p>Again links to <i>Social Capital</i> (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009), but with this form of facilitation <i>social trust</i> is encouraged as it increases: "the general confidence that one has in the integrity, ability, and good character of other people in a community. Trust is the glue that holds a group or community together, making cooperative action possible" (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009: 1323).</p>

The financial contribution from July 2007 to April 2011 (9 months after the Gordonia Statement referred to above) is summarised as follows:

**Table 4.** !Xaus Lodge Case Study: Economic Contribution from Gordonia Report (O’Leary, 2011)

<b>!Xaus Lodge Case Study: Economic Contribution (July 2007 - April 2011)</b>	
Turnover rental to community owners	R 447 624
Local staff & crafters salaries & income	R1 990 003
Local art & craft sales	R 321 900
Local procurement (Askham/Upington)	R 3 260 551
SANParks Conservation Fees	R 681 750
<b>Total economic benefit to Gordonia</b>	<b>R 6701 828</b>

### *Participatory Evaluation*

A simple form of evaluation can result from viewing an initiative’s outcomes in light of its objectives and expectations. The community partners’ material expectations have been met, as illustrated in the tables above as:

- a form of employment;
- an opportunity for participation in their own development and empowerment;
- an opportunity to gain skills and training;
- an opportunity to learn how to manage personal finances etc (this is facilitated by lodge management, for example, who assist in understanding the paperwork).

!Xaus Lodge was also viewed by the #Khomani as an opportunity to „move forward“ away from the hurt of the past and as a form of „salvation“ based on their spiritual re-connection with the land (see Chapter Four). This has arguably been realised if one is to base their evaluation on statements such as those by Lys Kruiper (interview, 1 April): “I felt like being [at Xaus Lodge] because it is on the land and Vetkat is there...My heart is there. It is peaceful and quite. I don’t hear any nonsense and I can get on with my craft”.

Without an adequate assessment of what a community accomplishes and fails to accomplish, motivation for continual improvement will decline and members will lose confidence in their leaders. The self-reports of community members regarding how a project has affected their lives may be the most important form of feedback. Such reports spread by means of informal social networks without the need for public meetings (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319).

A wider form of evaluation is that on 10 November 2010 !Xaus Lodge won the Federated Hospitality Association of Southern Africa's (FEDHASA) Imvelo Award in the Best Practice: Economic Impact category, edging out the other 218 entrants. "Imvelo, running for the ninth year, awards tourism businesses that demonstrate sustained responsible practice in their operations in terms of natural, social and economic environment"<sup>146</sup>. In addition !Xaus Lodge received its Fair Trade accreditation on 3 May 2010, adding further credibility to its profile and recognising the fulfillment of its fair trade objectives and its operations as a fair and equitable business, whereby all lodge stakeholders benefit from their involvement:

- *Community* has a growing asset;
- *Staff* earn a steady income;
- *Crafters* have a market for their curios;
- *Guests* have a wonderful time;
- *Suppliers* make a fair profit;
- *State* have a community generating their own income;
- *Environment* is managed sustainably (TFPD, 2010).

TFPD have demonstrated the value for *continual improvement* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) on a more macro level, across South Africa, than is explicated in the CFPD model, which focuses on more localised communities in action. TFPD are "moving forward to a new round of objective setting and collective action...for a new [problem]" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319). As a result of the positive results of their model, TFPD have recently started re-development of two more community-owned lodges in Southern Africa, namely the The Batlokoa's Witsieshoek Mountain Lodge and the Mozambiquan Canhane community's Covane

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<sup>146</sup> Available at: <http://www.travelwires.com/wp/2010/09/2010-imvelo-responsible-tourism-awards-names-finalists/>, accessed on 29 September 2010.

Fishing and Safari Lodge, thus furthering these types of development partnerships and the benefits they may bear.

## **Conclusion**

Different paradigms of development are often simultaneously adopted in communities involved with tourism, making the processes and outcomes more difficult to forecast than the theories may lead one to assume. This chapter used the CFPD model in order to analyse the establishment and operations at !Xaus Lodge. In this way the model was both: i) descriptive in describing a development project/process that was/is happening, and ii) exploratory in explaining certain aspects of this project that were/were not successful. Kincaid (email, 17 Sept 2010) explains that the model is more firmly rooted in group dynamics and social network change than broad societal “social change”. It was thus appropriate to use the model in order to unpack the social dynamics between the different !Xaus Lodge partners. However, !Xaus Lodge has not only made changes to local group dynamics but has yielded concrete socio-economic developments in the Northern Cape community. It has been successful in achieving its objectives via TFPD’s business savvy for-profit philanthropy that will be elaborated on in the next chapter. Influenced by participatory communication approaches, yet realistic in some of the approaches’ „limitations“ in the field, it has delivered strong economic participation outcomes but is not representative of the idealised notion of participation where the locus of control begins and remains with the community. TFPD’s specific form of leadership in this context will be elaborated on in Chapter Six.

CFPD proposes a normative basis for communication for social change actions but the concept lacks the in-depth analysis of features that stand in the way of dialogic and developmental processes (e.g. differences in rationalities between partners). Although CFPD acknowledges these aspects, it does not offer a strategy that goes beyond consensus in dealing with conflict. These are challenges that still remain and that I aim to address in the presentation of a generalised public-private-community lodge partnership development communication model in Chapter Six. Useful principles elucidated upon in development communication theory (including the CFPD) and literature that has framed and contextualised my !Xaus Lodge case study thus far, as well as pragmatic lessons learnt from my on-the-ground observations of !Xaus Lodge’s operational realities will be included in this model. While the CFPD model is widely used, the innovation in my application is that it is specifically in relation to the tourism industry and public-private-community partnerships.

## Chapter Six

### Public-Private-Community Partnership Model for Participatory Lodge (Tourism) Development

#### Introduction

Schematic models provide structures that aid discussion and investigation by providing frameworks that allow for explanation and prediction (Anderson *et al*, 2005; Keeves, 1997). One needs to be constantly aware that the context of a development project will affect how the phases and frameworks will be implemented. “Each time an already tested practice is adopted in a tourism development project, it needs to be modified according to the situational context. Even then, the end results cannot be entirely predicted. There are many operational, structural and cultural restraints 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 !Xaus Lodge and Transfrontier Parks Destination (TFPD) model. Its construction was informed by different partner expectations and roles. It incorporates principles of the participatory development communication approach including the need for dialogue, particularly where there *may* be a difference in ontology (indigenous and Cartesian) and rationality (sacred and profane) between partners<sup>147</sup>. It also includes the lessons learnt from development-as-tourism literature.

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

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<sup>147</sup> Not all PPCPS are characterised 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.



### **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)<sup>148</sup>, Covane Fishing and Safari Lodge (Great Limpopo Transfrontier Conservation Area)<sup>149</sup> and Witsieshoek Mountain Lodge (Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation Area)<sup>150</sup>.

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 exhibits a new type of organisation with a blended purpose as its core: serving a living mission and earning profit (Kelly, 2009; cf. also Bylund & Mondelli, 2007). The entrepreneur manages the business in such a way that the social output is maximised while costs are kept below revenues (Bylund & Mondelli, 2007:23). TFPD is an example of such a business.

TFPD disassociates itself from the pro-poor tourism (PPT) approach as this implies a negative connotation in that tourists are encouraged to visit a lodge simply because the community that owns it is poor. TFPD term this “ag shame tourism”, and instead aim to attract tourism by offering world-class operations offering a high quality experience on par with comparative commercial lodges (O’Leary, email, 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). TFPD thus aims to develop a competitive and economically viable tourist destination rather than a cultural survival initiative as the ill-fated Kaggga Kamma claimed was its purpose (White, 1995: 50). Nor does TFPD depend on the “exotic spectacle” to attract tourists as did Ostri-San (cf. Bregin, 2001; Finlay, 2009a/b). Although the #Khomani and Mier’s presence at !Xaus Lodge is important and the community partners are viewed as one of the reasons a tourist may want to visit the lodge, the lodge does not place local people „on display“ as previous initiatives have done.

„Doing business differently“ entails integrating pro-poor practices into everyday business practice and creating synergistic linkages. This is evident, for example, in the way !Xaus

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<sup>148</sup> See [www.dolimpopo.com](http://www.dolimpopo.com)

<sup>149</sup> See [www.covanelodge.com](http://www.covanelodge.com)

<sup>150</sup> See [www.witsieshoek.co.za](http://www.witsieshoek.co.za)

Lodge has boosted the local economy by supporting local entrepreneurs and crafters in purchasing their goods to decorate the lodge, opening new markets for their goods, spending operational money 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. A small change that brings in poor workers or entrepreneurs can exert a significant local economic impact that may multiply over time (Ashley & Haysom, 2006: 269). Ashley and Haysom (2006:270) outline a set of advantages to adapting business practices to become more pro-poor, and despite !Xaus Lodge's resistance to the term, it appears as if TFPD exhibits many PPT principles and strategies. The following is a list of these advantages in terms of a product's development and commercial viability, and an example of the way in which TFPD's operations of !Xaus Lodge portrays these:

- Multipliers and spin-offs (e.g. educational bursaries for schools in the Northern Cape, creating new markets for local entrepreneurs)
- Development of a brand (e.g. through the use of marketing and mobilising the social media, winning awards like the Imvelo Award);
- 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)).

These links between PPT's business-oriented objectives and !Xaus Lodge's operations affirms that perhaps the difference between them may only be one of semantics. 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 establishing the lodge (see Chapter Four). O'Leary's (26 Jan 2007c) 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 builder or contractor he left out a centre or an 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?

Table 5 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<sup>151</sup>.

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<sup>151</sup> Information adapted from O’Leary’s (2011) presentation “Partnering with Communities to make a difference”.



