Close Encounters with the First Kind
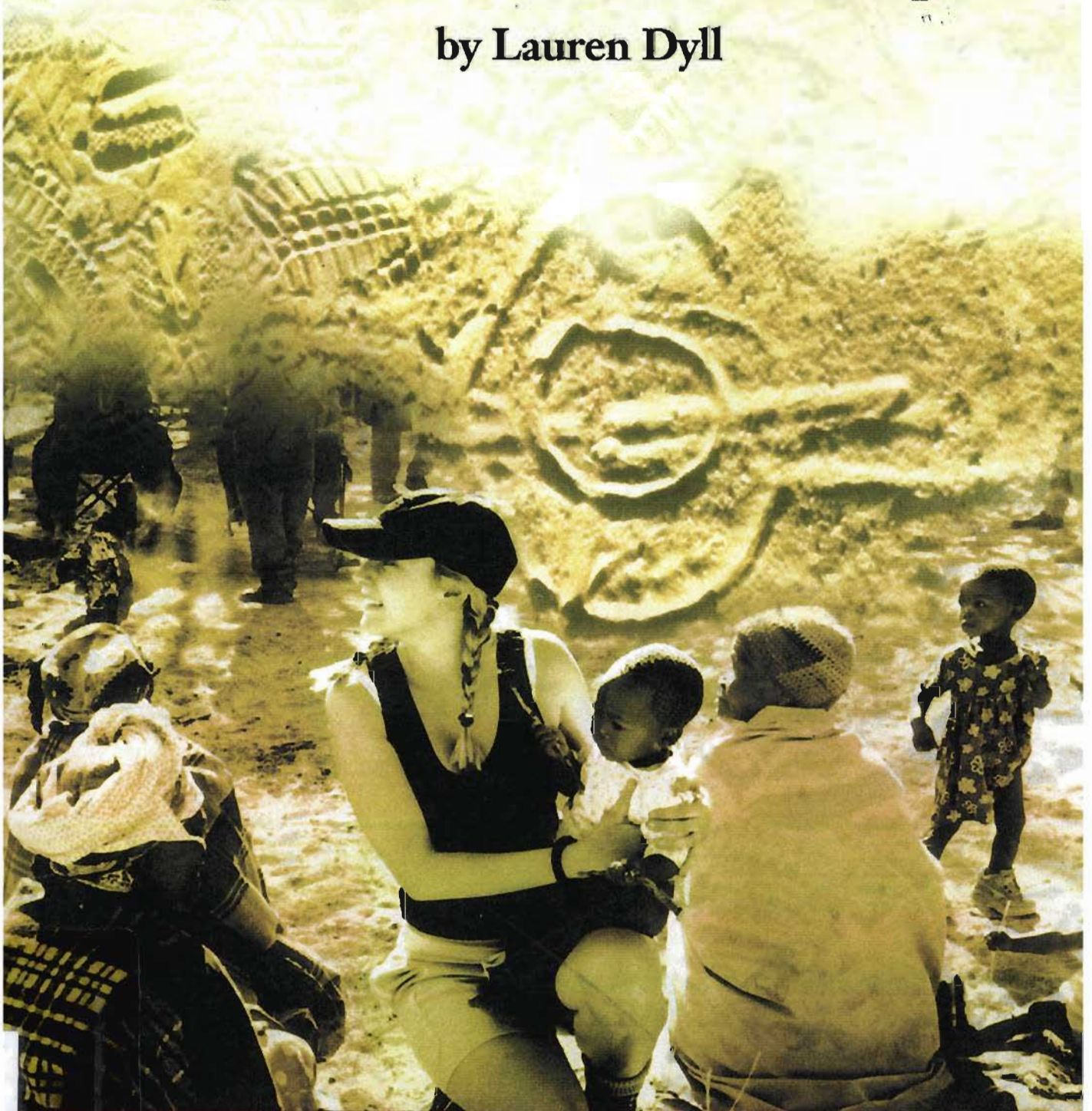
What does Development mean in the Context of Two Bushman Communities in Ngwatle and the Northern Cape?

by Lauren Dyll

Close Encounters with the First Kind:
What does Development mean in the
Context of Two Bushman Communities in
Ngwatle and the Northern Cape?

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Declaration

I, **Lauren Dyll (student number 981201194)** declare that this thesis is my own original work and that where use has been made of the work of others, it has been duly acknowledged in the text. It is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the Master of Arts Degree in the Graduate Programme in Culture, Communication and Media Studies in the Faculty of Humanities, at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. It is submitted as 50% of the overall degree.

It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination, or to any other university.

Signature: ……………………..   Date:…………….

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Abstract

The aim of this research is to investigate the interaction between the 'beneficiaries' of development - the Ngwatle Bushmen in southern Botswana and the Khomani Bushmen in the Northern Cape of South Africa, and the agents of development – local NGOs (Non Government Organisations) and Trusts, whose development programmes are influenced by broader state policy. The development programmes implemented by these organisations affect Bushman rights with regards to public participation in the development process, land, hunting and access to resources and benefits.

In discussing these issues this study draws on James Murombedzi's (2001) proposition that community based natural resource management (CBNRM) programmes that supposedly devolve the management of natural resources to the local population, may be an extension of greater state control over resources. It will investigate the impact of what Steven Robins (2002: 835) calls "double donor vision" on the lives of the Ngwatle and Khomani Bushmen. Donors and NGOs view Bushmen as "both 'First Peoples' and modern citizen-in-the-making" (Robins, 2001: 833). He argues that this dual mandate to "promote the 'cultural survival' of indigenous people and to socialise them into becoming virtuous modern citizens" (Robins, 2001: 842) contributes to intra-community divisions and conflicts. An overview of the issue of identity as discussed by Anthea Simoes (2001) who tested Stuart Hall's (1990, 1996, 1997) two models of identity in both communities, is necessary here to frame the discussion of development as being affected by differences in identity construction.

This research therefore seeks to discuss perspectives of the process of development communication and implementation in the two Bushman communities. What type of development occurs and how does this interaction shape perceptions of development amongst the Bushmen?

Different development communication paradigms adopt communication strategies and implementation programmes that best suit their goals. The modernization and dependency/ dissociation development paradigms fail to offer mechanisms to facilitate negotiation, conflict resolution and community or individual empowerment (Servaes, 1999). The development support communication (DSC) paradigm and to a larger degree the 'another development' paradigm, in contrast, encourage local people to actively participate in the search for solutions to development problems as perceived and experienced by them (Ansah, 1992). This research aims to illustrate, however, that these different development paradigms exist alongside each other in the field – this adds to the 'messiness' of development in practice.

The research frames the perceptions of and engagement with development via a comparative analysis of Ngwatle and the Northern Cape Bushman communities.

Acronyms

ANC	African National Congress
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CBO	Community Based Organisation
CCMS	Culture Communication and Media Studies
CHA	Controlled Hunting Area
CPA	Community Property Association
CRA	Cultural Resource Audit
CRM	Cultural Resource Management
CRAM	Cultural Resource Auditing and Management
DFID	Department For International Development
DSC	Development Support Communication
ECLA	Economic Commission For Latin America
IMF	International Monetary Fund
KDC	Kgalagadi District Council
KTP	Kgalagadi Transfontier Park
NGO	Non Government Organisation
NKXT	Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust
NWEO	New World Economic Order
NWIO	New World Information Order
NWICO	New World Information and Communication Order
RAD	Remote Area Dweller
RADP	Remote Area Dweller Project
RDC	Rural District Council
SANParks	South African National Parks
SASI	South African San Institute
SBB	Safari Botswana Bound
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
UN	United Nations
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Communications Organisation
UNWGIP	United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations
US	United States
WMA	Wildlife Management Area
WIMSA	Working-group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa

Acknowledgements

Preface

This dissertation forms part of a broader research project 'Observers and Observed. Reverse Cultural Studies, Auto-ethnographic, Semiotic and Reflexive Methodologies' that is headed by Prof. Keyan Tomaselli of the Graduate Programme in Culture, Communication and Media Studies (CCMS) at the University of Natal (UND). Contributions to this project that have direct relevance to my research include Boloka (2001a/b), McLennan-Dodd (2003a/b), Dyll (2003a/b), Francis (2002), Simoes (2001), Tomaselli and Shepperson (2003a), Tomaselli (2003a/b, 2001, 1999) and Wang (2001).

My participation in the 'Observers and Observed' project began on my first field trip to meet members of the Northern Cape and Ngwatle Bushman communities in July 2002. My interest in the subject of development was first piqued when I attended the Graduate CCMS course entitled Media, Democracy and Development. However, actually *being* in the Kalahari opened my eyes to the ambivalence of development agendas more so than any text could convey.

I do not aim to speak on the community members' behalf, but rather to offer my interpretation of the knowledge I have gained of their circumstances made possible through a dialogue with these research partners. In July 2002, the research team included Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, Marit Saetre (Masters students), Timothy Reinhart, Mary Lange (Honours students), Nelia Oets (translator and CCMS Research Affiliate) and Charlize Tomaselli (first year social science student). In July 2003, the research team in the Northern Cape included Vanessa McLennan-Dodd (Masters student), Laura Durington (interested observer), Mathew Durington (anthropologist and Post-Doctorate Fellow at CCMS), Michael Francis (PhD student), Nelia Oets and Charlize Tomaselli. In Ngwatle the team was joined by Fiona Archer (formerly, co-ordinator of The South African San Institute (SASI) and development worker), Sara Ceci, Silvano Motto and Giorgio Menchini (members of Italian NGO called Legambiente), Belinda and Vetkat Kruiper (Khomani Bushmen from Blinkwater in the Northern Cape and friends). Keyan Tomaselli headed both field trips.

Research partners or interviewees at Witdraai in 2002 include Khomani members Toppies Kruiper, Abraham Meintjies and Silikat Van Wyk, and Sisen Craft Project mechanic Adam. Belinda Kruiper was interviewed in Durban in September 2002. At Ngwatle in 2002 interviews were conducted with Benedictus Lesetlhe and Miriam Motshabise, who was caring for her ill sister in Monong (Botswana) at the time. In 2003, I engaged in more informal conversations with research partners than taped interviews, especially with members of the Bushmen communities. Research partners or interviewees at Witdraai in 2003 include Khomani Bushmen Rosa Koper, Hans Kortman, Piet Steenkamp, Jason a young man from Cape Town now living with traditional leader Dawid Kruiper, and co-ordinator of SASI, Meryl-Joy Wildschut. On our way through to Ngwatle I had the opportunity to interview Safari Botswana Bound (SBB) managers Johan and Ronelle Van der Riet at Kaa in the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP). In Ngwatle I interviewed

Miriam Motshabise again and was part of a group interview with Gadi, another Ngwatle resident and a recorded meeting between the Legambiente members, Fiona Archer, Belinda and Vetkat Kruiper and Keyan Tomaselli to discuss Legambiente's proposed tourism project in the two areas visited.

Chapter One: Close Encounters

Introduction

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 two communities in the Northern Cape (South Africa), where Witdraai is situated, and the Kgalagadi District 1 (KD1) Concession Area (southern Botswana) where Ngwatle is situated, community development and mobilisation functions through projects set up by development organisations in the areas, usually in the form of community based natural resource management (CBNRM) focussing on cultural tourism (see Appendix, map for the location of the two communities).

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 dimensions. Other agencies, especially if state directed, tend to use 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 and illegal use of funds. Evidence of these problems was visible during my fieldtrips to the Kalahari.

I was therefore inspired to focus my dissertation on an analysis of the interaction between the recipients of development - the Ngwatle and Khomani Bushmen communities, and the agents of development - local NGOs (Non Government Organisations), Trusts, managers of cultural tourism ventures and safaris and their programmes. Directly related to this is an investigation of what Steven Robins (2001:835) calls "donor double vision" and the effect it has on the lives of the individuals I have met. Donors and NGOs view Bushmen as "both 'First Peoples' and modern citizens-in-the-making" (Robins 2001:833). He argues that this dual mandate to "promote the 'cultural survival' of indigenous peoples and to socialise them into becoming virtuous modern citizens within a global society" (2001:842) contributes to intra-community divisions and conflicts.

This dissertation therefore seeks to discuss perspectives on the process of development communication and implementation in the two communities. What type of development communication occurs and how does this interaction shape perceptions of development amongst the Bushmen? The modernization and dependency/dissociation development paradigms fail to offer mechanisms to facilitate negotiation, conflict resolution and community or individual empowerment (Servaes, 1999). The 'another development' paradigm, in contrast, encourages people to actively participate in the search for solutions to problems of development as perceived

and experienced by them (Ansah, 1992). The crucial question therefore is what development means within specific contexts and to local 'recipients' of development. An analysis of the perceived outcomes of development strategies will also be included. Do these outcomes support or deny the applicability of models of tourism and development?

My research seeks to frame these perceptions of, and engagement with, development via a comparative analysis of Ngwatle and the Northern Cape. How does each respectively negotiate processes of development? Despite their differences both communities claim mismanagement of funds, assets or employment opportunities by NGOs or Trusts set up in the areas, lack of real support from their respective governments as there is no significant improvement in the welfare of either community, and division or continued disadvantage compared to other groups within the community.

Past arguments made by researchers attached to the 'Observers and Observed' project will underpin my brief but related discussion on the impact of cultural tourism as a form of development and the relationship between identity and development. I will particularly take into consideration Anthea Simoes' (2001) comparative study of issues of identity in relation to the Ngwatle and Khomani Bushmen communities, based on Stuart Hall's (1990) two models of identity.

Bushmen are disempowered in development discourses, as they do not easily communicate on an academic level, but rather a more practical level. It is hoped therefore that by incorporating the words and stories of the individuals I met in some way provides them with more agency in terms of their development. The discrepancy between the individual stories and those of the development organisations, which at times arise, aims to serve as a testament to the complexity of development.

Context

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 the beginning of humanity. 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, 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 20th century that has become its own cycle of marginalisation (Crawhall, 2001). The two communities located in the Northern Cape and Ngwatle embody this history. However, there are differences between the communities that allow for a comparative study on how development is negotiated in these distinct areas investigating reasons for differences and similarities in the development process.

The Khomani Kruiper clan at Witdraai have adopted the identity of the romanticised

image of pre-modern Bushmen popularised in the five *God's Must Be Crazy* (1980, 1989, 1991, 1993, 1996) films. In contrast, members of the much more remote Nqwatle !Xoo community presents a more dynamic unmediated 'Bushmen' identity (Simoes, 2001). Despite having been recipients of nearly R8 million in development aid since 1999, the traditionalist Kruiper clan remains poverty-stricken and socially dysfunctional. The one hundred and eighty or so Ngwatle villagers depend on a very limited hunting, crafts, tourism and migrant labour economy. Despite their lack of access to basic needs such as water and being watched over by a government that continues to marginalize and stigmatise them (Hitchcock, 2002), they evidence much more social cohesion, a clear identity and cultural stability than do the Kruipers at Witdraai. Notwithstanding the latter's more regular income from their clan who worked as cultural performers at Kagga Kamma in the Western Cape until June 2003, and for both local and international film and television companies (Simoes, 2001).

In 1991, the core surviving Hanaseb Bushman group led by the patriarch !Gam!gaub Regopstaan Kruiper settled at the tourist resort of Kagga Kamma near Ceres in the Western Cape, after years of dispossession and degradation caused by colonialism and apartheid. 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 Kalahari Gemsbok Park, from which they were removed against their will. 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), the claim was finally settled on 21 March 1999 (Grossman & Holden, 2002; Hitchcock, 2002). During a ceremony attended by the Khomani as well as the world's media to capture this spirit of the 'new South Africa', President Thabo Mbeki signed a land claim settlement agreement transferring the title deeds of 6 Kalahari Farms, approximately 36 000 hectares, to the Khomani Bushmen Community Property Association (CPA). In addition, approximately 25 000 hectares within the renamed Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) was to be managed as a "Contract Park", in conjunction with 25 000 hectares being awarded to the neighbouring Mier community. 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). Regopstaan Kruiper's son Dawid Kruiper, the current traditional leader asked the South African San Institute (SASI) to help locate his dispossessed people and any who might still know the ancestral language. By this time Dawid and his community had completely associated themselves with the Khomani ethnic identity (Crawhall, 2001).

Calls for restitution of land from Bushmen in Botswana have gone unanswered. In fact, there has been a continued effort by the Botswana government to relocate the Bushmen off their ancestral lands in the Central Kalahari Land Reserve even up until 2002 with the cutting off of services to the residential areas in 2001 to 'encourage' the relocation of the people. A reason

given has been that out of the reserve they could have direct access to services and 'could develop themselves' (Hitchcock, 2002). A similar situation is occurring in Ngwatle where Bushman residents are being told "Ngwatle is no longer a recognised settlement" (Miriam Motshabise, interview, July 2003). They are being urged to relocate to neighbouring villages such as Monong, Ukhwi and Ncaang, the town Hukuntsi and to the Ghanzi District in order to access better facilities such as clinics and schools. They suspect that this is why the government's water service to the community is slow and neglectful.

On arrival in Ngwatle in 2003 the first thing I noticed was that one of the two water tanks which had been broken and was lying on its side in 2002 had still not been fixed. Even more devastating was the news that an elderly lady had allegedly died of thirst and the community members were to attend a funeral that night. Hitchcock (2002) explains that some of the most contentious issues facing Botswana today relate to the status and rights of indigenous and minority groups. The government claims that Botswana does not have indigenous minorities; it argues, rather, that all citizens of the country are indigenous. Those who claim indigenous identity, say that their status as 'first nations' or 'aboriginal people' should be recognised and that they should be treated in accordance with international standards pertaining to indigenous rights.

Instead, the Permanent Secretary of Botswana, in response to the call for 'self-rule' reportedly responded, "Botswana owns Basarwa and it will own Basarwa until it ceases to be a country; they will never be allowed to walk around in skins again" A far cry from President Mbeki's words to the Khomani Bushmen in South Africa, "It's your land, take it" headlined around the world within hours of the land claim settlement (Grossman & Holden, 2002). Ngwatle is situated in KD1, a project that started operating in mid-1996. It is a Controlled Hunting Area (CHA) in south-western Botswana that lies in a proposed Wildlife Management Area (WMA), adjacent to the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park that is jointly managed by Botswana and South Africa. The CHA has been designated for community use and management by Rural Area Dweller (RAD) communities. KD1 is approximately 13 000 square kilometres and has three settlements within its boundaries: Ukhwi, Ncaang and Ngwatle. The total population ranges between 750 and 850 people. Ukhwi is the largest settlement with about 450, then Ngwatle with about 180 and Ncaang with about 170. The two major ethnic groups in the area are the !Xoo Bushmen and the Bakgalagadi (Flyman, 2000). Historically the Bakgalagadi, according to both Bushmen and Bakgalagadi, were distinct both culturally and linguistically from the Bushmen. Bakgalagadi had greater internal social differentiation, with headmen (and sometimes headwomen) who had a fair amount of decision-making authority. They were more hierarchically organised, with village councils (*dikgotla*) in which major decisions were made (Hitchcock, 2001).

In KD1 Bushmen and Bakgalagadi reside together (see Appendix, photograph 1). Traditionally, descent–reckoning among Bakgalagadi tended to be patrilineal, as opposed to the

more loosely structured band organisation and bilateral inheritance systems of the Bushmen. Bakgalagadi had 'home villages' or places to which they had allegiance and maintained a residence as opposed to the Bushmen's more nomadic lifestyle. Bakgalagadi spoke a language that was akin to Setswana, and thus had an easier time interacting with the Batswana and maintaining their language than the Bushmen. Therefore, many Bushmen perceive Bakgalagadi as having had greater opportunities than themselves to increase their livestock and land holdings and raise their living standards (Hitchcock, 2002). Bushmen worked for and were dependant on the Bakgalagadi and were perceived as inferior.   Two Bushman elders from Ngwatle, Johannes and Kort Jan (interview, July 2002) complain that the Bakgalagadi still have more benefits in keeping livestock and therefore raising their living standards, and the younger Bushmen (Lesethle, interview, July 2002, Miriam, interview, July 2002, 2003) complain that the Bakgalagadi have more opportunities of employment through the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT) than do they. Although it is stated that Bushmen typically build their shelters away from Bakgalagadi (Flyman, 2000), it was evident that intermarrying does occur. In Ngwatle the main languages spoken are Qgoon and !Xoo, along with SeTswana, a handful of people speak Afrikaans with even less speaking English.

The Khomani community of which the Witdraai and Erin group are a part, are spread out in the Northern Cape living in the Mier area, in and around Upington, Postmasburg and Olifantshoek (Simoes, 2001). The residents in this area include Khomani, white and coloured people otherwise known as *Baster* (Simoes, 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). 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 [Khomani] to be assimilated and almost extinct" (Prins, 2000:2). The Khomani Kruiper clan, who call themselves traditionalists, define their identity in antagonistic terms against that of the *Basters* who are said to lack their own language, culture and tradition and to be the illegitimate occupants of Bushman land (White, 1995). Language is an important method of excluding and dividing in the Northern Cape. Almost all of those considered 'traditional' are people who speak a Bushman language or Nama (Ellis, 2001) Only a few can speak Khoekhoegowab and only a minority of elders can speak the ancestral language N/u, as the Bushman identity was so heavily stigmatised that it had been suppressed both by outsiders and by people within the community.

Afrikaans is the language spoken by most people across the Northern Cape. The boundary construction between Bushman and *Baster* links back to the creation in the Northern Cape of the Kalahari Gemsbok Park in 1931 and more relevantly, the Mier Coloured Settlement Area in 1930 (Ellis, 2001; Simoes, 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 Khomani themselves are divided into two separate, distinct categories. The first group are the self-claimed traditionalists and the second the *westerse* (western) Bushmen. The traditionalists are comprised mainly of the Kruiper clan, descendants of Regopstaan Kruiper, an elder in the Khomani who began the fight to regain control of their ancestral lands. When Regopstaan died in 1995, his son Dawid took over his leadership. Since 1991 Dawid and most of patrilineal kin earn their prime means of income through cultural tourism migrating between Witdraai in the Northern Cape and the privately owned Kagga Kamma Nature Reserve in Cedarberg (see Appendix, photograph 2). Although a hybrid product of South African society, long divorced from a traditional lifestyle this group 'play-act' a traditional Bushman identity, don it like overcoats 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 Bushmen'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) points out how this may show the group's sense of cultural endangerment as they insist they are superior to the *Basters* with whom the *westerse* Bushmen are closely associated (Kruiper, interview, September 2002).

> 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 (White, 1995: 20)

This results in "ethnic chauvinism" (White, 1995: 25) as the traditionalists view the *westerse* Bushmen as having "[become] Basters" (White, 1995: 20) as they cannot speak a Khomani language and are engaged in livestock farming which became possible after the settlement of the claim (Ellis, 2001). The strained racial relations between the Ngwatle Bushmen and Bakgalagadi, and the traditionalists and *Basters* or *westerse* Bushmen in the Northern Cape will be analysed in the following chapters.

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', although Gordon (1992) makes a case for it's derogatory sense of 'bandit' (see Simoes, 2001). There is a desirability of differentiation for example 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 in avoiding viewing different groups of Bushmen as one homogenous group. Simoes (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 case, 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). 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 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. Nigel Crawhall (2001) 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 are 'sanitised' for political use, but can be oppressive to people who view the term as derogatory within their social context. I think it appropriate therefore to respect these research partners and in describing each individual group, I will make use of the terms that the people use to refer to themselves. In the case of the people in the Northern Cape, preference is given to the clan name Khomani. In the case of the people at Ngwatle (who are descendents of the !Xoo) identification appears to be foremost as members of Ngwatle, considering the mixed heritage of many of the members (Simoes, 2001). They will therefore be termed the Ngwatle Bushmen.

Development Paradigms

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). The different

development paradigms such as modernization, dependency/dissociation, development support communication, and 'another development' each advocate different approaches to improve the living conditions of recipient communities. This debate will be highlighted in the following chapters discussing what the development organisations within Ngwatle and the Northern Cape constitute as improved living conditions and how it should be achieved. Following this will be a critique of the implications of these development initiatives on the lives of the Khomani and Ngwatle villagers. Notions of development have shifted over the years. From the 1960s the emphasis was on economic development linked to the building of infrastructure and adoption of new technology by subject communities. This was practiced within the modernization paradigm developed after World War Two promoting and supporting capitalist economic development. It assumed a uni-directional flow of innovations and ideas from the West, typically from North America and Europe to developing nations, mainly in the South, prescribing socio-political and more importantly technological values, without engaging in a conversation with these recipient nations (Mowlana, 1995: 35). The works of Daniel Lerner (1958), Everett Rogers (1962, 1969), Walt Rostow, (1960) and Wilbur Schramm (1964) attest to this form of development.

Modernization when applied to Third World nations is criticized as a "veiled synonym for Westernization" (Servaes, 1995:41). Since the 1970s the modernization paradigm's theories have been found wanting. The futility of rehashing critiques on modernization is discussed. However, evidence of modernization can be observed on the ground in local level projects that aim to persuade people to adopt technologies. I will discuss this within the context of the Kalahari. At the macro-level, policies of governments and aid organizations, which practice this top-down approach, for example the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF), conduct research and implement schemes according to a positivist, behaviorist approach.

The dependency/disassociation paradigm grew from within developing countries themselves in the 1970s as a reaction to the modernization paradigm. Although it embodies much of modernization's critique this paradigm still considered economic development to be one of its most necessary tenets. From the 1960s to the early 1980s the new states in Africa and Asia and the success in socialist and popular movements in Cuba, China, Chile and other countries provided the goals for political, economic and cultural self-determination within the international community of nations. These new nations shared the ideas of being independent of the superpowers and moved to form the Non-Aligned Nations that defined development as a political struggle for economic self-reliance (Servaes, 1995). The original version of dependency and underdevelopment theory was outlined by Paul Baran (1967) and Andre Gunder Frank (1967). They argue that the prevailing conditions in developing Third World nations are not a stage in the evolution towards development, but rather a result of international structures imposed from the West. The capitalist countries, or centre, had become developed by exploiting their colonies, or the periphery, for centuries (Baran, 1967).

From the early 1980s more focus has been placed on community development in both

urban and rural settings. The development support communication (DSC) paradigm originated in the United States (US) and Europe to accomplish this task. This approach attempts to provide a middle way between the modernization and dependency approaches (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b). The term was coined and popularized by practitioners in response to the realities of doing fieldwork in developing countries. As disenchantment grew with the two previous paradigms focus on economic growth as the main route of development grew, the emphasis changed from viewing communication as an input towards envisioning communication more holistically and as a support for people's self-determination at a grassroots level (Ascroft & Masilela, 1994; Jayaweera, 1987).

The 'another development' paradigm takes the concept of community development one step further. The concept of 'another development' was first articulated in an anthology of papers by Latin American and Asian scholars in the Dag Hammarskoljd Foundation's journal, *Development Dialogue* (1977). Instead of *supporting* communities in developing themselves as development support communication advocates, based on liberation theology it views communities as possessing the internal capacity to develop themselves on their own terms (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Another development is geared to the satisfaction of needs beginning with the eradication of poverty, it is endogenous and self-reliant, and it is in harmony with the environment (Servaes, 1995). From these principles proponents of the another development paradigm such as Fred Casmir (1991), Paulo Freire (1972, 1990), Cees Hamelink (1995, 1998), Goran Hedebro (1982), Srinivas Melkote (1991, 2001), Jan Servaes (1988, 1991, 1995, 1999), Leslie Steeves (2001) and Pradip Thomas (1996) advocate a new paradigm of development communication from the criticism of the modernization and dependency paradigms, particularly the latter.

Since the demarcation of a First, Second and Third World is breaking down, the centre-periphery dynamic can be found in every region and the previously held dependency perspective has become more difficult to support because of the growing interdependency of nations. There is a need for a new concept of development that emphasises cultural identity and multidimensionality in meeting both human material and non-material needs (Servaes, 1995). This paradigm is known by various terms – another development, culturalist or what Servaes (1991:52) calls a 'multiplicity paradigm' or 'multiplicity in one world' perspective that calls for a pluralistic approach. There are other themes connected to the idea of community development, two of these are *basic needs development* and *sustainable development* both introduced in the 1970s. The basic needs perspective argues "for prioritizing the survival needs of the world's poor- versus assuming the benefits of infrastructure development will 'trickle down'" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:35). Sustainable development has been defined in many different ways. The most commonly accepted definition is that given by the World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) as "development that meets the needs of present generations without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED, 1987: 7). This

definition highlights the people–oriented aspect of the term. Although the term is criticised for being too vague, it provides a framework that can be applied at different scales: global, national, regional or local, and in different contexts. It is a normative approach that aims to find solutions to all current and future social, economic and environmental development problems (Oelofse, 2001).

Community development is one of the components of sustainable development as it focuses on empowering communities to manage their own environment, using appropriate technology and meeting people's basic needs in a way that does not degrade ecological systems. Instead of the top-down approach usually employed where economic development is the primary aim, community development advocates community participation and equity paying particular attention to those vulnerable in society. Communities with fewer resources, low levels of living and limited political power are most vulnerable. It is these groups who have fewer choices, lack of mobility to move away from negative externalities, and have limited coping mechanisms (Scott & Oelofse, 1998) as many Bushmen communities evidence high rates of communal alcoholism after being moved off their traditional lands. In southern Africa the most vulnerable are the poor marginalized communities living in rural areas such as Ngwatle and to a lesser degree the Northern Cape.

Development organisations within these two areas are engaging with the community in the type of community development described above with particular use of the Cultural Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) approach. According to James Murombedzi (2001), the implementation of CBNRM policies in southern Africa cannot be understood except in the context of the broader politics of land. The post-colonial state has to control demands for land and other property rights by its indigenous peoples, the former subjects of the colonial state, and to channel them into 'development' initiatives. CBNRM programmes are articulated on the logic of poverty alleviation and development. Control over natural resources is allegedly devolved to local communities in order to create new opportunities so that communities can benefit economically. Some benefits have already reached the two communities in the initial phase of these development projects, particularly in the Northern Cape. There is the danger, however, that communities become dependent on 'handouts' from government and donors. Not enough follow through is provided by NGOs in ensuring that the correct skills are in place to sustain a development project. Development organisations also sometimes tend to lose sight of cultural constraints within beneficiary communities and are not consistent in their grassroots bottom-up approaches. For example, ensuring that 'all voices are heard' may be viewed as a long and arduous process when donors or government press development organisations for results. This presents a real danger as with community development one is getting directly involved in changing people's lives. Intentionally or unintentionally misdirected development may worsen situations for local communities and can result in intercommunity divisions, communal alcoholism, mismanagement of funds, and unfulfilled promises that diminishes the trust a

community may once have had in development organisations.

Methodology

The methodology used to ascertain the empirical information during my fieldwork in the Kalahari included informal interactions (cf. Dyll 2003a) and semi-structured, face-to-face tape-recorded interviews with members of the two Bushman communities, NGOs and Trusts in the areas.

Informal interactions became a big part of collecting research material especially from the Bushmen. Walking about, I met many people, who were inquisitive about the new faces "Prof" had brought with him to the Kalahari this time, particularly the craft sellers in Witdraai such as Hans Kortman, Piet Steenkamp, and Silikat Van Wyk. This sparked off a conversation and the people freely offered their ideas about problems and what they would like to see happening in their community. This sort of unstructured interaction with "no fixed setting" is usually used "to understand the complex behaviour of members of society without imposing any priori categorization that may limit the field of inquiry" (Fontana & Frey, 2000: 653-4). As will be discussed below, informants in the Kalahari are not always readily accessible. The method of informal interactions was therefore useful as anyone I met presented the possibility of becoming a valuable source of information. In Ngwatle this method was a bit more difficult to use as most people spoke SeTswana and few Afrikaans therefore limiting those I could interact with to our guides, particularly Vista-Jan and Jon-Jon. In collecting the empirical materials offered in these informal interactions, I made mental notes and rushed back to camp where I jotted notes down, keeping in mind the suggestions made by Lofland (1971) that regardless of the circumstances, researchers should take notes regularly and promptly, write everything down no matter how unimportant it may seem at the time, try to be as inconspicuous as possible while doing so and then analyse their notes frequently.