**Table 5.** TFPD's Business-led Model and 'Lodge-ical' Thinking

<i>TFPD's Business-led Model and 'Lodge-ical' Thinking</i>			
<b>What TFPD started with →</b>	<b>Objectives →</b>	<b>What TFPD (in partnership) → achieved</b>	<b>Business model</b>
<p>Inadequate infrastructure</p> <p>Poor operational standards</p> <p>Lack of operating capital</p> <p>No services (e.g. service road, water)</p>	<p>Assist communities revitalise underperforming tourism assets</p>	<p>Operational stability:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• managing distance</li> <li>• harsh climatic impacts</li> <li>• service standards</li> </ul>	<p>For-profit philanthropy</p> <p>The project must be profitable to sustain growth</p>
<p>Lack of uniform approach as to the type of tourism product</p>	<p>Re-brand and market tourism destinations</p>	<p>Product awareness:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• trade/industry</li> <li>• consumer/tourist</li> </ul>	<p>Development of a brand</p>
<p>Lack of defined success criteria</p>	<p>Set up professional operations</p>	<p>Success measured in accreditations and awards:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Fair Trade in Tourism SA</li> <li>• 2010 Imvelo Award for Best Impact</li> <li>• Green</li> </ul>	<p>Successful outcomes are measured in:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• financial terms</li> <li>• non-financial terms (build social skills, capital, trust and capacity, and gain accreditation)</li> </ul>
<p>Community had taken over without skills and industry resources</p>	<p>Provide initial and on-going management, training and development</p>	<p>Staff development:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• skills training</li> <li>• practice promotion-from-within</li> </ul>	<p>Marginalised people join the industry and modern economy</p>
<p>Community mistrust of feasibility of lodge to improve lifestyle (development fatigue)</p>	<p>Generate revenue for the community from the first day</p>	<p>TFPD leverages grant or donor capital for infrastructure development and operations until break even.</p> <p>Direct and long-term community financial benefit is:</p>	<p>The land investor (the community) retains their asset</p>



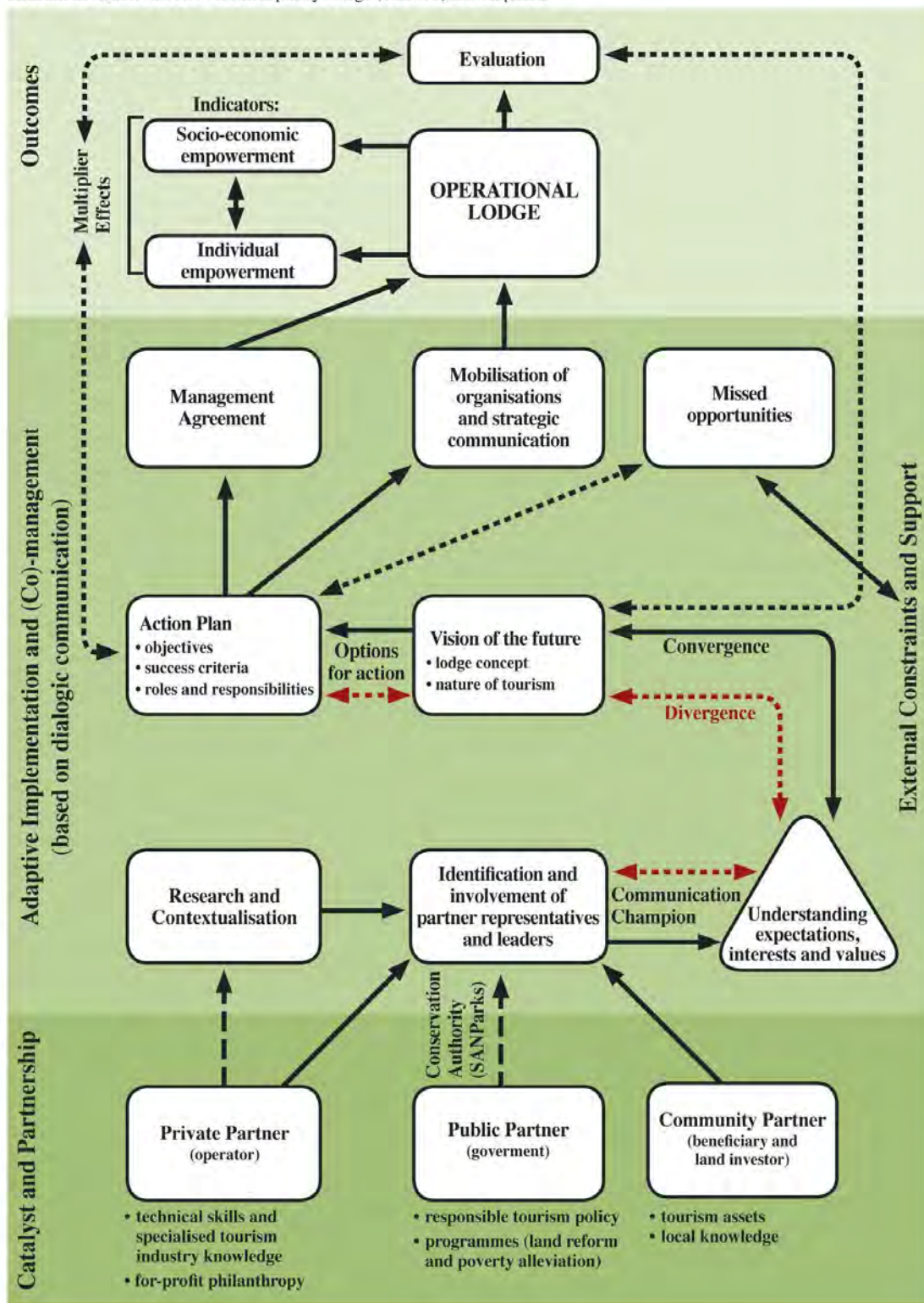
### **PPCP in Participatory Lodge (Tourism) Development: explanation of the model**

The model below includes the valuable components both from the CFPD model and expands on it to include variables relating to PPCP and the tourism development industry. These are merged with findings and lessons learnt 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 establishing and starting 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 is to be read from the bottom of the page moving upwards to indicate that a bottom up approach to tourism development is essential in order to secure buy-in from all the relevant partners (public, private, and community) in the common objective of the establishment and operation of a sustainable PPCP lodge. The use of arrows and feedback loops aims to illustrate the need for greater dynamic action and flexibility in the interaction between the different variables or phases, representing that in reality these phases or components can either merge,

occur simultaneously and continuously, and change direction due to divergence (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). What follows below must be read in direct conjunction with the schematic model (*see overleaf*). The model has been divided into three main components: i) Partnership and Catalyst, ii) Adaptive Implementation and (Co)-management (based on dialogic communication) and iii) Outcomes. The discussion will be structured under headings relating to each of these. The phase and process descriptors within these major components are italicised in the discussion.

Schematic Model 2. PPCP in Participatory Lodge (Tourism) Development



### Catalyst and Partnership

The primary *catalyst* for the creation of a PPCP lodge will more likely be 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 (cf. 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 in a PPCP. Resources that a community brings to the partnership are land and cultural heritage that are “commodified and transformed into tourism products to be presented and sold to consumers (tourists)” (Akama, 2002: 16). These cultural tourist resources can 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 & Steinberg, 2008: 150) and via long histories of interaction with the natural environment.

The *private sector*, in the form of a management and marketing operator, joins the partnership in order to improve the likelihood of outcomes from the public-community investment. In addition, they are able to leverage further funds to make the investment operational. The motivation for their involvement may be that they attain a new business opportunity.

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 realises 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 assigns an important 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, cf. 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 subsidised by the government and influenced by its policy. Public partners such as the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) and Land Affairs (DLA) are motivated by their national responsibility in poverty reduction, 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 identity 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: 119). Thus, the private sector is increasingly being looked to in order to translate these national responsibilities into reality via their business skills (Hottola, 2009a). They do this in partnership with the community partners and SANParks that 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 objectives, Katrina Brown (2003) proposes an adaptive management framework which, if more focussed 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. The complexity of this context will only be learnt through interaction and dialogue with representatives of the community partners, or in other words via *research and contextualisation*. The definition of adaptive management suggests a „take-it-as-it comes“ approach that is necessary to deal with what appears to be “the grey zone”. Working in the grey zone often “feels like navigating an obstacle course: clarifying what is being asked of us, understanding the conditions we work in, and on that basis adjusting our expectations and our communication methodologies (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 57).

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 as valid (Brown, 2003: 486, cf. Ruitenbeek & Cartier 2001; Berkes, 1999). These multiple values stem from possible 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 operations (management).

This section in the model accounts for the phases in the *adaptive implementation and (co)-management* approach that 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 lodge so that community partners can participate in the modern economy (the end/objective). 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 will be discussed below. (Co)-management, however, should be a PPCP goal.

*External Constraints and Support* is a CFPD model 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 constrain or support progress towards the development of an operational lodge.

#### *Research and Contextualisation*

TFPD's commitment to conducting research via talking with the people from Mier farmers to #Khomani craftsman, the South African San Institute (SASI), as well as provincial government, illustrates how TFPD ensured it familiarised itself with the local context and in so doing brokered new relationships and gained the communities' trust. Research into the local context should be an ongoing process as the social milieu constantly changes, bringing with it new conditions to be taken into consideration as these changes will potentially influence knowledge, decisions and operations. This first phase symbolises the exploratory research that needs to be conducted by the lodge operator of both the development site and of the broader local context. Partner specific research should then take place once there has been an *identification of partner representatives and leaders* (the next phase).

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 & Ramirez, 2009: 63). Andrea Cornwall (2008: 281) views context as including similar elements and proposes that it 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.



From the above definitions it is clear that within PPCP tourism development 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 will need to be understood in order to negotiate how best to plan development operations where all community partners' values needs are considered and where they feel they are not being overlooked<sup>152</sup>.
- Community partner relationships with „external agents“ such as NGOs, previous tourism operators and funders - speaking to these people about past tourism initiatives is beneficial in understanding local barriers as well as resources.
- 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 (cf. Overton-de Klerk & Oelofse, 2010). Entering meetings without speaking to people about their needs sends a strong signal that their priorities do not count and that the initiative will only follow the operator agenda. Community dialogues<sup>153</sup> 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 story) and community mapping (where they identify where problems as well as resources are located). These methods allow barriers to be known. Dialogue is a sustained form

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<sup>152</sup> While there are two community partners at !Xaus Lodge, this may not always be the case. For ease of representation, this generalised schematic model reflects one community partner.

<sup>153</sup> See [http://www.action.org/site/get\\_involved/organize\\_a\\_community\\_dialogue\\_session/](http://www.action.org/site/get_involved/organize_a_community_dialogue_session/), accessed on 21 Nov 2011.

of contact aimed at building 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.

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 essential 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 & Oelofse, 2010: 393) the tourism initiative may be socially responsive in addressing some of these identified needs. This research will assist in discovering the kinds of processes and power relations at play (see 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 & Figueroa, 2009: 1311).

#### *Identification and involvement of partner representatives and leaders*

This phase is borrowed and adapted from the CFPD model (Kincaid & 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 joint management board (JMB) with public (national and provincial government and SANParks), private (operator) and community (e.g. Communal Property Associations and municipalities) representatives. A JMB serves as a forum where representatives of the principal parties may take decisions on a basis of sufficient consensus 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 have been 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 must be distributed widely to the broader community (cf. De Villier, 2008). If capacity allows it, 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 turn well meaning efforts on the part of community development workers to their own ends” (Cornwall, 2008: 274). Some transformational efforts thus meet a dead end. The gatekeeper's interference may not allow the community partners to hear the intended well-meaning message as it is altered by gatekeepers (traditional leaders, chiefs, advocacy groups, organic intellectuals) with their own political agenda. Their power and influence lies in the fact that these individuals or organisations usually have the trust of the community over „outsiders“. It is thus important to know who these gatekeepers may be and enter into dialogue with them as TFPD did with Belinda Kruiper and ≠Khomani traditional leader, David Kruiper whose

support delivered community endorsement for !Xaus Lodge. Meetings were also held with the Mier Municipality to revive their engagement with what they thought 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 & 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 & 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 & Ramirez, 2009: 62) and the ability to build capacity for social dialogue (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. He/she can act as a trusted intermediary or liaison between partners as he/she understands local conditions and power relations. 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) thus facilitating community understanding, buy-in and commitment.

The need for leadership has been well addressed in tourism development case studies (cf. Hottola 2009; Allen & Brennan 2004, Rogerson & Visser, 2004). "Given the shortage of skilled people, partnerships may provide transitional solutions until educational systems begin to deliver" (Hottola, 2009b: 200). This challenges the idealistic participatory notion of automatic self-management (Freire, 1990) as it is unlikely that many communities have skills for immediate self-management. Instilling these skills should be an outcome of the development initiative.

Even if the form of leadership is directive it will be better supported if the actions and decisions involve the understanding by the majority of the people. TFPD as the *communication*

*champion*<sup>154</sup> 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 & 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 and there are different degrees of participation that may be viable (or not) to specific initiatives.

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 & Ramirez, 2009: 63). The communication approach for lodge 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 and so there will be a mix of both telling and listening. There will not be advocacy in the broader sense of the approach where there is a focus on policy change but on the level of social change in empowering the community to participate more fully in decision making (cf. Cardey, 2006) and by seeking opportunities to leverage funding and other resource support for the community-owned lodge. In some ways this is simply communication common sense or „lodge-ical“ thinking.

Jules Pretty (1995) sets out a typology of participation. Typologies are normative, setting out „the good“ and „the bad“ forms of participation. They frequently bear little resemblance to processes on the ground that can include elements of these different types. However, typologies can be useful as guiding definitions. The most relevant form of participation in the tourism industry is possibly “functional participation” (Pretty, 1995) that share similarities with the telling and listening approach, or directive leadership, discussed above. It “is most often

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<sup>154</sup> I will refer to the primary communication practioner 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.

associated with efficiency arguments: people participate to meet project objectives more effectively and to reduce costs, after the main 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 the tourism industry 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.

What is relevant to functional participation then is that “people may participate by forming groups to meet objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents” (Cornwall, 2008: 272). The operator could, therefore, lead the decision making by offering suggestions for the way forward. These decisions need to be agreed upon and even altered by the community and public partners according to their interests and values, in so far as they are feasible and will not detract from the tourism product. It is essential that all partners are not co-opted to serve external goals, but that they have the opportunity to both provide and receive feedback so that they understand that they are working towards the goal of developing a competitive tourism product. Participation as “self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power” (Cornwall, 2008: 272). 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 communication champion’s leadership approach have been identified, the meanings of the core expectations, interests, values, costs, assumptions and what each partner understands by “participation” needs 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: 484).

“The reality of dealing with claimants as both owners and the general community is very complex and daunting. Many difficulties are faced when working out the relationship” (De Villiers, 2008: 121). This is part of the “grey zone” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009) that the

communication champion will need to navigate through by clarifying what is being asked of each partner, and understanding and explaining the development conditions. Effective engagement of the community partner can be enhanced through measures that “increase understanding of tourism, explore pros and cons of involvement and generate realistic expectations” (Ashley *et al*, 2001b: 3). Based on this dialogue, expectations will need to be adjusted, including the amount of time it will take before the lodge can build momentum and accrue benefits and strategies devised that can best negotiate the bureaucracy that often stands in the way of „lodge-ical“ thinking. There needs to be transparency at the outset about what an operator (in fact all partners) can or cannot do (cf. Cornwall, 2008, Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

Deeper research is needed in this phase to determine the nature and size of each of the partner’s “interests, aspirations, limitations, attitudes, perceptions, hopes and fears, and the kind of influences they exert” (Overton-de Klerk & Oelofse, 2010: 390) and partner perceptions of each other. Conflict may arise due to differences of these factors between all partners. This information will be sourced via dialogues that take place in meetings, workshops and forums.

Dialogue:

is a conversation between two or more people in which participants seek to clarify what each one thinks and believes. Dialogue itself constitutes a minimal form of cooperative, collective action. The underlying assumption of dialogue is that convergence is desirable and possible, and that all participants, not just one of the parties, are willing to listen and change...By clarifying the meanings, values, and real interests of each party, however, dialogue also may lead to divergence and conflict (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1313-1314).

These forums will also be the arena in which conflict may be resolved via dialogue. “There has been an expansion of the „participatory sphere“ (Cornwall & Coelho, 2006)...with the growth of both institutionalized mechanisms for consultation like user groups, forums and councils and more transitory consultation events and processes”. Although this phase stresses the role and importance of these dialogues they need to occur continuously as indicated in this phase descriptor: *adaptive implementation and (co-)management via dialogic communication* that runs alongside this part of the model. Forums should include problem posing. Participatory approaches makes sense theoretically, but do not always translate to on-the-ground-realities, for example during problem posing not everyone can „ask“ the right questions (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 17, see Appendix H). The communication champion needs to be skilled in asking the right questions and noting the underlying challenges and problems in what the partners speaks of. 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 and then look for solutions and a way forward (Overton-de Klerk & Oelofse, 2010) [*my emphasis*].

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. Whereas tourist operators may hold national and possibly some international influence where their source of power may be in lobbying and technical industry knowledge while their interest would typically lie in commercial interests and a profit motive (unless following PPT or for-profit philanthropy business practices). The government conservation authority’s scale of influence is located at the national level where their 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 it affects communication between partners. “Participation as praxis is, after all, rarely a seamless process; rather, it constitutes a terrain of contestation, in which relations of power between different actors, each with their own „projects“, shape and reshape the boundaries of action” (Cornwall, 2008: 276). Chapters Four and Five highlighted how inequitable power relations within community partners themselves, as well as between community partners in general and more traditional power holders (public and private partners) can negatively impact on a development process. It is essential in this phase to make a distinction between different partner’s interests as doing so may undermine existing power relations and strengthen the community’s overall bargaining position as it did in the Makuleke case (cf. Spierenburg *et al*, 2009: 172).

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 people who attend meetings do not fully 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 and transport should be provided giving individuals in the broader community a chance to attend and represent themselves. In terms of logistics it should be the function of communal organisations to gather these broader interests by speaking to the community and then share these at JMB meetings.

Instead of assuming what other partner expectations are, each partner must enter into dialogue during meetings and forums with a willingness to listen (Quarry & 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 towards training highlighted by Isak Kruiper (interview, 28 Jan 2007) who views it 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) does not think that training is 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 material terms the Mier and ≠Khomani expected !Xaus Lodge to offer: 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, and v) an opportunity to learn how to manage personal finances. Community partners in other projects may express similar expectations, and others more specific to their development context.

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 & 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 the “distinctions that [participation] typologies present as clear and unambiguous emerge as rather more indistinct. Indeed, the blurring of boundaries is in itself a product of the engagement of a variety of different actors in participatory processes, each of whom might have a rather different perception of what „participation“ means” (Cornwall, 2008: 273). The communication champion needs to facilitate the dialogue whereby an understanding of what “participation” means to each partner is generated. By extension, the dialogue could also ascertain what empowerment means to each partner as empowerment is synonymous with the

participatory development communication model (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). These understandings early on in the development process 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*). Cornwall (2008: 281) suggests “clarity through specificity” or “spelling out what exactly people are being enjoined to participate in, for what purpose, who is involved and who is absent”. Doing this would clarify what is meant when partners call for “participation” and create clear distinctions between different forms of participation in the different establishment phases and its operations, for example, initiating and attending meetings, providing feedback, meeting tourists, attending training.

PPCPs call for 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 (Ruitenbeek & Cartier, 2001). The Cartesian ontology or profane rationality discussed in previous chapters as being typically (but not always) embodied in the private and public sector could be aligned with this way of thinking that is 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.