My semi-structured face-to-face recorded interviews were also conducted with community members such as Toppies Kruiper in Witdraai or Miriam Motshabise from Ngwatle where a meeting had been set up after an informal interaction the previous day, but especially with existing or previous employees of NGOs, or Safari Botswana Bound (SBB) where the interaction was not so spontaneous. These types of interviews may be defined as "the establishment of a human-to-human relation with the respondent and the desire to *understand* rather than to *explain*" (Fontana & Frey, 2000: 654) Although the interviews were structured in that I "try to remain close to the guidelines of the topic of inquiry" (Fontana and Frey, 2000: 660), which in this case is development, I employed open-ended questions allowing the respondent to also choose the course that the interview would flow, and conducted the interview in a space where the respondent was comfortable. Traditionally, it is suggested that although an interview is semi-structured researchers should still "avoid getting involved in a "real" conversation in which he or she answers questions asked by the respondent or provides personal

opinions on the matters discussed" (Fontana and Frey, 2000:660). I found this difficult in some circumstances where I automatically shared empathetic understanding with the respondents in describing their conditions. This occurred particularly with Miriam Motshabise (see Appendix, photograph 3), for example, who describes how the Rural Area Dwellers Project (RADP) in KD1 paid for her schooling

> then I failed when I was supposed to go to Form 4 and 5. I completed form 5 in 1999, then I fell pregnant. The officer at RADP he's the one who gave me this, this girl. He don't take care of her… Hey they are strong. If I going there and report the person at…the District Officer…he's (cries) go around searching for the traditional doctor and kill her (interview, July 2002).

I found it difficult to remain passive and objective when Miriam was crying, telling me personal aspects of her life and therefore felt it necessary to "deviate from the "ideal" of a cool, distant, and rational interviewer" (Fontana & Frey, 2000: 653) and speak to her not simply as another respondent but as someone with real dreams and fears. I collected the empirical material during these semi-structured face-to-face interviews by using a tape-recorder held as inconspicuously as possible, as I felt that it would be less distracting for the respondent than if I had to take notes during the interview and I could focus on what was being said in order to ask lead on questions. Fortunately, for the research conducted in the 'Observer, Observed' project, Tomaselli has created a good rapport amongst many members in the two communities who know exactly why we are there. However I felt it was ethically important to receive consent by the respondent after having truthfully reminded him/her about the research.

The goal of my research is to illuminate some of the encounters and problems confronted by development workers and supposed beneficiary communities. I attempt to utilise ethnographic methodology to better illustrate problems I was confronted with during my fieldwork. The research methods I applied to study, overcome differences, and write about our host communities include auto-ethnography defined as:

> an autobiographical genre of writing and research that displays multiple layers of consciousness, connecting the personal to the cultural. Back and forth auto-ethnographers 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 (Ellis & Bochner, 2001: 739).

Sensuous ethnography (Stoller, 1984,1998) and campfire dissemination/interaction (Tomaselli 2003 a/b) are also applied engaging in reflexive research (Fabian, 1971,1985,1990; Ruby, 1977, 1980, 1982; Tomaselli, 1999) where there is a "primary focus on the culture or subculture" but where "authors use their own experiences in the culture to reflexively bend back on the self and look more deeply at the self-other interactions" (Ellis & Bochner, 2001:740). These approaches allow for the perpetuation of the broader project's intent of providing "a way for informants to

develop a record and for themselves to impact both wider perception and policy via that record" (Tomaselli, 2003a: 4).

In my experience of engaging with the communities and their negotiations with development and hence identity construction, I will attempt to reflexively analyse tensions and contradictions experienced between the Bushmen communities, development agencies and myself (Tomaselli, 2003a/b; Robins 2001; Ellis, 2001).

What must be acknowledged here is that although I am discussing aspects of anthropological and ethnographic methodology and writing, my research is not truly ethnographic in the sense that I have not conducted long-term participatory observation in the two communities. Instead, the theories and methodologies of ethnography, auto-ethnography and reflexivity, terms that are used somewhat interchangeably in the literature on qualitative research, are useful to my research as a frame of reference to describe my participatory field research with the Bushman communities and as guides for my writing process. Tomaselli (2003a: 19) similarly explains:

> perhaps what we are doing is *something of an auto-ethnography* [italics added] in which we are developing self-reflexive methodologies to explain the nature of our encounters with the people who talk to us, host us and sing about us. This is connected to us trying to explain to our desk-bound colleagues the need to engage real people under the often-debilitating circumstances in which they live, love and die.

What may be a preferable description then is that in my close encounter, and not ethnographic investigations, with the Ngwatle and Northern Cape communities I attempt to embellish an applied cultural studies approach through actual fieldwork. I am more concerned with perceptions of development and the nature of relations between development agencies and the Bushmen community members.

I also draw specifically from the reflexive methodologies and concepts propounded by Johannes Fabians and his confrontational mode of ethnographic fieldwork (1985), and the act of representation of the 'Other' as praxis (1987). The second theorist is Jay Ruby (1977:4) on reflexivity, which involves the knowledge of "what aspects of self are necessary to reveal so that an audience is able to understand both the process employed and the resultant product and to know that the revelation itself is purposive, intentional and not merely narcissistic or accidentally revealing". I also take into account Paul Stoller's (1984; 1998) concept of sensuous ethnography as a reflexive methodology that allows our senses to be penetrated by the world of 'the other' instead of simply allowing our senses to penetrate the Other's world.

Confrontation is an epistemological prerequisite for ethnography and political-historical domination, such as imperialism, embodies ideological crutches in the form of theories *that deny the confrontational, let us call it "dialectical" nature of human knowledge about other human beings* (Fabian 1985). My dissertation attempts to illustrate this confrontational and dialectical

nature of human knowledge as a negotiation between people in the "practice of fieldwork as a personal, first-hand experience of another society" which Fabian calls for (1985:23). Research within the broader project 'Observers and Observed' has been criticised for incorporating extensive quotations from our research participants. However, invoking the dialogue between development workers, researchers and research participants serves to stress the intersubjective and confrontational nature of my ethnographic investigations. This "signals an attempt to go beyond positivism and scientism" as experimenting with these more "subjective and dialogical genres will begin to undermine the kind of naïve security that went together with belief in scientific objectivity and the neutral nature of scientific prose" (Fabian, 1987: 768).

In terms of representation in anthropology, Fabian suggests that we must not locate the problem in a difference between reality and its images, but in a tension between re-presentation and *presence*. This helps to reaffirm the primacy of experience that requires presence (time and place), and stresses the processual nature and productive nature of representation, "not in the weak sense of the term in which *process* can signify any activity or sequence occurring in time, and *production* anything that precedes what one chooses to take as a result or outcome, but in the strong sense of transforming, fashioning and creating" (Fabian, 1987:755). Fabian's realisation that ethnographic data is not given but made through communication and that ethnographic material can become subjective and autobiographical leads into theories propounded by Ruby.

Ruby (1977: 3) believes that filmmakers along with anthropologists have an ethical, political, aesthetic and scientific obligation to be reflexive and self-critical and he criticises contemporary ethnographic filmmakers for their lack of explicit methodology. This methodology is the exposition of the Producer-Process element in what he believes to be the 'dialectical unity' between Producer-Process-Product borrowed from Fabian's (1971) praxis of Producer-Production-Product. Ruby concludes that unless the Producer-Process *in conjunction* with the product is revealed, a critical and sophisticated understanding of the product is impossible (Tomaselli, 1999:207) and the filmmaker, or in the case of other forms of representation, the researcher simply "hide[s] under the guise of objectivity" (Ruby, 1977:5).

Although Ruby speaks of his concept of reflexivity as it applies to documentary film, I have borrowed his method of the producer "deliberately and intentionally revealing to his audience the underlying epistemological assumptions which caused him to formulate a set of questions in a particular, to seek answers to these questions in a particular way and finally to present his findings in a particular way" (Ruby, 1977:4) to write about my research with the Ngwatle and Northern Cape communities. I aim to present my research not merely as a record of event, rather, I want to call attention to the research/encounters as something that is constructed from my own subjectivity as a South African middle class white woman approaching this study and the implications of this as "only if a producer decides to make his awareness of self a public matter and conveys that knowledge to his audience is it possible to regard the product as reflexive" (Ruby, 1977:4). However, the dependency on reflexivity presents the danger that the

subject of the study frequently becomes the author and the reader does not learn about the culture and people one is engaging with. I therefore attempt to engage a reflexive methodology but keeping in mind the question, what is the reader going to gain in knowledge about the subject culture? 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 other's perceptions." Certain Khomani such as Silikat Van Wyk and Rosa Koper frequently made me aware of this. This self-consciousness necessarily 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). In the Kalahari 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 will somehow impact on their situation but simultaneously estranged due the fact that my subjectivity 'Others' me. I do not have a full understanding of Afrikaans that is the spoken language and I felt confusion due to gaps and contradictions in the stories I was told.

Stoller (1984:554) questions whether interpretations from the 'outside' in the form of social theories "directed toward an ethnographic Other" are adequate representations of the Other's social reality. This ethnographic realism is sought in the tradition of Plato to create order out of flux and to turn away from subjective involvement to objectivity and from opinion to knowledge (Stoller, 1984:102). We discover the reality (the One) hidden behind many appearances (the Many) and thereby arrive at 'truth'. The search for the One in the Many has been at the heart of Western scholarly discourse and unfortunately leads to the dissolution of man in which ethnographic analysis tries to arrive at invariants beyond the empirical diversity of societies (Geertz, 1973; Levi Strauss, 1969), so that from bits and pieces of data realist ethnographies attempt to "evoke a social and cultural totality" (Marcus & Cushman, 1982: 29). Historically, as a result of these conventions anthropological writing went through a stage as flat and neutral, similar to texts in the natural sciences, perhaps as an attempt to legitimise the scientific nature of anthropology.

Tomaselli (2002) critiques this textual orientation arguing that in the past the mess and confusion found in everyday life, as well as the supernatural was "bracketed out" (Husserl, 1969) as they obscured the clarity of structure. Texts became walls that academics inserted between 'us' and 'them' to protect us from having to deal with ambiguities, contradiction and confusion of everyday life (Conquergood, 1998; Malan, 1995; Pollock, 1998). My experience in the Kalahari proved to me that there is not one truth or reality but rather reality is multifaceted with many different voices representing different interpretations according to one's own culture, belief and values. My research will therefore not attempt to "evoke a social and cultural totality" but rather to illuminate the different realities, specifically with regards to development, which I encountered during my fieldwork, and how these various realities, cultures and subcultures add to the complexity and 'mess' of attempting development within a community comprising of such

differences.

Reflexive ethnographic methods outlined by Fabian, Ruby and Stoller incorporate strategies that ask researchers to "assess critically the relationship among anthropological discourse, Western metaphysics, and how we as anthropologists [or, in my case as a student of cultural studies doing ethnographic fieldwork] orient ourselves to the world" (Stoller, 1984: 105). Stoller (1984) enquires further however, asking whether there are other dimensions of discourse, other conventions of representation that may carry anthropology yet deeper into the being of the Other? In this sense Stoller is looking for a mode which unlike *ethnographic realism* and its reliance on textualism will be able to highlight "the flux of human relationships, the ways in which meanings are intersubjectively integrated, embodied in gestures and performance, as well as in words (Jousse, 1997; Bakhtin, 1986) and connected to both material and spiritual processes (Stoller 1992)" (Tomaselli, 2002:1). Stoller (1984:94) advocates the use of a 'surreal' approach in the field where we learn to 'read' and 'write' in a manner similar to the way the painter paints so that we may be able to revivify works in order that they become the study of human *being* as well as that of behaviour. He argues for the creation of a new discourse (with style and voice) in which "the indirect language of the author brings the reader into contact with 'brute and wild being'" where "informants become people with distinct personalities, like and dislikes, strengths and weaknesses, thoughts and powers of observation" (Stoller, 1984:109) allowing the reader to discover a new thought, feeling and appreciation through sensuous ethnography.

Reviewing the concepts propounded by the above scholars created an awareness and understanding of a few of the possible limitations and considerations faced during fieldwork. To establish a clearly defined research population into focus groups in the Kalahari is virtually impossible. In an African context things are not always orderly and linear, but rather time is experienced spatially and cyclically where community plays a large role. This is evidenced while interviewing a community member when individuals passing by who also want to share their views frequently join us. We often do not always speak to those we intend to, as forcing them to sit down for an interview may be a hindrance to their daily activities, be it collecting water, purchasing alcohol or attending to tourists buying from their roadside stalls. Informal conversations often become important dialogical research interactions. We often find ourselves in places where individuals are comfortable being interviewed, and in turn we must adopt a fluid, organic research methodology to correspond to the haphazard environment in which we find ourselves. For example, on embarking for my second fieldwork trip in July 2003 I wanted to include interviews with the same people I had interviewed in July 2002 on my first fieldtrip. From reading the first set of interviews I had gained an idea about what was important to each person with regards to development and learnt about a few projects he/she wished to get off the ground. In my second set of interviews therefore I wanted to ascertain whether any real progress had occurred within the areas in the past year and if their perceptions of development had

changed at all.

One of the people I wanted to speak to again was Abraham Meintjies, previous manager of the *Tentepark* at Witdraai and resident on the farm, Erin. After a hot and (what we thought) long walk from our campsite fellow researcher, Vanessa McLennan-Dodd and I arrived at Erin to speak to Abraham. It was a Saturday afternoon and Abraham was sleeping. Not wanting to impose I told his wife Rosa Koper that she must not wake him up. Impressed that we had walked to see them and not driven up in the Nissan Sani, Rosa asked us if we wanted to go for a walk in *die veldt* (the bush). We agreed and enjoyed a two-hour walk with Rosa where we exchanged stories of our families and Rosa told us about her life in the Gemsbok Park with her grandmother and grandfather before they were moved off the land. Rosa also told us that she is one of the three women in the CPA and had many views of development in the area. Speaking about development was interspersed with stories of her traditional initiation into womanhood when she was 15 years old which was quite personal to her. I decided to not pull out my tape-recorder as I did not want to disrupt the *vertrou* (trust) we had experienced between the three of us as Rosa kept on reminding us. So although I did not speak to Abraham as I had intended, the discussion with Rosa was beneficial both for my research and in establishing what Rosa described as a friendship instead of a researcher/participant relationship (see Appendix, photograph 4).

The issue of language presents another challenge. Many of the research participants in the Northern Cape speak Afrikaans and some of the older people speak Nama. The research participants in Ngwatle speak SeTswana, the Bushmen languages Qgoon and !Xoo and a handful of them speak Afrikaans. I have matric Afrikaans but it is not enough to conduct a coherent and flowing interview. To assist with this challenge fellow researchers; Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, Nelia Oets and Mary Lange were helpful in translating both during the interviews and in transcribing the interviews after the fieldwork. All three established a good set of relations with the communities on various fieldtrips over the past three years. However, the Afrikaans spoken by some of the Bushmen is different to that spoken by Mary, Nelia and Vanessa, as it is a more archaic and metaphoric form, and the exact meaning of a person's information may at times never be fully understood. In taking the completed transcriptions of interviews and written papers back to the communities where members of the communities who have attended school and speak English and Afrikaans Kruiper, present the work back to our research participants enables us to ensure that the information discussed is correct and may be contested by them.

As time progressed I realised that my relationship with my research participants was more complicated than I had expected. After the 2002 fieldtrip I wrote about an informal encounter with Silikat Van Wyk (cf. Dyll 2003a). When I saw Belinda Kruiper at her husband Vetkat Kruiper's art exhibition at the Bergtheil Museum in Durban she thanked me for my paper on Silikat (see Appendix, photograph 5). I asked her if she would read it to him when she got back to the Northern Cape, or if he would be able to read it himself, as he told me that he had a Standard Eight education and that he was one of the few people in the community who can

speak English. "*Hy lieg vir jy*" (He lied to you) Belinda responded with a chuckle, "he only has a Standard Two." This puzzled me; why should he tell me that he had reached a higher level of education than he did? Was it pride? Should I feel betrayed? Was it because he, like the other Khomani at Witdraai have "specific expectations of what to expect from academics and researchers" (Tomaselli, 2003a) and in telling me that he had a higher level of education would he, in my eyes, become a more legitimate interviewee? Was this another strategy to earn money, as in Witdraai the Khomani have commodified information as a means to earn money to survive? Visitors to Witdraai allegedly forge careers from the information provided by certain Khomani:

> Some Khomani feel a loss of control over how the information they have imparted is used, abused, repackaged, syndicated and sold. They no longer see, read, or recognise themselves in these documents, stories and pictures, when they do come across them. These studies require the Khomani's knowledge but in the writing up phase often eliminate the personalities involved. One result is that the Khomani have commodified their knowledge, image and interactions, to sell these like necklaces, bangles and other crafts. Photographs in Western clothes are charged at R25, and at R50 in their traditional gear (Tomaselli, 2003a).

> With this in mind how do we ensure that the information given during interviews is simply what research participants think we want to hear, or is based on what they really do believe, feel and know? We cannot. One way of addressing this challenge is to continue sending research papers, photographs and interviews back to those who enabled the work to be done showing that our relationship is based on mutual respect and we do not engage with one way extraction of information from the Bushmen, and questioning "Are our own theories, photographs and videos useful in the daily lives of our sources/hosts/informants/co-researchers? If so, how? Are the outcomes of our encounters mindful of power relations, deceit and manipulation" (Tomaselli, 2003c)

Another critique may be raised in relation to our research within the "Observer and Observed" project. Questions have arisen concerning how we ensure we hear all the voices in the community and sub communities, such as the women, children, men and elderly. What must be remembered is that in theory the participatory approach presents a perfect world, but as will be illustrated in this dissertation theory and practice frequently clash. Although we attempt a participatory approach when in the field we are aware that it is an ideal model based on a set of normative ideals. It has its limitations when in the field. The next step is to acknowledge these limitations when in practice and develop a deeper understanding of the workable aspects of this approach. It is difficult in the context of the Kalahari to divide communities into neat groups of male, female, children and elderly. In the Northern Cape one cannot speak to many Khomani Bushmen after twelve noon due to alcohol abuse. In Ngwatle cultural practices and customs and our respect for these traditions (and not wanting to impose our 'western ways') are deciding factors in who we can/cannot interview. For example, the women in Ngwatle had to be

interviewed with two men present. We could not demand that the men leave as their presence may alter the discussions between the researcher and the women. It is ultimately the community's decision and we have to work with what are presented with.

Outline

In the following chapters I will present the researched interactions between the Ngwatle and Northern Cape communities as the recipients of development, and the agents of development embodied in local NGOs or Trusts, safari ventures and the respective governments that support their programmes.

Chapter Two, Faces of Development will discuss the different paradigms of development communication, and the type of development that is claimed to be functioning in the two communities by discussing the development organisations and projects run under their auspices in each area. This will allow for a discussion of the preferred development paradigms and models of development communication used by these organisations, viewed in terms of their practices and implementation. This chapter establishes the groundwork for Chapter Three, Development on the Ground in Ngwatle, in which I critique the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT) and the Botswana government's policies with the regards to Bushman public participation within the development process, land, hunting rights and access to resources and benefits within the context of the chosen development programme for KD1. I will do this by investigating James Murombedzi's (2001) assertion that community based natural resource management (CBNRM) programmes may be an extension of greater state control over natural resources and hence, a continuation of colonialism. From this chapter onwards development issues will be presented with stories of individuals that speak to these different and larger issues. Through this I aim to allow the human face of development to emerge and an understanding of the reception of these development initiatives amongst the Bushmen.

Chapter Four, Development on the Ground in the Northern Cape also analyses the issues of Bushman participation within the development process, land and access to resources and benefits within the context of the chosen development programme for the Northern Cape. Included is a discussion on what Steven Robins calls "donor double vision" (2001: 835) in which I will analyse the relationship between the South African government, the South African San Institute (SASI) and the Khomani Bushmen.

In both Chapter Three and Four the perceived outcomes of the different development programmes initiated by the Trust and SASI respectively will be discussed with an overview of the ongoing problems in each area. The one problem investigated in great detail in both chapters is that of ethnic divisions in each community, particularly between the traditionalists and *westerse* Bushmen in the Northern Cape and between the Ngwatle Bushmen and Bakgalagadi. An overview of the issue of identity as discussed by Simoes (2001) who tested Stuart Hall's (1990, 1996, 1997) two models of identity in both communities, is necessary here to frame the

discussion of development as being affected by the differences of identity construction in each group.

My inquiry leads to Chapter Five, a comparison of the similarities and differences in the development experience of the Ngwatle Bushmen and the Khomani. This aims to illustrate the complexity of development as the geographic location of Ngwatle in Botswana and the Northern Cape in South Africa produces differences in the development experience of two seemingly identical communities.

My conclusion includes an analysis of development problems observed, and lessons learnt. It also offers further directions in which this research can go.

Chapter Two: Faces of Development

In this chapter I will discuss the historical context, methods of communication, challenges and critiques of different development paradigms. This will include a discussion of the NGOs and Trusts set up in Ngwatle and the Northern Cape that employ development in terms of their names, history, missions and programmes. The chapter will end with the assumptions made by these organisations, and the contradictions they are confronted with, by daily life on the ground.

DEVELOPMENT THEORY

The four main development communication paradigms are modernization, dependency/ dissociation, development support and another development. Each of these paradigms advocate specific principles and strategies in achieving their development agendas, in this case, within Third World societies. However, the empirical muddle that is found within the communities targeted for development often refutes the applicability of the theories propounded by the contributors of development paradigms and defies simplistic explanations. Being sensitive to the 'messiness' of development in practice is important in discussing practical applications of development paradigms in various communities. What follows is an overview of the theory I bring to this research in order to better understand or critically comment on the lives of the people I have met and who negotiate conflicting development paradigms on a daily basis.

Development as 'Westernization'

The modernization paradigm developed after World War Two assumed a uni-directional flow of innovations and ideas from the West, typically from North America and Europe to developing nations. This paradigm prescribes socio-political and technological values, without engaging in a conversation with these recipient nations (Mowlana, 1995: 35). Modernization, when applied to Third World nations, is criticised as a "veiled synonym for Westernization" (Servaes, 1995: 41).

In 1945 the US implemented the Marshall Plan under the presidency of Harry Truman. Although the objectives of this plan included humanitarian assistance and aid in resisting communism, the attention of the United Nations (UN) and it's multilateral agencies, notably the World Bank and "their most influential member, the United States" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:50) was directed toward "rebuilding European markets for US goods" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 51) after the devastating affects of the war. Economic growth seemed to be its most supported tenet. Having achieved success in Europe, Truman proposed a Four Point Programme whose main focus was the development of the Third World. Truman noted that "their economic world [was] primitive and stagnant. Their poverty [was] a threat both to them and to more prosperous areas" and that "for the first time in history, humanity posses the knowledge and skill to relieve the suffering of these people" (Daniels, 1951). This relief was to be given via a programme of modernization and capital investment in much the same way as it had happened in

Europe. In the 1960s the notion of development paid more attention to technology, especially in agricultural production and techniques, and industrial machinery. Thus, development was equated with industrialization. To be a modern society, the attitudes of traditional societies: 'backward' people - their traditionalism, bad taste, superstition, fatalism etc – were obstacles, which had to be removed (Servaes, 1995: 40).

The modernization paradigm emerged from both macro economic and social evolutionary theory. The macro model was concerned with rapid growth as measured by the rate of growth of output (GNP). The two main factors were the "productive resources a society had and its economic institutions to use and to guide the use of resources" (Weaver & Jameson, 1978: 9). Capital as a productive resource was important, as it was vital to produce goods and machinery, generate sufficient capital for industrialization, redistribution of income and resources. This trickle down of benefits to the broader population through the creation of jobs as a result of industrialization was an important notion in this model.

This economic model was grounded by the theories of the neo-classical approach (Weaver & Jameson, 1978), which had served as a basis for Western economies. However, this system was frequently insensitive to the needs of certain demographic and minority groups and often resulted in environmental degradation (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 78). All countries were assumed to be on a uni-linear course of development from traditionalism to modernization as a result of the above-mentioned principles. The basic assumptive framework emphasised profit, privatisation and technological growth (Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

The modernization paradigm also emerged from social evolutionary theory. There was a conception of a dichotomous relationship between tradition and modernity as two ideal types on either side of the evolutionary process, with Western countries signifying the goal (Berger, 1974; Robertson, 1977; Rostow, 1960; Ryan, 1976). Walt Rostow's (1960) uni-linear evolutionary model of development entitled *The Stages of Economic Growth: A Non-communist Manifesto* proposed that every society would pass through five stages of economic growth. They would start from a traditional society and lead to the last phase of high mass consumption, where the majority of people could afford consumption that went beyond basic necessities to include luxury goods. He argued that traditional economies were "hampered by limited production facilities based on pre-Newtonian notions of science and technology, and constrained by rigid social structure and irrational psychological attitudes" (Melkote and Steeves, 2001:81). A problem with this view of Third Word development is that, "Darwin's thesis was intended to explain the phyogeny of species, not social systems" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 80).

All modernization theories emphasizing evolutionary change were not necessarily at the macro level. While social and institutional evolution is considered necessary for modernization, some argued that attitudinal and value changes among traditional individuals were pre-requisites for modernity (Hagen, 1962; Lerner, 1958; McClelland, 1966; Rogers, 1969; Weiner, 1966). One of the micro theories of the modernization paradigm was thus modernization as individual

change. Proponents of this paradigm labeled Third World people's "irrational psychological attitudes" in the form of superstition, familism and fatalism as a characteristic impediment to modernization. Daniel Lerner (1958), one of the main representatives of the modernization paradigm, based most of his theory on social-psychological variables. His concept of *empathy* is central where empathy is "the capacity to see oneself in another fellow's situation...which is an indispensable skill for people moving out of traditional settings" (Lerner, 1958). Empathetic people were assumed to evidence a higher degree of capacity for change. According to Lerner (1958), mobility stimulates urbanization, which increases literacy and consequently economic and political participation.

The modernization paradigm utilised a uni-liner method of development communication. Communication effects theory is based on the importance of the mass media, which is assumed to exert a uniform effect on passive receptive audiences. The Libertarian theory of public communication, which assumed that people were innately rational, did not make sense with the advent of War-inspired propaganda. Harold Lasswell (1948) drew on Freudian theory to propose that human behavior was irrational, and based a framework on this concept called the hypodermic needle (Berlo, 1960) or bullet theory of communication effects (Schramm, 1971). These communication effects models assumed a linear process and were influenced by the telephone model developed by Shannon and Weaver (1949). This linear model, which became popular with development communication professionals after World War Two, occurs when someone sends a message via a channel to a receiver and gets a response called feedback. Interference, whether psychological or environmental, is called noise. When the initiative and ability of the message lies overwhelmingly with the sender the result is an impersonal one-way flow of messages.

New research after World War Two suggested that the mass media were more agents of reinforcement than of direct change. Despite this shift in emphasis, the role of communication in the Third World was still interpreted as a transmission of information and persuasion, especially in fields such as agricultural extension, health and education. A two-step flow theory showed the indirect effect of mass media as the first step of influence was from the mass media to opinion leaders, while the second step was from these leaders to others in the community (Lazarsfeld *et al*, 1948). Despite these findings, the belief in mass media's ability to transmit information, and persuade Third World citizens to favor modernization "still underlies much thinking about the nature and role of mass communication in development" (McQuail & Windahl, 1981).

In the mass media and modernization approach, the media "served as agents and indices of modernization in the developing nations" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 114). The mass media was seen as an ideal vehicle for preparing individuals in developing nations for social change by establishing a climate of modernization. Social scientist, Wilbur Schramm (1964) working for the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Communications Organisation (UNESCO), extended the arguments of Lerner in favor of modernization through mass media, which he termed "the

magic multipliers" of development benefits in Third World nations. He argued that the mass media could accomplish the transition to new customs and practices...and, in some cases social relationships. Behind such changes in behavior must necessarily lie substantial changes in attitudes, beliefs, social skills and social norms (Schramm, 1964). However, Schramm went further than Lerner in "taking cultural linkages into account, in acknowledging 'resistance to change' and in urging and 'understanding participation'" (Kumar, 1994: 82).

Within the diffusion of innovations research the necessary route for change from a traditional to a modern person was understood as the communication and acceptance of new ideas from sources external to the social system (Fjes, 1976). Everett Rogers (1962) defines an innovation as an idea, practice or object perceived as new by an individual, and later used technology as a synonym for an innovation. The emphasis of this approach was again on communication effects as it supported the ability of media messages and opinion leaders to create knowledge of new practices and ideas among target audiences and "to persuade them to adopt the exogenously conceived and introduced innovations" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 145).

The modernization paradigm has been criticised for what can be labeled as their western values or biases (Melkote & Steeves, 2001) in approaching development within Third Word societies. It was believed that for successful development to occur "Third World people's were to discard unconditionally their *primitive* ways and embrace the technology that had wrought such extraordinary progress in the *advanced* countries" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 54). UNESCO and the World Bank attempted to counter traditional societies' perceived backwardness by sending extension agents to the Third World. The extension agents were to "decide what innovations were best for its clients, followed by campaigns to convince them of their choice" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 56). This set in motion modernization's monologue to the Third World, a one-way, top-down flow of influence-oriented messages from agencies at the top to rural peasantry at the bottom.

The expected diffusion of innovations in the Third World did not occur as it had done in the West (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 59). Researchers blamed the poor for this with a new in-the-head-psychological constraint bias. It was suggested that development of the Third World would not ensue unless the psychological maladies, such as superstition, fatalism, familism, religiosity and traditionalism afflicting them were first overcome. Only in the 1970s did US trained Third World communication scholars realise an alternative, that of external constraints on adoption such as the lack of access to media, and illiteracy in the Third World. While perhaps not negating the possibility of internal psychological factors working against adoption, a positive turn was that they began to focus on searching for factors that could make projects more relevant to the needs of disadvantaged groups.

Yet, the modernization paradigm has been criticized for the abstractness, ahistoricity (Rostow, 1960) and inappropriateness of many of its models in relation to the Third World. Many scholars saw it as part of a process of development of underdevelopment of Third World

countries to benefit the First World or already wealthy organisations and peoples within the Third World (Frank, 1967; Baran, 1967). This is compounded by the mass media within the modernization paradigm, which is criticised for its irrelevant content and its assistance in creating a larger knowledge gap between the disadvantaged and advantaged, and for increasing Third World people's frustrations. The diffusion of innovations was proven to have a bias for its top-down, one-way message flow, which by its very nature favored the source over the receiver (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). History reveals terrible consequences of this pro-source bias. For communities far removed from the centre, developmentalism has eroded control over their lifestyles, and natural resources and local narratives, cultural meanings, and social arrangements have been devalued (Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

Development as Self Reliance

The dependency/dissociation paradigm grew from within the developing countries in the 1970s in reaction to the modernization paradigm. From the late 1960s to the early 1980s the new states in Africa and Asia, and the success in socialist and popular movements in Cuba, China, Chile and other countries, provided the goals for political, economic and cultural self-determination within the international community of nations. These new nations shared the idea of being independent from the superpowers and moved to form the Non-Aligned Nations that defined development as political struggle (Servaes, 1995: 41). The original version of dependency theory was outlined by Paul Baran (1967) and Andre Gunder Frank (1967) who argued that the prevailing conditions in developing nations are not a stage in the evolution towards development, but rather a result of international structures imposed from the West.

Whereas the modernization perspective holds that the causes of underdevelopment lay mainly within the developing nations, dependency theory postulates that the reasons for underdevelopment are primarily external to the dependent society (Servaes, 1995). It held that successful development rested on a nation's ability to provide for itself, without external relations. Baran (1967) argued that underdevelopment was the obverse side of development: the capitalist countries had become 'developed' by exploiting their colonies for centuries. Frank (1967) elaborated the theory with his concept of 'metropolis-satellite' to characterise the nature of imperialist economic relations. He argued that Third World nations or the satellite are dependent on First World nations or the metropolis that appropriate surplus from the satellite states. He termed this a development towards underdevelopment (Frank, 1967).

The theory of development as underdevelopment is reflected in cultural imperialism. Dependency became a political drive for self-determination. The dependency/dissociation paradigm advocates that to remove the exogenous obstacles to development, a revolutionary transformation has to occur whereby the peripheral states should disassociate themselves from the world market to not only achieve economic, but as importantly cultural self-reliance. The realisation that cultural independence is crucial to self reliance led to a struggle between the US

and its allies, and the Third World and Soviet bloc over the 'free flow' of information in the 1960s and 1970s. The Third World and Soviet Bloc called for a New World Economic Order (NWEO) and a New World Information Order (NWIO) to "redistribute wealth and media resources from rich to poor countries and otherwise rectify existing imbalances" (Herman & McChesney, 1997:151). As this appeal was denied the late 1970s to mid 1980s saw the Soviet and Third World countries join forces in their demands and their appeal was more clearly formulated.