These 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 (Tomaselli, forthcoming) - need to be negotiated and understood from the start of the partnership and must consistently be taken into consideration in all implementation phases. Chapter Five suggested that 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 (Denzin *et al*, 2008; see also

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, this PPCP development communication model includes Aluli-Meyer's triangulation of meaning to acknowledge that development processes need to factor possible differences in partner rationalities, epistemologies and ontologies into communication approaches. This framework stresses the morality in knowledge production (Aluli-Meyer, 2003; 2008). “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 thus 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”<sup>155</sup>) in order to conceptualise an

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<sup>155</sup> 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), conceptualisation (mind), remembering (spirit); ii) instinct (body), intelligence (mind), intuition (spirit); iii) knowledge (body), knowing

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 by which *all* connect. It is not simply a linear sequence. All three categories occur *simultaneously*” (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.

Unlike Cartesian thinking based on dualisms, 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 focussed 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 Four as influencing what they expected from !Xaus Lodge. Development communication (for tourism) strategies with other indigenous communities may find the same thing and should recognise and accept this as a form of knowledge that community partners can bring to the partnership. Aluli-Meyer (2008: 219) explains the importance of physical place and knowledge 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 allow 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

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(mind), enlightenment (spirit); iv) ways of knowing (body), ways of being (mind), ways of doing (spirit); and v) word (body), meaning (mind), perception (spirit).

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 is an important concept for the partners to bear in mind when engaging in a 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 (2002) 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 & 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, 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 & Figueroa, 2009). Convergence is indicated in the model with a solid black arrow indicating 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 & Figueroa, 2009:1313).

Power comes into play...[and 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, and one or both parties begin to implement fallback positions. If one or both parties prefer this latter outcome, the threatened fallback positions will be implemented and an open *conflict* phase follows. If 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 & Figueroa, 2009:1314).

However, if another build up phase cannot be generated a possible fallback position would be for “those who do not agree or see an issue the same way as other participants to stop participating and “drop out”” (Kincaid & 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 & 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 thus be two possible positive outcomes from conflict: i) “[s]elf-organising structures and decisions can naturally flow from a strong network of robust and even conflict-ridden

discourse, and can stimulate new approaches to problem solving” (Overton-de Klerk & Oelofse, 2010: 406), and ii) in the case where this conflict is irreparable and someone leaves, convergence may 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 & 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 accommodation<sup>156</sup> with the objective to reconnect with the environment for healing and spiritual growth (Haq & Jackson, 2006)? Will it be a luxury lodge with comfortable accommodation as a form of relaxation and escapism, thus offering luxuries 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. Van Schalkwyk (pers. comm., 22 June 2009) notes that one of the base problems in establishing !Xaus Lodge was uncertainty as to who the project leader was and that the initial consultation process failed to generate a uniform approach to the lodge. 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 type of tourism activities to be on 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) are

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<sup>156</sup> 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 & Mitchell, 2003: 146) and thus they do not require the luxuries associated with many competitive tourism ventures.

decided upon the community partner needs to hold agency in representing themselves within the overall structure of lodge operations and activities (cf. 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 benefits<sup>157</sup> it also ensures “that they remain permanently „not quite like us, not yet“” (Garland & Gordon, 1999:283). This form of Othering (Fabian, 1985) denies the indigenous partner agency and must be avoided. 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 more 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 & Haysom, 2006). There are four overarching factors that need to be addressed in any pro-poor tourism initiative (cf. Ashley *et al*, 2001b). Three of them are applicable to PPCPs. 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?

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<sup>157</sup> 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).



- How do 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 & 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 but 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 signified with the inclusion of the broken red bi-directional divergence arrow moving back to *vision for the future* and by extension the *understandings* phase so that an agreement can be sought for. 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 black 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 (2002) notion of “cultural synthesis”.

### *Action Plan*

My model combines a number of steps that the CFPD model 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 (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

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 objectives set, and success criteria that are defined, are likely to be similar or the same. Objectives need to be set in order for the partnership to take appropriate action. 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, 2008:274). The extended period of time between a project’s conceptualisation and its delivery of benefits may cause communities to become discouraged. “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 “[b]e realistic and specific when setting goals. It is better to over-perform than to continuously have to explain to communities why projects are not delivering on time, or why they are not as profitable as initially expected” (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 employee 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 (e.g. fuel for game drives) including „surprise costs“ in addressing lodge site challenges (e.g. lack of drinking water, no renewable energy, lack of storage), as well as estimated rates the lodge would charge visitors for lodge offerings (e.g. 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 & 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 the most nominal forms of participation can give citizens a foot in the door if there has been no constructive engagement with them before” (Cornwall, 2008: 273) and may suit a development context where community partners may not be willing to participate fully (due to other priorities or nervousness to engage). 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 (e.g. community can identify a local and trustworthy grocer, and transport transfers by a community member).
- Pilot or “multiplier effect” projects either as: i) an additional service at the lodge (e.g. 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) (e.g. to furnish the lodge or sell in lodge shop), and iii) supporting local education and promoting local tourism culture with bursaries and internships.
- Training (e.g. field guide, hospitality, management).

Roles need to then 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<sup>158</sup>.

Sectoral fragmentation of responsibility typically riddles these types of development projects (cf. Brundtland Commission, 1983; Allen & Brennan, 2004; Rogerson & 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 (e.g. 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. Carrying over from the *understandings* phase, all partners must respect that different views need to be heard and not to base the assignment of roles and responsibilities on preconceived assumptions. A valuable role of these forums in this phase is that, if committing to responsibilities in a semi-public forum, there is perhaps a stronger likelihood that individuals and groups would see to fulfilling their responsibilities.

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).

During the collective action phase, it may not be necessary for community members to take responsibility for all of the tasks that need to be accomplished, especially if there are organizations that can help. Thus, one of the assigned tasks may be to obtain support and

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<sup>158</sup> The assignment of roles once the lodge is operational is discussed under the *Operational Lodge* phase.

assistance from preexisting community resources, such as schools, local health centers, and local media organizations (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318).

The operator will most likely 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 (cf. 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<sup>159</sup>.

#### *Mobilisation of Organisations / Strategic Communication*

Mobilising other organisations for support continues the intersectoral integration approach. Support will need to be leveraged from different organisations for different reasons. Some examples may include: NGOs, training institutions, schools, local health centers, 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

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<sup>159</sup> For a detailed example of a management agreement see Chapter Five for the !Xaus Lodge agreement.

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. As Overton-de Klerk and Oelofse (2010: 391) argue:

Proponents of the strategic communication paradigm assert that the conceptual foci in various disciplines - such as management communication, public relations, political communication etc, - are necessary but no longer sufficient conditions for achieving the strategically important goals of the organisation. Strategic communication, therefore, cuts across organisational endeavours, seeking collaborative participation at all levels, including from its identified stakeholders...In particular, dialogue and bottom-up communication with stakeholders is advocated, where the role of the communication professional shifts from management to the facilitation of forums and channels for discourse and free participation.

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 & Oelofse, 2010: 391), and the organisation that needs to be „presented“ via different forms of communication is the lodge as a tourism product. These forms of communication include "informational, persuasive, discursive as well as relationship communication" (Overton-de Klerk & 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 drawcard 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 that could trigger negative reviews (cf. Finlay, 2009a/b). As demonstrated in the Rethinking Indigeneity project, and particularly Kate Finlay's (2009a/b) role 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 Two (see Table 1. Dyll-Myklebust & Finlay, forthcoming) can be a strategy in improving lodge marketing. Finlay’s (2009 a/b) research concentrated on a semiotic and reception analysis of !Xaus Lodge 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<sup>160</sup>. 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 this study in the creation of the PPCP development communication model. These divergences were discussed with partners and solutions were found to address them 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, email, 12 May 2011) it is advisable to not represent the community as victims but rather as part of a 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 & Haysom, 2006: 270). TFPD’s approach to !Xaus Lodge’s development has gained it the FTTSA and Imvelo Awards. They strategically use this social and environmental responsibility accreditation on their website (see Appendix S). 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”

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<sup>160</sup> 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 & Liebes 1993:25).

(Ashley & 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 (see Chapter Five for more detail). These organisations' good names and what they stand for are thus indirectly *mobilised* to support the lodge by validating it in a variety of ways.

This "word-of-mouth" (O'Leary, pers. comm., 28 Aug 2007) marketing strategy needs to be extended by mobilising social media such as Facebook and Twitter. Facebook, like other forms of social media, inverts traditional communication practices, providing a forum through which audiences/participants, or guests as in the case of a lodge, can provide instantaneous feedback, input, dialogue and critique in relation to a given topic, event or space / place (cf. Smith *et al* 2011). In addition, participants can post photos on the page, or "Like" something and in this way it serves as a consistent form of marketing (see Appendix R). This is a key component to a marketing strategy given the growth in use and popularity of the social media as a communications tool.

### *Missed Opportunities*

My model's purpose is to guide the development of a PPCP lodge. So while *missed opportunities* are not a suggested phase in the establishment of a project, this category is included in the model. This is to acknowledge that when *external constraints* (e.g. 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 they undertook to do in the *action plan* phase, then missed opportunities may result, as signified in the model's broken line situated between *external constraints* and *action plan*. 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 attaining 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*

All the preceding phases account for the project's adaptive implementation as it suggests the development processes that should lead to an *operational lodge*. Attention also needs to be given to daily operations which could be thought of as adaptive (co)-management, developing methods that facilitate intercultural communication between partners, as well as tourists.

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 allowing the indigenous community agency in how they present themselves but working within the lodge's structure to ensure operational needs are met to sustain commercial viability.

A strategy to deal with possible tension between members from the community who have different levels of education and skills is also required. A possible solution may be to recognise the strengths of each group and valorise what they can contribute to the project. For example, the Mier have a unique culinary tradition and so can represent their culture in the lodge's menu. They too should interact with tourists as representatives of the local culture. Many Mier staff have previous hospitality training and are therefore hired in that capacity. The #Khomani are skilled crafters and trackers, and are accustomed to tourist encounters and so are 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 individual'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 (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, email, 12 Aug 2008).

The person to fulfill this role should thus be from the community who 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 may be more likely able to speak English than crafters, due to higher levels of education, and so can also act as intermediaries between them 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 sensibilities 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 be „backstage“ (Goffman, 1959; MacCannell, 1973; Mhiripiri, 2009). This „comfort zone“ may allow people to be more confident to discuss issues that may be divisive under formal meeting procedures<sup>161</sup>. 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

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<sup>161</sup> “Spaces in which meetings and other participatory events take place are culturally associated with groups to which they do not belong or activities with which they are unfamiliar or uncomfortable. Rachel Hinton (1995) gives the example of the use of empty school rooms for participatory workshops - a pragmatic enough choice, but the associations that this particular space has in people’s minds can be powerful enough to prevent them from wanting to enter it” (Cornwall, 2008: 279).

prioritise work, it may be easier in a lodge context where there is a bounded group of individuals (cf. Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) working to similar time schedules.

A related question to address is: how to balance the nature of the tourist demand with cultural sensitivity and progressive cultural tourism (Garland & Gordon, 1999) that challenges the typical tourist gaze (Urry, 2002) and presents a non-essentialist and dynamic indigenous identity (see Chapter Three). Firstly, it is key to introduce the community partner as integrated participants in a global cash 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 & 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 & Aldridge, 1996:61). These interactions should also satisfy the anthro-tourist’s desire for cultural enrichment (cf. Mhiripiri, 2009).

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 lodge’s drawcards. 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 (as illustrated in Chapter Five). It is hoped, however, that from the *understandings* phase and with regular meetings, the community partners realise their integral role to the lodge and fulfill their responsibilities. 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. A comprehensive discussion of my understanding of the term “empowerment” as well as its application to tourism development is provided in Chapter Five.

This section therefore simply outlines the type of benefit or outcome that should be included as an indicator under these two forms of empowerment. The two-way arrow between these grouped indicators suggests that they are integrated. For a more detailed explanation of these indicators and their application to the !Xaus Lodge case study refer to Table 2 for socio-economic empowerment (pages 206-209) and Table 3 for individual empowerment incomes (pages 210-213) 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, vii) self-representation and viii) social capital<sup>162</sup> and social trust.

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<sup>162</sup> Social capital includes “[f]eatures of social organization, such as social networks, norms, and trust, which facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1323). While this is represented in the CFPD model as a social change indicator I refer to social capital based in terms of the facilitation offered by !Xaus management staff in assisting the #Khomani and Mier with understanding legal paperwork in purchasing homes for example.

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**

The PPCP model will not be operationalised in *exactly* the same way as outlined above, as different contexts alter the development process. The model presented here crystallises this study's findings in the best practices of establishing a lodge to the stage where a lodge becomes operational. There is no closure to this model, and like the CFPD model, it acknowledges that there is a need for *continual improvement*. 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 & 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 & 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 but "perhaps we need to transcend „development“ not by pulling down the shutters but by formulating different paths to the same end" (Simon, 1997: 183). This model has adapted the CFPD model to generate a participatory communication model specific to PPCPs in tourism. It has thus attempted to formulate a different path to the same end of collective action, empowerment and social change.

## Chapter Seven

### Conclusion

This study has generated a public-private-community partnership (PPCP) model in lodge tourism that offers an abstract explanation (theory) and description (model) of the development communication relations under examination.

#### Development Communication and Tourism Partnership Roles

“The participatory model is more of a dream than a reality. The reason is very evident. The modernization model based on the political-economic power of local elites continues to impose itself” (White, 2009: 206). There is value in logical (or in this case „lodge-ical“) thinking when approaching development with multiple partners and where processes need to be put in place where the objective is not only economic outcomes but also agency and empowerment. In doing so it is imperative to avoid the monologue nature of top down development as “monologues suggest single, narrow strategies and explanations, removing empirical complexity from analysis, and may offer solutions that ignore community needs and concerns” (Dyll, 2009: 47).

Petri Hottola (2009a: 1) warns that tourism development policies are:

frequently riddled with unrealistic expectations...[T]ourism may be seen as having enormous potential for economic and social development in any location of a nation, however central or [in !Xaus Lodge’s case] peripheral...Potential there may be but it is not that easy to harness in a sustainable way. Tourism is not the last-resort magic potion for socio-economic remedies but a demanding field of economic activity that needs to be addressed in a systematic professional way.

Transfrontier Parks Destinations (TFPD), as the private sector partner or operator, carried the burden in developing !Xaus Lodge according to responsible tourism’s (DEAT, 2003) development agenda. The irony is that these guidelines are set out by the state for operators but the state does not always follow this agenda. It took TFPD’s “systematic professional” (Hottola, 2009a:1) leadership in partnership with individuals (other champions) in institutions to rectify this lack of social, economic, and environmental impact thinking. This is not an isolated case. Hottola (2009b) argues that this is so commonplace that the degree to which governments actually follow their own guidelines should be a research agenda within tourism development.

Community views should not be seen as inimical to development. What the Communication Initiative (2003) terms “good communication” is integral to these viable partnerships:

Good communication is like a good conversation - it is respectful, mutually beneficial, gives [all] parties a chance to negotiate and clarify points and leaves people feeling as though the conversation was worthwhile. Sending and receiving is not a good metaphor for communication - communication is not a linear process. It is the dynamics of interaction and negotiated understanding that needs to be addressed by communication professionals.

### **Problematising Participation**

A key question is: participation on whose terms? It is felt that if people are told when and on what level to participate it is not entirely participatory. However, there needs to be a plan. In addition, there may be self-exclusion and non-participation for many reasons: i) participation/development fatigue, ii) participatory processes take time and community partners may have other priorities (work) and so do not have the time (and often the skills) to define and drive the development of an initiative, iii) participation may be a foreign concept, or iv) they lack confidence or self-efficacy (they either fear they will be laughed at, or not taken seriously and thus do not see the value in participating)<sup>163</sup>.

!Xaus Lodge may not have achieved all that participatory development sets out to achieve in non-economic ways (i.e. community parties driving the development initiative), but it has led to improved social and economic outcomes for the local area (participation in the modern economy and hence participation in one’s own development).

People are usually satisfied to initially participate within parameters and ideally control should then be slowly relinquished once capacity by all partners has been built. In participatory literature the community is seen to be an expert, but they are an expert in their own area and thus the problems and challenges facing them or a development initiative, but an operator/communication champion is the expert in the industry and therefore in providing alternate solutions. Both sets of solutions should be voiced and merged to implement contextually sensitive and commercially viable strategies. Participation in its most ideal sense will not work across all programmes and in all stages of development within an initiative. It needs to be purpose-driven:

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<sup>163</sup>See Appendix H under “Paradigm 3: Participatory” for other challenges, critiques and biases of this approach (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 17).

It is not uncommon to read in reports, or hear in policy statements, that there has been, or should be, „full participation“ and „participation by all stakeholders“. There is a certain normative attachment to this that departs from what might, in reality, be called for in particular circumstances. A „deep“ and „wide“ participatory process might be the ideal, in abstract, but in practice it can prove either virtually impossible to achieve or so cumbersome and time-consuming that everyone begins to lose interest. In this regard, it makes more sense to think in terms of optimum participation: getting the balance between depth and inclusion right for the purpose at hand (Cornwall, 2008:276).

### **Tourism and Representation**

Problems do not lie in cultural tourism as a sector of the tourism industry per se or as a means of income for indigenous communities. Rather, there *is* a problem if the form of tourism implemented at a lodge attempts to represent an essentialist, homogenous and romanticised expression of a group of people, with no attention to the contemporary manifestations of a culture. The reason for this is that it frames the indigenous community as „distinct“ from modern society with the assumption that they cannot fully engage in the modern world, keeping them in a cycle of dependency. Generally, the indigenous or community partners in tourism initiatives are not well represented in the planning, design, development and management of their respective cultural resources for tourism, and are therefore “not appropriately represented in the commodification process in which local cultural resources are transformed into tourism products to be presented and sold to consumers (tourists)” (Akama, 2002: 16). However, not all communities are victimised in the commodification process: indigenous people are aware of how to use tourism to their advantage; labelling the industry as purely exploitative dismisses local understandings and strategies of tourism.

These strategies need to „rethink indigeneity“ in promoting a contemporary performance of self that enacts a restoration of relation to one’s past within a contemporary context, thus portraying a non-essentialist identity (cf. Nicholls, 2009). Holding agency in representing themselves has the “advantage of guarding against the reductive aestheticizing images that currently work against some indigenous communities” rights and interests” (Nicholls, 2009:210-211). This agency is in line with the overarching CCMS Rethinking Indigeneity project as it may allow a more complex image of local or indigenous communities in tourism to emerge as both “sovereign and relational, ancient and modern, autochthonous and invented” (Nicholls, 2009: 211).



### **Recommendations for the establishment of a PPCP Lodge**

- Research into local context and awareness of environmental, structural and community lifestyle-based challenges (this includes identifying an intermediary to liaise between operator, conservation authority and community). If there are two community parties, as in the !Xaus Lodge case, it is essential that the operator learns of their historical relationship and possible inter- and intra-community tensions in order to develop strategies to navigate these challenges. Research is also important so that the private sector can assess whether there is likelihood of a return on investment for them.
- Strong leadership by a communication champion but who also allows for multiple voices to assess community needs, challenges, values and interests. The communication champion must explain the reality of what to expect. Goodwill and trust will be set up in the initial phases of the relationship as all partners will feel that their opinions count.
- Development of a management agreement that outlines and adheres to fair and equitable rights and economic benefits that partners agree upon - operation rights, terms of contract period for the operator, payments and management fees to community and conservation authority as well as partner responsibilities.
- Continual consideration for how best to negotiate possible differences in rationalities.
- Continual consideration for commercial viability.
- Continual consideration for intersectoral integration in responsibilities and activities.
- Each partner's willingness to take responsibility for what they bring to the lodge - conflicts will arise due to power relations and possible differences in rationalities but each partner must be open to negotiation and dialogue.
- An operator who "rolls with the punches" and takes advantage of the coincidences and connections that present themselves.
- An operator and/ or management willing to meet a community half way in practical terms in understanding ontological requirements of the community partner, or in other words, the willingness to follow an adaptive management plan that sets out rules and roles but that is able to change if needs be.
- Strong strategic communication - mobilising the power of the social media to market the lodge, being receptive to tourist feedback, and adapting to meet requirements.
- Community partners must decide how to represent themselves and to also be prepared to engage with tourists (while tradition should be respected, it should not become the

excuse to „opt out“ of roles and duties as each partners has a role to play and if one partner does not fulfil their responsibility, it effects the overall success of the lodge).