The MacBride report (1980) commissioned by UNESCO reflected the concerns underlying the calls for a New World Information and Communication Order (NWICO) for "the right to communicate" (MacBride, 1980:137). Developing countries declared themselves to be victims of serious inequalities in the information flow between North and South, and considered the manner in which the media of the North reflected the reality of their situations to be exaggerated, distorted and false. They called for redressing of the balance of information flow, and hence implicitly for control over information emanating from the North (Modoux, 1997). The former Soviet Union and communist nations saw "media as educational tools operating under state control for the purposes of expeding the construction of socialism" (Modoux, 1997:214). Western democracies, which espoused freedom of the press, contested the establishment of the NWICO as it was perceived to constitute an intolerable assault on press freedom and the free flow of information. In the mid 1980s this tension reached a climax with both the US and Britain withdrawing from UNESCO. In response to this the "new leadership of UNESCO quickly retreated from NWICO controversies and rhetoric, confining media concerns to building infrastructure and training journalists" (Herman & McChesney, 1997:25). UNESCO's retreat was an indication of the weakening power of the Third World.

Unlike the advocates of modernization communication theory who take the nation state as their main framework of reference, the proponents of the dependency/dissociation paradigm worked within a predominantly international level of analysis. They believed that:

> the specific components of the combination of any nation at any given time differed from those of another as a result of the variations of numerous factors including the resources of centre powers, the nature or structure of the periphery nation, and the degree of resistance to domination (Servaes, 1995:45).

In acknowledging the heterogeneous nature of communities, it was assumed that programmes did not suit all people and different strategies were considered for different areas. The paradigm thus appeared to have a 'grassroots' communication approach as even small communities were targeted. However, the paradigm continued to make use of a linear, transmission model of communication therefore continuing modernization's assumption of developing communities as passive receivers of information, eliminating feedback as a crucial aspect in development communication.

The dependency/dissociation paradigm was criticised for inheriting many of modernization's faults. It argued that underdevelopment was as a result of Western monopoly capitalisms' aim to "prevent, or, if that was impossible, to slow down and to control the economic development of underdeveloped countries" (Servaes, 1995: 41). However, by breaking international ties, the paradigm served to practice a scaled down version of modernization within its borders. The capitalist countries'

> economic exploitation had left the colonies with a narrowly specialized, export-oriented primary production structure managed by an elite which shared the cultural lifestyle and tastes of the dominant classes in capitalist states. This elite continues to perpetuate the rule of the ex-colonies; hence a kind of neo-imperialism still prevails (Kumar, 1994:84).

The dependency paradigm's continuation of a top-down communication approach disregarded the participation of citizens of the self-sufficient nations it proposed. The paradigm did not consider rural peasants as able to contribute and therefore denied them the chance to develop their own strategies and feel truly self-reliant. Although it identified modernization as an exploitative approach, the dependency/dissociation paradigm was also exploitative as it failed to realise the importance of participation in development strategies.

This lack of participation by people in their own development is reiterated by Robert White (undated lecture, 1-2) who observed that:

> in this paradigm the STATE is the instrument for carrying ahead the process of development and the state assumes a quasi-sacred role, the incarnation of the will of the people. In any event, the key problem for the protagonists is gaining legitimacy and consent of the nation regarding the formation of the state…Thus the central dynamics of development in this paradigm is mobilization of the people to form the nation-state, the formation of a people which has the will to "command" development, especially economic development. The individualism and dispersion of the people…is seen as a fundamental problem to be overcome.

Like modernization, the dependency paradigm used economic indicators to measure its success and denied participation of those who were to benefit from the development strategies. The primary focus on economic development means the neglect of the human element in development such as the "individualism" described above and other problems inherent in a developing community. This top-down communication approach which focuses on economic development, does not produce positive outcomes. Real problems voiced by the people are still not heard. In implementation therefore strategies of the dependency/dissociation paradigm also failed. Simply handing out money to the people, without engaging in a conversation to understand the needs of the particular area, may perpetuate dependency as the problems are never solved and the community becomes accustomed to being given money without having to

use it in a sustainable way. Dependency/dissociation therefore addressed the causes of underdevelopment, but did not provide ways of addressing that underdevelopment (Servaes, 1995).

Following the Economic Commission for Latin America's (ECLA) economic strategy of self-reliant development through industrialisation and import substitution, through the aegis of foreign development, resulted in greater rather than lesser dependence on advanced countries for finance, marketing, capital design, technology design etc. This led to further underdevelopment with the presence of foreign industrial subsidiaries, growing debt, and dumping of obsolete equipment and technologies (Kumar, 1994:85). Many non-aligned countries were simply too weak economically, and too indebted to operate autonomously. As a result, attempts to legislate integral, coherent national communication policies failed because of the resistance of national and transnational media interests (Servaes, 1995). Dependency theories thus lost their radical appeal to the peasants and workers.

Nowadays a country's cultural and communication component has become important in continuing dependent relationships, because, as many scholars argue, we stand within the rather paradoxical situation that, as the Third World begins to emancipate itself economically and politically, cultural dominance increases (Servaes, 1995). The technological evolution of the communication media of today may therefore be seen as contributing to even further cultural and ideological dependence.

Both the modernization and dependency/dissociation paradigms were unable to explain the role of communication in development as they both "began with economic, political, cultural and methodological assumptions which tended to pre-determine what they identified as significant development" (Casmir, 1991:11) without consulting the people of the local communities which were to be developed.

Development as Support and Possible Empowerment

The development support communication (DSC) paradigm has its origins in the US and Europe after 1979 in an attempt to provide a middle way between the modernization and dependency approaches (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b). The term was coined and popularised by practitioners in response to the realities of fieldwork in developing countries. As disenchantment with the focus on economic growth as the main route of development grew, the emphasis changed from viewing communication as an input toward greater economic growth, to envisioning communication more holistically and as a support for people's self-determination at the grassroots level (Ascroft & Masilela, 1994; Jayaweera 1987).

The DSC paradigm aimed to utilise a more context sensitive mode of development communication. In the transition from the focus on development communication (as articulated

in the modernization paradigm) to DSC, the key concept is support, as DSC is communication that is specifically designed to support a particular development programme (Malan, 1998). In a table comparing the differences between development communication and DSC, Melkote and Steeves (2001: 350) describe DSC as facilitating a subject-subject relationship where there is horizontal knowledge sharing between participants, using small scale media such as video, film strips, traditional media such as story telling and group and interpersonal communication. This allows for a semi-participatory communication method using more diverse voices in local message formation and native experts to encourage donor-defined projects as it is believed that existing ways of doing things within the local community can be used to achieve new ends (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b).

The transition to a paradigm more concerned with the communication process, local context and exchange of meaning calls for a focus on empowerment. The concept and practice of power within Third World social settings can be described as the control of important economic, political, cultural and informational resources, and development agendas (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:353), and as the ability to create, interpret, or tell stories about an individual, a group, community or nation (Rappaport, 1995). There are many examples of disempowered marginalised groups who have had their stories appropriated by outside entities. Entities that wield power can also reward or punish targets by withholding or decreasing access to important resources (Gaventa, 1980; Polsby 1959; Speer & Hughey, 1995). These definitions of power are especially salient in terms of my research with the Khomani and Ngwatle Bushmen.

A major goal of development as empowerment is therefore "to move the locus of control from outsiders to the individuals and groups directly affected. Empowerment is the mechanism by which individuals, organisations, and communities gain control and mastery over social and economic conditions, over political processes and over their own stories" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:399). The ideal situation of DSC operating within an empowerment paradigm aims for empowerment of the people, social justice, capacity building and equity. It holds that underdevelopment is due to the lack of access to economic, political, cultural resources and power or control on the part of the people. The context of development is therefore local and community settings where the level of analysis is situated at the individual, group, community or local organisation. Instead of the change agent serving to introduce outside innovations as evidenced in the modernization paradigm, the role of the change agent within DSC is as collaborator, facilitator, participant and activist or advocate for individuals and communities, using a communication model that is non-linear and participatory to convey information, strengthen interpersonal relationships and build organizations. In activating social support systems and mutual or self-help activities to empower community narratives and organizational power DSC, functioning within an empowerment paradigm, aims for increased access of all citizens to material, psychological, cultural and informational resources, and the honing of individual and leadership skills and critical awareness at the local level (Melkote & Steeves,

2001).

In essence, what is being advocated for DSC is a move away from effecting development (as articulated by the dominant modernization paradigm) to assisting in the process of empowerment (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:357). Charles Malan (1998:56) discusses the "harmonization of development with culture" and the importance of recognising and incorporating culture within the concept of development as empowerment. He suggests, "the challenge facing DSC…proponents is to establish the perception that economic development is part of people's culture, instead of viewing culture simply as a kind of appendix to economic development" (Malan, 1998:57). Development processes within DSC should therefore be based on an "indigenous cultural knowledge framework" where the wisdom of local people is acknowledged and respected (Malan, 1998:63). "A direct challenge to western imperialism is continually being posed by the approach of endogenous development based on the traditional way of life and values of the community" (Malan 1998:67).

Yet, DSC faces several challenges when applied on the ground. Malan (1998:49) states, "the substitution of development communication for development support communication [may represent] nothing more than a paradigm shift." Although DSC makes use of subject-voices, the development initiative is still aimed at outside agencies' agendas (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b). It must be remembered that while capacity building is an important aspect of DSC the key players in development are "the people handling their problems in local settings and learning and honing their competencies in the concrete experiences of existential realities" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:353). There is the danger that DSC professionals and development workers see support and empowerment as training people to run a project designed by people outside of the community, as is evidenced in my fieldwork with the Bushmen, rather than giving them the opportunity to develop their own objectives and strategies. This misguided sense of support may lead to a situation of dependence in a community's interaction with development.

Development as Participation and Liberation

The concept of 'another development' was first articulated in an anthology of papers by Latin American and Asian scholars in the Dag Hammarskoljd Foundation's journal, *Development Dialogue* (1977). It established three foundations for 'another development'; it is geared to the satisfaction of needs, beginning with the eradication of poverty; it is endogenous and self reliant, and it is in harmony with the environment (Servaes, 1995). From these principles proponents of the 'another development' paradigm such as Fred Casmir (1991), Cees Hamelink (1995, 1998) Goran Hedebro (1982), Srinivas Melkote (1991, 2001), Jan Servaes (1988, 1995, 1999), Leslie Steeves (1991, 2001) and Pradip Thomas (1996) advocate a new paradigm of development communication from the criticism of modernization and dependency paradigms, particularly the

latter. Since the demarcation of the First, Second and Third World is breaking down, the centre-periphery dynamic can be found in every region and the previously held dependency perspective has become more difficult to support. With the growing interdependency of nations, there is a need for a new concept of development, which emphasises cultural identity and multidimensionality in meeting human material, and non-material needs (Servaes, 1995). This paradigm is known by various terms –'another development', 'culturalist', or what Servaes (1991: 52) calls a 'multiplicity paradigm' or 'multiplicity in one world' a perspective that calls for a pluralistic approach. Servaes (1991:66) however, reminds us "this paradigm is more normative in its approach. It deals with development and communication not in terms of how it is, but rather in terms of how it should be…the focus of this paradigm is on the content rather than on the form of development and communication."

The mode of development communication within this paradigm is understood as a process that is necessary in development to conscientise people to seek solutions and find answers related to their specific needs as human beings. Participatory communication assists in facilitating problem articulation and self-help efforts, fostering cultural growth and autonomy, enhancing dignity and creating opportunities for survival (Casmir, 1991; Melkote, 1991). The concepts within the 'another development' paradigm call for a participatory model of communication. The model stresses reciprocal collaboration or horizontal communication at all levels of participation aiming to make the beneficiaries' needs known. It points to a strategy, not merely inclusive of the traditional receivers (as articulated in DSC) but emanating from them (Servaes, 1995).

'Another development' aims at combining the mass media with alternative or parallel networks already in place in traditional society. Although it may make use of mass media, another communication rejects the necessity of uniform, centralised, high cost, highly professionalised, state controlled media (Servaes, 1991). It favours "multiplicity, smallness of scale, locality, deinstitutionalisation, interchange of sender-receiver roles, horizontality of communication links at all level of society and interaction" (McQuail, 1983:97). Alternate and parallel networks feature a highly participatory character, high rates of credibility, and a strong organic integration with other institutions deeply rooted in that society. In contrast, the modern mass media, having been mechanically transplanted from abroad into Third World societies, enjoy varying and limited rates of penetration. They are seldom truly integrated into institutional structures as occurs in Western societies (Servaes, 1991).

Experts and development workers spend more time working at a grassroots level in the community, as dialogue and face-to-face interaction are inherent in participation. With the people they choose what is relevant to the context in which they are working (Servaes, 1995). The emphasis is on information exchange rather than persuasion for the adoption of innovations (as articulated in the modernization paradigm) or an attempt at capacity building in terms of donor agendas (as articulated in DSC).

There are two main approaches to participatory communication. The first is the dialogical pedagogy of Brazilian educator Paulo Freire outlined in his *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972, 1990), and the second involves the ideas of access, participation and self-management articulated in the UNESCO debates of the 1970s. I will discuss Freire's pedagogy in more detail as it speaks to issues related to my research more significantly than those outlined by the UNESCO discourse which spoke in neutral terms about 'the public' and puts the main focus on the institution [whereas] Freire talks about the oppressed (Servaes, 1995).

As a well-known proponent of development as liberation Freire (1972, 1990) believed that:

> all people want to become fully human, which means free and self-reliant and that they have the internal capacity to develop themselves on their own terms. However, internal and external forms of oppression restrict their ability to do so. Therefore the purpose of development is liberation from oppression, with a focus on both individuals and communities…Proponents of liberation perspectives do not necessarily side with critics of modernisation. The basic premise is that individuals must be free to choose, and that their choice is not inevitably against the values of modernisation (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:35).

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 Bushmen. 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).

He defines the type of education that contributes to oppression as the banking concept of education (Freire, 1990:47). The banking concept of education is based on a "mechanistic, static,

naturalistic, spatialised view of consciousness…transforming students [or subject communities] into receiving objects" (Freire, 1990:51) as it simply deposits bits of information 'into' the student/oppressed without them engaging in and with the world therefore inhibiting creative power. It is useful in terms of my research to view this type of education as mirroring the modernization or any top-down development approach. Freire (1990:52) instead advocates the abandonment of the "educational goals of deposit making and replace it with the posing of problems of men in their relations to the world." Problem posing education bases itself on "creativity and stimulates true reflection and action upon reality, thereby responding to the vocation of men who are authentic only when engaged in inquiry and creative transformation" (Freire, 1990:56). 'Another development's' principle of circular or dialogic communication between development worker and the community is echoed in the "practice of problem posing education [that] demands a resolution of the teacher-student contradiction" (Freire; 1990:53). In his pedagogy therefore, students, or in this case Bushmen experience education/development as "something they do, not as something done to them" (Shor, 1993:2).

Freire stresses the importance of "identifying generative words or themes which represent the highest profile issues in the speech and life of a community, as a foundational subject matter for a critical curriculum" (Shor, 1993: 31), or in this case the subject matter for development solutions. He further states, "these generative subject matters are familiar words, experiences, situations, and relationships so that their experience now includes a self-reflective dimension. With dialogic reflection among their peers, [the Bushmen may] gain some critical distance on their conditions and can consider how to transform them" (Shor, 1993:31). These ideas are deeply unpopular with elites, including elites in the Third World (Servaes, 1995). Community members may therefore not be able to change the system, but the way in which they perceive "being with the world and gaining knowledge of it through a reflective representation" (Tomaselli & Aldridge, 1996:66). This aspect of Freire's pedagogy may therefore be seen to address a community's non-material needs (Servaes, 1995) viewed as important within 'another development'.

Freire (1972, 1990) believes that in order for the oppressed and oppressor, which in the context of this research may be seen as unsympathetic governments, NGOs etc, to become more fully human the oppressed must continue to struggle towards their liberation and empowerment, and the oppressor must learn, understand and remember that "among the essential conditions of people's self-empowerment are access to and use of the resources that enable people to express themselves [and] to communicate those expressions to others" (Hamelink, 1995:20). Participation within the modernisation paradigm utilised *participation-as-a-means approach* that describes attempts at mobilisation of the populace to co-operation in development activities. However, within the 'another development' paradigm, based on the participatory philosophy of Freire, the *participation-as-an-end* approach is favoured. Here participation is recognised as "a basic human

right, and should be accepted and supported as an end in itself and not for its results" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:337). Searching their own subjectivities, as reflection, and participating in development solutions, as action, are important processes for the Bushmen, as they become critical examiners of their experience, questioning and interpreting their lives rather than walking through a string of irrelevant development initiatives.

Yet, the 'another development'' paradigm also faces several challenges when attempting to implement it on the ground. Within this paradigm, issues of local ontology and grassroots communication and participation are viewed as crucial to securing development. However, as participation involves more equitable sharing of both political and economic power, which often decreases the advantage of certain groups, this paradigm "may not sit well with those who favour the status quo and thus they may be expected to resist such efforts of reallocating more power to the people" (Lozare, 1989:2). Many communication experts (Mowlana, 1987; Wilson, 1987) agree that because communications policies are basically derivatives of the political, cultural and economic conditions/institutions under which they operate, they tend to legitimise societies' existing power relations and therefore cannot be substantially changed unless there are fundamental structural changes in society. Critics of 'another development' therefore argue that this approach is nothing more than Utopian ideology without much relevance for policy makers and planners to bring about structural change. It also tends to create information overload for donors, and fragmentation of funding to micro-projects at the expense of infrastructural development, but is effective in making specific communities' needs known, which is what the approach aims for (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b).

Despite these challenges and criticisms there is a place in today's world for 'another development'. Research shows (Hague et al, 1977; Mattelart, 1979; Servaes, 1991; White, 1982) that it holds most of its value in small scale and isolated projects that are presently mushrooming in the world. Although more uncommon but still evident is a similar trend in the Third World where large-scale liberation and social movements opt for this approach, such as the Latin American peasant movement, and of nationalist movements such as the Iranian, Nicaraguan, or Philipine revolution or of so called new social movements such as the ecological and peace movements in Western Europe.

Each of these development paradigms have emerged as a critique of the inadequacies of the earlier dominant paradigms, but both the practical implementations and the theoretical premises underlying the previous paradigms tend to remain operative in the culture of developing countries. Therefore, in reality different paradigms operating side by side are found, contributing to the empirical muddle of development in practice. For example, DSC and participatory communication strategies may be currently the preferred paradigms taught in the academy; but they disappear very quickly from development workers and researchers' minds when they are faced with unmalleable confusion in the field (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b). Communication strategies, like the development projects they are used to support, are never

value-free. But, as the values that underlie both the projects and the communication usually remain implicit, and thus unexamined, inappropriate biases in the flow of information often go unrecognised and thus persist uncorrected (Servaes, 1991). These contradictions and biases became immediately clear during my fieldwork in the Kalahari, as I will attempt to illuminate throughout the following chapters.

DEVELOPMENT PLAYERS

In discussing the NGOs and Trusts in Ngwatle and the Northern Cape I will attempt to illustrate, on a more empirical level, how aspects of these different development paradigms play out alongside each other within the two communities. This will include a discussion of the NGOs and Trust's motivations for development, their preferred development programmes, the similarities and/or differences of the development approaches and the assumptions that these development approaches are based on.

Ngwatle

As described in Chapter One the villages of Ngwatle, Ukhwi and Ncaang are within an area called KD1. The Botswana government decided to decentralise wildlife management within this area. This supposedly puts control of resources in the hands of the local people, rather than the distant government. However, people are not simply allowed to do what they want. Each WMA had to organise itself into a governing body to regulate the land use. This notion is called community based natural resource management (CBNRM) and is encouraged by the government.   The KD1 CBNRM Project has (since it's inception in September 1996) been facilitated and supported by Thusano Lefatsheng, an NGO with assistance from SNV a Dutch funding agency (Flyman, 2000).   The mission of Thusano Lefatsheng is "to work towards improving the quality of life of the poor people in remote areas of Botswana, by promoting the responsible use of plant and animal resources" (Flyman, 2000:2). SNV has been assisting Thusano in attempting to reach these objectives over the past 20 years. SNV specialists advise Thusano at a programme level. Community mobilisation is claimed to be a major focus of SNV's field oriented approach to CBNRM projects. To ensure that this facet of CBNRM is given proper attention, SNV has also provided Thusano with a Natural Resources Management Advisor who is stationed at project level in KD1 full-time for at least the first three years of a project. It is believed that the process of mobilisation, training, activity and income generation is complex and difficult, and one which benefits from the constant attention and dedication of a "live in" facilitator. Communities are more likely to make the transition to independence if they have a strong base of knowledge and skills. CBNRM is viewed by these organisations as necessary in this area as

> trying to conserve a fragile environment by building a fence and telling everybody to stay away from it

does not work, especially in Africa. People in KD1 have been living off the land for around 20 000 years. If they are kicked off and provided no alternative they will hunt, gather etc. despite government regulations if their children are starving.

The introduction of the concept of CBNRM in KD1 was followed by "a long and winding community mobilisation and organisation-building process, which culminated in the formation of a Community Based Organisation (CBO) called the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT)" which means "living for tomorrow" in the language of the !Xoo Bushmen (Flyman, 2000:2). The Trust's website explains an organisation where

> the members of the trust (all residents of KD1) have set aside their pristine area in the southern Kgalagadi desert to manage as a community…where people live very close to the land either by subsistence agriculture or through hunting and gathering. Without a land based trust, private interest would lead to almost all the land being converted to pasture for cattle the main source of wealth in the Kgalagadi. Through CBNRM, the people of KD1 can manage the land jointly and invest in wildlife. Here in KD1, people have found a way to provide for themselves through an ecotourism project and by coordinating the use of veldt products and thus providing for themselves, their land and life in the future.

The Trust is a legally registered entity and its establishment and operation has its roots in national and district legislation, policies and procedures. It drew up a land use plan, which was submitted to the government and resulted in the Trust being awarded management rights for KD1. It has become known to relevant government departments both in the district and at a national level. This has resulted in valuable support during the initial phase of the project, as well as in the allocation of government funding and direct involvement from government officials in developing and approving the CBRNM plan from the onset (Flyman, 2000). Despite the direct involvement of the government in planning projects, the Trust asserts the importance of community participation in the management of natural resources and "tapping the economic opportunities based on these resources" to the degree that "participation has been institutionalised in the Constitution of the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust and in the *Land Use and Management Plan*" (Flyman, 2000:4) as it maintains that a high quality of participation will determine the success of the CBNRM project.

It is assumed that the structure of the Trust leads to equitable participation. The local governance structure is based on Family Groups from residents in each of the three settlements in KD1 who function "as units of co-operation and decision-making" (Flyman, 2000:4). The community itself delineates the Family Groups, which consist of individuals (both kin and not) accustomed to sharing food, meat, money and decision-making. Each Family Group sends two representatives, one man and one woman to the Settlement Committee. From each Settlement Committee, four representatives, two women and two men, are sent to the Board of the Trust,

which is elected annually. The Board plays an administrative role; it can hire or fire Trust personnel, implement decisions of the Trust as determined by the general membership concerning the use of funds and property and enter into contracts, sign leases, acquire permits etc. The Settlement Committee serves to liase between the Board and Family Groups and are responsible for dividing the natural resources and Trust income amongst the Family Groups. "The actual decision-making powers concerning the use of natural resources and of any income derived from the Trust lie with the Family Groups" (Flyman, 2000:5) Also on the Board is a Village Development Committee (VDC) comprised of chairmen from each settlement, and several ex-officio members such as local chiefs, councillors, and representatives from the Department of Wildlife and National Parks, Land Board and District Administration. They act as advisors to the Trust and "ensure embedding NKXT Trust policy in the wider political and administrative context" (Flyman, 2000:5) of Botswana.

The Notarial Deed of the NKXT Trust outlines its objectives. Those relevant for discussion in my research are:

> to improve living conditions of KD1 Residents by the development of tenable infrastructure for the sustainable use and distribution of natural resources in KD1 and establishment of employment and other income projects for the General Members…to conserve and protect the natural resources of KD1 against extinction, misuse or any other damage for the benefit of the General Members and their future generations….to educate the general membership in acceptable and sustainable use of the natural resources of KD1….to establish regulations and put into place a methodology to regulate a just and equitable distribution of the take off of any natural resources of KD1 amongst the General Members and to equitably share the benefits of the sustainable use of the natural resources of KD1 without discrimination, on any gender, racial, political, religious or ethnic grounds.

CBNRM has been implemented to assist in achieving these objectives. "CBNRM in KD1 is almost synonymous with Community Based Tourism" (Flyman, 2000:2). The Trust's website describes KD1 as a tourist destination where to see "people and their animals living together with wild animals in a harsh environment is just as fascinating as gemsbok and lions in the wild."

Michael Flyman (2000) of Thusano Lefatsheng and previous manager of the Trust outlines these community based tourism activities, which from 2000 include commercial safari hunting, photographic tourism and craft making. In 1999, with the permission of the Kgalagadi Land Board, the Trust signed a sublease agreement that gives a private company called Safari Botswana Bound (Pty) Limited (SBB) the exclusive rights to co-manage both hunting and photographic safaris in KD1. Specified hunting blocks have been allocated for "safari hunting, photographic purposes and subsistence hunting to avoid conflict of use" (Flyman, 2000:2). Each year the government issues a wildlife-hunting quota of animals to the Trust that is divided amongst the community. As part of the joint venture agreement the Trust has sold 25% of its quota to SBB. Wildlife in the past was only used for subsistence purposes. The view of meat as

one of the few resources in this remote area has changed from its original purpose.

> The demand for meat is still (partly) covered by the available (75%) subsistence quota but by commercialising the resource, the value of wildlife and habitat has exploded and brings in unexpected high returns. These monies payed for the administrative costs of the Trust to manage the natural resources in KD1, allow for the re-investment in productive tourism infrastructure and development, and, when there is a balance, allow for paying annual dividends to the Family Groups (Flyman, 2000: 6).

The joint venture agreement also allowed the company to set up luxury tented camps at community campsites in the concession area where traditional dancing, demonstration of traditional healing and rituals, veldt product gathering and tasting and traditional hunting to clients is offered (Flyman, 2000). In an interview with Ronelle and Johan Van der Riet, the managers of the SBB camp at Kaa in the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP), we discussed hunting, and their involvement with the Trust, which they call the Community. Ronelle told us that typical visitors are "American hunters for trophies, we take the meat, give it to the community…Two thirds of the meat goes to the community and a third we use in the camp for giving the people food" (interview, July 2003). SBB works according to lease fee regulations outlined by the Botswana government. Ronelle Van der Riet describes this as a "thick book of rules and regulations that are stipulated how we must work and how we must do everything and all that stuff, so we must stick to that. And it's in agreement with the Trust, and everything, so we are quite limited to what we can do and what we can't do" (interview, July 2003). SBB pay the Trust a lease fee to hunt and a certain amount of money for each animal hunted called Trust licences. Ronelle (interview, July 2003) explains how it works, for example:

> [The Trust] get their 46 springbok for the year to hunt, we [buy] 26 of the springbok that we have booked for the hunters and they can take the rest of the hunt, or the rest of the animals are theirs. But we gave…that 26, we gave two-thirds of that meat we give back to them…But they have an 'x' amount of animals to hunt but they don't hunt it like with bows and arrows and stuff like that anymore, they will shoot them and everything. Sometimes the hunters come here and they have booked already the animals, like say an eland and a kudu and a springbok and a gemsbok, but they want to shoot a hartebeest, so we go to the community and ask them if we can buy one of their licences. We shoot that animal, but the meat goes straight back to them.

When the Trust's meat is ready for collection SBB radios the Trust whose petrol it subsidises and "they take the meat and they go distribute it between all the people" (Ronelle, interview, July 2003). As a part of the mandate of the concession the Van der Riets are required to be involved in community work. However, she explains, "on this moment I don't do any community work. I don't have time for it. I'm running around in the camp…overseeing the camp" (interview, July

2003). When she is able, she usually assists "the Community to buy the curios from the people, and like companies or persons to buy the curios from the Community" (interview, July 2003).

In 2000 a cultural centre was built in Ngwatle on the road to the main wildlife area where the "Bushman culture [adds] a fascinating dimension to it" (Flyman, 2000:3). In addition to this centre the Trust aimed to construct community campsites at each settlement. They selected the locations and approved the designs for the infrastructure that was to be managed by them in the near future. Three sites were set aside in the concession area for use by SBB. A co-operative agreement has been made with Ghanzi Craft, exchange visits taken and three crafts managers (one for each settlement) employed and trained.

Apart from the financial benefits gained by the Trust itself, as a result of these tourism activities, they believe that a relatively large scale of employment is generated for the broader community; through the joint venture agreement with SBB as camp attendants, cleaners, guides, directly by the Trust as administrators or book keepers and indirectly by the Trust as craft producers, traditional dancers etc. (Flyman, 2000). Although benefits are described in terms of a financial nature SNV/Botswana maintains that it has more interests in Community Based Tourism than only attempting to create successful tourism projects as development within the community. They question:

> What are the benefits for the rural poor and especially what are the intangible benefits? SNV/Botswana regards Community Based Tourism not as an end in itself, but as a means towards empowering poor communities to take control over their land and resources, to tap their potential and acquire skills to design their own development.

Flyman (2000:7) discusses these "intangible benefits" that the Bushmen of KD1 have gained through this "empowerment process". It is believed that the development of a truly representative local organisation that guarantees equitable distribution of costs and planning where community participation is encouraged and accepted by all stakeholders has been established. Representative and accountable leadership should develop as responsibility of natural resources has been decentralised to the Trust where the leadership will be forced to account for decisions taken. New skills are learnt at community level in the fields of "natural resource monitoring and management, enterprise development and specifically tourism" (Flyman, 2000:7). These developments have resulted in, strengthened community identity as "the community knows it has something unique to offer" and although "this recognition has brought people together" it is admitted that "the ethnical differences between the two resident tribes have not disappeared" (Flyman, 2000: 7). An important perceived intangible benefit; especially with regards to my study of development communication is that the communities have an improved ability to deal with outsiders. It is believed that "the interaction between community and the private sector, Government and NGOs has changed from informal and patronising to institutionalised and at equal footing" as "the Board and the outsiders have

become partners in development and lines of interaction and communications have become clear to everybody" (Flyman, 2000:7). It is also believed that the Community Based Tourism projects have "reinstated the cultural value of wildlife, other natural resources, traditional skills and cultural practices" (Flyman, 2002:7). Lastly, these tourism projects "seem to offer a sustainable development option to the people. Optimism for the future has been raised and more important, the people have learnt that they have the potential to control their own development process" (Flyman, 2000: 8).

Northern Cape

The key NGO operating in the Northern Cape is the South African San Institute (SASI). In July 2003 I interviewed Meryl-Joy Wildschut the co-ordinator of SASI on matters relating to development within the area. She explained the evolution of SASI, its aims, various community projects being facilitated by them, and problems they have experienced in attempting development within the area. During 1994 people who had been busy with Bushmen and development work in Namibia and Botswana met with the Bushmen leadership of the communities they were working with. From their meeting the decision was made to form a Bushman regional body known as the Working-group for Indigenous Minorities in Southern Africa (WIMSA) a multinational NGO based in Namibia. During a subsequent meeting in 1996 where South African Bushmen representatives such as the Kruiper family were present the decision was made to form an expert support organisation for Bushman communities in South Africa named SASI.

SASI was active in the process of registration of community members in order that a Community Property Association (CPA) could be elected (Grossman & Holden, 2002:2). Through a partnership with SASI the Khomani developed their own organisation, the CPA. Like the Trust in Ngwatle, 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 land (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). All of the farms were being successfully run on a commercial basis up until transfer and were fenced, watered and had farm houses (one of which had a successful guesthouse on it) and four of them were stocked with game (including camels and ostriches) (Grossman &Holden, 2002:2). However "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). This led to many problems for development, to be discussed in the following chapters. At the moment, therefore, the CPA is trying to focus on generating wealth and tries to avoid having to deal with social issues, which are up to the community members themselves (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). 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. Wildschut explains:

> 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 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 (interview, July 2003).