- Lodges should aim to be a catalyst for industry integration in the local area by supporting and promoting smaller, related industries and entrepreneurs in the area (e.g. furniture makers, crafters, conservation authority events and training. The lodge must also integrate with local power structures (e.g. CPA, municipalities, NGOs).
- Adopt a promotion-from-within policy and encourage training to develop community partner commercial skills by mobilising outside organisations for support.
- Operate according to a for-profit philanthropy approach that leads to accreditation for fair, equitable and sustainable business practice.

### **Further Research**

The idiom, “the proof of the pudding is in the eating” applies to possible further research from this study. To fully test something you need to experience it yourself. I was able to observe, and in a sense experience, !Xaus Lodge’s development process. Whether or not the PPCP development communication model presented in this study will successfully guide other initiatives with similar partnerships remains to be seen.

Further study is therefore suggested in evaluating the application of this model. Findings from these studies will provide evidence to support the validity of the PPCP development communication model presented here, or challenge the model’s framework so that it can be revised to better represent the relationships between implementing partners.

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## Appendices

### APPENDIX A:



Photo of the heart-shaped pan (known as Klein Skrij Pan) situated alongside !Xaus Lodge chalets  
Source: (O'Leary, May 2011)

### APPENDIX B:



Aerial Map showing Farms on Restituted /Khomani Land and Local Towns  
Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, Google Earth, 2008)

## APPENDIX C:



Aerial Map of KTP showing Twee Rivieren, !Xaus Lodge Pan (Klein Skrij), Mier heritage land, #Khomani heritage land and Dividing line

Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, Google Earth, 2008)

## APPENDIX D:



Photo of Belinda Kruiper at !Xaus Lodge

Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 21 August 2006)



## APPENDIX E:

**Please include your answers below the questions:**

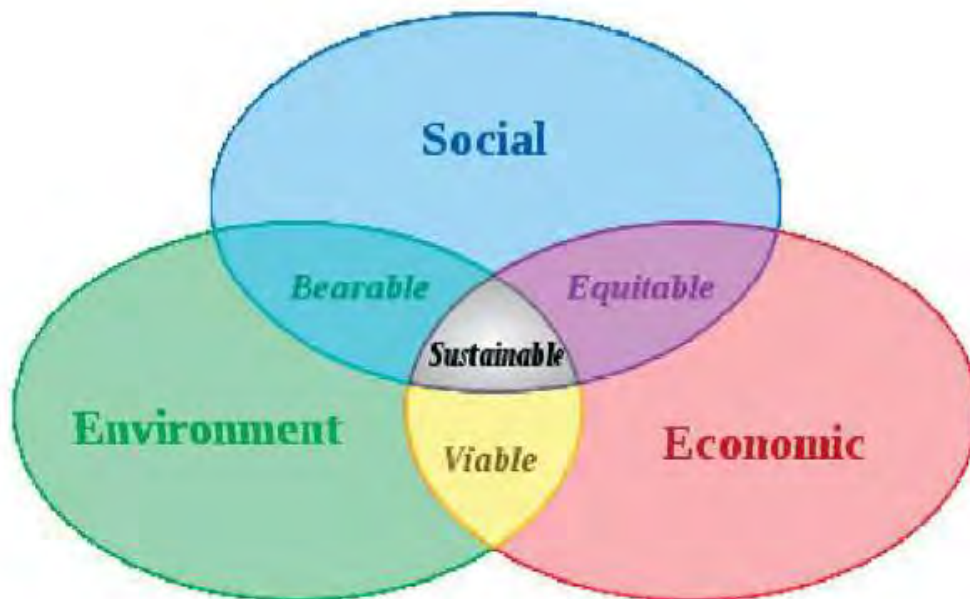
**Name:**

**Date:**

1. How did you hear about !Xaus?  
\_\_\_\_\_
2. Did you read the pamphlet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge?  
\_\_\_\_\_
3. What was your reason for visiting the Lodge / what were your prior expectations/what did you expect to see?  
\_\_\_\_\_
4. Please state whether you encountered any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip?  
\_\_\_\_\_
5. What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest?  
\_\_\_\_\_
6. What did you think of the text?  
\_\_\_\_\_
7. What did you think of the visuals?  
\_\_\_\_\_
8. What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge?  
\_\_\_\_\_
9. Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain.  
\_\_\_\_\_
10. What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any?  
\_\_\_\_\_
11. What do you know about the history behind the establishment of !Xaus Lodge?  
\_\_\_\_\_
12. Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how.  
\_\_\_\_\_
13. If you went tracking, what did you think of this activity?  
\_\_\_\_\_
14. How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge?  
\_\_\_\_\_
15. What has been your favourite aspect of this cultural tourism?  
\_\_\_\_\_
16. How have you found your interaction with the "host communities" at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge?  
\_\_\_\_\_
17. What suggestions would you give to the Lodge itself?  
\_\_\_\_\_

Questionnaire issued to !Xaus Lodge visitors (2008)

#### APPENDIX F:



The three factors of sustainable development displaying mutual interdependence and a fragile space  
Source: Wikipedia (Sustainable Development)

#### APPENDIX G:



Integrated systems approach to sustainable development  
Source: (DEAT, 2008: 15)

## APPENDIX H:

**TABLE 0.2** Development communication table: Three paradigms *compiled by Lauren Dyll-Myklebust*

Development paradigm	Paradigm 1: Modernisation/dominant
Historical background; institutions and policies:	<p><b>The Marshall Plan:</b> United Nations (UN) aid to Europe, 1948–52.</p> <p><u>Objectives:</u> To:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. provide humanitarian assistance;</li> <li>2. provide aid in resisting communism;</li> <li>3. create reliable trading partners;</li> <li>4. rebuild European markets for US goods.</li> </ol> <p><u>Reason:</u> World War II had devastated Europe's economy and political systems.</p> <p><u>Method:</u> Capital investment and industrialisation.</p> <p><u>Consequences:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Economic growth in Western Europe in next two decades.</li> <li>2. Beginnings of European and global integration – erased trade barriers and set up institutions to coordinate the economy on a continental level and established the basis for modern transnational corporations; stimulated political reconstruction.</li> </ol> <p><b>The Four Point Programme:</b> UN aid to the developing world</p> <p><u>Objectives:</u> To:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. continue world economic recovery;</li> <li>2. 'strengthen freedom loving nations against the dangers of aggression';</li> <li>3. provide the 'benefits of [the Western world's] scientific advances and industrial progress available for the 'improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas' (Truman 1949).</li> </ol> <p><u>Reason:</u> Assumption that the developing world's 'economic world was primitive and stagnant. Their poverty [was] a threat to both them and more prosperous areas' (Truman 1949).</p> <p><u>Method:</u> Modernisation, technological transfer and capital investment.</p> <p><u>Consequences:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Development a veiled synonym for Westernisation – Western ideals imposed on other nations.</li> <li>2. Frequently insensitive to the needs of certain demographic/minority groups and often results in environmental degradation, e.g. the removal of the Basarwa from Central Kalahari Game Reserve for big business to mine for diamonds.</li> </ol>
Development defined as:	Industrialisation, Westernisation, corporate globalisation. A linear process from tradition to modernity.
Central protagonists:	Primarily capitalists/entrepreneurs, plus the state, whose responsibility was to maintain law, order and a climate for capitalists to engage in profitable production.

Development Communication table: Three Paradigms

Source: (Dyll-Myklebust, 2011: 12-17)



Paradigm 2: Dependency/disassociation	Paradigm 3: Participatory
<p>1960s–80s: Saw appearance of the new independent states in Africa and the success of socialist/popular movements in Cuba and China.</p> <p>1973 world oil crisis: Members of the <b>Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries</b> used their leverage over the world price-setting mechanism for oil in order to quadruple its prices. This strengthened developing countries, giving them a voice in the move to a <b>new world economic order</b>.</p> <p><b>The Non-Aligned Movement</b> was formed in 1961.</p> <p><u>Objectives:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. '95 countries from all the continents ... united by the determination to defend co-operation among [their] countries, free national and social development, sovereignty, security, equality and self-determination';</li> <li>2. 'struggle against imperialism, colonialism ... all forms of foreign aggression ... as well as bloc politics' (Castro 1979).</li> </ol> <p><u>Reason:</u></p> <p>Critiques from these nations (led by Latin America) that modernisation actively underdeveloped the developing world, and mediated representations of the developing world were distorted and exaggerated.</p> <p><u>Method and consequences:</u></p> <p>Political, economic and cultural <b>disassociation</b> from superpowers:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. political independence and strategies for nationalism;</li> <li>2. economic self-reliance, e.g. <b>Economic Commission for Latin America</b>; strategy of self-reliant development through industrialisation and import substitution with the support of foreign aid;</li> <li>3. cultural affirmation and control over their communication systems – <b>new world information and communication order (NWICO)</b> called for the redistribution of media resources strengthening of capacity and the correcting of existing imbalances; the <b>MacBride Commission</b> (UNESCO 1980) lent structure to the debate; UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) accused of favouring developing countries; US and UK leave the commission.</li> </ol>	<p>Also known as 'Another Development' as articulated by the <b>Dag Hammarskjöld Foundation</b> in the late 1970s, although not mentioning the word 'participation' the ideas of 'Another Development' became an influential part of the theories of communication for development (see 'Objectives' below).</p> <p>Fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) and subsequent end of the Cold War changed the nature of international relations and, therefore, development. The new communication strategy adopted by UNESCO just three days before the Berlin Wall fell indicated a shift in approach.</p> <p>Communication issues, which in the <b>NWICO</b> had focused on the role of the individual <b>nation state</b>, now shifted to focus on <b>human rights</b>, freedom of expression and people's participation.</p> <p><u>Objectives:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. satisfaction of needs, beginning with the eradication of poverty;</li> <li>2. endogenous development relying on the strengths of the societies that undertake it;</li> <li>3. leading to empowerment and changes in power structures;</li> <li>4. sustainable, holistic development considering both social needs and the environment.</li> </ol> <p><u>Reason:</u></p> <p>Greater realisation of the complexity and cultural, ethnic and national diversity in state-building and development efforts.</p> <p><u>Method:</u></p> <p>Based on Freirean pedagogy (1972/1990):</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. local people as key agents of change;</li> <li>2. works via dialogue, and</li> <li>3. conscientisation and individual skills transference;</li> <li>4. development should not be coercive, overly centralised or authoritarian and there is no universal model;</li> <li>5. recognition of the limited application of technology (adapt systems instead of adopt technology).</li> </ol> <p><u>Consequences:</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. able to make community needs known;</li> <li>2. seldom applicable in large-scale development;</li> <li>3. the determinism of the modernisation and dependency paradigm is replaced with notions of uncertainty and relativism.</li> </ol>
<p>Political struggle for economic self-reliance.</p> <p>Multidimensional (no universal model, but varied in different nations).</p>	<p>Participation as a means to an end in which people participate in all stages of the development process (Melkote &amp; Steeves 2001: 337).</p> <p>Interactive and holistic, based on dialogue.</p>
<p>State/government as 'the incarnation of the will of the people'.</p>	<p>Local people/community – people cannot <b>be</b> developed, they can only develop themselves.</p>

Development paradigm	Paradigm 1: Modernisation/dominant
View of traditional/indigenous culture:	An obstacle to social change, e.g. superstition prevents the adoption of innovations.
Theories/models and theorists:	<p><b>Macroeconomic model:</b> Concerned with rapid growth as measured by gross national product; capital as a resource is vital to produce goods and machinery; trickle down of benefits via job creation and industrialisation. Rostow (1960) proposed every society would pass through five stages of economic growth, ending in the last stage of high mass consumption.</p> <p><b>Social evolutionary theory:</b> Idea of a dichotomous relationship between tradition and modernity as two stages on either side of the evolutionary process.</p> <p><b>Driven by behaviour change theories:</b> Attitudinal and value changes among individuals are prerequisites for development. Lerner (1958) based most of his theory on social-psychological variables, one of which was 'empathy' as the capacity to see oneself in another's situation; empathetic people showed a higher degree of capacity for change. Health belief model (Hochbaum 1958; Rosenstock 1960) was developed in the 1950s by a group of psychologists working for the US Public Health Service; a value-expectancy model that proposes that an individual's behaviour or 'readiness to act' can be predicted based on certain concepts (susceptibility, severity, benefits and barriers) he/she may perceive.</p>



Paradigm 2: Dependency/disassociation	Paradigm 3: Participatory
Individualism and dispersion of the people is seen as a challenge; traditional culture is acknowledged, but the culture that must come to the fore is the national 'myth/symbol/goal, e.g. South Africa's Rainbow Nation.	Central to development initiatives – a facilitator of development, e.g. sangomas work with The Valley Trust in HIV/AIDS prevention. Traditional knowledge is as important as scientific knowledge.
Still based on a macroeconomic theory but a rejection of the <b>relative economic advantage theory</b> . Modernisation extended the free-market model to the international level, assuming every country can find a 'natural' relative advantage; e.g. developing countries have the advantage of a cheaper workforce for the production of raw materials to export. Once capital is accumulated, these countries will raise their level of technology and at a certain moment take a LEAP towards diversified technology. Dependency theory argues this model is incorrect as the terms of exchange do not follow these conditions of the free market; developing countries only have a relative advantage in certain agricultural products, raw material and minerals that are always lower in price than the sophisticated manufactured goods that are produced under monopoly conditions, and the demand for manufactured goods increases more rapidly than the demand for primary products (cf. Prebisch 1950; 1959; Singer & Ansari 1982).	Paulo Freire's work in adult education set the foundations for this paradigm. His <b>liberatory pedagogy</b> of the oppressed places its emphasis on <i>praxis</i> as action and reflection on the world in order to transform it (Freire 1972/1990: 52). Important concepts are <b>conscientisation</b> and <b>radical social action</b> , which play a large role in the empowerment and therefore development of the oppressed (Melkote & Steeves 2001: 37). Conscientisation restores to people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experience and values (Triniseff & Aldridge 1996: 61). Process is engendered through action-reflection and <b>dialogue</b> towards what Freire terms 'authentic communication' (Thomas 1996); e.g. DramAidE's Health Promoters Project aims to limit the progression of the HIV/AIDS pandemic through a reduction in new infections among university students, learners in schools and communities in South Africa based on a methodology of critical conscientisation (cf. < <a href="http://www.dramaid.co.za">http://www.dramaid.co.za</a> >).
Based on a <b>neo-Marxist critique</b> : <i>Dependistas</i> held that reasons for underdevelopment are primarily external to the dependent society. Baran (1967) argued that underdevelopment was the obverse side of development; capitalist countries 'had become developed' by <b>exploiting</b> their colonies for centuries. Gunder Frank (1967) elaborated the theory with his concept of <b>'metropolis-satellite'</b> (which he used instead of <b>centre-periphery</b> ) to characterise the nature of imperialist economic relations. Third World nations (satellite) are dependent on First World nations (metropolis) that appropriate surplus from periphery.	Other key concepts include: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>1. Pluralism</b> – underdevelopment and conflicts can be avoided if ways are devised to protect the rights of individuals and groups to manifest their <b>cultural uniqueness</b> and find <b>acceptance</b> of it by others.</li> <li><b>2. Diversity</b> – formally recognised on a global scale in the <i>Report of the World Commission on Culture and Development: Our Creative Diversity</i> (UNESCO 1996), which links to the 3Ds (diversity, dialogue and development) approach and calls for the 'preservation and promotion of the fruitful diversity of cultures' (Stenou 2002/03: 1).</li> <li><b>3. Multiplicity</b> – Servaes (1989; 1991; 1995) emphasises the multiplicity of social development, which counters the view that all nations and cultures must follow the West's development model and that there is a universal path to development. It recognises that cultures and social contexts are unique and each context needs to generate its own process, thus giving primacy to the multiplicity of cultures. 'This is important for international aid agencies and development institutions that tend to globalize their plans and strategies' (White 2009: 214).</li> </ol> <p>A participatory development model needs to be theoretically sound, and <b>useful</b> to communication scholars, community leaders and communication practitioners (action research). Kincaid and Figueroa (2009) took up this challenge with their communication for participatory development model to organise and synthesise development communication literature and to address the issues of dialogue, conflict management and mutual understanding in development initiatives with community parties. It builds on Freirean thought with other theories and strategies in order to <b>contextualise</b> development initiatives.</p>

Development paradigm	Paradigm 1: Modernisation/dominant
Communication approach and media use:	<p><b>Top-down</b> linear approach from an 'informed' source to passive receiver with the intention to change 'ignorant' behaviour.</p> <p>Based on the importance of the <b>mass media</b> – as 'the magic multipliers of development benefits' (Schramm 1964).</p> <p><b>Bullet theory</b> of communication (Lasswell 1948) views communication as direct transmission of information and persuasion.</p> <p><b>Two-step flow</b> theory (Lazarsfeld et al. 1948) suggests mass media are more agents of reinforcement than direct change; first step of influence is from mass media to opinion leaders and second step from opinion leaders to broader population.</p> <p><b>Diffusion of innovations</b> (Rogers 1962) proposed that the necessary route for change is the acceptance of a new idea or innovation from an exogenous source (innovation often synonymous with technology); emphasised mass media and opinion leaders' roles in persuading people to accept.</p> <p><b>Social marketing</b> – science-based commercial marketing techniques to disseminate ideas, promote social causes and create brand awareness; make use of billboards, magazines, videos, e.g. love life campaign in South Africa. The 2003 billboard campaign was labelled ineffective as it used branding as an instrument to change behaviour without taking account of differences in culture, religion, belief systems and socio-economic contexts in South Africa (see Tomaselli's Chapter 1 in this book).</p>
Bias/critiques:	<p><b>Pro-source bias</b> – a top-down, one-way message flow that favours the source over the receiver and devalues cultural meanings and social contexts; programmes were often culturally insensitive and environmentally unsustainable. Links to the pro-mass media and pro-literacy biases (Melkote &amp; Steeves 2001).</p> <p><b>In-the-head-psychological bias</b> – diffusion of innovations did not occur as it had done in the West; researchers blamed the poor and assumed that development would not ensue unless the psychological 'maladies', e.g. superstition, fatalism, familism, religiosity and traditionalism, were first overcome (Melkote &amp; Steeves 2001); only in the 1970s did researchers realise an alternative, that of external constraints on adoption.</p> <p><b>Religious bias</b> – Lerner's (1958) empathetic model and its methodological framework is criticised as a Judeo-Christian religious crusade to civilise and convert the so-called 'unprogressive' Arab/Muslim mindset to a democratic 'innovative' Western/Christian ethic' (Bah 2008).</p> <p>The <b>two following</b> paradigms embody much of modernisation's critique – the <i>dependency</i> theory from a <i>critical</i> perspective and the <i>participatory</i> from a <i>libertarian</i> perspective.</p>