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 of the Bushmen in the form of WIMSA. In terms of their regional mandate SASI works on issues of land rights, intellectual property rights pertaining to research and visual material, human rights pertaining to Bushman issues, culture and heritage and language management issues, the status of education in the region and lastly, which somehow links into culture and heritage, the issue of tourism as a form of development (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

To narrow it down to the Northern Cape the initial phase of SASI's support was assisting the Khomani community with its successful land claim in 1999 as a part of it's land rights work, and embarking on an audit of the Khomani's cultural knowledge. Wildschut explains that the process of auditing indigenous knowledge was necessary as:

> 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 (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

Nigel Crawhall, SASI's Cultural Programme Manager who works with the Khomani on the use of culture, knowledge and language to help with development sees two modes of development available for the Khomani:

> One path may involve agricultural economic development but at the cost of their intellectual and cultural heritage. The other, the more difficult path, involves collecting the pieces of a shattered society, empowering those with a knowledge of the hunting and gathering system, and using these resources to rebuild a sense of community and an economic future that rests on an ancient heritage. This latter model of development sees a recycling of traditional knowledge into new opportunities

whilst actively engaging in heritage management (Crawhall, 2001: 6).

With their concern on auditing indigenous information in order to manage cultural resources as the primary means of development, SASI initiated a methodology called Cultural Resource Auditing (CRA). CRA is a process of creating an inventory of cultural resources of significance to the community. Usually this work is conducted with elders who hold particularly vulnerable knowledge that they wish to pass on to younger generations, but where the opportunities for intergenerational knowledge are not present. The immediate purpose of auditing intangible cultural resources is to create tangible results that assist to represent, explain and manage what is otherwise invisible (Crawhall, 2001). SASI realised that it would be premature to help the community design a Cultural Resources Management (CRM) Plan as most CRM methodologies assume a stable identity and a coherent community as a point of departure. CRM consists of different processes whereby tangible and intangible cultural resources are evaluated and managed to maintain and maximise their benefit to the community and individuals, particularly involving the communication of information between generations. Usually there are social institutions in place to ensure this transfer and maintenance of knowledge, such as places of worship and schools. However, "the Khomani have lost their sense of community and identity by being dispossessed of their territories and becoming physically dispersed" (Crawhall, 2001: 10). Based on this, important cultural resources were likely to be scattered and fragmented. The land claim "provided a strategically important focal point for collective action [and for] the process of auditing cultural knowledge to help people to re-establish a sense of community and unearth hidden ties of culture and genealogy" (Crawhall, 2001: 10). CRA was employed to create an inventory of cultural resources. SASI believed that the "slow pace of the CRA builds awareness amongst elders and youth about the possibility of managing, conserving and recycling cultural resources, particularly intangible heritage. The exploration of identity is critically important to help stabilise a community" (Crawhall, 2001: 11).

Before the audit of cultural knowledge began SASI embarked on consultations with elected community leaders and elders to assess the needs within the community. Among these contextual considerations were widespread poverty, psychological trauma as a result of displacement and abuse which manifested itself in social problems related to poverty and disempowerment such as alcohol abuse, there were claims by South African National Parks (SANParks) that the Bushmen were not living in the now Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (KTP) territory in 1931, and by various parties that people identified as Bushmen were impostors, and there was general confusion about how various Bushmen were related to each other (Crawhall, 2001:13). Research priorities for SASI were set to collect evidence that the Bushmen were original residents in the KTP, find elders who could present valuable indigenous knowledge, and collect evidence of a hunting and gathering system that would justify claims to natural resource rights based on heritage and continuity (Crawhall, 2001:13). In what I see as similar to the

problem-posing schema advocated by Freire, SASI employed a methodology of a *problem tree*, which sets out these key problems and their causal relationship. Parallel to this is the *solution tree*. An intervening agent (Crawhall, 2003:14) who serves a similar function to the Natural Resources Management Advisor placed in Ngwatle, facilitates the community to identify where it is possible to convert a negative condition into a positive condition so that it has a maximum effect in development (Crawhall, 2001:14). The intervening agents, as with SNV in Ngwatle, recognise that "although the work must lead towards new skills and economic opportunities for people in the community, it was important in the initial phase to concentrate on restoring people's self respect and dignity" (Crawhall, 2003: 14). Meeting a community's intangible needs is viewed as a prerequisite for a meaningful process of economic empowerment, which is the ultimate goal.

SASI's long-term aim is for the Bushmen to successfully manage their cultural resources without external intervention with a shift of agency and control moving from the NGO team to structures and cultural specialists internal to the community. It is imperative that "people inside the community own the process" (Crawhall, 2001: 15). Elders and youth who expressed interest and enthusiasm for the CRA project in language teaching, attending training workshops, and reporting back have been integrated into different facets of the work throughout the development project. The first part of the process was ensuring prior informed consent particularly from the elders who held most of the knowledge. In describing themselves as a culturally sensitive organisation Crawhall (2001) asserts that SASI recognised that in cultures that are not dependant on writing, it is important to understand the systems within which learning and teaching occurs. SASI recognised that "the research team was biased towards linear narratives and time frames in reconstructing events. In contrast indigenous elders had complex associations, single events were tied to a host of other issues" (Crawhall, 2001:18). Indigenous ownership of the project was also ensured in working within indigenous discourses as SASI found that "it was more productive to let the elders tell [them] the story that was important to them and to glean from this key information that helped put back together the puzzle of earlier identity" (Crawhall, 2001:18). At the end of the process the outputs of the CRA were returned to the owners of the knowledge and intellectual property rights were protected during the auditing process.

This CRA process is described by SASI as a

> soft approach where the work has evolved based on a cycle: doing, reflecting and adjusting. They assumed that there is a relationship between the 'soft' elements such as identity, community, and self-respect on the one hand, and economic transformation, income opportunities, management of quality of life on the other (Crawhall, 2001:22).

Wildschut reiterates the importance of this soft approach in warning that "projects must go at the pace and the rhythm that the community can deal with. Trying to launch huge projects that people cannot grow along with will be death" (interview, July 2003). The short-term evidence of the success of this soft approach has been the reported responsiveness of community members in

the enthusiasm of the elders to communicate their knowledge and the willingness of the youth to learn (Crawhall, 2001). It is reported that the ancient N/u language is being recognised as a part of the identity of a new generation. "The youth leaders are beginning to form a movement around their cultural heritage with language being one of the 'insider' badges of membership" (Crawhall, 2001:21).

The work described above assisted the community in verifying the land claim and laid the foundation for developing concrete projects for the CRM plan. This is the phase that SASI has now entered because "as people started moving into the land obviously the issue of how they could sustain themselves became an issue" (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). In October 2000 the opportunity to start the Sisen Crafts Project arose. It is a community based project where a collection of people have worked out their own system of management, with the assistance of SASI in funding and providing facilitators to assist the community in getting the project started. Betta Steyn facilitates craft development. This entails taking the traditional knowledge that local people already have around production of the unique craft and helping to shape it so that it become a marketable product without losing its authenticity (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). Lizelle Kleynhans works as the accountant of the Sisen Crafts Project and teaches practical matters of running a project such as book keeping skills, and keeping track of stock. Running parallel to this is development in training people to staff the shops and sell products. Wildschut believes it has been

> absolutely successful, if you look at the project now you will see that the project is largely run and operated by the Bushmen themselves. The only input still are what facilitators give on product development…and assisting with marketing of the craft and finding markets…beyond the boundaries of the Kalahari (interview, July 2003).

Although Wildschut believes that "the trickle down affect has been quite significant" (interview, July 2003) she is unsure of income and how may people have gained direct or indirect benefits from the project. It is said to have met the intangible needs of the community important to CRM projects as "the kind of self-esteem levels of people who have been involved in the project have just gone up phenomenally" (Wildschut, interview, July, 2003). The Sisen Crafts Project provided SASI with a model for their soft approach, it was their testing ground, it provided them with a model: how must it be done? (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

Once the agreement for farmland was concluded SASI felt they should wait to embark on the second phase of negotiations with the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (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 nothing to sudden wealth it kills anybody, irrespective of who you are or where you are" (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). During my fieldtrip in 2003 I met Anna Festus, the liaison between South African National Parks (SANParks) and the Khomani. She told us that

negotiations around joint management arrangements within the KTP were underway. Late in 2001 a committee was appointed by the CPA to undertake negotiations with SANParks with respect to finalising an agreement for the Contract Park handed over during the land claim. The negotiation continued successfully, facilitated by Dawie Bosch (Grossman & Holden, 2002: 3). An agreement was made between the KTP, Mier Community and Khomani in 2002. The Khomani are to be trained within various aspects pertaining to the management and running of two lodges to be built in September 2003. The A-Ae! Hai Kalahari Heritage Contract Park in KTP is a combined lodge for the Bushman and Mier community. It will feature artwork from the Khomani. Festus told us that the next phase will be to finalise the architecture, bring these back for community feedback and start building. The Khomani will be active in the management of the lodge through facilitation by SASI and it is hoped that after a few years they will be able to manage it on their own. The Auob River Camp is funded by a private business. Once again decisions about what happens with these two lodges is said to remain within the hands of the community. SASI is merely there to facilitate, to provide them with legal advice of whatever decisions there are to take with KTP and their social ecology department who are said to make great efforts to include the community and share and exchange information (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

The CRM programme links to parallel development and income generating initiatives within the KTP. Inside KTP community members wanted to develop educational material for tourists and to act as wildlife guides (Crawhall, 2001). Festus told us that from this identified community need that SASI is now funding a tracking project within the KTP. The //Guruke training programme for certified trackers in the Khomani community is led by master tracker Karel 'VetPiet' Kleinman who was born, raised and worked his whole life in the KTP, is the Chairperson for the negotiation committee for the Contract Park and is a member of the Council of Elders. This tracking project signifies a focus on eco-tourism as a form of development. CRA serves as a foundation for development initiatives for eco-tourism as well. The community intends using some of the wild land identified as a limited access eco-tourism site. The CRM training involves assisting community members in evaluating CRA output relevant for this initiative. For example identifying relevant information, packaging this for trainees and tourists, and establishing natural resource management techniques based on traditional knowledge systems (Crawhall, 2001:25). Crawhall also links the infrastructure of these lodges to the conservation of Khomani language and culture:

> The Parks are in such an important position to help indigenous people teach their culture and languages to the next generation. These are conservation places where the animals and plants are there, where people can teach the young people the old knowledge, tracking, show them the graves of old people (Crawhall, 2003: 12).

This leads into the next focus of the CRM plan: education. The community has identified that the

wilder land should be a place for community based education and culture (Crawhall, 2001). Women want to teach children to identify and harvest plants and older men want to teach young men to track and hunt. Karel 'VetPiet' Kleinman views education as a primary means of poverty alleviation. He says, "My focus is on poverty alleviation. I will not always be there so I am concentrating on training people and educating my community" (2003: 5). A nursery school project has started in one settlement where children are exposed to the N/u language and bush lore. SASI supports this as "these skills can be spread through the community and could be linked to literacy and training" (Crawhall, 2001: 25). In 2001 a number of people started working on plans to incorporate CRA material into this nursery school system that would be active in several villages. Initial discussions with local government were positive and led to the Department of Education now paying salaries. SASI is still working on trying to get social services on board to assist with the children's health and nutritional needs. During my 2003 fieldtrip there was great excitement that Isak Kruiper, Lys Kruiper and Rosa Koper, all residents at the farm Erin had begun building the *Rooi Duin Veldt Skool* (Red Dune Bush School) with the support of SASI both financially and with training needs. It is situated in Witdraai and aims to teach young children traditional knowledge including language and plant knowledge within a fairly traditional setting.

SASI believes that the CRM tools are "ones that draw to the fore the way which indigenous peoples can take care of themselves as well as provide a leadership role for national reconstruction and development" (Crawhall, 2003:27). By mobilising indigenous cultural resources SASI believes they are bringing into play a new outlook, which echoes the objectives of the 'another development' paradigm. They claim to engage with a new paradigm for triggering sustainable development potential. This new development paradigm marries economic, cultural and environmental components. The management of culture becomes a national resource and benefit for both the poor communities and governments attempting to combat poverty and create opportunities for national development (Crawhall, 2001: 27).

Comparing Development Players

Both organisations in Ngwatle and the Northern Cape view two modes of development for the respective communities: farming of livestock and community development based on CBNRM and cultural resources auditing management (CRAM). Community development based on these processes is opted for instead of farming as the Trust fears that the land will be destroyed if it is used for large scale pasture for cattle, and SASI believes that agricultural economic development will be at the cost of intellectual and cultural heritage of the people (Crawhall, 2001). They call for a focus of development at community level and claim to recognize community mobilisation as an integral part of the development process. SASI focuses on the mobilisation and maintenance of traditional knowledge as a source of development. In reflecting the discourse of 'another development' they claim to recognise that as a community moves through resettlement

and development there will be dynamic interactions between questions of identity and economic opportunity.

> There is much more to sustainability and self-determination than just securing access to land [and natural resources]. Managing identity and its underpinnings is critically important for the processes of reconstruction and reconciliation. Regaining control or even just awareness of the alienation of identity during colonisation creates opportunities for community members to process anger and trauma that would otherwise remain a silent poison within the society" (Crawhall, 2001:22).

However, Ngwatle depends on the co-ordination and the use of veldt products and wildlife management and seems to look to cultural aspects of Ngwatle Bushmen purely as a tourist attraction. Bushman culture adds a fascinating dimension to tourism initiatives in the area (Flyman, 2000) but is not valued as a part of Botswana's national heritage. The difference is *community* based natural resource management is implemented in Ngwatle where meat and wildlife are said to be the main resources of the area and *cultural* resources auditing management is implemented in the Northern Cape where indigenous knowledge is said to be the main resource of the area.

CBNRM and CRAM are almost synonymous with community-based tourism, (Flyman, 2000; Crawhall, 2001) in the form of eco-tourism with Bushmen working as trackers and guides, and through the production and sales of indigenous crafts for tourists. A focus on cultural tourism is at the core of development within both areas. Eco-tourism plus the production and sale of crafts (even community work in KD1 focuses on buying and selling crafts rather than, for example, health care education etc) plus the observation of an 'other' culture produces a good recipe for cultural tourism. The Trust's web site equates the observation of wildlife with that of the local people in KD1 where 'to observe people and their animals in a harsh environment is just as fascinating as gemsbok and lions in the wild."

THEORISING DEVELOPMENT STRATEGIES

'Another development' is geared towards the satisfaction of both material and non-material needs such as self-respect (Servaes, 1995). Both the Trust and SASI speak of meeting the Bushmen's' intangible needs as these forms of cultural tourism enable local empowerment. A major goal of development as empowerment as discussed within the DSC and another development paradigm is "to move the locus of control from outsiders to the individuals and groups directly affected" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 300). In KD1 the communities are assumed to take control of their land and resources and tap the potential to acquire skills and design their own development. In the Northern Cape the CRAM process is viewed as empowering younger Bushmen with a knowledge of a hunting and gathering system (Crawhall, 2001) as SASI's soft approach assumes that there is a relationship between the soft elements of identity, community

and self-respect on the one hand and economic transformation, income opportunities and management of the quality of life on the other (Crawhall, 2001). SASI's soft approach in allegedly *honing* indigenous skills appears to distinguish them from the Trust's approach of aiming for Bushmen to *acquire* new skills. This difference may be illustrated in the eco-tourism activities in both areas. Whereas the Khomani have been able to initiate their own //Guruke training programme for trackers who will guide tourists and pass the information on to younger generations, the Ngwatle Bushmen are employed by SBB to guide hunters.

However, the Trust and SASI presume that the Bushmen are unable to 'own their development process' from the inception of a development initiative. The Trust and SASI both employ a Natural Resource Management Advisor or intervening agent to assist in both the CBNRM and CRAM programmes. They act as live in facilitators to develop a strong base of knowledge and skills amongst the Bushmen who will be, after adopting these forms of management, able to control their own paths of development. The notion of intervening agents was first engaged with during the modernisation paradigm. During this paradigm came the knowledge that Third World people were not inclined to submit easily to new innovations in the form of an object or practice perceived as new by an individual (Rogers, 1962). Organisations such as UNESCO and the World Bank attempted to counter this by sending extension agents to the Third World. The extension system was to "decide what innovations were best for its clients, followed by campaigns to convince them of their choice" (Melkote and Steeves, 2001: 56) setting in motion a one-way flow of influence oriented messages from agencies at the top to rural peasantry at the bottom. It is possible to view the intervening agents in the Northern Cape and Ngwatle in terms of this system as they encourage the Bushmen to adopt westernised methods of management that will lead to new skills and economic opportunities. However, the skills that are being facilitated and trained in these two areas are assumed to be more positive for the Bushmen than innovations within the 1950s and 1960s. SASI and the Trust both claim that they address poverty related issues, are more context sensitive and that "certainly in the past two years the very, very, very strong call that has come is that the community themselves want to be inskilled, they want training" (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

A positive aspect of training in Ngwatle is through the combined efforts of Ghanzi Crafts and the Trust with craft development. Tomaselli remarked how in 2002 there was more sophistication in design, production and pricing as compared to previous years due to guidance during training workshops, and some villagers agreed that as a result their crafts had been more popular. In this light, the intervening agents in these areas may be better understood in terms of DSC operating in the ideal situation of an empowerment paradigm. Instead of intervening agents serving to introduce outside innovations, his/her role is as collaborator, facilitator or advocate for the community using a semi-participatory communication model to convey information, strengthen interpersonal relationships and build organisations. In activating self-help activities such as craft making to empower communal organisational power, it aims for increased access of

community members to material, psychological, cultural and informational resources, therefore aiding in capacity building (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). From this facilitation is it hoped that there will be a shift of agency to the Bushmen in controlling the development initiatives after a few years.

Another reference made by Wildschut signifies that aspects of the modernisation paradigm are still understood to function in development. She believes that "the trickle down affect has been quite significant" (Wildschut, interview, July 2003) in dispersing benefits from the Sisen Craft Project amongst the Khomani. The trickle down of benefits to others in the population, for example through the creation of jobs for the poor as a result of industrialisation, was an important notion of the economic model of the modernisation paradigm. Although a logical concept, in reality equal benefits do not always trickle all the way down. Ronelle Van der Riet illustrates why in discussing the Trust's money that is said to be dispersed amongst all community members. "The higher you up in the chain, the more money you get, the lower you're in the chain the less you get" (interview, July 2003).

In seeming to keep with the participatory philosophy of Freire and 'another development' both SASI and Trust claim that the community members practice full participation in their own development. This is another means to ensure that the Bushmen own their development. This is ensured through the structure of the CPA and Board of the Trust comprising of family groups representing the community. However, Freire and another development view participation and hence an improved self-esteem amongst the beneficiary communities not as a path towards development but as development itself. Attempting to meet the Bushmen's intangible needs and restoring self-respect through the CRAM and CBNRM projects is viewed as the initial phase of development, as a pre-requisite for a meaningful process of economic development which is the ultimate goal (Crawhall, 2001; Flyman, 2000). Although the participatory structures are a step in the right direction for a meaningful form of development, one can argue that it does not follow the participatory philosophy of Freire. Participation in these areas may be seen as being utilised as it was within more dominant paradigms: *participation-as-a-means approach*. This approach describes mobilisation of a populace to co-operation in development activities. Within the 'another development' paradigm the *participation-as-an-end* approach is favoured. Here participation is recognised as a "basic human right, and should be accepted and supported as an end in itself and not for its results" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:337).

The development programmes in both Ngwatle and the Northern Cape are impacted by broader government development policy and the status of indigenous people. Botswana's Minister of Local Government, Margaret Nasha voices Botswana's approach to development with regards to the Bushmen:

We as government simply believe that it is totally unfair to leave a portion of our citizens undeveloped

under the pretext that we are allowing them to practice their culture…all we want to do is treat Basarwa as humans not game, and enable them to partake of the development cake of the country.

Botswana's development cake has been ensured through wildlife conservation in attracting high-end tourism. The Botswana government claims to be relocating Bushmen out of parks and even out of Ngwatle in the name of development. Nasha justifies this, as "the issue of the Basarwa here is a human rights issue. Can you allow a section of the population to continue living in the manner they are doing, and not accessing information, education for their children and health facilities?" The problem however, is that the Bushmen want to continue living as they have, practising cultural traditions that they still feel are important to them, such as hunting and gathering. The Botswana government's policy on Bushmen seems to echo, at the local level, that of the modernisation paradigm where Third World citizens were "to discard unconditionally their *primitive ways* and embrace the technologies that had wrought such progress in advanced countries of the North" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001:54). Third World citizens however, were reluctant to do so, as it would be destroying age-old traditions that had shaped their realities for thousand of years.   The idea that most development strategies based within the dominant paradigm benefit the already wealthy is reiterated here. There have been many "speculations as to why the government is insistent on moving the Basarwa…ranging from mining diamonds (De Beers)…to tourism opportunities."

Although the Trust does reflect the discourse of 'another development' in creating seemingly democratic structures to ensure equal participation and employment opportunities of all KD1 residents it does not overtly recognise the importance of the cultural aspects of a community as does SASI. This may be a result of the broader Botswana government policy in not acknowledging the existence of indigenous people. Conversely, South Africa has acknowledged that the Bushmen were previously marginalised and "with our new political dispensation the acknowledgement that there are indigenous people in this country happened" (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). In adopting the 'new South African' attitude SASI felt that there was a significant loss of cultural knowledge to be regained and that an exploration of identity was important to stabilise the Northern Cape community before meaningful development could be achieved (Crawhall, 2001). These concerns have been taken for granted by the Botswana government. SASI sees the Khomani's economic future as resting on valorising a previously suppressed heritage where the model of development sees not only the adoption of new methods of managing resources such as meat and wildlife in Ngwatle, but also the recycling of traditional knowledge for new opportunities while actively engaging in heritage management.

In discussing the development programmes initiated by SASI and the Trust it is important to outline some assumptions made by them. When faced with reality these assumptions often contribute to difficulties in the development process. The focus on community development presents the danger of development agencies viewing a community as a homogenous entity. Although both SASI and the Trust are aware of tensions between different groups within their

areas such as the Bakgalagdi and Bushmen in Ngwatle, and *westerse* Bushmen and traditionalists in the Northern Cape they still embark on community development. This may lead to the danger of not meeting the needs of certain groups within a diverse community, which can lead to jealously, increased tension and mistrust which will be discussed in the following chapters. SASI saw the land claim in Witdraai as providing a "strategically important focal point to re-establish a sense of community and unearth hidden ties of culture and genealogy" (Crawhall, 2001:10). This may be true but claims have been made that the Khomani were brought together by external sources, as there needed to be an ethnic group for the land claim. Although the land claim was the correct thing to do, especially viewed in the light of the continued discrimination of the Botswana Bushmen, some feel that it was a political experiment at the time. The government may have wanted to be seen giving land back to an indigenous group. Wildschut (interview, July 2003) explains the problems related to this:

> It happened too fast and um…people prepared themselves for years of battle and the land claim was concluded in a very short space of time. I wasn't around in SASI at the time but my colleagues, who were working on it you know, have said it swept everybody away. Now over and above that people were preparing for legal battles and going the legal route to get land back because that is what they thought they were up against and they didn't realise that the state would be much more accommodating in this particular land claim. So the [Khomani] leadership were not ready to take the role of leadership because they had been scattered…they had to find themselves again, they had to build a sense of community again…and truth be told the people did not have the skill to manage the land, they know the land, they live off the land, they understand how the land works but managing assets, managing land, I mean all these farm houses and pumps, and animals and game…it was an enormous responsibility for them to deal with and the capacity was not there.

Although the South African government and SASI felt that the land claim offered a strategically important focal point to unite the people into a community, the hurried nature of the land claim did not allow for the community and SASI to deal with other important issues related to development, such as building a trusting relationship, explaining exactly what was required of the Khomani, and many promises were made which then may have seemed possible but have not been followed through. This perpetuates the mistrust and resentment in the community (cf. Ellis, 2001; Grossman & Holden, 2002).

Connected to this assumption is that community development, which in acknowledging and attempting to meet the intangible needs of a community by allowing them to manage their own development will automatically rebuild the self-image and pride of beneficiary communities. SASI and the Trust feel that the CBNRM and CRAM programmes allow the communities to 'provide for themselves' and build a sense of pride. However, the cases of Ngwatle and the Northern Cape show the incongruous nature of development in reality. David Grossman and Phillipa Holden, ecologists who have assisted the Khomani, have reported that

since the land claim "social problems continue with cases of child and women abuse *more* common" (2002: 5). In both areas health care is severely lacking and treatment at the closest clinics continues to be problematic as they are far away from centres of activity and the Bushmen have a lack of transport. Alcohol abuse is also prevalent and in Witdraai "it is reported that dealers have moved into the area and are trading mandrax and possible heroin" (Grossman& Holden, 2002: 5). If the Bushmen were feeling the self-respect reported by the development agents in their areas they would not still be so dependent on mind-altering substances to escape their reality.

It is also assumed that the community-based tourism, which in both Ngwatle and the Northern Cape is synonymous with cultural tourism, has reinstated the cultural value of wildlife, traditional skills and practices and other resources for the Bushmen. However the Bushmen's' individual hunting rights have been revoked so that the "cultural value of wildlife" (Flyman, 2002: 7) in the sense that Bushmen understand as food for survival has been negated, not promoted. In community-based tourism cultural practices are valued if they can be packaged and sold to tourists. Belinda Kruiper discusses what some Khomani told her after working in cultural tourism projects; "they go and dance for a contract, they come back, they despise themselves for yet again selling their souls. They rage the only way they know how, alcohol and then hurting each other because they cannot hurt other people" (Kruiper, interview, March 2000).

SASI believes that they are using the intellectual and cultural heritage of the Bushmen to rebuild a sense of community. Traditionally Bushmen communities functioned in a more or less egalitarian way. However today the idea of an equal, open and unrestricted community has been labelled a myth (Wildschut interview, July 2003). Former Manager of the Molopo Lodge situated directly opposite the Witdraai *Tentepark*, Roger Carter discusses this tyranny of the community (cf. Dyll, 2003a). He explains:

> You see it's all well and good to have all this land that [the Khomani] have around us, but there's no individual Bushman that owns it. There's no individual Bushman that can use it. So even if there's a Bushman with any ambition in him, he doesn't have the opportunity to exploit his ambitions. And in fact, the minute you have an ambitious one, the rest of the community pull him down because they don't want him to succeed, because when he succeeds, they look bad. They actually…What is this equality of misery or equality of poverty? They really don't want anyone to succeed. Again, I suppose it's a typical symptom of a community that's in the desperate straits that this community is in (Carter, interview, September, 2000).

The assumption that the CBNRM and CRAM programmes bring "optimism for the future and people learn the potential to control their own development process" (Flyman, 2000:7) is also under scrutiny. What comes to mind is the discussion I had with Matthew Durington, Michael Francis, and Vanessa McLennan-Dodd on our 2003 fieldtrip to Ngwatle. Michael and Matt were discussing their trip to the pan with Ngwatle Bushman elder, Kort Jan and his sons earlier that

day (see Appendix, photograph 6). What struck them was that all of Kort Jan's explanations of hunting were linked to the notion of survival. He used to have food to give to the family, but now he does not. Rather his family, like others in Ngwatle, depend on rations from the Botswana government and trophy hunters. This is humiliating and frustrating, as food does not always arrive on time. They feel a lack of control in their lives, which are governed by dependency on the government and hunters.

The Trust also assumes that "the interaction between the private sector, government and NGOs has changed from informal and patronising to institutionalised and at an equal footing" as "the Board and the outsiders have become partners in development and lines of interaction and communication have become clear to everybody" (Flyman, 2000: 7). Despite the reported equality in the development process many at Ngwatle feel that the private sector, more specifically SBB do not treat them appropriately. In 2001 a young man in Ngwatle told one of the researchers that according to SBB, the Bushmen "*mors hulle tyd*" (waste their time), and the company tries to involve the "unreliable" community as little as possible (Wang, 2001: 64). This attitude was reiterated by Johan Van der Riet who observed that "these people work in a different time schedule" (interview, July 2003) and told us how one group of Bushmen were so lazy that they had to call in the Trust to assist them in encouraging the Bushmen employed at SBB to complete their designated job. Perhaps the lines of communication have become clear between the Trust's Board and the Botswana government but people on the ground are still faced with contradiction and confusion. In response to question about the lines of communication between the Trust and the Ngwatle Bushmen, Kort Jan and Johannes, another Ngwatle Bushman said:

> Kort Jan: They talk amongst themselves but never tell anybody. They don't give…They should have left us so we could…
> Johannes: …struggle on our own.
> Kort Jan:…they should help us (interview, July 2002).

With regards to the lines of interaction with the government they added:

> Kort Jan: They come…always voting.
> Mary: If it is time for voting?
> Kort Jan: Yes.
> Johannes: They only come to tell us lies. Then they leave again (Johannes and Kort Jan, interview, July 2002).

Kort Jan and Johannes feel that the communication between the Trust and government is therefore filled with empty promises and no real improvement has occurred.

Aspects of the development communication paradigms described above play a role in implementing development programmes in Ngwatle and the Northern Cape. It seems that both

SASI and the Trust utilise the participatory methodology advocated by DSC and 'another development' to achieve the ultimate goal of economic development favoured in the modernisation and dependency/disassociation paradigm. The CBNRM and CRAM programmes appear to reiterate the two main factors focussed on within modernization's economic model, that of "the productive resources a society has and it's economic institutions to use to guide the use of resources" (Weaver & Jameson, 1978:9). SASI and the Trust attempt to improve community living conditions by identifying productive resources within the Northern Cape and Ngwatle respectively, and developing a tenable infrastructure for the sustainable use and distribution of these resources, for example the Sisen Craft Project in the Northern Cape or as hunting guides in Ngwatle. However, they appear to avoid the danger of cultural insensitivity associated with the modernization paradigm. They both maintain that there is more to CBNRM and CRAM than creating successful tourism projects, as they stress the importance of meeting the community's intangible needs in allowing the Bushmen participation in their own development, therefore creating a sense of pride. However, what must be remembered is that decentralising resources to a community-based organisation such as the Trust in Ngwatle or the CPA in the Northern Cape does not necessary mean more equitable participation in decision-making and resource distribution. It must be kept in mind that to become truly autonomous in their own development all community members, and not only those at the top, should have equal access to the use of resources that enable them to express themselves and to communicate those expressions to others (Freire, 1972; 1990). This will lead to true conscientisation, self-empowerment and therefore development.

The following chapters will examine more closely the impact of these assumptions in an analysis of development on the ground at Ngwatle and the Northern Cape. The development stories of these areas will be fleshed out with the experiences of the people not only involved in implementing development but more importantly of the Bushmen at the grassroots level. I will investigate how they interpret and sustain themselves in a world governed by the development agendas discussed above, engaging with competing development paradigms, NGOs, models and individuals.

Chapter Three: Development on the Ground in Ngwatle

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is the first of three, which will explore the dynamics of development between two Bushmen communities in the Ngwatle village of Botswana and the Northern Cape of South

Africa. I will focus on the topic of Bushmen rights within their development process, particularly with regards to public participation, and their relationship with the land they live on with regards to their access to natural and monetary resources. These two main topics coalesce all the issues important to this research and speak to issues of cultural identity, which are inextricably linked to development.

The primary difference in the development experience of the Ngwatle Bushmen and the Khomani is that in South Africa it is beneficial to hold the status of a Bushman ethnic identity whereas in Botswana to be known as Bushmen is not as profitable due to the stigma of inferiority attached to the term. Unlike South Africa, which officially recognises the existence of indigenous peoples within its borders, Botswana continues to deny that Bushmen should be considered more indigenous than any other group in the country. The Botswana government sees the Bushmen and some of their neighbours, such as the Bakgalagadi, as Remote Area Dwellers (RADs) – a broad category of people who reside in remote rural areas and who are therefore less advantaged than other groups in terms of access to services, development assistance and employment opportunities. On the other hand, the South African Government recognises the indigenous rights of the Khomani Bushmen as owners of the land they live on and they have access to the majority of resources on it. These different perceptions of the status of Bushmen identity by the state impact on the broader development policy for each group, however there are similarities in the relationships with different stakeholders: the broader community, non-government organisations (NGOs), Trusts and community property associations (CPAs).

Programmes such as community based natural resources management (CBNRM) at Ngwatle and cultural resources auditing management (CRAM) in the Northern Cape were put in place to assist the local development organisations to manage the land and resources available to the local people. As discussed in Chapter Two both the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust (NKXT) and the South African San Institute (SASI) give good reasons to believe that these programmes for development are worthwhile implementing in their respective areas, such as the sustainable management of resources for a better future in Ngwatle, and the recognition of the value of traditional Bushmen cultural knowledge in the Northern Cape. These programmes integrate the idea of conservation (either of wildlife and natural resources or a traditional culture) with development, which is an important theme as it "offers the lure of a win-win solution to the problem of conflict between the interests of wildlife conservationists and rural people, and it fits the broader model of sustainable development" (Murombedzi, 2003). However, the implementation of CBNRM policies in southern Africa cannot be isolated from the context of the broader politics of land, which highlights many of its critiques.