Source: Compiled by Lauren Dyll-Myklebust



Paradigm 2: Dependency/disassociation	Paradigm 3: Participatory
<p>Called for a redressing of the <b>global</b> information flow between developed and developing nations.</p> <p>However, <b>within the borders</b> of these nations the communication approach served as a scaled-down version of the modernisation paradigm – a top-down flow of information from the corporatist state down to the industrialised elite and broader population – development action is bureaucratised and all development action flows vertically down from the central planning bureau.</p> <p>The <b>mass media</b> system is an instrument of <b>socio-cultural integration</b>; e.g. post-1994 on the South African Broadcasting Association inserts between TV shows repeated 'Simunye – We are one' therefore educating the masses on the new national culture.</p>	<p>Communication is two-way, interactive and participatory at all times, based on the sharing of knowledge, as development is supposedly defined and driven by beneficiary communities.</p> <p>In order for this to happen, Quarry and Ramirez (2009) suggest that those who have some form of power over resources through their education and communication skills are willing to take their cue from local initiatives, demonstrating a 'disposition to <b>listen</b>' (Quarry &amp; Ramirez 2009: 9). People and practitioners who are part of this relationship of service are called 'champions'; e.g. Transfrontier Parks' Destinations' ability to 'resurrect' a poverty-alleviation project in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (cf. <a href="http://www.yauslodge.co.za/">http://www.yauslodge.co.za/</a>; Dyll-Myklebust forthcoming).</p> <p>Combines <b>mass media</b> and <b>alternative</b> communication networks in the society, e.g. interpersonal communication in workshops and forums, where all points of views can be voiced; folk media (story telling, puppetry, drumming) – an <b>endogenous communication system</b> that by virtue of its origin from and integration into a specific culture serves as a <b>channel for messages</b> in a manner that requires the utilisation of the values, <b>symbols</b>, institutions and ethos of the <b>host culture</b> (Ansu-Kyeremeh 1998).</p> <p>Communication should favour interaction, smallness of scale and locality.</p>
<p>Like the modernisation paradigm, it <b>fails to offer mechanisms</b> to facilitate negotiation, conflict resolution, and community or individual empowerment.</p> <p>Continues to make use of an authoritarian transmission model of communication signalling a lack of participation by people in national development.</p> <p>It practises a scaled-down version of modernisation within its borders; an elite is created in developing nations whose members share the cultural lifestyle of the dominant classes in capitalist states.</p> <p>'Self-reliant' development through industrialisation. Import substitution and foreign aid resulted in greater dependence on advanced countries for finance, marketing, capital design and technology design; saw further underdevelopment with growing debt, the dumping of obsolete technologies and the adoption of structural adjustment programmes, e.g. Zambia's textile industry (cf. Bloeman 2001).</p> <p>Many developing countries were too indebted to operate autonomously; attempts to legislate coherent national communication policies failed due to national and transnational media interests (Serraes 1995).</p> <p>Dependency theories have lost their radical appeal to the broader population.</p>	<p>Participatory approaches are <b>normative and present the ideal approach</b> to enact social change; makes sense theoretically, but does not always translate to on-the-ground realities; e.g. during problem posing not everyone can ask the 'right' questions.</p> <p><b>Diversity in community bias</b> – difficulty in defining 'the community' and therefore <b>all</b> perceptions and interests; can lead to fragmentation of funding into micro-projects often sacrificing much-needed infrastructure; thus research needs to involve extensive examination of the group's real needs and how these can be implemented.</p> <p>Participatory approaches therefore require a <b>substantial amount of time</b>.</p> <p>Freire's pedagogy may not be best suited to all contexts. Conscientisation and its praxis have influenced many popular communication strategies, including community radio and popular theatre in Africa. However, these examples generally happen in heightened oppositional consciousness; difficult to implement Freire's theories in the everyday African context where there are many minority groups instead of one large proletariat, democracy is lacking in many countries and thus public space for expression of dissent is in short supply (Thomas 1996).</p>



## APPENDIX I:



Photo of Oom Tietes Rooi at !Xaus Lodge

Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 21 August 2006)

#### APPENDIX J:



Photos showing poor construction of the lodge's walkway and chalet foundations

Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 26 January 2007)

#### APPENDIX K:



Photo of Johann van Schalkwyk (right) and Glynn O'Leary (left) recording environmental damage

Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 26 January 2007)



**APPENDIX L:**



Photo of Oom Jan van der Westhuizen with his wife and children at his home in Andriesvale  
Source: (Jason Elliott, 28 January 2007)

**APPENDIX M:**



Photo of Isak Kruiper taken at his roadside craft stall  
Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 28 January 2007)

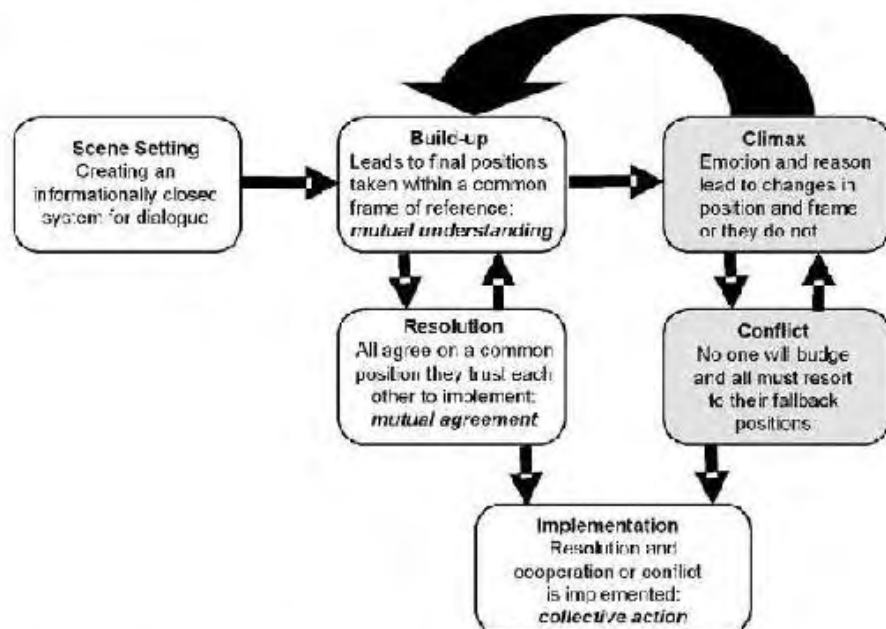
## APPENDIX N:



Photo of a herd of eland taken in the KTP close to !Xaus Lodge

Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 17 July 2007)

## APPENDIX O:



Communication as a process of convergence and divergence

Source: [Kincaid (2002), adapted from Howard (1999)]

APPENDIX P:



Photo of Deon Nobitson talking to researcher Karen Peters at !Xaus Lodge  
Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 14 July 2007)

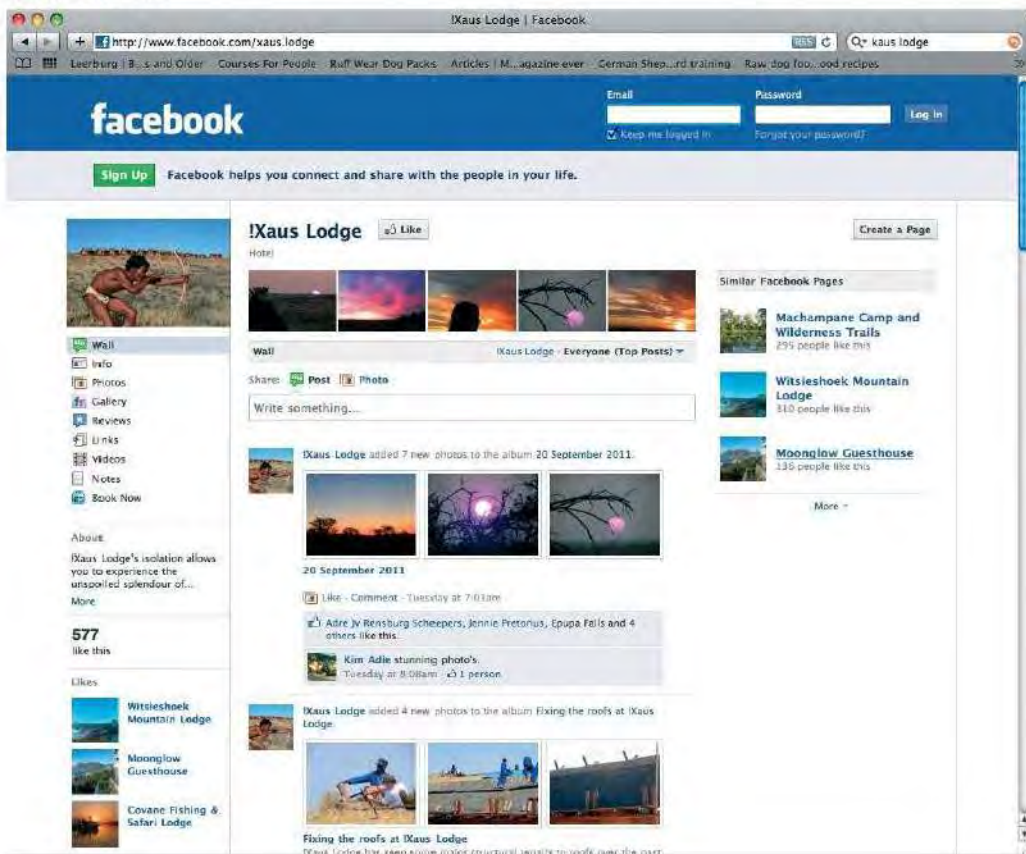


APPENDIX Q:



Photos of Mier staff: Roseline Strauss (left) and Annelize Malgas (right) (top photo) and Chef Elaine Cupido (bottom photo) at !Xaus Lodge  
Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, 29 June 2009)

## APPENDIX R:



Screen shot of !Xaus Lodge's facebook page illustrating user participation  
Source: (<http://www.facebook.com/#!/xaus.lodge>)

## APPENDIX S:



Screen shot of !Xaus Lodge's website 'advertising' its Fair Trade in Tourism (FTTSA) certification  
Source: (<http://www.xauslodge.co.za/>)



## APPENDIX T:



Photos of the local furnishings at !Xaus Lodge: Vezokhule wall hanging and pillows sitting atop chairs that were engraved by #Khomani crafters (top photo) and Meerkats by Themba Masala decorating a chalet with artwork by Vetkat Kruiper (bottom photo)

Source: (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, July 2007)