The development paradigms discussed in Chapter Two will be fleshed out as connections can be made between these development paradigms and the experiences of the Bushmen that I have met. I will attempt to illustrate how features of the four development paradigms exist alongside each other, which makes development in practice much more complex than how it is

portrayed in theory. I will attempt to illustrate how these paradigms work out a long the lives of my research partners with the stories that they have provided and through my own observation.

BACKGROUND

Historically, the Bushmen in Botswana were seen as having few rights. In the nineteenth century, the Bushmen were classified by the Tswana as *bolata (malata)*, sometimes translated as 'serfs' or 'indentured servants'. They were required to provide goods and services to members of the Tswana elite and sometimes to other groups in the Kalahari and surrounding areas. They had no voice in court, so they had nowhere to turn if they objected to how they were treated. There were instances in which Bushmen were taken forcibly from their homes and required to work for other people, often for little or no pay and, in some cases physically mistreated (Hitchcock, 2002: 801). Not much has changed for the Bushmen of Botswana who are still fighting for greater recognition of their rights, the opportunity to have a voice, participate in public policy formulation, and to promote their own culture, languages and identities (Hitchcock, 2002). All these efforts have seen little or no success.

By the mid-twentieth century, Bushmen and Bakgalagadi were in two different socio-economic strata in Botswana with the Bakgalagadi having higher status than the Bushmen. This division is allegedly still in place today. It is therefore possible to say that the Ngwatle Bushmen still exist within the confines of a colonial dispensation. This is reflected in the words of Gadi, an Ngwatle Bushman and captivating storyteller. He says:

> We left our tradition behind because we no longer live good lives…The suffering of the Bushman nowadays…The government took away the tradition of the Bushmen and gave his own tradition to them (interview, July 2003).

The story of Ngwatle began approximately sixty years ago when a white farmer named Joep loaded the Bushmen in a truck and took them to Masetleng Pan (Boloka, 2001). A few people went to work on his farm in Bokspit. Johannes remembers, "He was the first one to take us away along with my grandmother, my mother. My grandmother die on Joep's farm" (interview, July 2002). Prior to this incident, they were living at Malahlakhuru on the border between Namibia and Botswana. Gadi explained that people "stayed [on the farms] till Botswanaland put up fences in the middle and such things. Then half of the people stayed on the other side in Namibia and, half of the people came back here" (interview, July, 2003). They were a small number of about 120 Bushmen including women and children. Though Masethleng Pan still remains in many of their minds for its abundance of animals, wild fruits and water, it is a place filled with sad memories. It was there that the Bushmen first came into contact with SWAPO in the 1980s who were at war with South Africa over the independence of Namibia. Due to their inability to withstand guerrilla insurgence, the Bushmen fled the pan to Ngwatle and

"pursued the water" (Gadi, interview, July 2003) further to Hukuntsi. Their stay in Hukuntsi was short-lived as they were accused of stealing Bakgalagadi livestock. Hence, they were forced to move back to Ngwatle (Boloka, 2001). Gadi remembers:

> It was '84. They made us move from Hukuntsi. On foot! There are lots of water there at Hukuntsi. Then they moved us…When the [Bakgalagadi] saw the water there was good. Water was oozing from the sand. Didn't need a machine to pump it out. The Bushmen must leave if they eat our cattle and the goats. Make them go. So they left. They were afraid of those people. It was the first time the Bushmen met the Kalahari's and the Batswanas…When they saw a black man they knew he was a cannibal. They left. We moved here (interview, July 2003).

Once they were back in Ngwatle they built their homes close together creating a cohesive community. On our drive back from Ukhwi I saw the dilapidated enclosure where the Ngwatle community used to live together. I was told that between 1996 and 1999 the government promised them 'proper' housing if they moved out of that specific place (see Appendix, photograph 7). The people built their houses further away from each other, living in smaller numbers. As a result they became more dispersed and less unified. The people are still waiting for government housing and the government's empty promises perpetuates the mistrust the Bushmen have for the "Batswanas" (Gadi, interview, July 2003).

RIGHTS AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

The language of democracy and participation has become widespread and the need for participatory approaches is embodied in different development paradigms. However, what frequently occurs is what can be termed 'token participation' where development beneficiaries often serve as passive recipients of state or NGO development plans and not as active partners.

The RAD settlements in KD1 such as Ngwatle are remote. Not only are they far from the main centres, but also are difficult to get to due to poor road conditions. All land in the Kgalagadi district is now either state land or tribal land, with all of the Bushman settlements on tribal land. Ngwatle is within a wildlife management area (WMA) where land is allegedly zoned for use in order to help give marginalised communities responsibility for and benefit of the use of large areas (Cassidy et al, 2001). It also reports that while the WMAs may be considered less viable for agriculture, they do have potential for tourism, hunting and gathering. Livestock and agriculture are not viable due to the lack of water and for this reason the areas are reserved for wildlife and other natural resources management (Cassidy et al, 2001). The NKXT Trust is the CBO created to manage theses resources through CBNRM projects and have exclusive rights over the wildlife quotas in their areas. (Cassidy et al, 2001). The constitution of the Trust is based on representation at the level of family groups, thereby ensuring that all people have an equal say (Cassidy et al, 2001). However, the same report contradicts itself stating:

> In Ukhwi, as in other ethnically mixed settlements, it is quite noticeable that Bushmen live on the

periphery of the village, while the dominant group lives in the middle, close to services and facilities. This physical distancing mirrors a political distancing: those who live further away remain uninformed and do not see any point in participating in *kgotla* meetings (Cassidy et al, 2001: A60).

The majority of people in Ngwatle are Bushmen. According to the same report "Ngwatle a wholly Bushmen village displays a very high level of apathy and little interest in politics" (Cassidy et al, 2001: A61). An alternative explanation, and one reinforced by brief fieldwork in 2002 and 2003, is that the reason for this 'apathy' may be due to the fact that Ngwatle is the furtherest village away from Ukhwi with the least services in clinics, water and schools. Their physical distancing and lack of transport may be part of the reason for their political distancing.

Miriam Motshabise, feels that Ngwatle is under serviced and is discriminated against as most of the residents are Bushmen "who in many ways are at the bottom of the Botswana socio-economic system" (Hitchcock, 2001: 798). "The Trust are not doing a good job because in Ukhwi, in the board…they have got Bakgalagadi. Ncaang is Bakgalagadi. Here we are Basarwa, so…they are not taking us seriously" (Motshabise, interview, July 2003). The reason for this may be that the Bushmen have never been given the opportunity to be directly involved in politics as they were often viewed as serfs of the Bakgalagadi and by the 1970s, in western Botswana districts such as Ghanzi and Kgalagadi, the vast majority of District Councillors were of Bakgalagadi origin. Few Bushmen were in positions of political significance. Bakgalagadi were seen as more politically active, running regularly for public office, while Bushmen, if they participated at all contented themselves with voting (Hitchcock, 2002). This view of the Bushmen still seems to be in existence today. The Trust implies that they value participation and shifting the locus of the control of development to the hands of the Bushmen. However, Kort Jan, an elder in the community comments that the Trust board members "talk amongst themselves but never tell anybody" (interview, July 2002) which shows a lack of grassroots communication within KD1 with no allowance for feedback. Grassroots communication and the ability of community members to give feedback on development issues is essential to the notion of 'another development' whose rhetoric the Trust mirrors, but in practice is neglected. The notion of unfair representation is echoed in Miriam's words about the Trust. She says, "They are apathetic. Ngwatle is *out* of KD1, but they have…they are the ones who made the Trust" (Motshabise, interview, July 2002). This exemplifies the idea that although on paper the Trusts seems to be representative by incorporating family groups from the three different villages, people on the ground do not feel that they are part of the development in their community, let alone *own* the process.

James Murombedzi (2003) discusses the devolution of wildlife management through CBNRM strategies in southern Africa as an extension of colonialism. He argues that:

In dealing with the problem of controlling popular demand for an overhaul of colonial property rights,

while at the same time extending some land and resource control to indigenous citizens, the post-liberation state has not sought to change the colonial dispensation. Rather, it has maintained, in some cases even perfected colonial practices of resource control. While it has espoused the rhetoric of devolution, it has continued to strengthen colonial institutions, including traditional authority…as a way of exerting and increasing its own control over the country side…In this regard, devolved natural resources management particularly through CBNRM programmes, has become a convenient intervention. It gives the state the opportunity to extend its control over certain economically and financially valuable resources, at the same time appearing to be empowering local 'communities' regarding the use of these resources (Murombedzi, 2003: 136-137).

Murombedzi's argument is useful in discussing the impact of the CBNRM programme initiated in Ngwatle. As illustrated in Chapter Two the Trust does espouse the rhetoric of 'another development' of empowering the Bushmen of KD1 to manage the local resources to create economic opportunities. Speaking to the Ngwatle Bushmen I was alerted to the disjuncture between development policy and the lived experience of people on the ground. Murombedzi discusses southern Africa's post-colonial state and land tenure (ownership, control and use of land) in terms of a continued division between the modern sector typically comprising of land held by white settler farmers and the traditional sector primarily made up of indigenous populations, supposedly engaged in subsistence agriculture in communal areas. The definition of communal areas is largely normative and based upon an ideological construct, starting in the colonial era, to rationalise the racial division of land, create an effective basis for the indirect control of land and natural resources of the colonial state through chiefs and is continued by the post-colonial state in order to justify continued state control (Murombedzi, 2003). Although the situation in Ngwatle is different in that those in power are not a white post-colonial government but rather a black government, one can apply this critique to Ngwatle as the Botswana government view Bushmen as ethnically distinct from themselves and many Bushmen communities have been separated from the rest of the population in what may be considered communal lands, or RAD communities.   The assertion by Murombedzi (2003) that CBNRM strategies may be an extension of greater state control over natural resources and hence, a continuation of colonialism, is evident in the CBNRM strategy implemented in Ngwatle. Murombedzi proposes that:

The devolution of the 'rights' and control over natural resources in southern Africa, and the associated CBNRM projects and programme, have the effect of extending and strengthening the state's control over the countryside through strengthening rural local government, the creation of new community institutions and land-use planning (Murombedzi, 2003: 137).

Despite it's invention by well-meaning donor organisations, CBNRM in southern Africa has been interpreted to mean the management of natural resources through a formal programme, rather than the everyday interactions between local people and natural resources in their daily struggle

for livelihoods (Murombedzi, 2003). Similarly, CBNRM in Ngwatle means the management of natural resources through a formal project initiated by the Trust, a legally registered entity whose establishment and operation has its roots in national and district legislation policies and procedures. It drew up a land use plan, which was submitted to the government and resulted in the Trust being awarded the rights for KD1. Despite the direct involvement of the government in planning programmes, allocating funds and issuing hunting licences, the Trust asserts the importance of all community members in the management of natural resources to the degree that "participation has been institutionalised in the Constitution of the NKXT Trust and in the *Land Use and Management Plan*" (Flyman, 2004: 4). The Trust asserts that grassroots participation is ensured through the structure of the organisation. However, the Ngwatle Bushmen feel disconnected from the development process. Instead what seems to be in place is a one-way flow of communication as the Trust "come and tell [the Ngwatle Bushmen] what their Big Guy is saying" (Gadi, interview, July 2003).

In response to how the Ngwatle representatives on the board provide the community with feedback after Trust meetings, Miriam Motshabise comments:

> They are not telling them anything…They are supposed to tell the people, but they are not doing that…Last year they were…the Trust sometimes they came here and we have a meeting in Ngwatle but now they are not coming (interview, July 2003).

The neglect of the Trust may be due to the idea that they feel the Bushmen have nothing to offer towards the CBNRM project or it could be related to wider Botswana policy. In January 2000 discussions were held by the Botswana Ministry of Local Government about the status of community trusts. Although the decision was not rescinded formally it held that communities would no longer have the right to make their own decisions on natural resources or to retain their own funds, the benefit of the resources instead being a "national resource, like diamonds" Thus, as is evident in Ngwatle, CBNRM refers to programmes that are sponsored by outsiders with particular vested interests and backed by the state, through policy and legislation, or both and are dominated by wildlife management programmes such as the Trust's *Land Use and Management Plan*. Community members typically do not determine how wildlife is going to be 'produced' and how the 'benefits' generated are to be utilised. These decisions tend to be made by Rural District Councils (RDCs) which regulate land use in terms of communal land by-laws produced by the ministry of local government such as the Kgalagadi District Council (KDC) in Ngwatle, and by other outsiders (Murombedzi, 2003).

LAND

Bushmen have suffered a long history of land dispossession and exploitation. John Hardbattle, a man with Bushman descent who supported the Bushmen of the Central Kalahari Game Reserve in their fight for their rights to land stated "You know land is everything – if you are looking for a

life or an existence you must have land. Without land you've got nothing." The ownership or use of land is essential to any form of development in order to sustain oneself economically and enjoy a sense of self-respect.

This is made difficult for the Ngwatle Bushmen due to the infringements of their rights to use the land, as discussed above, and the continued threat of relocation. Adherence to wildlife conservation is a possible reason for the desired relocation of the Bushmen out of Ngwatle as "those people from parliament…says those Bushmen must move. They live on Gemsbok place" (Gadi, interview, July 2003). Gadi doubts that this is the real reason, as it seems impossible that it is the only "place for animals" as villages inhabiting people surround them.

> What makes me more ashamed, we are in the middle. Therefore even if they say we live with the animals this road comes from Ukhwi, it is the place of people. This road here comes form Zutshwa. This is the place of people. This road comes from Monong. It is the place of people. This road comes from Ncaang. It is the place of people. This road from Hukuntsi, it is the road that goes to Namibia. But we are in the middle, we don't know how the animals come from the other side (Gadi, interview, July 2003).

CBNRM operates within communal tenure regimes, which are hardly secure, as most legal systems in southern Africa do not provide adequate security of tenure for locals as illustrated within the context of Ngwatle. Murombedzi (2003) argues that this is deliberately so, to allow for forced removal, privatisation and other development initiatives. These "other development initiatives" may be of great economic benefit to Botswana and according to some sources may have more to do with the mineral and tourism potential of the area than it does with wildlife conservation.

> We ask them why we have to move. They say…this place of ours, there are diamonds, there is gold. But they haven't yet taken out any diamonds or gold. They say that is why we have to move, it is because of that. We've only heard about Masetleng. There is diesel, there is gold, there are diamonds, and we have to move away (Gadi, interview, July 2003).

In response to why they had to move, the majority of people I spoke to repeated the same words over and over, "Ngwatle is not a recognised settlement." They were not able to offer any further explanation. This again points to the disjuncture between what is written on paper and the contradiction the Bushmen are subject to in reality. It is documented that *until* 1998 Ngwatle was not a recognised settlement (Cassidy, et al, 2001). The community is faced with the equivocal situation where the recognition of their unrecognition provides evidence of their existence.

It is maintained that the Ngwatle Bushmen are not being forcibly removed but are encouraged to move in the name of development. They are being told to move to more developed villages to access education in Ukhwi (Kort Jan, July, 2002) a clinic in Monong

(Miriam, interview, July 2002) and even to towns such as Ghanzi (Miriam, interview, July 2002) and Hukuntsi (Kort Jan, interview, July 2003). Viewed in the larger context of forced removals in Botswana it is evident that Bushmen are required to move due to a western bias evident in Botswana's development policy. According to Hitchcock (2002) Botswana Minister of Local Government, Margaret Nasha, explained that if people living in remote areas wanted aspects of development such as education, then they would need to leave their villages and move into settlements where the government could provide direct development assistance in the form of schools, health programmes and commodities. The minister appealed for 'progress' and suggested that people should not be allowed to remain in what in effect was 'the Stone Age'. However, as discussed above, the Ngwatle Bushmen have moved before both because of persecution and for promises of assistance.

Now that the Ngwatle Bushmen are settled they are being 'encouraged' to move again. The irregular and slow service of water and the neglect to fix the borehole may be two ways of 'encouraging' the Ngwatle Bushmen to move as Gadi explains "they don't make it work because they say we have to leave this place. They can't give us water from the borehole…can't put the engine in place. We have to move" (interview, July 2003). In this way relocation creates dependency. People move out of previous areas, members of families separate from each other becoming more and more dislocated. In the new localities, water is scarce. They also have to shift away from dependence on wild resources, becoming almost entirely dependent upon the government for their subsistence and income requirements (Hitchcock, 2002).

Ngwatle holds the opportunity for two modes of development; one as economic agricultural development and the other as cultural or community tourism. The Trust has embarked on tourism as the primary means of development for the Bushmen. Despite efforts by development workers to focus on cultural/community tourism the Bushmen want to pursue game farming. Kort Jan's answer to what he would do if he were one of the board members on the Trust illustrates how owning livestock is now necessary for their survival. He says that he would treat all the different villages equally. The main issue he stressed was that Ngwatle had not received any domestic animals from the government and that means that they do not have access to milk. Buck used to be the Bushmen's cattle but hunting has been removed from their lives and as they do not have that form of meat, they now want to replace it with a different form of economy and farm with goats, sheep and cattle (Kort Jan, interview, July 2002). The image of Bushmen as incapable of farming stems from historical relations with other peoples in Botswana. The Bakgalalgadi were residents of the same rural villages, land areas and cattle posts as the Bushmen. However some Bushmen feel that "Bakgalagdi were given more opportunities to benefit from *mafisa* (long-term loan) cattle which they could care for in exchange for their milk and draught power, the meat of cattle that died, and in some cases, a calf per year" (Hitchcock, 2002: 801). The sense that the Bakgalagadi benefit where the Bushmen do not is still felt today. It is claimed that the other two villages in KD1 whose residents include more Bakgalagadi, are

provided with benefits that are withheld from the Bushmen. Kort Jan's explains that "Those who live in the Kalahari, they get [cattle]. The Bushmen…where the Bushmen live [the government] don't bring any. The Bushmen only get poverty" (interview, July 2002).

The reason the government gives for the lack of livestock in Ngwatle is that the area is not viable for grazing and pastoralism (Cassidy, et al 2001). It seems contradictory therefore that the Ngwatle Bushmen are being asked to move out of Ngwatle as it is no longer a recognised settlement and is instead "a place for animals" (Benedictus, interview, July 2002; Gadi, interview, July 2003; Miriam, interview, July 2002, 2003; Pedrus, interview, July 2003). Pedrus Motshabise, Miriam's brother, remembers:

> one time… the beginning of this year, they were debating at parliament but they were going to ask about this settlement and they…one of the ministers said that this place is for the animals" (interview, July 2003).

How can a piece of land that is not tenable for grazing livestock be considered acceptable for wild animals?

ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND BENEFITS

The Ngwatle Bushmen face a myriad of problems that are obstacles to their development. Although the Trust claim that their CBNRM programme has decentralised access to natural resources for the benefit of the broader KD1 community, and that benefits in the form of job creation has been generated, the people on the ground maintain that they are still suffering. In the following section I will explore these different issues of access to job opportunities, basic resources such as water and food, government services and the Ngwatle Bushmen's hunting rights.

Murombedzi's (2003: 137) second proposition that speaks to the Ngwatle Bushmen experience is that "the devolved natural resources management programmes function to strengthen and reinforce colonial racial and class patterns of access to and use of the natural resources in question." In practice, the CBNRM programme does not provide a means for survival through community management of communally held natural resources but rather a means for the government, RDCs, and authority in the form of 'community' Trusts as the 'upper class' to benefit from and control resources. "The institutional development process has not developed into a process of defining local rights over the wildlife resource. Management instead tends to be based upon RDC control over wildlife" (Murombedzi, 2003: 143) and other natural resources.

Craft Making

The only real source of income for the Ngwatle Bushmen is through the sale of crafts made from

ostrich eggs shells (Kort Jan, interview, July 2002). In Ngwatle the system presumably works with the Trust and Ghanzi Craft who come into the village to buy crafts from the Bushmen, they then put a 100% mark up on the price to make a profit from the tourists (Miriam, interview, July 2002). However, communication between the Trust, Ghanzi Craft and the Bushmen is irregular and visits to the area are also inconsistent (Kort Jan, interview, July 2002). This leads to frustration on the ground level, as the Bushmen do not know when they will receive more income. The lack of income prevents the Ngwatle Bushmen from accessing the raw materials for craft making. Ronelle Van der Riet, the wife a Safari Botswana Bound (SBB) manager, acknowledges the state's control of access to the resources that are supposedly communally owned. She says:

> This people wasn't living in these three villages, they were actually scattered around this area, and the government took them and put them in this three villages. So… and took their hunting privileges and gathering privileges away. They must have a permit to go and hunt or gather some stuff. And that costs money and they don't have…where do they get the money or an income from if they don't work or sell their curios or anything like that (Van der Riet, interview, July 2003).

By moving the Bushmen to the three villages one presumes that the government has greater control in monitoring and keeping them under surveillance to ensure that they are not accessing resources without a permit as they are living in a smaller, concentrated area. This system places the Ngwatle Bushmen in a difficult situation where they cannot access resources to create their crafts, as they do not have the income to buy permits from the Botswana government. The Trust and Ghanzi Craft perpetuate the problem by not keeping a consistent working relationship with the people. As a result of this the people have begun to sell crafts directly. During our 2002 fieldtrip we sat in on a Trust board meeting. The chiefs in the meeting made it abundantly clear that we were not to buy crafts directly from the individual but should rather go through the Trust. I thought it odd that the Trust would presume to prevent individuals from selling the proceeds of their own work. What was the reason for this? In interviewing Ronelle Van der Riet she provided a possible answer, "Ah it's difficult to work with this system. Um…because the community doesn't want the individuals to be rich and be you know all that stuff, they want to work through them but they don't want to work together" (interview, July 2003).

Murombedzi's (2003) discussion offers another possible answer. Highlighting the dependency debate he argues that colonial states created a system of dependency by "disenfranchising the indigenous population and creating a large pool of labour" (Murombedzi, 2003: 138). On a micro-level one can see this system functioning within Ngwatle. It is located in a remote area of Botswana and even KD1. The government and Trust disenfranchise the local people of access to resources and therefore to income. The people are expected to work to make

crafts but do not benefit directly from their work. The Trust and government do in putting up a 100% mark up and earning the profit. Gadi reiterates this idea when he states, "the government doesn't want you to acknowledge that there still are Bushmen. It is only them who come and take things from us and sell to the Kalahari's and you over there so you can't see where they get all the stuff" (interview, July, 2003).

Job Opportunities

As discussed in chapter two, one of the claimed benefits of the CBNRM programme in Ngwatle is job creation for the people of KD1. For the younger people in Ngwatle development is equated with job creation. However, many people that I spoke to feel as if they are trapped, as there is allegedly unequal access to positions in both the Trust and SBB. Benedictus Lesethle, a young man from Ngwatle explains that:

> Most of some of us here are not benefiting from this Trust. Those brothers of Ncaang and Ukhwi are the only people that are benefiting from this brother…They benefit jobs, job opportunities (interview, July 2002).

Miriam feels that racial and ethnic discrimination has been established within the board, which contributes to the strained relations between the Bushmen and Bakgalagadi. Employment is provided according to family loyalty and the majority of those on the board are Bakgalagadi. The Bakgalagadi are distinct both culturally and linguistically from the Bushmen. Bakagalagdi have always spoken a language, which was akin to Setswana (Hitchcock, 2002). They thus had a somewhat easier time interacting with the Batswana and therefore had greater opportunities in participating within Botswana society, economically, politically and socially. This class distinction is still felt today. Miriam questions "In the board they have Bakgalagadi…Just imagine, I am Miriam and I'm the chairman of the Trust. I'm going to employ that boy, it's my sister's son, you, you are my cousin; I'm going to employ you. Just imagine if I'm employing the family not others. Is it okay, or not? (interview, July 2003).

The following transcription of a discussion between Gadi and Keyan Tomaselli highlights the inconsistent nature of the work when the Ngwatle villagers are provided with a chance to work for the Trust or SBB through their joint venture agreement.

> Keyan: The only way to make money is to sell things?
> Gadi: Yes, for us in Ngwatle.
> Keyan: Isn't there any work?
> Gadi: There is no work.
> Keyan: But you said Miriam was working at the pan.
> Gadi: They work for probably for two months, then they stop again. That is not a job. Then we stay, we stay, we stay, stay. Then they come again and maybe take two of us. They go and work at the pan. Sometimes it takes 5 years. That's how we live (interview, July 2003).

When Bushmen are employed the majority of them work as cooks and camp attendants with very little participation in the skilled worker categories of the safari operations. The success of most safari hunts depends upon the tracking skills and knowledge of the local conditions and animal habits of the local trackers, who are an integral part of every safari operation. Yet, these trackers are treated as unskilled labourers, rather than being recognised as qualified guides. Murombedzi (2003:146) reports that:

> besides constituting another instance of devaluing local environmental knowledge, this treatment of local trackers also demonstrates the contempt with which local people tend to be regarded by the safari operators…To date, not a single community trainee in any of the CBNRM training programmes has qualified as a guide [and] where local guides and monitors participate in the hunt, the treatment they receive is absolutely deplorable.

Water

In Botswana the government controls the Bushmen's access to water and food. It is reported that the KDC does its best to supply the RAD settlements with water and where no "sweet" groundwater can be found, as in the case of Ngwatle, the council trucks the water in (Cassidy et al, 2001). During our travels around the different villages in and next to KD1 in 2002 I noticed that Ngwatle had fewer water tanks than the other villages. We went to see Miriam in Monong, I saw two water tanks there, four water tanks in Ukhwi and two water tanks in Ncaang. Ngwatle did have two tanks but one had fallen down during a storm and was lying on its side in 2002. On our return in 2003 it was in exactly the same position (see Appendix, photograph 8). We told Pedrus Motshabise, that surely the Ngwatle Trust board members could pass the information onto the Trust who can then put pressure on the government to fix it. He responded "Ja, Ja. It is correct that, but somehow it is like it is difficult for them to do so. But it is their duty to do so. So. We asked them many times to help us with the issues, but nothing has happened" (Pedrus, interview, July 2003). This again illustrates the one-way flow of communication between the Trust and Ngwatle Bushmen.

Not only does Ngwatle have one water tank to provide for approximately 135 people (Cassidy et al, 2001: 55) but also the KDC does not bring in the water as often as they should. Gadi despondently explains that:

> last week Friday they were here. Maybe they can come next week as well. Often it takes a long time. We could wait two…also four or three weeks without water. Some people then goes to !Nau. We go and fetch water there with the donkeys. Then we come back here. That is the kind of life we live in this place…It only fills up this thing. At the moment there are more of us around here. It takes only a day for that tank to be empty again. And then we are once again without (interview, July 2003).

The lack of access to water contributes to the dependency of the Ngwatle Bushmen on the government. The Bushmen are unable to develop themselves if "their rights [are] ignored even their most basic right of access to water" (Hitchcock, 2002: 823). In the interview with Ronelle Van der Riet, Keyan Tomaselli made the connection between the lack of service to Ngwatle and "class patterns of access to and use of natural resources" (Murombedzi, 2003: 137).

> Keyan:…when we visited the Trust… last year at the meeting in Ukhwi I got the impression that very few members of the Trust actually were from the Bushmen communities.
> Ronelle: Yes. Setswana.
> Keyan: They were basically Tswana speaking people and therefore already enacting government policy with regard to not servicing Ngwatle (interview, July 2003).

Even when the water does arrive there is danger in drinking it. Benedictus explains "some of the [tanks on the truck] got rust inside of which we even get *cruel* for drinking such a water, some of us. *Nna* (me) I'm not staying here…realising that this water is now rusty, can't drink" (interview, July 2002).

Ngwatle used to have two boreholes to provide them with water but now there are no pumps to operate the engine. The Safari Company that was based at Masetleng Pan close to Ngwatle shared the water from the borehole with the community. Then when the community left the pan at the request of the government the Bakgalagadi stole the whole bore hole, they did not receive petrol and it stopped running. The Bushman community therefore settled at Ngwatle where the only supply of water is from the government (Kort Jan & Johannes, interview, July 2002). Pedrus, like the other Ngwatle Bushmen have recognised the need for more water. He told us:

> We have asked them to fix up the engines. And then the government says that this place is for the animals. So he can't fix up those things. Cause if he can fix up those things we will bring our cattle here" (Pedrus, interview, July 2003)

What seems to be occurring is that the government is willing to provide boreholes for use by wildlife but not the people of Ngwatle. In response to the question of why the Trust cannot install the pump Pedrus further added "because the way the government sees he says he can give the Trust…uh…the bore holes maybe to make a camp at Masetleng. So that pump can be used for animals" (interview, July 2003). On 4 April 1997, the Botswana government made a statement to the Human Rights commission stating "Our constitution will not allow us to treat our Basarwa compatriots as if they were indistinguishable from wildlife, as some of our friends overseas would have us do". It seems that government policy does distinguish the Bushmen from wildlife, but that it is more concerned about the survival of it's wildlife than of it's people.

During my 2002 fieldtrip Charlize Tomaselli, Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, and I took an afternoon walk around Ngwatle. We stopped at the water tank that was surrounded by thirsty

donkeys and goats eager to salvage a drop of water off one of the pipes. I thought if this is how the animals were behaving, how desperate the people must be! Jon-Jon, Kort Jan's son, came over to speak to us and I asked him about the water situation. He told us he thought it unfair that Ngwatle only had one water tank and that they get less water than the other two villages as they have less animals. But again the government, who appear to give cattle to the Bakgalagadi and not to the Bushmen, control the amount of livestock they are allowed. This points to another example of "class patterns of access to and use of natural resources" (Murombedzi, 2003: 137). Kort Jan and Johannes reinforce this arguing that:

> Johannes: Each year, each year…You will see sheep and goats that was distributed by the government. Only this farm had nothing.
> Kort Jan: Because there are no kgalagadi here. They were over there. So they gave over there (interview, July 2002).

Jon-Jon, Kort Jan's son also told us that the other two villages in KD1 that comprise of Bakagaladi and Bushmen are given salt water for their animals so they can save the normal drinking water. He says "*dis swaar*" (it's bad) because now more people are moving out of Ngwatle to where there is more water. This illustrates how underdevelopment causes people to move to areas with better facilities and services and that "migration is a process encouraged and facilitated by infrastructural development exemplified by roads, transportation and technology" (Boloka, 2001: 2) therefore contributing to the dislocation of the Ngwatle community. I also asked him about one of the buildings in Ngwatle that looked like a school. He said that is was *vir die klein kinders* (for the small children) gesturing to his waist with his hand. I asked if the children go to school every day. He said usually they do but that due to the lack of water the children have not been attending, as they cannot concentrate. The school therefore lies vacant (see Appendix, photograph 9). This highlights the idea that water is development. Without water people cannot sustain themselves both physically and mentally.

The dependency this causes for the Bushmen is an assault on their rights as human beings. For a people that have survived off the land and were able to find water in their natural surroundings and even dance for "big pitch black rain" (Gadi, interview, July 2003) which would fall from the heavens, the reliance on water from an unsympathetic government does not provide optimism for the future and the potential to control their own development process (Flyman, 2000) as the Trust so proudly boasts.

Hunting Rights

Originally nomadic hunters and gatherers the lifestyle of the Ngwatle Bushmen has gradually changed with the times, with many of their cultural practices disappearing in the modern world. One such practice, which is, integral to their lifestyle is hunting. The Botswana government has removed their hunting rights in the name of conservation, replacing this age-old system of

survival with dependency on handouts.

Ronelle Van der Riet believes that the government is concerned about the survival of its people as "every month they get a supply of food. And that's their food supply, they don't go and hunt like they used to" (interview, July 2003). It is reported that the primary land use in Ngwatle is subsistence hunting (Cassidy et al 2003: 54). Each year the government issues a wildlife-hunting quota of animals to the Trust that is supposedly divided amongst the KD1 community. As part of the joint venture agreement the Trust has sold 25% of its quota to SBB of which two-thirds of the meat is given back to the Trust for even distribution amongst the community members. However, from conversations with the Ngwatle Bushmen it seems that SBB does the majority of hunting in the area with no legal hunting allowed by the Bushmen. Their individual hunting rights have been revoked and they therefore depend on SBB as "a very important institution in the Ngwatle economic system" (Boloka, 2001: 9) and foreign trophy hunters to deliver the food back to the community. Mary Lange and Keyan Tomaselli had numerous conversations with Kort Jan and Johannes about hunting as it is something the two men were able to do before the government and Trust banned this age-old cultural practice. Johannes told them:

> Only the visitors are allowed to hunt...They hunt for us. We only eat the meat…Because of the black people…It is only for the black people. We steal…we have to steal (interview, July 2003).

The Ngwatle Bushmen feel that they have been disenfranchised of another 'communally held natural resource' and the privilege of hunting has been handed over to the "black people" (Johannes, interview, July 2003) or the Tswana speaking people and to tourists. Not allowing the Bushmen to engage in a practice that they consider central to their culture is a violation of the economic, social and cultural rights of the Bushmen as again they are dependent on others for their survival. The Trust and SNV/Botswana, keeping within the discourse of 'another development', speak of meeting the intangible needs of the Bushmen, one of them being the "[reinstatement] of the cultural value of wildlife, other natural resources, traditional skills and cultural practices" (Flyman, 2002: 7) which in turn leads to empowerment. Freire views empowerment as conscientisation, which "restores to people the right to produce knowledge based upon their own experiences and values" (Tomaselli & Aldridge, 1996: 61). However, that the CBNRM programme led by the Trust "ignores local rights and knowledge systems completely [and] it is fundamentally informed by a centralizing and 'modernizing' ethic. This constitutes a huge contradiction in a programme that is supposedly a decentralization programme, creating community forms of resource ownership" (Murombedzi, 2003: 144).

The Trust and SBB maintain that there is an equitable distribution of the meat once the hunt is over. Kort Jan and Johannes, however, explain that there is:

Johannes: Too little! Each person maybe gets like two ribs…Only that. But if they kill a Gemsbok you get like a piece here or a piece there.

Mary: How do they calculate that?

Johannes: They don't…there are some who receives nothing.

The above discussion suggests that there is no consistency in the allocation of meat and some people do not know when they will receive their next meal. There are also accounts of the lack of communication about the hunting process when Bushmen work as guides:

Mary: But do they maybe tell you that if you find a Gemsbok today you will for instance receive a leg?

Johannes: They don't discuss that…the ones that have received something…they…

Kort Jan: …they don't worry.

Johannes: Because some get and others don't. And if the hunting season is closed, it is closed (Kort Jan and Johannes, interview, July 2002).

Partly because of these systems of working described above "most local people still do not view themselves as the joint owners of wildlife; rather they continue to see it as a resource belonging to either the government or the RDC" (Murombedzi, 2003: 143). This situation negates what the 'another development' paradigm aspires for, as the Bushmen feel estranged from their own development process. In doing so the Bushmen are still within the position of what Freire terms "the oppressed" as by not contributing to their own development and being dispossessed of practices important to their way of living they internalise values and habits that sabotage their critical thought" (Shor, 1993: 29).

Murombedzi's third proposition of the effect of CBNRM strategies on local communities speaks to the issue of hunting in Ngwatle. He explains that:

Control over natural resources is devolved to local communities in order to create new opportunities so that communities can benefit economically from their exploitation. In practice this means that these communities…enter into arrangements with private sector safari operators to utilize these resources, usually through safari hunting and related enterprises, in exchange for concession and other fees. In return, the communities guarantee unlimited access to these concessioned resources for the private operators (Murombedzi, 2003: 137).

This is how the Trust and the SBB reportedly operate. They hand over their hunting permits to the SBB who in return give a share of meat back to the Trust who disperse it amongst the community members. However in 2000 Special Game Licences were no longer issued to local Trusts in Botswana. What this meant, in effect, was that the central government, not the districts or regional wildlife officers, now had control over issuing hunting licences. The subsistence rights of the Bushmen have therefore been denied when they were refused the Special Game

Licences and arrested for "violations of the conservation laws of Botswana" (Hitchcock, 2002: 813).

Like other countries in southern Africa the rich populations of 'game' has convinced Botswana that tourism is a worthwhile sector of the economy as "governments have been attracted to this sector because of its ability to earn foreign exchange" (Murombedzi, 2003: 140). In addition CBNRM in southern Africa has tended to focus on the development programmes that address the use of specific high-value natural resources, particularly wildlife (Murombedzi, 2003). Ronelle Van der Riet attests to the high value of hunting within their area explaining that it "brings in fifteen times more income than one tourist" (interview, July 2003). However, little attention is paid to the legislation that restricts social access to game and associated resources, with the result that the wildlife industry has remained a class issue (Murombedzi, 2003). The absence of the concern of legal rights for local communities manifests itself in the restriction of their access to the same resources, which usually involves an increase in policing their movements. "Thus local game guards and committees are created to develop new forms of policing and to enforce regulations that secure the access of private operators to the 'communal' wildlife resource" (Murombedzi, 2003: 137).

The KDC has developed a system of policing the Ngwatle Bushmen whereby "if they find you wandering in the *veld* (bush) you are put into jail" (Johannes, interview July 2002). The Trust boasts that:

> Through CBNRM, the people of KD1 can manage the land jointly and invest in wildlife. Here in KD1, people have found a way to provide for themselves through an ecotourism project and by coordinating the use of veldt products and thus providing for themselves, their land and the future.

Gadi, however, contests the proposed joint management of resources in his statement that:

> if the [government] says you are not allowed to go and break (fetch) wood and things…not allowed to have your photos taken or to make things for people to buy we just go and do it. And we say, when I see my father standing, make the things. But then he (the government) will catch you, because you are not allowed to do those things anymore. It is because of such things that our lives are changing, and the lives of our father (interview, July 2003).

In practice the community cannot "invest in wildlife" or "co-ordinate the use of veldt products" to provide for themselves as they are punished for doing so. In addition Gadi feels that the resources that are available within Ngwatle are not being used to their fullest potential as the government frowns upon the traditional aspects of their lives. Frustrated, Gadi explains:

> If we go and look for wood, look for medicines, then the government says…we are not allowed to cultivate those. We may only grow those with papers. But we know it is a medicine. It is the only medicine that cleanses anything - your blood and your veins…There are many medicines that we can

use to cure people. Now this government, he says the tradition of medicine doesn't work on a person. Only pills work and injections work…We will arrest you. Where is your license for these things? If you don't have one we will catch you. We are caught (interview, July 2003).

Individual safari operators also impose restrictions upon local activities in the hunting areas, ranging from total prohibition of any form of access to some forms of negotiated access. This can only be possible because of the lack of clarity regarding the nature of local rights to these resources in the CBNRM programme" (Murombedzi, 2003: 146). During the interview with Gadi a small plane was seen flying overhead. Moving his hands to imitate the motion of the plane Gadi explained:

When he moves like that, he is not looking for game; he is looking for a Bushman to tie underneath the wing. When they see one on the pan with a gemsbok, they turn like that. He turns like this, he turns like that, then they phone Ngwatle: Here they are. Then you see they turn like this. Then a car comes down there and they come to catch you (interview, July 2003).

Gadi went on to tell the group that the plane belonged to the "law of the Safari Botswana Bound" (interview, July 2003). This affirms Murombedzi's (2003: 146) argument that the "greatest beneficiaries of the wildlife management services provided through [CBNRM] are the safari operators, who benefit through increased security of access to the wildlife."

The Trust justifies its existence by rationalising that they are protecting KD1 from "private interest [which] would lead to almost all the land being converted to pasture for cattle the main source of wealth in the Kgalagadi" It seems, however, that the source of private interest is not the Bakgalagadi and their cattle but rather the SBB and their sense of entitlement to 'communal land' that really threatens the CBNRM project's aim of empowering the local people.

Gadi reflects the frustration of the Ngwatle Bushmen as they sustain themselves within a world of contradictory messages created through the joint venture agreement between the Trust and SBB. The disjuncture between what is stipulated on paper and what happens on the ground adds to the sense of alienation the Ngwatle Bushmen feel with regard to their development. For example, when their opinions are voiced in voting they go unheard. He says:

the law of the Trust says the Bushmen are allowed to move around with their donkeys and to pick up things to make beads. But now they are saying we may not anymore. Afterwards when the Safari people…when the Trust took them on and they came with their law again to come and ask the Trust. Some of the others voted that we are allowed to live with these things, we the Bushmen. But now they say we are not allowed to walk about with these things and search for it (Gadi, interview, July 2003).

Like Kort Jan and Johannes, Gadi affirms that "[visitors] are allowed to go because you are touring. You are touring of course. They only know these are white people with cars. They are

touring. They bring in money" (interview, July 2003). This confirms Murombedzi's position that as a result of certain CBNRM strategies "the wildlife industry has remained a class issue" (2003: 140) as white tourists are allowed on the pan as they bring in money, and the people that the CBNRM programme is supposed assist are discriminated against as they are viewed as poachers. The suspicion of Bushmen poaching allegedly leads to excessive and humiliating punishment by wildlife officials. If a Bushman is seen wandering across unrestricted land it is taken for granted that he is there to hunt. Gadi explains that:

> here in our Trust our law says if we catch a Bushman, here in our place, we have to go to the Trust so he can be charged. But this charge is R50. But it is not like that anymore. Now it is R1500. Then we don't know where a Bushman will find R1500 for a…bat eared fox (interview, July 2003).

The inconsistency of "law" as policy and lived experience is again evident. The situation is compounded by the fact that the Bushmen do not have access to such large amounts of money and therefore serve five years in prison even if they did not hunt (Gadi, interview, July 2003). Gadi tells the story of what happened to Jon-Jon as an example of the 'policing' of resources that occurs in KD1.

> They only make sure that they see him to ask him what he's doing there. What he was looking for. If he doesn't want to say anything, they give him a hiding. We are suffering. The last time they took this old man's Jon-Jon. Jon-Jon asked that they should buy a *riem* (thong) from him. A *riem*! Then they caught him and were kicking him around. Just to try and sell that riem! Only a *riem*…they said there was meat somewhere. He must show them the meat that belonged to this hide, this *riem* (interview, July 2003).

The Ngwatle Bushmen are therefore not only oppressed through the removal of their rights to resources but also through the alleged use of force. The Trust's Notarial Deed outlines that one of it's objectives is "to conserve and protect the natural resources of KD1 against extinction, misuse or any other damage for the benefit of the General Members and their future generations". These methods of policing may therefore be justified along these lines. However, the above story illustrates that the 'conservation' of resources may not be in the best interest of the General Members but rather the private sector.

A reason for these methods of policing may be due to the fact that in November 2002 the draft hunting quota for 2003 had been drastically reduced by 50% for some species. Flyman explains that:

> this has serious implications for the sustainability of the Trust since it has been solely dependent on revenue from hunting; it also means that community hunting in KD1 may no longer be feasible because there are just not enough animals to distribute amongst the members after the Safari Operator has bought his share (personal communication, November 2002).

As a result the people are "oppressed by hunger" (Gadi, interview, July 2003), they are forced to steal which in turn leads to an increase in policing continuing a vicious cycle.

To ensure their high-end tourism the Botswana government has a strong policy for nature conservation. "The Botswana government is also um…conservation oriented. They really try to conserve the natural elements and heritage and everything like that" (Ronelle, interview, July 2003). When questioned about the lack of importance they allocate to cultural conservation of the indigenous people Ronelle responded "Ja ag, the culture conservation that's just actually wanted to help these people to make something of them" (interview, July 2003).

Infrastructure and Education

The perceived 'backwardness' that the modernization paradigm wanted to abolish seems to be an issue within the development of the Ngwatle Bushmen. It is imperative to the Botswana government that they 'assist' the Bushmen to adapt to the modern world and not to conserve their traditional way of living. The possible reason for this is reflected in Ronelle's statement:

> You know they are still living like savages and all that stuff… the people are still living in their mud huts, and straw huts and stuff like that with their traditional pole fences around and all that stuff. Um but the government buildings are nice buildings, you know you will see the difference by miles. So the government is trying to help these people. They are putting in some schools so all the children have an education from small (interview, July 2003).

The government's perception of development for KD1 appears to be the building of infrastructure and providing a western-based education. This was quite evident in our drive around Ukhwi in 2002. I was quite amused at the paintings on the walls of the pre-school, most of them being western icons, for example Superman, Simba the Lion and Mighty Mouse (see Appendix, photograph 10). Only afterwards did I think of the implications of this. Although the school is superior to the one in Ngwatle as it was bigger with more facilities such as a jungle gym and well kept fenced playground I wondered if the children encountered the indigenous knowledge of their forefathers at all (see Appendix, photograph 11). In light of Botswana's broader policy in not recognising indigenous rights this is highly doubtful.

CONCLUSION

For people and communities far removed from the centre, such as Ngwatle "developmentalism has eroded their control over their lifestyles and natural resources, and cultural meanings and social arrangements have been devalued" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 156).

The nature of development and communication in Ngwatle appears to mirror modernization's one-way flow from the government to the Trust and then down to the local people. This is similar to what Freire advocates as the banking concept of education: a

mechanistic, static view of consciousness transforming the community into receiving objects (Freire, 1990). This inhibits the communities' creative power to think about their development process as when they do "engage with the world" (Freire, 1990: 52) by communicating their problems they are ignored. This in turn perpetuates their dependency on others

What the government, Trust and SBB should recognise is that if the Bushmen are to survive in a modern world with no room for the acknowledgement of their traditional ways, capacity building is necessary. It is essential that the Bushmen are trained in other aspects of running operations such as training in computers, accounting, and stock control so that they will acquire skills that may be put to use outside of the realm of tourism ventures. Following another requirement of the development support communication paradigm (DSC) and 'another development' paradigm, the Trust and SBB should realise the "harmonisation of development with culture" (Malan, 1998: 56) so that trackers and guides and the knowledge they hold are viewed as valuable and necessary for a successful tourism/safari operation.

An important principle of the 'another development' paradigm as advocated by Freire is that in order for the oppressed and oppressor, which in the context of this research may be seen as the government and it's agents: wildlife officials, the Trust, SBB and the KDC to become more fully human the 'oppressed' must continue to struggle towards their liberation and empowerment. The 'oppressor' must learn, understand and remember that, "among the essential conditions of people's self-empowerment are access to and use of the resources that enable people to express themselves [and] to communicate those expressions to others" (Hamelink, 1995:20). The Ngwatle Bushmen are denied access to resources and therefore to participation in their development process. This situation leads to mistrust among the 'partners of development', namely the Trust, SBB and the Ngwatle Bushmen as the SBB and Trust continually suspect the Bushmen of poaching and the Bushmen feel detached from the land from which they are supposed to sustain themselves.

As I will attempt to illustrate in chapter four, many of the same problems discussed above face the Khomani Bushmen of the Northern Cape. However, the geographical difference in their location within South Africa presents differences in their development experience.

Chapter Four: Development on the Ground in the Northern Cape

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will explore similar issues discussed in chapter three but within the context of the Northern Cape in South Africa. These include an analysis of the Khomani Bushmen's rights and public participation, the relationship with their newly returned land, granted to them in the successful 1999 land claim and their access to resources and benefits. In contrast to the Ngwatle community, which presents a more dynamic unmediated 'Bushman' identity, the self claimed traditionalists at Witdraai have adopted the identity of the romanticised image of pre-modern Bushman to gain income as cultural performers at various cultural villages and for both local and international film and television companies (Simoes, 2001) and to attract state and international funding. The development path of the Khomani is dependent on donorship and the setting up of projects by SASI to attract funding. My discussion on access to resources and benefits within the Northern Cape will therefore entail an analysis of some of the results of the South African San Institute's (SASI) cultural resources auditing management (CRAM) programme and the impact of donorship.

BACKGROUND

The nature of relations between the Khomani Bushmen and *Basters* is one of several historical obstacles, which leads to contemporary problems. The Khomani Bushmen of the Northern Cape have, since 1865, lived alongside the coloured people or *Basters*, often as their servants (Ellis, 2001). 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).

After the Kalahari Gemsbok Park was demarcated in the 1930s without any special guarantees for the Bushmen a professional hunter Donald Bain "led a Bushman delegation in a march on parliament in Cape Town" (White, 1995: 32). As a result of this agitation some families were granted residence in the Kalahari Gemsbok Park where most adults in traditional leader Dawid Kruiper's group were born. As a result many people now feel a strong connection to the land. Rosa Koper was one of them and she remembers:

> [I] used to live in the Park…I want that again, there where I grew up…You know *tsammas*…the *tsammas* we had as porridge. But that was in the bush…And you know when I talk about that my heart gets very sore. I would like to live off the *veldt* (bush) once again. I didn't know city life. I knew nothing about a hospital. My grandmother and grandfather used to cure me (Koper, interview, July 2003).

Nevertheless from 1937 onwards efforts were made to expel them from the park. 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 causal 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). From 1987 to 1989 some Khomani Bushmen, particularly from the Kruiper clan gained "white patronage" when a Kuruman tour operator put on tourist shows at the Kuruman show grounds with the Bushmen as the main attraction (White, 1995). After dispersing again "They reconstituted once more in 1991 to resettle at Kagga Kamma under yet another patronage arrangement" (White, 1995:33). However, the squatter camp conditions they lived in were oppressive. They 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 relied on a farm store where "cash was generally withheld (by the manager) even where there is no debt…because the managers…contend that 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). The Bushmen 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. 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. The long-term goal, however, [being] the restoration of secure access to land itself (White, 1995: 51)

Following South Africa's transition to democracy the Khomani, assisted by NGOs,

particularly SASI claimed ownership of the entire park under the new African National Congress (ANC) government's restitution laws. In March 1999 the South African government handed over ownership of 55 000 hectares which was to be halved between the Khomani and Mier community, which had also lost land to the park (Weaver, 2000).

Now that they are landowners the 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 now entitles them to restitution grants. The past grievances of the traditionalists concerning the initial alienation from their land are not directed at the state but at the *Basters* who 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 claim to entitlement (White, 1995: 31).

DUAL MANDATES

Development organisations frequently parade an illusion of order to access donorship. The 'another development' paradigm appears to be the paradigm implicitly devised by SASI with regards to development in their area. They claim to practice participation with community members and encourage the meeting of both the basic and intangible needs of the communities such as restoring self-respect through poverty alleviation. The reason for this may be to attract donorship as access to financial aid is frequently mediated along the lines of the apparent success of development initiatives as donors feel their money will be put towards a project with good potential for sustainability. However, the expectations raised by this presented illusion often contribute to difficult social relations when attempting development.

During the land claim process the Bushmen claimants "appeared in the media as a highly cohesive and consensual community with a common cultural heritage and continuity" (Robins, 2001: 833-834). However, subsequent to the successful resolution of the land claim in 1999, these optimistic Bushman images and narratives were replaced by front-page *Cape Times* reports of conflict, homicide, suicide, alcohol abuse, AIDS and social fragmentation, allegations of financial mismanagement by the Khomani Bushmen Community Property Association (CPA) and divisive leadership struggles (Robins, 2001: 834). A feature of these conflicts was the intra-community tension between the self-claimed traditionalists and *westerse* Bushmen who are closely associated with the *Baster*s. Steven Robins (2001: 834) questions "Was the notion of Bushman community and solidarity a strategic fiction fashioned by the Bushmen and their NGO allies during the land claim process [and] why did local constructions of the 'great divide'

between 'traditional' and 'western' Bushmen emerge when they did?" He proposes that donors and NGOs provide financial aid according to specific agendas, which he terms "donor double visions" (Robins, 2001: 833) of Bushmen as both First Peoples and modern citizens-in-the-making. These global discourses on indigeneity and democracy are brokered by SASI and reappropriated at the grassroots by the Bushmen. The contradictions embedded within these discourses on Bushman tradition and civic citizenship in turn leads to intra-community divisions as evidenced by the traditionalist and *westerse* Bushmen. This division speaks to the problematic colonial legacy of the dichotomy between modernity and tradition. Within this dichotomous framework (also evidenced in the modernization development paradigm) "modernity continues to be associated with progress, development, 'the West', science and technology, high standards of living, rationality and order, while tradition is associated with stasis, stagnation, underdevelopment, poverty and superstition" (Robins, 2001: 835). However the everyday experiences of the Bushmen negates the neat dichotomy of 'modern' and 'traditional' as:

> 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).

This hybridity may be seen as embodied in Dawid Kruiper. With an invitation from a young man named Jason who in 2003 seemed to be Dawid's 'right hand man', we drove into Witdraai to pay our respects. Upon arriving we met a very incoherent Dawid who asked us to sit down around him, especially the women. He proceeded to attempt to charm the women in the group at which point Charlize Tomaselli got up and left. A little taken aback by the boldness of Charlize's actions and their implications he reminded the rest of the group that he had been to Geneva and we therefore had to listen to him. Although he is the leader of the traditional Bushmen he validates his position and authority by claiming that he had attended a conference in Geneva, which Robins views as a 'modern' convention. Belinda Kruiper
similarly observes:

> I came to the discovery that this [traditional] leadership is created specifically for the land claim, for politics…The pressure was tremendous on *Oom* (uncle) Dawid. Suddenly he was not just *Oompie* Dawid, he was the man that went to Geneva, goes all over, he becomes clever, he mixes with people from abroad. He eats with them in hotels; he comes back home when he's now seen something else. He wants that. Forget the tradition, but he keeps the tradition alive by word and by pretence. But out there in his soul right now, he has been tarnished by western things, in itself not good, in itself not bad (interview, March 2000).

The colonial stereotype of the pure and pristine Bushmen hunter-gatherer, which is important to donorship policy in supporting First Peoples, has been embraced and articulated by the Kruiper

clan as a means of survival. They appear to have strategically deployed Bushman stereotypes in order to draw a clear line between themselves as 'traditionalists' and the *westerse* Bushmen and as a strategy of exclusion that promotes intra-community division.

> This representational strategy feeds international donor conceptions of 'Bushman' authenticity and it is likely to continue to influence [Bushmen] struggles over access to scarce resources such as land, traditional leadership offices and donor funding. It is also being used as claimants are being called upon to define the exact boundaries of the beneficiary community…(Robins, 2001: 840).

Lawyer and member of SASI, Roger Chennels and the Khomani had to grapple with the problem of competing claims regarding who is Bushman and who is not. These are pragmatic questions that determine who may or may not join the CPA and gain access to land and state resources. Claims of opportunism are common in various discussions of the Bushmen. A once off restitution grant of R3000 was supposed to have been made available to every registered Bushman, and the *Basters* claim that people rushed to join only to get access to the money on offer. Other people joined as they thought that their membership would bring them benefits like farmland, or so the *Basters* claim (Ellis, 2001). Roger Carter, previous manager of Molopo Lodge, a commercial tourist facility situated directly across the road from Witdraai elaborates:

> At the end of the day, all that Land Affairs did is create a level of resentment, because the coloured people that have been displaced from their jobs now resent that. And they don't see Land Affairs, they see the Bushmen as the cause of the disenfranchisement (interview, July 2001).

Whereas donors expect to find 'real' Bushmen when they visit the Kalahari, Chennels is aware that many Bushmen claimants have in the past seen themselves as 'coloureds' rather than the descendents of hunter-gatherers (Robins, 2001). Chennels points to the difficulty of explaining this complexity to funders. He acknowledge how SASI brought the Khomani together under the fictitious idea of a coherent community in order for a successful land claim and now SASI is responsible for the consequences of this.

> Probably the most major challenge is trying to make the myth that we've actually created in order to win the land now become reality. It is the myth that there is a community of the Khomani Bushmen. I think SASI's role is very much about culture and development, around the cultural imperative of actually creating a community (Chennels in Robins, 2002: 840).

However, with the growing awareness of development and income generation possibilities of the R15 million land claim settlement more and more people are jumping on the 'Bushman bandwagon' to access these benefits. This leads to rising frustrations and jealousy particularly between the traditionalists and *westerse* Bushmen who contest each other's 'Bushman-ness'. Dawid Kruiper as the traditional leader said that the initial CPA chairman and leader of the

westerse Bushmen, Petrus Vaalbooi can have all the farms as he only wants the Park and game farms. "Again this reflects the division of the group into stock farmers and hunters" (Ellis, 2001: 7). The effect of this is that it makes SASI's role of building a sense of community and communal ownership more difficult as "the choice of livelihoods has further solidified the spatial and cultural division within the group and thereby the trust relations" (Ellis, 2001: 12).

Robins argues that this division is not all the Khomani's own doing but that rather "this divide was itself largely a product of the dual mandate of donors and NGOs that wished both to preserve [Bushman] tradition *and* to inculcate Western ideas about 'civil society' and democratic responsibility" (2001: 841). The divergent leadership styles of the key players heightened the divide between the two groups:

> Whereas Vaalbooi is a comfortable and competent participant in party political manoeuvres and development bureaucratic discourse, Kruiper is not able to engage as productively in these power plays. In addition, while Vaalbooi has commercial farming interests, Kruiper is perceived to be only concerned with the 'bush', cultural tourism and hunting and gathering (Robins, 2001: 841).

The responses of donors, NGOs, academics and the Bushmen themselves to these opposed leadership and lifestyle choices have contributed towards exacerbating the divide (Robins, 2001). Both groups use different means to justify their entitlement to the land claim and donorship, based on the NGO and donor "dual mandate" (Robins, 2001: 841). The traditional leadership value dress, by wearing a *!xai*, and language in fluency of an ancestral language as powerful signs of authenticity. Belinda Kruiper remembers:

> Dawid started wearing his *!xai* when the land claim was initiated because Oupa Regop wore clothes you know at that stage…already they couldn't hunt as they used to….but what bugs me more is that we're trying to hold onto this thing that there is skin and bones and bow and arrows…that is simply because they have realised that there is a market now…it's what people would like to see. But at the end of the day they can't even get the skin from hunted animals, so its now been made with a sheep skin or goats skin…I think that when the land claim started a group of people…discovered this [Khomani] group, and had to keep a certain image alive and this image was obviously to get funding, to get attention (interview, October 2001).

The Swartkop sisters, /Abaka Rooi, Keis Brow and /Una Rooi who are three of the last 21 identified N/u speakers and who have been invaluable to the cultural resource audit that assisted the land claim are often appropriated by various members of the traditionalists as embodied signs and custodians of Bushman tradition. This particular process of cultural appropriation as proof of authenticity is due to SASI's valorisation of Bushman language and heritage projects (Robins, 2001). Belinda Kruiper does not agree with these presentations of an essentialist identity to gain donorship as she explains that:

at the end of the day, being Bushman is not about what you wear, it's not about what language you speak because clothes and language develops with development over years. It's about what's here (in the head) and in the heart (Kruiper, interview, October, 2001).

On the other hand for Afrikaans-speaking Vaalbooi, who does not have direct access to these cultural markers, alternative legitimising strategies are deployed. His position as the first CPA chairperson was largely a result of his ability to engage with development and bureaucratic discourses and act as a mediator of Bushman issues to both national and international audiences. This is due to what some view as the western bias of literacy, which separates Dawid Kruiper from full participation in CPA decisions. "It is precisely these Western-style discursive competencies that are recognised and rewarded by NGOs and donors committed to promoting the values and democratic practices of 'civil society'" (Robins, 2001: 842). As a result:

> the ambiguities of this 'dual mandate' – of promoting [Bushman] cultural survival and the values and virtues of 'civil society' such as democratic decision-making and accountability – seemed to invoke a repetition of stereotypes about 'pure' and 'detribalised' Bushmen that has contributed towards the re-inscription of an artificial divide between 'traditionalist' and 'western' Bushmen (Robins, 2001: 842).

Robins views NGOs as 'third parties' as "interhierarchical brokers or mediators of state and donor discourses and agendas, as well as local community interests" (2001: 844). Examining SASI's involvement in the CRAM programme as a 'third party' throws light on the complex and contradictory nature of the cultural politics of land, 'community', 'development' and 'identity' amongst the Bushmen. It can also reveal the impact at the local level of the mixed messages of donor and NGO programmes.

Whereas during the land claim process the Bushmen were portrayed in the media as pristine 'First People', after the settlement they increasingly came to be seen as part of a broader hyper-marginalised 'coloured' rural poor that needed to be drawn in the 'civilising process' through development and institutional capacity-building programmes. For example through the assistance of the rural development NGO Farm Africa to develop organisational capacity to deal with the more mundane administrative and development matters relating to land use and livestock management (Grossman & Holden, 2002; Robins, 2001). This change in focus from auditing traditional knowledge reflects the changing roles and influences of donors and NGOs.

William Fischer notes that NGOs have been identified by advocates of neoliberalism as effective institutions for transferring training and skills that:

> assist individuals and communities to compete in markets, to provide welfare services to those who are marginalized by the market, and to contribute to democratisation and the growth of a robust civil society, all of which are considered critical to the success of neoliberal policies" (Fischer, 1997: 444).

The identification of NGOs as custodians of the democratic virtues of civil society has, however,

been brought into question by the observation that "given the limited financial resources available, NGOs are becoming more dependent on the whims and fancies of international donors, state aid agencies and corporate patrons" (Robins, 2001) and "this whole development thing is now being designed for funding" (Belinda Kruiper, interview, September, 2002). The problem with NGOs being influenced by international donors and state agencies is that these organisations at the top have little knowledge of the lived experience of people on the ground and their strategies may not always be the most suited to the beneficiary community.

> Whereas Geneva-based donors, the United Nations Working Group on Indigenous Populations (UNWGIP) and NGOs may conceive of the [Bushmen] as a uniform and homogenous 'target-category' of pristine hunter-gatherers, the closer one gets to the ground the more unstable, messy and differentiated this category begins to appear…the [Bushman] 'target population' is a 'moving target', unable and unwilling to live up to either 'western' fantasies of the Bushmen as Late Stone Age survivors, or developmentalist visions of [Bushmen] as normalised, disciplined and 'civlilised' modern subjects ready to be recruited into an increasingly global civic society (Robins, 2001: 846).

In response to a question of the relationship between the donorship source and the type of development that ensues, Belinda Kruiper explained some problems with foreign funding:

> The amazing thing is that [SASI] always said to me that donorship funding is not okayed for things like taking people to hospitals and things like that. It has mainly been focused on the land claim and then the parallel thing was the cultural resources audit…That was to support the land claim to actually prove and they get the funding from Hugh Brodie in Canada, Comic Relief, Open Africa, Open Channel [and] what I am trying to say to them is that the donors can't understand what is going on in the community and they're by far not ready to just partake in the kind of things that [donors] want if they are not feeling good again about themselves because they are dying everyday because of their hunger…the donors actually don't know exactly but the project looked good and they really think that they are doing what the people want (Kruiper, interview, September, 2002).

Yet, the disjunctures and contradictions embedded in the discourses on indigenous peoples that are disseminated by bodies such as UNWGIP and international donors are 'part and parcel' of the funding allocated to "target populations". These global discourses are then reconfigured by the Khomani and by SASI according to the socio-economic and political realities in the Northern Cape and result in division. Carter therefore calls for a more pragmatic approach from donors and NGOs. He explains that the NGOs:

> hold meetings. And you hear at the end of it 'Fantastic meeting' you know 'the attitudes right' and all that jazz. And in they hop into their rental cars and they hop into their aeroplanes at Upington and they fly to Cape Town and collect their pay cheques…But nothing is being done…you have the money available to the San committee. So you go and give the money to the San committee. But there's no training given. There's no assistance: How do you use this money? What can you do with

it? What are you not to do with it? (Carter, interview, September 2000).

In connection to the donors' role he feels:

> The reality is so simple. If only the rest of the world would stop forking money out to help the Bushmen. It is not the money that is going to help them. Build a clinic, build a training centre where they can learn skills in. Go and build a museum to record and store the trauma and trails and tribulations of these people" (Carter, interview, September 2000).

The broader community has identified the need for the implementation of solutions to the practical issues that Kruiper and Carter speak about, such as building clinics, organising transport and supporting skills training. On our fieldtrips we repeatedly heard complaints such as "…you know our transport situation is very difficult. We can't, if somebody suddenly becomes ill, just take him to the clinic or phone…we don't have telephones. We don't have the money to buy a telephone with. We don't have money to get transport" (Adam, interview, July 2002).

Carter therefore feels that the notion of Bushmen as citizen-in the making may be a premature route of development in the Northern Cape.

> The problem is you have too much democracy for people who are not ready for that democracy. That is just another aspect of it. They have got the land, they have got the San committee and everything gets discussed and nothing gets done. Its all talk and no action (Carter, interview, September 2000).

The bureaucracy and 'democracy' of development therefore obstructs the practical issues of the area. Tomaselli supports this idea as "No matter how much money comes in, the target community is more often then not always broke" (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b: 10). This results in a new economy in the Northern Cape, that of "organised begging" (Ellis, 2001). There is dependency on the NGOs both for handouts and as scapegoats to lay the blame for the lack of progress. "The people cannot identify the development/s. Give me R5 and food, demands a young boy. Now that's assumed to be development" (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b: 12).

> So they wait for the better days promised by the liberation government; the NGOs get the blame because nothing seems to be happening, not the government, not the Khomani individuals who run the CPA, who seem to control all the Khomani's not insubstantial state-provided resources, and who are accused of squandering it. The villagers have little understanding of where or how they fit into the new democratic structures (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003a: 13).

Carter acknowledges that "on the surface Land Affairs, SASI, Agriculture, to name a few have actively embarked on programmes with good intentions. The funds are available of around R130 million being donated via the United Kingdom and the European Union"(Carter, personal communication, September 2002). Answering his own question "Then why this impasse?" he

proposes:

> Intentions are not enough. Meetings and discussions are useless unless kept to the point and acted on. It seems to be that we have become society of compulsive meeting goers…It seems that the emphasis lies in the planning and inventing of ideas instead of the implementation of ideas (Lets turn dreams into realities instead of perpetuating nightmares) (Carter, personal communication, September 2002).

Tomaselli & Shepperson (2003b: 8) outline some of these problems that development projects, aid and investment based on good intentions and a lack of action create. They are "dependency, corruption, mismanagement, and personal and community debt being a few amongst the many messy factors that have largely wrecked the 'traditional' Khomani return to the land." In illuminating the shortcomings of the 'another development' paradigm in practice they further propose that:

> No communication strategy is going to arrest these kinds of outcomes: what is required as primary strategies are skills and understanding of: book keeping, management, banking, investment, savings, and planning – basically how to cope with modernity. Communication is then a means to these ends. It is not the end in itself (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b: 8).

The problems discussed above may therefore lie in too much communication and development models that have little or no capacity to understand cultures, ways of making sense, and of doing things. "DSC is made in America" (Sonderling, 1997) it is incorrect to assume that it will automatically work elsewhere (Tomaselli and Shepperson, 2003b). For the 'another development' paradigm to work it needs certain parameters to be in place such as a cohesive community, full participation and open communication between donors, NGOs and the broader community, which appears to be missing within the context of the Northern Cape.

Donors for the Northern Cape also conceive Bushmen livestock farmers to be less authentic, even though for many Khomani Bushmen goats and sheep have, and continue to be, the most viable livelihood strategy in the arid Kalahari region. While livestock production is in fact taking place on the acquired farms, it initially contributed towards growing tensions between the traditionalists who claim to prefer the hunter-gatherer/cultural tourism option, and livestock farmers, or the *westerse* Bushmen. However, during our visits it seemed that the traditionalists now want livestock (Toppies, interview, July 2002) but claim to have no access to it as the government only allocates it to the *westerse* Bushmen. This clearly shows how a presented and perceived sense of identity affects ones development opportunities.

The 'great divide' in the Northern Cape is therefore not simply imposed from above by NGOs and donors and their contradictory double vision of cultural survival and creating citizens of a liberal democracy, but is also very much a product of local constructions of Bushman identity and community.

RIGHTS AND PUBLIC PARTICIPATION

Perhaps the most important lesson learned in development over the past two decades is that failure to equitably involve all stakeholders in an area as partners in all phases of project implementation from design through to evaluation has consistently led to disappointing project results. This has been evidenced all too often in the context of the Northern Cape (Dyll, 2003a; McLennan-Dodd, 2003a; Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2003b; Tomaselli, 2001)

Central stakeholders in the Northern Cape development process are members of the Khomani CPA who live in various locations around the Northern Cape. The distances between localities vary, but can be as much as 400 kilometres. Some of the people who live on farms far out never get to meetings or do not get information relayed to them. Their input is excluded by virtue of the distance from centres of activity in terms of the resources available to CPA members, such as transport. This physical distancing and therefore political distancing contributes to a lack of equal participation. However, the spatial politics that takes place at the three localities of Witdraai, Mier and the Park, where only a few members live and are distant from centres of activity, presents one of the biggest problems (Ellis, 2001). The traditional group who almost exclusively live at Witdraai have in the past purposefully moved away from other people belonging to the CPA. "The move was interpreted as suggesting that the [traditional] group are legitimate and do not want to be influenced by others who are different or less pure" (Ellis, 2001: 4). These "others" are the *westerse* Bushmen who live on other farms that have been handed back and in the Mier District, and the *Basters* who primarily live in the Mier District.

There are accounts of a lack of political participation by the traditionalists in Witdraai. Not only because of their own move away from other people but also due to western biases that were first evident in the modernization development paradigm and which are now said to benefit the *westerse* Bushmen and *Basters*. According to Belinda Kruiper there is evidence of the pro-literacy bias impacting on development issues within the area. It is claimed that although SASI and the CPA recognise that:

> the tradition is important, [Dawid] is disregarded by the CPA members. There's Petrus Vaalbooi and they're very Western. They're coloureds, you know what I mean? With Bushmen blood…I mean its *Baster*…they're the literate lot. They can read and write and then there are the Kruipers. So when there's meeting and things Dawid just gets ignored. He's there visible. He's always the visible figure. Again focussed and attentive that tradition has been acknowledged [but] when Dawid speaks nobody writes anything down" (Kruiper, interview, September 2002).

It is therefore felt that because the *westerse* Bushmen and *Basters* are literate they are able to enjoy full participation which will impact on their access to benefits. Toppies Kruiper from Witdraai feels that this has led to the "misunderstanding of not working together honestly and not

allowing the traditional side to stand up" (interview, July 2002).

A lack of participatory communication and empowerment of the people at a grassroots level has also allegedly occurred. The initial implementation of SASI's CRAM programme was not without its suspected faults. Belinda Kruiper observed that during the Khomani land claim SASI had been "too focussed on the political side of the issue…too focussed on empowering the CPA" (interview, March 2000). Although the CPA was established to manage development, it empowered only those on the committee. As a result "little real progress was made and the situation deteriorated, with known mismanagement of the funds and assets, devaluation of assets, growing social problems, lack of real support from government and deep and bitter division between members of the families in the park" (Grossman & Holden, 2001: 1). Belinda Kruiper advises that SASI should "rather go out to the people and hear what they have to say, as decisions made may not be fair to people on the ground…SASI people should…sit round the fire with the Bushmen" (Kruiper, interview, March 2000) to hear their opinions. The idea that certain development programmes benefit those at the top of a community's social ladder is evident here as it empowers those on committees and Trusts while the larger community still struggles.

New SASI co-ordinator Meryl-Joy Wildschut also acknowledges that "a lot of people do criticise the fact that the CPA is a failure" (interview, July 2003). Wildschut tells a story of Andries Steenkamp, one of the first CPA members, which clearly illustrates the workings of the CPA soon after the land claim that may have led to this belief.

> Andries has readily said you know, if I knew then what I was actually expected to do and what it meant to be a representative leader, or what it meant to be accountable that if money is spent that you actually have to produce evidence that you spent the money and those kinds of things I would have handled my position differently, but I did not know. And I think for most of them that is the honest position, for others, you know, there will be people in leadership like that who are interested in hogging the maximum resources for themselves (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

While the organisations, namely the CPA and SASI were pointing fingers of blame at each other the broader community still struggled and were faced with conflicting reasons for the mismanagement of their assets while allegations of corruption continued to surface and farms continued to be run down (Grossman & Holden, 2002). Belinda Kruiper explains that the problem with the attempt for development after the land claim was that the people at the grassroots viewed SASI and the CPA as a synonymous group. "The problem is with the NGOs and things, especially SASI, [some] have found they tend to…I don't know if it's because they have fear…in themselves as a group, as an NGO, but they tend to want to do whatever pleases the broader CPA" (Belinda, interview, September 2002).   In light of the above admittance by former CPA member, Andries Steenkamp about the mismanagement of assets and lack of accountability by the CPA, SASI was automatically associated with these shortcomings. On the other hand SASI was blamed for the CPA's lack of accountability:

The issue of proper accounting was raised and it was agreed in a formal meeting that monthly statements should be produced reflecting what transactions had taken place and how CPA funds had been used each month. SASI undertook to initiate a capacity building programme for members of the CPA in order to ensure that the affairs of the community would be properly administered and their assets scrupulously managed. However, monthly statements failed to appear despite ongoing reminders and requests by the membership and it became increasingly apparent that funds were being mismanaged and that there were a number of irregularities (Grossman & Holden, 2002: 2).

What was also said to have happened was that:

There was a tremendous amount of jealousy and political…um backstabbing about the position of the organisation (SASI)…and the main key people were Roger Chennels, Nigel Crawhall and they happened to be white. And there was a lot of politicking about the fact that SASI happens to be a white organisation, in fact the first director of SASI was a white woman…and from Cape Town…and people didn't bother to take the time to actually understand how this organisation works…and eventually the minds of some people in the CPA were against us. At one point the first CPA leadership said 'We want SASI out'…and it was only at the insistence of the broader community that we actually continued but remained in the community on a much lower level…[with the] only focus on continuing with the cultural audit, ja and everything that was entailed in that program…We couldn't continue with any of the capacity building…that was a tremendous set back for us (Wildschut, interview, July 2003).

During these disputes between the organisations people were becoming more and more despondent about their situation. The initial failure of the CPA may be threefold; the community members on the CPA were not trained on the principles of representation and accountability and were not accustomed to "western responsibilities" (Kruiper, personal communication, July 2003), the political aspect of the CPA became a major issue which "distracted and overwhelmed the CPA [as there were] far too many outside interests and people with vested interests for various reasons who put enormous pressures on the CPA" (Wildschut, interview, July 2003) and no one was willing to be accountable for the problems that had already occurred, instead pointing fingers at each other which led to mistrust and conflict.

SASI has made an effort to take action at a grassroots level by going out to the local community and discussing development issues. Most of the community members I spoke to in 2002, however, felt that there was not enough follow through on ideas they discussed with SASI. This disrupts the trust and a good working relationship that could be established between SASI and the broader community. Toppies Kruiper remembers:

One day people from SASI came…just here to [Witdraai] and asked us what ideas we had and to discuss what they could do to help. Even then some people came up with ideas about tourists and

what to plan for…But up until now nothing…nothing had happened" (interview, July 2003).

SASI's CRAM programme promotes its "soft approach" as based on a cycle of doing, reflecting with the community and adjusting (Crawhall, 2001: 22) which seems to support 'another development's' principle of setting up a continual dialogue between development worker and subject community. SASI's model shows good intentions on behalf of SASI but if it is to work in practice it is essential that the final step of "adjusting" according to the community's needs be carried out in order for real and tangible progress to occur.

Receiving feedback from meetings is also important in the participatory communication essential to 'another development'. However, Toppies Kruiper describes the communication in the Northern Cape as dysfunctional:

> Well in the middle you have the CPA…our committee, which should when they go out to work, they should bring us proper feedback from SASI and WIMSA so that we also can be aware of things and know what it's all about. So we can grow and be uplifted, but until now we have little contact and feedback. So we don't have the whole picture, we don't have the truth (interview, July 2002)

The lack of dialogue between the organisations and people at the grassroots leads to worse non-communication as the community start to resent their lack of involvement and visible development to the point that "Nobody will talk to SASI when they are busy in the field" (Belinda, interview, September 2002). As a consequence of the mistrust established between the organisations and broader community, the community perpetuates the cycle of non-communication therefore hindering themselves from moving forward and creating more tension and frustration in the development arena.

LAND

The story of the Khomani Bushmen may be considered a success story in comparison to their neighbours in Botswana as the political dispensation of the new ANC government recognises their rights as indigenous people and the symbolic importance of the return of heritage by supporting their land claim. Derek Hanekom, Lands Minister at the time explained:

> The big challenge was to offer them something which would give them land of their own and which would allow them to derive an income from that land. The first challenge is to not exclude people – in all areas, in all conservation areas. It's to ensure that local communities, adjacent communities, have real participation in some way or another in the management of resources."

This return of land offered the residents of the Northern Cape the opportunity for two modes of development; economic agricultural development and cultural tourism. SASI decided to embark upon cultural tourism as the primary means of development for the Bushmen. In mirroring the

rhetoric of 'another development' SASI believes that cultural tourism will "rebuild a sense of community and an economic future that rests on an ancient heritage. This latter model of development sees a recycling of traditional knowledge into new opportunities whilst actively engaging in heritage management" (Crawhall, 2001: 6).

Despite efforts by development workers to focus on cultural tourism the Khomani Bushmen want to pursue game farming as their hunting rights have been curtailed. However, the traditionalists in Witdraai feel that they are being discriminated against due to stereotypical images of Bushmen "as hunters [who] will not be able to use the land as 'proper' farmers should [and] will destroy the infrastructure and the veldt" (Ellis, 2001: 11). The white commercial farmers in the Northern Cape openly advise that the reclaimed land be rented to them or "responsible" 'coloured' farmers who had been farming for generations (Ellis, 2001). Due to these historical relations of 'coloured' and white people owning and managing successful farming operations with Bushmen serving as casual labour, many Bushmen now feel that they are prejudiced against in not being allowed to own livestock. In denying the Khomani to derive an income from their land as they see fit, the state and NGO's actions play into historical racism and colonialism by continuing to ignore native input.

Toppies Kruiper points to other instances of the alleged disproportionate allocation of resources within the Northern Cape.

> The Westerners now have two vehicles in which they drive past us every day. The money was… I don't know where it came from, but it came from outside. And then the sheep…But the sheep is not…the traditionalists haven't got…That's the difference…those which live on this land and those who live on that land, that is the main thing, the sheep is only on their land. But if you want to be fair then you have to make it 50-50. The traditionalists get these 50 and they get those 50 (interview, July 2002).

Although the Bushmen called for the land claim there are arguments that the focus on the land claim has led to further degradation and community conflict in the Northern Cape society. The recognition of the Khomani Bushmen's rights to land holds great value evident in the unfortunate denial of these rights in Ngwatle. However, within the context of the Northern Cape it may have hindered any real sense of development amongst its members as for a long time it was the only focus and as a legal and political focus may have delayed SASI's claimed hands-on approach, negating the idea that development is based at community level. Belinda Kruiper offers a description of other essential development issues that were ignored due to the primary focus on the land claim.

> [SASI is] supposed to be a support organisation. Information support. Now that again, what is support? So you can't support people going into the clinic. You can't support them sorting out the fact that they can't get unemployment or they don't have I.Ds you know what I mean? They have got

involved with that in the beginning, but again it was to have people so that they could register and claim the land so we can say here's the amount of people. So it was always self-centred support, not support where it's needed (Kruiper, interview, September 2002).

The primary focus on economic development in pursuing the land claim to attract funding meant the neglect of the human element at the grassroots level. While working for SASI Belinda Kruiper was reprimanded for using the land rover they gave her to take people to hospitals and provide them with food as "donors don't give money for hospitals and they mustn't have people become dependent" (Kruiper, interview, March 2000). She argues however, that she was trying to show SASI that "one cannot work in this community without emotion [and she] was not sorry because they're not dependent on [her]. They're getting healthier" (Kruiper, interview, March 2000).

Prior to 1999 there was no structure, there were clans of Khomani Bushmen and some believe that the Khomani were brought together by external sources such as Roger Chennels and SASI, as there needed to be an ethnic group in existence in order to claim the land and gain funding. The danger in this was that the external sources viewed the people of the Northern Cape with all their divisions and antagonisms as a homogenous community. Former SASI co-ordinator Fiona Archer warns "in development everything gets homogenised, even the word community" and as a result of this:

> not all the players were recognised because of the exclusive attitude from major role-players and it was very centralised and homogenised. This is important in global politics but when it comes to [the local] …the alchemy of the individuals and their background play such a critical role (Archer, interview, May 2003).

The land claim saw six farms being handed back to the Khomani, which created resentment, and jealously as not all people were fortunate enough to verify their Bushman heritage. This led to further divisions. A member of the Khomani San Association reported that he "feels that the NGOs and the government departments created the division…we are all family anyway" (Ellis, 2001: 5), suggesting that the division is not real or important, but is overridden by other relations.

Belinda Kruiper notes how the rising frustrations brought about by certain people being reallocated farms and others going without split the people of Northern Cape further apart:

> You have a group that has diverted immensely, not just in what we have always spoken of the tradition and the so-called Western node. But within the very Kruiper family (traditionalists), within the very Vaalbooi family (*westerse*)…Marriages are breaking up in the family, women are selling themselves for sex in order to make money. We've introduced money very quickly…there's no pride anymore" (interview, March 2000).

SASI believes that the "slow pace of the CRA builds awareness amongst elders and youth about the possibility of managing, conserving and recycling cultural resources, particularly intangible heritage. The exploration of identity is critically important to help stabilise a community" (Crawhall, 2001: 11). This is an important feature of a development programme in achieving the goals of 'another development', however, it has to be balanced with other aspects. For example Belinda Kruiper fears that due to the "slow pace" of development in the Northern Cape, the focus on the land claim and auditing indigenous information there "will be no Bushmen left if NGOs do not start focussing on the practical stuff like pensions" (interview, September 2002).

Carter supports Belinda Kruiper's observation on the negative affect of the land claim:

> The Bushmen were actually better and they were a far greater pleasure to deal with prior to March last year. Since they have gained land they have become a nightmare. You haven't seen improvement, you've seen an absolute degradation of these people…you did not see all this death and the problems prior to 21st March last year tended to be tuberculosis problems. Not people stabbing each other and beating each other over the heads with rocks" (interview, September 2000).

The battle for occupying land granted by the land claim and the resulting alienation on this land is voiced in Rosa Koper's description of how she moved to and lives on the farm Erin. Rosa feels that having to stay in the house so as to protect it from being occupied by other people prevents her from living the life she dreams of - closer to nature:

> And this little nest, it was only *Oom* (uncle) Dawid who said we should stay here before other people move in. I still talk about that every evening…. I'm not used to this…But really I want…I want…as I tell Abraham at night, I say: Lets build a grass hut. Then we leave our stuff over here, but we live over there in that grass hut. But now *Lys-goed* says we can't do that right now. We must first send out little letters so that all the people first move out and we know the house is empty. Then we can live at ease (interview, July 2003).

ACCESS TO RESOURCES AND BENEFITS

Access to natural resources, which is highly problematic for the Ngwatle Bushmen is a little easier on the Khomani Bushmen as resources such as water are more readily available. The media hype during the land claim and the recognition of Bushman indigenous rights in the Northern Cape has benefited the Khomani as it has attracted state and international funding. The development path of the Khomani is therefore dependent on these donations and the setting up of projects by SASI to attract funding. My discussion on the access to resources and benefits within the Northern Cape will therefore entail an analysis of some of the results of SASI's CRAM programme and the benefit of adopting a traditional identity.

'Benefits' of Cultural Tourism

The primary means of income for the residents of the Northern Cape, particularly the traditionalists, is through cultural tourism. This entails craft making and selling to the Molopo Lodge, the Sisen Craft Project, or as independent craft producers and performers sitting on the roadside (see Appendix, photographs 13 & 14). Individuals sell crafts and charge tourists and researchers for photographs and interviews. Some Khomani have felt a loss of control over how the information they have imparted is used and sold by academics, anthropologists and development workers. As a result the Bushmen have "commodified their knowledge, image and interactions, to sell like they sell their crafts" (Tomaselli, 2003a: 16). Members of the Witdraai Khomani, many of whom migrate between Witdraai and other game parks, are also often employed as actors by film and television industries. International tourists therefore assume this to be a wealthy community, and are astonished at the poverty they find. The Khomani in general have been recipients of nearly R8 million in development aid since 1999. But with the exception of the *westerse* Bushmen or pastoralists and some now living in the towns, who have broken with the traditionalists, those living at the Welkom and Witdraai settlements, remain largely destitute (Tomaselli, 2003a).

Two reasons have been offered as explanations for this destitution. The first is the belief that the restituted land is not capital to the Bushmen. As local white farmers and business people have repeatedly told the research team, land is only useful if its owners 'add value'. Value however is allegedly being subtracted from the land by the traditionalists (Ellis, 2001; Grossman & Holden, 2002; Tomaselli, 2003a). As 'adding value' is a western concept it is imperative for development workers working within an African context to question the relative nature of this concept. For the Bushmen 'adding value' may not necessarily tie into the 'normal' view of the concept, which usually involves implementing additional infrastructure. Belinda Kruiper elaborates:

> Adding value to the land doesn't necessarily mean you got to dig boreholes and put up wonderful fences and big farmhouses that's modernised. It is to just walk the land with the same respect that your forefathers did and not to abuse the land and not to sell your roots for a bottle of cheap wine… but to value the land (Kruiper, interview, October 2001).

Koos Lamprecht, manager of the Molopo Lodge, like many others in the Northern Cape is annoyed at the level of mismanagement on the farms, and believes that it is due to too much foreign funding:

> 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).

However, development organisations and community committees, such as the CPA also have a part to play. The CPA must be held accountable for the "money that disappears in the middle" (Lamprecht, interview, July 2001) and that could be put to good use at a grassroots level. In addition, as the Khomani support organisation, SASI with their assistance from Farm Africa 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). Carter blames this lack of action on the fact that there were too many outsiders with vested interests speaking on behalf of the broader community and that there was 'too much democracy'.

> There's a lot of argument over the management and control of this land, and also there's an awful lot of democracy that goes into this, and everybody has a say. And at the end of the day there's so much say that there's no action. And this is one of the problems that's holding the Bushmen back (Carter, interview, July 2001).

Where the pastoralists or *westerse* Bushmen are trying to use their land productively, 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.

> 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).

The second interlinked reason for the poverty in the area is the communal alcohol abuse. This affects their sale of crafts as travel agents have warned tourists to not stop at the Witdraai stalls because of the "negative behaviour of Bushmen under the influence of alcohol" (Carter, interview, July 2001).

When money is received for cultural performances there are rumours that the community's alcohol dependency again comes into play.

> There are all sorts of rumours and I think you must accept them as rumours. If Dawid goes and acts, the money that gets paid to him must surely be his money. I don't know how the rest of the community gets paid. But there are all sorts of rumours about it. My impression of Dawid 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).

The communal alcohol abuse is a complex situation where it is difficult to simply blame the Bushmen for being irresponsible, as so many locals do. For many years alcohol was the Bushmen's only means to ease the pain of their land loss and discrimination. However, members of the Northern Cape community, such as farmers, development workers and the lodge staff and manager still complain about the alcohol abuse. It discourages tourism, which is an important form of economy in the area, and creates irresponsibility when attempting development projects. What I found quite incongruous, however, was that a couple of years ago a bottle store was built at the entrance to Molopo Lodge, opposite the people selling their crafts on the other side of the road. When asked why this had happened, locals told us that this was to stop the Bushmen from going into the bar and causing trouble.

The CRAM programme in the Northern Cape values cultural tourism as a means of empowerment for the Khomani Bushmen. A major goal of development as empowerment as discussed within the 'another development paradigm' is "to move the locus of control from outsider to individual and groups directly affected" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 300). Tomaselli (2003a: 17), however, notes how 'outsider' control is still evident within the Northern Cape and how this impacts on the Bushmen's sense of empowerment.

> A deep sense of entitlement allegedly fostered by NGOs, development workers, lawyers, state officials, academics and so on, has located the Khomani…within a variety of dependency relations.

During my first fieldtrip in 2002 I interviewed Abraham Meintjies who is associated with the traditionalists but seems to be well respected by most in the area for his honesty and solid disposition (see Appendix, photograph 15). His experience in managing the *Tentepark* at Witdraai where most of the sale of crafts takes place highlights a patronising nature of relations between the CPA and the broader Bushmen community, and their lack of access to the proceeds of their own work. He tells Keyan:

> 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).

Job Opportunities

As discussed in chapter two one of the benefits of the CRAM programme in the Northern Cape, is job creation. However, those on the ground disagree. Adam, who works as a mechanic to earn more income complains that in the Northern Cape "there is no job creation for us. The only jobs

for us are these beads and things that we make. That's all we can do…Things just stay the same. [The CPA] say things will happen, we will move a little forward, but nothing happens" (interview, July 2002). The focus on cultural tourism as the primary means of development therefore hinders the Bushmen from acquiring new skills and achieving a real sense of development.

However, SASI's concern in recognising the Bushman heritage and traditional knowledge serves to better the circumstances for those in the Northern Cape than in Ngwatle, and in the past year there seems to be an improvement in SASI's involvement with developing more job opportunities. In SASI's defence it must be said that although they have encountered troubles in the past and have been criticised for the deterioration in assets and mistrust soon after the land claim our fieldtrip to the Northern Cape in 2003 saw a more visible SASI (who were not present at all when we visited in 2002) working at a grassroots level and facilitating workshops at the Molopo Lodge that many of our research partners attended and were happy with. SASI recognises that "Whereas 2001 was a year filled with big challenges - challenges of the CPA system and termination of DFID funding - 2002 has been a year of new directions and expansion with the support of Comic Relief and greater capacity on the ground" (SASI, annual report, 2002: 8).

One of the areas that exhibits SASI's support of greater capacity on the ground is in training for individually run tracking/hunting projects. Khomani tracker Karel 'Vetpiet' Kleinman has recently become the project leader of //Guruke, a training programme for certified trackers in the Bushman community. He was taught bush skills by the great master of his time, Regopstaan Kruiper. Now this ancient knowledge together with information obtained through SASI's CRA will be used by the Bushmen to establish their own income generating projects.

Other livelihood microprojects initiated by community members and supported by SASI have also come into existence. One that I was in contact with during our 2003 fieldtrip was Rosa Koper's needlework project situated at Erin. SASI believes that "this year the focus was on moving beyond auditing into training and the piloting of new livelihood opportunities…it was a time of San empowerment" (SASI, annual report: 2002: 22). During the evaluation of the micro-projects it was agreed that SASI was to provide a weeklong training and orientation course for community people interested in starting their own projects. Training included project planning, principles of development work, an in-depth view of SASI's mission and funding opportunities, and basic business skills, including budgeting and an introduction to bookkeeping (SASI, annual report 2002).

 I spoke to Rosa about her needlework project and she agreed that SASI's capacity building was very useful and that she is grateful to SASI for purchasing her equipment such as material and fabric paint. The project had been running for three weeks, and Rosa told us she was managing well as she had already sold two duvet covers, pillow cases and *lappe* (wall hangings) all decorated with Bushman images. Her only disappointment was that she feels SASI

does not trust her as much as she would like. Instead of having the responsibility of purchasing the equipment, SASI brings it to them and they do not always know exactly what she needs. As a result, she feels as if they see her as a child (Rosa Koper, personal communication, July 2003). This paternalistic attitude from an undoubtedly well-meaning SASI results in a lack of any true sense of empowerment for Rosa. Although the Khomani are dependent on SASI for support, at the same time they are resentful of the 'ownership' SASI as 'outsiders' feel they have over them. The individuals of a project need to be in control from the start to finish otherwise the intangible benefit of self-respect and confidence (Meintjies, interview, July 2002) said to be valued by SASI (Crawhall, 2001) may not be fully achieved. Although there have been cases in the past where the broader community's negligence has resulted in the ruin of other development initiatives such as the vandalism of the lean to erected in Witdraai where people tore down the reeds to build their houses (Toppies Kruiper, interview, July 2002), one must look at the individual leading the project and judge their level of involvement on that (see Appendix, photograph 16 & 17). Wildschut told me that Rosa is

> like hellfire, you know she wants it to happen. So…she's been through two formal trainings sessions, she's now said look I actually need some more skills in terms of product development, you know I want to learn to sew with more and improve my technique (interview, July 2003).

Rosa has displayed a passion to make a success of her project, and her sense of empowerment if she is allowed to control the project herself may hopefully be beneficial to others in the community, by showing them that it can be done.

Education

Education is another benefit said to result from the CRAM programme and is another development arena that SASI has focussed on and given active support to in the past year. As the South African government and SASI have recognised that conservation is not only about wild animals, rocks and plants but also local people's knowledge, SASI has responded to the identified community need for a more traditional school curriculum. They are assisting with a nursery school, which incorporates the CRA material and is active in several villages and the *Rooi Duin Veldt Skool* (Red Dune Bush School). During our stay in 2003 there was much talk about this school that has been built at Witdraai and aims to teach young children traditional knowledge ascertained during the CRA programme. This includes language, tracking and plant knowledge. It is hoped that mobilising this knowledge as an important resource will reinstate the dignity of traditional Bushman culture within younger generations and will sustain and conserve the knowledge passed on by the elders.

Benefits of a 'traditional' identity

A traditional representation of identity fuels media and scholarly interest and also shapes government, NGO and donor perceptions and development strategies with their priorities for cultural survival projects. Bushman development projects are known to receive generous funding from international donor organisations for which the Bushmen represent:

> the last of the surviving Late Stone Age hunter-gatherers. Similarly it could be argued that the R15 million land claim 'jumped the queue' precisely because the [Bushmen] are perceived to be such a valuable political and tourist commodity by the state, NGOs, donors and the media" (Robins, 2001: 850).

Belinda Kruiper explains that:

> the stakeholders in the events of what would be the long-term thing, the money-making attitude, saw it as lets get them geared for tourism. Everybody would benefit from that eventually but I couldn't believe that. [SASI's] doing wonderful stuff but they still just furthering their own agendas and their egos. Nobody cares about the fact that Bettie is in pain, or Kabys is in pain because Bettie is being used as a wall by leadership…I have decided to study those issues because I couldn't believe that what I was seeing was just part of 'so be it'" (March 2000).

In this sense the modernisation model remains today, adapting to the shifting political, economic status of nations and communities but still "emphasising profit and privatisation" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 79) with little concern for the human element of development.

However, the Kruiper clan are not simply victims of commodification but have instead recognised that traditional images are invaluable cultural and economic resources for an economically secure future.

> They are creative and self-conscious producers of the cultural commodities that fuel a fledgling tourist and donor-driven economy (Robins, 2001: 850).

I experienced this commodification of Bushmen knowledge first hand when I met Khomani artist, Silikat Van Wyk during our 2002 fieldtrip. After introducing ourselves Silikat told Charlize Tomaselli and me to come stand in the sun with him and "out of the shadows". Silikat who was quite tipsy and giggling in between his words, explained that he wanted to ask one question, "will you help me?" After Charlize and I repeatedly asked "with what" or "what must we do?" he finally said "with ten rand". Charlize who is a lot more outspoken than me asked "why?" so confidently that Silikat looked her in the eyes, laughed and bent down.

He drew what he called his "middlepoint" in the sand and told Charlize to stand in the centre of it (see Appendix, photograph 18). Pointing to his "middlepoint" he told us that this was an "old Bushmen game". He explained to Charlize that he'd got her in his "middlepoint", and because she was standing in it, she had taken *it* away. We found out what *it* was, his land, and

because of this injustice Charlize owed him ten rand. I thought Silikat is aware of the socio-political issues surrounding Bushman land loss and had either indirectly or directly brought in the discourse of colonialism, hoping that our white liberal guilt may pay up. It worked on me, however, Charlize did not fall for it and said "but you told me to stand here, no way, I'm not giving you money, I'm also broke". Searching her brain for what little Afrikaans she could conjure up to explain her feelings she further added, "Silikat *iets vir iets*" (something for something). Silikat respected this idea and they planned to meet the next day so that Charlize could buy something from Silikat in order for him to earn some money.

Later I thought that Silikat's playful manipulation for money, and verbal challenge with Charlize was a form of development. Silikat was using Bushman ontology in making up a game that could earn him money. Whether the game was made up or was actually an old Bushman game is debatable. This is an example of Silikat's innovative marketing skills, mixing business and ontology, playing right into what the tourists are looking for: observation of the other's culture, and artefacts to take home to either remember the experience or share it with others (cf. Dyll 2003a).

Robins, however, warns that there is a problem with the dependence on traditional images to earn income, which he terms "strategic essentialism" (Robins, 2001: 850).

> It can end up obscuring 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 'pure' and 'westernised' Bushmen that emerged in the Kalahari. 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).

These obstacles where put in place when Silikat wished to develop an independent means of income. Unfortunately the community frequently frowns upon Silikat's artistic and business skills. He used to take tourists on tracking and guiding tours in order to pay for his daughter, Gada, to go to school. However, the community would not allow this as he was earning more money than the rest of them. The fact that his art has more appeal for tourists that come past has caused problems for him in the family circle too. They are jealous that his art gets sold and not theirs. Silikat mentioned that he would like to put his talents to good use for the community. He says "I've told the committees before is there no way of helping…you know like a workshop where I can also maybe train the people. Like my Bushman people" (Van Wyk, interview, July 2001). Sadly, however the tyranny of the community in forcing Silikat to stop these activities has driven Silikat back into 'the shadows' where his innovative ideas will not be seen and used (cf. Dyll, 2003a).

CONCLUSION

Development workers who implement schemes that do not take into account the immediate context in which they work can assist in creating a larger gap between the 'haves' and 'have-nots' therefore increasing the subject communities' frustrations. Handing land back without taking into consideration the differences in the community has resulted in resentment, mistrust and jealousy within the Northern Cape.

Community conflict, which appears to be an obstacle to meaningful development in the Northern Cape, is a product of three things. These include the historical relations between the Bushmen and *Basters* and the Bushmen's desire to separate from these memories of servitude, the contradictory messages of donor and NGO agendas in attempting to keep a 'traditional' image alive to gain funding and simultaneously extolling the virtues of civic citizen duties such as democratic decision making and accountability, and the South African government and SASI's focus on the land claim and cultural tourism. The return of land and subsequent CRAM programme should also ensure empowerment for the broader community, and not only for those at the top of a community's social ladder. This should involve immediate assistance for the broader community in developing skills that may assist them in coping with modernity, and not only those directly related to cultural tourism, such as skills in commercial farming, literacy, computer literacy, management, investment and bookkeeping.

The chance for development innovations to assist developing communities depends on whether development workers take into account the ontologies of local people. 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" (conversation, July 2002). This made sense to me in a previous conversation with Toppies Kruiper where he described his view of the relationship between the traditionalists, *westerse* Bushmen and SASI by drawing pictures in the sand to reaffirm what he was saying or perhaps explain himself more clearly (see Appendix, photograph 19).

In the following chapter I will compare the topics discussed in chapter three and four, qualifying and analysing the differences and similarities in the development experiences of the two different Bushman communities.

Chapter Five: Comparison of Case Studies

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I will summarise the topics discussed in chapter three and four, by exploring the similarities and differences in the development experiences of the Ngwatle Bushmen and the Khomani of the Northern Cape. Comparing and contrasting the development themes discussed in chapter three and four, namely; rights and public participation, land, and access to resources and benefits I will attempt to illustrate the 'messiness' and complexity of development in two communities that are quite similar but also very different. The related theme evident in both communities is the dialectical relationship between development and identity and how this affects community conflict, and the obstacle this poses to development.

SIMILARITIES BETWEEN NGWATLE AND THE NORTHERN CAPE

Introduction

The similarities in the two case studies are socio-political in nature. Due to their ethnic status as Bushmen, members from both communities have suffered discrimination in the past through apartheid, colonialism and the new concern for 'conservation' (Weinberg, 2000) that has removed them off their traditional land, forcing them into participation with the modern world which has seen many of their cultural practices disappear.

Rights and Public Participation

In both communities the Bushmen live with other peoples. In Ngwatle the Bushmen's neighbours are the Bakgalagadi and in the Northern Cape the Bushmen live amongst the 'coloured' people or *Basters*. This latter community is further divided between the self claimed 'traditional' Bushmen and the *westerse* Bushmen who are closely associated with the *Basters* if "Basterness" is

understood as those who speak Afrikaans, wear 'western' clothes and wish to westernise in other regards (White, 1995). The *Basters* and Bakgalagadi have enjoyed higher status than the Bushmen both economically, as they were owners of cattle and farmers, and socially as their language allowed them to interact with the other members of society, which also allowed them more political participation. The Bushmen, however, were separated from the rest of society due to their ancestral languages, which made communication difficult, and they were viewed simply as casual labour. These historically strained relations between the two different groups in each community seems to have followed them through to the twenty first century and impact on and explain their development process.

Both the Northern Cape Community Property Association (CPA) and the Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust in KD1 are intended to be representative organisations, with the executive committee consisting of members elected from different districts within the Northern Cape and KD1 respectively. They both, however, evidence disparities in the supposed equal participation of all its members. The spatial arrangement of the traditional Bushmen who like the Ngwatle Bushmen live furtherest away from centres of activity, leads to unequal participation and mistrust within these local support organisations. Like Ngwatle, which was integral in forming the Trust, Dawid Kruiper, as the leader of the traditionalists who was and still is important in the land claim and further funding, feels he is nothing more than a figurehead without real power to voice his opinions and effect change. This situation may have resulted from the view of the Bakgalagadi and *Basters* as competent participants in political and development discourses due to their history of political participation. The Bushmen on the other hand feel disempowered in these discourses, as they have not had the same opportunities to participate in these 'power plays'. They are therefore further marginalised with no platform to voice their opinions.

Land

Both the Khomani and Ngwatle Bushmen have endured parallel relations of land dispossession and relocation. The members of both communities have "lost their birthright, the land, in the name of colonialism, apartheid and conservation. Each system was designed to reduce the size of their land" (Weinberg, 2000: 9). With no respect for Bushman ownership much of the land in the Kalahari was cut up in huge ranches owned by Afrikaners, British settlers, Batswana, and Bakgalagadi. As fences went up, so the Bushmen became increasingly marginalised, with most becoming farm labourers on what had been their own land (Weaver, 2000).

Two modes of development are possible for both the Bushmen of the Northern Cape and Ngwatle. One is through farming and the other is through cultural tourism. Both communities want to expand on their existing skills as craft makers to assist in their adaptation to the modern world. As their hunting rights have been revoked they feel it necessary to now keep livestock, and cut off their dependence on the Bakgalagadi and *Basters*. They have asked their respective governments for cattle, goats and farming implements, but to little avail. The Bushmen claim,

however, that the Bakgalagadi and *westerse* Bushmen are receiving farming resources from the government. The South African and Botswana governments therefore both seem to "endorse the primordialist notions of [Bushmen] as hunter-gatherers" (Robins, 2001: 849) by withholding livestock from the Bushmen. This "contributes towards the devaluation and marginalisation of alternative livelihood strategies and social practices that do not conform to this stereotypical Bushman image" (Robins, 2001: 849) and leads to jealousy and neighbourly mistrust within both communities.

Access to Resources and Benefits

The most recent primary source of income for both the Khomani and Ngwatle Bushmen is through craft making for cultural tourism. The Trust and the South African San Institute (SASI) claim that these endeavours provide members of the community with a sense of empowerment as they are provided with agency in earning an income and rediscovering their heritage. However, in both communities I heard accounts of these organisations' paternalistic attitude towards the craft makers. There are claims that they discourage the Bushmen to sell their crafts directly to the tourists but must rather sell their goods to either Ghanzi Craft in Botswana or the Sisen Craft Project in the Northern Cape who will then put a mark up on the price and sell them to tourists. In removing the individual initiative to sell craft, take pride in ones work, and receive the proceeds from their work is it not also removing the empowerment that the Trust and SASI so strongly promote on paper? They both champion the idea that it is imperative for the people inside the community to own the development process but reject the idea of the Bushmen selling their crafts independently. By keeping the community at the level of poverty the system perpetuates dependency of the Bushmen on development organisations and government and it enables higher degrees of control.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN NGWATLE AND THE NORTHERN CAPE

Introduction

The difference between the two case studies stem from their geographical differences as Ngwatle is situated in Botswana which has little concern for the indigenous rights of the Bushmen, and the Khomani community is situated in the Northern Cape of South Africa whose African National Congress (ANC) government recognises and supports the return of land and cultural rights to the Bushmen.

Rights and Public Participation

The primary difference in rights between the Khomani and Ngwatle Bushmen is related to broader government policy. Botswana's policy of not recognising the indigenous rights of the Bushmen as First people and its "unofficial ethnic hierarchy" (Weaver, 2000: 29) with Bushmen

at the lowest level negatively impacts the Ngwatle community's right in practising their own culture, participating within their development and their rights to land, and access to resources. Hitchcock (2001: 809) points out that the Botswana Permanent Secretary reportedly went so far as to say 'Botswana owns the Basarwa and it will own Basarwa until it ceases to be a country; they will never be allowed to walk around in skins again'. There appears to be a one way flow of communication between the Trust, who are influenced by Botswana's broader policy, and the Ngwatle Bushmen who feel alienated from much of the decision making process with regards to development initiatives. The lack of clarity regarding their rights to the land they live on and its resources has resulted in their 'encouragement' to move off the land, rich in wildlife, to access modern facilities.

In contrast, the progression of South African history in that Nelson Mandela was freed and South Africa was given a democratic constitution, which acknowledged the indigenous rights of its First Peoples has provided the Khomani with the same rights as any other South African citizen and a land restitution grant of 125, 000 acres. Within this context one of SASI's research priorities is to "[collect] evidence of a hunting and gathering system that would justify claims to natural resource rights based on heritage and continuity" (Crawhall, 2001: 13) and that public participation of the Khomani will

> contribute to the formulation of national cultural policies that address the needs and aspirations of the indigenous peoples of the world. The implementation of such policies could provide guidance to peoples and governments on effective ways to manage the world's global cultural resources for the benefit of local, national and international peace and development (Crawhall, 2001: 4).

Although achieving this is seldom done due to the unequal flow of communication and the focus of NGOs on more immediate goals such as gaining funding, the important difference to note is that SASI working within South African broader policy acknowledges that participation by the Bushmen in public policy is essential to establish meaningful re-empowerment.

Land

The successful land restitution claim in the Northern Cape has allowed the Khomani to enjoy a more settled existence than their neighbours in Ngwatle. Derek Hanekom, South African Lands Minister at the time of the land claim explained:

> The big challenge was to offer them something which would give them land of their own and which would allow them to derive an income from that land. The first challenge is to not exclude people – in all areas, in all conservation areas. It's to ensure that local communities, adjacent communities, have real participation in some way or another in the management of resources."

Unfortunately for the residents of Ngwatle many of our research partners told us that they were

being told to move out of Ngwatle as, it was "no longer a recognised settlement" (Benedictus Lesethle, interview, July 2002; Gadi interview, July 2003; Miriam Motshabise, interview, July 2002, 2003; Pedrus Motshabise, interview, July 2003). The Botswana government and the Trust claim that their request for relocation is in the name of development so that the Bushmen can move to areas with modern facilities, schools, clinics, etc and to integrate them into modern society. However, those opposed to the system of relocation set up in Botswana deny that this is the real reason and instead feel that "diamonds speak louder than moral rights in Botswana. The Kalahari Desert is enormously rich in diamonds." (Weaver, 2000: 28) and wildlife that attracts hunting, which brings in great economic return for Botswana. The location of Ngwatle close to hunting grounds may have "prevented the implementation of the full array of development services that should be available to rural people in Botswana" (Hitchcock, 2001: 805) which seem more available in Ukhwi and Ncaang, the other two KD1 villages. Rumours have spread to the effect that the slowness in delivery of services, for example the Trust and government's neglect to fix the broken borehole, and their slow water delivery along with the inconsistent meat delivery from Safari Botswana Bound (SBB) is deliberate and is used as means of 'encouraging' people to move out of Ngwatle.

For both groups, land rights is a highly political issue which relates to "interethnic competition and survival" (Simoes, 2001: 124) The spatial discourse engaged by some of the traditionalists in the Northern Cape fits into a "political framework where authentification of a particular mythical, traditional Bushman image is essential for 'bargaining' power and ties in with Hall's first model of identity as a 'fixed essence'" (Hall, 1990; Simoes, 2001: 124). However, it seems that the Ngwatle Bushmen have "not yet reached this level of reconstruction or invention" (Simoes, 2001: 124). Perhaps this is due to the fact that Ngwatle has less media and tourism contact compared to the Northern Cape where "media and tourist discursive practices… constitute Bushmen in terms of the first model of identity" (Simoes, 2001: 122) which is appropriated by the traditionalists to gain donorship. Another probable reason for this is that Botswana does not recognise the indigenous rights of Bushmen, instead basing their support on the Bushmen's ability to join the mainstream of society. Unlike the Northern Cape validating ones authenticity, as a Bushman does not hold any 'bargaining' power for the residents of Ngwatle to lay claim to land or funding.

Access to Resources and Benefits

The primary difference in the development experience of the two groups is in the chosen development programmes for each area. Community based natural resource management (CBNRM) that has been set up in KD1 where Ngwatle is located focuses on programmes that address the conservation and use of high value natural resources such as wildlife (Murombedzi, 2003). Cultural resources auditing and management (CRAM) that has been set up in the Northern Cape and facilitated by SASI focuses on mobilising traditional knowledge as an important

resource.

The Trust promotes the idea that through the CBNRM programme new skills are learnt at a community level in the field of natural resources monitoring and management, enterprise development and tourism (Flyman, 2000) as "CBNRM in KD1 is almost synonomous with Community Based Tourism (Flyman, 2000: 2). These developments have resulted in strengthened community identity and as the community knows it has something unique to offer this recognition has brought people together (Flyman, 2000). However, stories on the ground negate these claimed benefits. Instead, we hear how the Bushmen cannot interact with tourists directly denying any opportunity to develop entrepreneurial skills. The Botswana government believes that tourists come to Botswana for the animals and do not want to see Bushman near the animals (Weaver, 2000). The Trust's methodology in "[educating] the general membership in acceptable and sustainable use of natural resources in KD1" allegedly does not involve training or workshops for the residents of Ngwatle but rather a methodology of policing that arrests and imprisons people for 'accessing' natural resources. The CBNRM programme therefore seems to value the conservation of wildlife for private interest in hunting which is one of Botswana's strongest forms of income, over that of the survival and cultural conservation of its Bushmen.

On the other hand, SASI in the Northern Cape bases their CRAM programme on the conservation of the cultural aspects of the Khomani "creating an inventory of cultural resources of significance to the community…to create tangible results that assist to represent, explain and manage what is otherwise intangible" (Crawhall, 2001). The tangible and intangible results are then managed to maintain and maximise their benefit to the community and individuals, particularly involving the transfer of information between generations (Crawhall, 2001) such as Karel 'Vetpiet' Kleinman's tracking programme. SASI saw the initial step of auditing indigenous knowledge as necessary as the Bushman community was scattered throughout the region and there was a significant loss of cultural knowledge amongst the people (Wildschut, interview, July 2003). As there were no social institutions in place to ensure communication of information SASI saw the land claim as a focal point for auditing cultural knowledge to help the people re-establish a sense of community (Crawhall, 2001). However, this is where much of SASI's criticism stems from. Many feel that they were simply auditing the cultural knowledge to prove the authentification of Bushmen in the region to gain funding. In addition, by setting up a process whereby some who could validate their Bushman identity and others could not, the time of the land claim became an instigator of resentment and jealousy amongst the residents of the Northern Cape as many people did not receive a part of the restitution. Another criticism is that although there is evidence that the focus on cultural tourism as the main mode of development has not worked in the past (Kruiper, interview, September 2002; Toppies, interview, July 2002), SASI is still determined to continue supporting projects that have links to cultural tourism, for example Rosa's needlework project and Karel 'Vetpiet' Kleinman's tracking project. As the previous manager of the *Tentepark* in Witdraai, where the majority of cultural tourism takes

place, Abraham Meintjies told us that:

> 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 (Meintjies, interview, July 2002).

However, Abraham's vegetable farming idea has not yet been included in the livelihood micro projects supported by SASI. Instead, training on the Bushman farms focus on "tourism, game counting, anti-poaching and nature conservation" in order that the local people will "be in a good position to help with management of the !Ae!hai Kalahari Heritage Park" (SASI annual report, 2002: 24), the combined lodge located in the Kgalagadi Tranfontier Park (KTP) for the Khomani Bushmen and Mier community.

Although SASI's focus on the cultural aspects of the Khomani is valuable in their development process, their focus on the land claim and cultural tourism has not brought the community together as hoped, but divided it even further as they did not acknowledge the differences in the region. Yet, this year they are endeavouring another project to be shared between the *Basters* of the Mier District and the Khomani Bushmen in the building of the !Ae!hai Kalahari Heritage Park. Jason, the young man from Cape Town who was living with Dawid Kruiper in 2003 told us that he does not see this lodge working due to the difficult relations between the *Basters* and the Khomani, and it is also situated in the middle of the Park so it will be difficult for employees without transport to get there and tourists would need two 4x4's to get there. He added, "It will be one of South Africa's 'nice' mistakes" (Jason, personal communication, July 2003).

It seems, however, that SASI is making an effort in other areas. In 2003 there were accounts of SASI development workers going out to the people to hear their opinions, holding training workshops, providing support to create individual projects therefore allowing the local people to have a more hands on relationship with the tourists than is allowed in Ngwatle. This illustrates SASI's concern for conserving traditional knowledge and Bushman heritage, which Botswana resists, as there appears to be a primary concern for wildlife conservation as opposed to people's cultural conservation. This perception impacts on other 'benefits' such as education and job opportunities. In KD1, if the children are fortunate enough to go to school, there is only provision of a western-based education, ignoring all aspects of the Bushman culture, which is still stigmatised. The Ngwatle Bushmen also claim that the nature of job opportunities is biased in favour of the other two KD1 villages where more Bakgalagadi reside. There is no formal job creation set up in Ngwatle. For example the cultural centre that was to be built in Ngwatle on the road to the main wildlife area (Flyman, 2000:3) is non-existent. The Ngwatle residents have to travel to the villages that are less remote such as Ukhwi where the Trust is located or into the Park to the SBB Kaa campsite in order to find work.

On the other hand, as the South African government has recognised that conservation is not only about wild animals, rocks and plants but also traditional Bushmen knowledge, SASI has responded to the identified community need for traditional education on tracking, hunting/ gathering and ancestral languages and folklore. SASI is therefore supporting *Die Rooi Duin Veldt Skool* (The Red Dune Bush School) situated in Witdraai, which is believed to be a more traditional setting and focuses on transferring traditional knowledge to younger generations.

'Resources' and Donorship

The term 'resource' has slightly different meanings within the two Bushmen groups. In Ngwatle importance is placed on natural resources such as water and wild animals as food. In the Northern Cape the Khomani Bushmen have access to a store in Askham and there is water available on most farms. Where there is less water the Bushmen have other means. In 2002 a frequent occurrence at the gates of Molopo Lodge saw a hub of activity where several people filled up their containers at the tap to take home at dawn. As basic resources, such as water are more readily available, 'resource' in the Northern Cape is often synonomous with donorship.

The issue of donorship in the Northern Cape is complicated. Steven Robins proposes that donors and NGOs provide financial aid according to specific agendas, which he terms "donor double visions" (Robins, 2001: 833) of Bushmen as both First Peoples and modern citizens-in-the-making. Whereas during the land claim process the Bushmen were portrayed in the media as pristine 'First People', after the settlement they increasingly came to be seen as part of a broader hyper-marginalised 'coloured' rural poor that needed to be drawn in the 'civilising process' through development and institutional capacity-building programmes. These global discourses on indigeneity and democracy are brokered by SASI and reappropriated at the grassroots by the Bushmen. The colonial stereotype of the pure and pristine Bushman hunter-gatherer, which is important to donorship policy in supporting First Peoples, has been embraced and articulated by the Kruiper clan as a means of survival. Simultaneously, however, the *westerse* Bushmen's ability to engage with development and bureaucratic discourses and act as mediators of Bushman issues to both national and international audiences is also prized by NGOS and donor agencies. "It is precisely these Western-style discursive competencies that are recognised and rewarded by NGOs and donors committed to promoting the values and democratic practices of 'civil society'" (Robins, 2001: 842).

Botswana, however, is primarily concerned with the civic citizenship route of development, refuting the fact that the Bushmen are indigenous. As Botswana Minister of Local Government, Margaret Nasha told a local journalist, "They need to integrate into the mainstream of society" However, the Bushmen consider that the government's efforts to integrate them within the mainstream of Botswana society are "part of a policy aimed at assimilation and therefore, in effect, a strategy of cultural modification" (Hitchcock, 2001: 821). It is for this reason that the Ngwatle Bushmen feel an increased level of urgency to carry out the social,

economic and cultural activities that they themselves view as crucial to their long-term survival. Although the Botswana government appears to uphold the development idea of Bushmen as citizens-in-the-making, Gadi explains how they feel detached from any form of citizenship.

> It is almost time for election. But I don't know, we in this place will not vote…because we the Bushmen, we have no government. We elect…this election where we always vote we've had for 40 years in Botswana, but nothing has changed for the Bushmen. A Bushmen's life, but the government doesn't see it like that. He doesn't see to better our lives a little bit, because we have no cattle, no goats (Gadi, interview, July 2003).

CONCLUSION

The two Bushman groups are similar in that they both suffered under colonialism, apartheid and the concomitant effects of institutional and everyday racism. They were removed from their ancestral lands and dumped kilometres away from their original areas where they were made subject to more powerful ethic groups, such as the Bakgalagadi in KD1 and the *Basters* in the Northern Cape. The geographic positioning of the Ngwatle Bushmen in Botswana and the Khomani in South Africa has had different impacts on their development experience. Government and NGO intervention plays an important role in affecting change within the two communities. Although the Ngwatle community evidences more social cohesion, a clearer identity and cultural stability than do the Khomani at Witdraai (Simoes, 2001), Botswana's resistance to acknowledge the indigenous rights of the Ngwatle Bushmen threatens a loss of cultural stability, pride and access to a rich diversity of resources. On the other hand, South Africa's recognition of Bushman indigenous rights has fortunately resulted in a return of land to the Khomani and respect for their traditional knowledge and heritage. However, there is danger in that the land claim may be a purely symbolic return of rights as SASI's focus on cultural tourism may limit their ability to optimise use of the reclaimed land by farming.

CONCLUSION

Through attempting to answer the question of what development means in the context of two Bushman communities in Ngwatle and the Northern Cape, I have come to realise that it means many things. What I have attempted to show is that development in practice is not a monolithic machine as people do interact with it. There is human agency in the form of people carrying out government policy, donor and NGO agendas and subject community participation. It is difficult to match government policy, donor and NGO agenda and local people's expectations. This adds to the complexity of development in practice. There is no neat recipe for a successful development programme as it depends on the context in which the development practitioner is working, as is illustrated in this the study where the geographic location of Ngwatle in Botswana that does not recognise the indigenous rights of Bushmen presents development problems and programmes different to that of the Northern Cape, which is located in South Africa whose constitution recognises the indigenous rights of Bushmen.

In Ngwatle the heart of the Bushmen's development problems is the lack of rights to land and access to resources. In the Northern Cape the Khomani are fortunate to have received ownership of land in the successful 1999 land claim, however there are allegations of mismanagement and unequal allocation of resources.

The Nqwaa Khobee Xeya Trust in KD1 has implemented a community based natural resource management (CBNRM) programme to aid in their development objectives primarily concerned with "improving the quality of life of the poor people in remote areas of Botswana, by promoting the responsible use of plant and animal resources" (Flyman, 2000:2). The South African San Institute (SASI) has implemented a cultural resource auditing management (CRAM) programme to assist in achieving their development objectives primarily concerned with auditing indigenous information in order to manage cultural resources and mobilising this indigenous knowledge to create development opportunities (Crawhall, 2001). The outcomes of these programmes illustrate the complex nature of the applicability of development models and paradigms to the lives of beneficiary communities. As discussed in Chapter Two the Trust and SASI espouse the rhetoric of the 'another development' paradigm of managing either natural resources in Ngwatle and cultural resources in the Northern Cape for the empowerment of the Bushmen. However, when faced with the 'messiness' of development in practice the objectives of the 'another development' paradigm often disappear. The improvement of the quality of life of the Ngwatle Bushmen is questionable when many of the people I spoke to told me of their denial of hunting and resource rights, the threat of relocation and anxiety in not knowing when they will receive water again. It also seems that "promoting the responsible use of plant and animal resources" (Flyman, 200:2) occurs through a methodology of policing the Ngwatle Bushmen's movements. Although auditing, managing and mobilising indigenous knowledge shows respect for Bushman culture, it has been suggested that it has not brought a true sense of

empowerment to the Khomani. Some believe that SASI has created and promotes an illusion of a cohesive 'traditional' Bushman community to aid the land claim and gain subsequent funding. This has led to intra-community conflict as SASI did not acknowledge the differences and divisions in the broader community and it pigeon holes the Khomani as cultural performers, unable to embark on other means of development, such as farming. This study has therefore attempted to show the disjuncture between what development paradigms and organisations present on paper and lived reality.

This study has also attempted to show the dialectical relationship between development and identity. Anthea Simoes (2001) has informed this aspect of the study. She argues that identity formation is seen as determined by temporal, spatial and relational factors amongst the Bushmen and other ethnic groups in the area. Both the 'encouragement' from the Botswana government for the Ngwatle Bushmen to move to other areas and the successful land claim in the Northern Cape where the Khomani Bushmen relocated to access benefits, and separate from the *Basters* to assert an authentic traditional identity has altered the communal identity of both groups. People have moved out of Ngwatle to the other KD1 villages in the name of development to access health facilities and proper schools etc. As a result the Ngwatle community is not as cohesive and as more people move out the more they will interact and adopt other cultural practices. The successful land claim in the Northern Cape was viewed as major step in the development process for the Khomani. There are allegations, however, that after the land claim the Khomani community became more divided as jealousy and resentment surfaced as some people could prove their Bushmen descent to gain benefits and others could not. The divide between the traditionalists and *westerse* Bushmen was exacerbated as the traditionalists adopted the romanticised image of pre-modern Bushman to gain land and donorship, and the *westerse* Bushmen continued to farm. "Again this reflects the division of the group into stock farmers and hunters" (Ellis, 2001: 7). The effect of this is that it makes SASI's role of building a sense of community and communal ownership more difficult as "the choice of livelihoods has further solidified the spatial and cultural division within the group and thereby the trust relations" (Ellis, 2001: 12). The traditionalists claim that the *westerse* Bushmen are aided more by NGOs and the government as the *westerse* Bushmen are allowed to farm and the traditionalists, particularly the Kruiper clan are forced into cultural tourism as their sole means of development. This illustrates how a presented and perceived sense of identity affects ones development opportunities. This is evident in both the historical and contemporary relations between the Bushmen and other ethnic groups within the areas, such as the Bakgalagadi in Ngwatle and the *Basters* in the Northern Cape.

Development Problems Observed

Some of the negative outcomes of the CBNRM and CRAM programmes are; top-down development communication, widespread poverty, exploitation, alienation from land and natural resources, dependency, a focus on cultural tourism as the main route of development and what the Bushman view as a lack of access to development assistance and unequal job opportunities.

There appears to be a one-way flow of communication and development initiatives from the Trust and Safari Botswana Bound (SBB) to the Ngwatle Bushmen on the ground. This has resulted in the Ngwatle Bushmen's sense of alienation from the land they live on, resources such as wildlife and the development process. In the Northern Cape there are also allegations of SASI and the Community Property Association's (CPA) initial one-way flow of communication and development initiatives to the broader Khomani community. This resulted in mismanagement of resources and farms by the CPA that was meant to be a representative committee for the broader community but was seen as appropriating all the benefits for themselves. This demonstrates how development programmes often benefit those at the top of a community's social ladder (also evident in the Trust board members in Ngwatle, the majority of whom are allegedly Bakgalagadi). This in turn resulted in resentment of the Khomani towards the two organisations, and they retaliated by not communicating their development problems and ideas when SASI realised the importance of grassroots communication with the Bushmen. In 2003, however, the situation in the Northern Cape seems to have improved with people like Rosa Koper and Anna Festus on the CPA who believe in the merits of accountability and equality. SASI was also present on a more grassroots level, holding training workshops, speaking to the local people and supporting micro livelihood projects.

"The concept and practice of power within third world settings can be described as the control of important economic, political, cultural and informational resources and development agendas" (Melkote and Steeves, 2001: 353). This research shows how entities that hold power such as the South African and Botswana governments, SASI, the Trust and Safari Botswana Bound reward or punish members buy withholding or decreasing access to resources. The lack of clarity regarding the nature of local rights to land, access to resources and participation leads to further difficulty and confusion for people on the ground. For example, the lack of legal clarity regarding hunting and resource rights has allowed the Botswana government to control even the most basic element of the Ngwatle Bushmen's lives - access to water and food. Punishment in the form of high-priced fines and imprisonment ensure that access or 'poaching' of resources does not occur. This in turn creates dependency of the Bushmen on these stakeholders for survival, as they cannot access resources on their own.

The issue of dependency is complex. It is often a result of 'victim consciousness' that gets imposed on people with development. The paternalistic attitude adopted by SASI and their attitude towards Rosa Koper's needlework project, for example, views the Bushmen as unable to help themselves. Not being given the chance to operate a project autonomously threatens to

perpetuate the existing cycle of dependency.

However, the Khomani Bushmen are not blameless in creating these dependent relations. The traditionalists have realised that they gain funding as a group. As donors support cultural survival initiatives for indigenous peoples the Kruiper clan has adopted the identity of the romanticised pre-modern Bushmen to authenticate themselves for donorship. A symptom of this is that the tyranny of the community does not allow for the community to sanction an individual who may wish to think for himself/herself and create his/her own source of income, such as Silikat Van Wyk.

This leads into the problem of ambivalent donor and NGO messages to people on the ground, which speaks to the intra-community conflict as an obstacle to development in both areas. Donor and NGO ambivalent messages embark on a "dual mandate" (Robins, 2001: 841) of keeping a traditional identity alive and simultaneously extolling the virtues of civic citizenship. People on the ground appropriate these as requirements for donorship, which "results inevitably in internal politics," (White, 1995: 21). The colonial stereotype of the pure and pristine Bushman hunter-gatherer, which is important to donorship policy in supporting First Peoples, has been embraced and articulated by the Kruiper clan as a means of survival. Simultaneously, however, the *westerse* Bushmen's ability to engage with development and bureaucratic discourses and act as mediators of Bushman issues to both national and international audiences is also prized by NGOs and donor agencies.

> The ambiguities of this 'dual mandate' – of promoting [Bushman] cultural survival and the values and virtues of 'civil society' such as democratic decision-making and accountability – seemed to invoke a repetition of stereotypes about 'pure' and 'detribalised' Bushmen that has contributed towards the re-inscription of an artificial divide between 'traditionalist' and 'western' Bushmen (Robins, 2001: 842).

Botswana, however, is primarily concerned with the civic citizenship route of development, refuting the fact that the Bushmen are indigenous and aiming to integrate Bushmen into the mainstream of society.

Dependency works the other way too as governments are also dependent on the Bushmen. Development strategies in the Northern Cape attest to the fact that "commodifying essentialist images of 'unspoilt' indigenous African cultures to attract an international market to South Africa *have long been* a vital and profitable sector of the local tourist industry" (White, 1995:15). The Botswana government depends on the Bushmen for the land they live on and what it offers. Development programmes that allow for easier safari operator access to wildlife resources to attract hunting, which is a profitable sector of Botswana's tourist industry have been implemented, as is evident in Ngwatle. The rich populations of 'game' in Botswana seem to have convinced the government that tourism and primarily hunting is a worthwhile sector of the economy. Botswana has been attracted to this sector because of its ability to earn foreign exchange. Consequently little attention is paid to legislation that restricts social access to game

and associated resources, with the result that the wildlife industry has remained a class issue. "CBNRM is justified in terms of a decentralization-devolution ethic, which questions the centralizing interests of the state…However, it does not question the property rights in which decentralization occurs" (Murombedzi, 2001: 140). These strategies point to the features of economic development hidden under the guise of the rhetoric of community development.

Cultural insensitivity is another development problem that is evidenced in the two communities. The Ngwatle Bushmen are viewed as ethnically distinct by the Botswana government. They are separated from the rest of the population in what is considered 'communal lands' or Rural Area Dwellers (RADs). In not recognising the indigenous rights of the Bushmen the Botswana government may be viewed as embarking on a culturally insensitive mode of development. Botswana Minister of Local Government Margaret Nasha's statement sums up the attitude of the Botswana government towards Bushmen"

> You know the issue of the Basarwa, sometimes I equate it the elephants. We once had the same problem with elephants when we wanted to cull and people said 'No, they are such nice cuddly animals'. That's not cuddliness; we are talking about the environment and destruction. The issue of the Basarwa here is a human-rights issue. Can you allow a section of the population to continue living in manner they are doing, and not accessing information, education for their children and health facilities and all these other things that every other Botswanan has free access to? And as a government we have to take a stand and say 'No, that is not right!'

The issue here, however, is that the Bushmen want to continue living as they have, practising their own culture and leading their own lives. Despite their lack of access to basic needs and a government that continues to marginalise them (Hitchcock, 2001), the Ngwatle Bushmen evidence more stability than the Khomani. The Botswana government's insensitive development policy and relocation campaign is, however, a threat to this cohesiveness. Arthur Albertson, the ecologist who has been working for two years on a management plan that has been approved by the Botswana Department of Wildlife contradicts the current relocations.

> The situation in the resettlement villages is such that you have a whole lot of people being concentrated into areas that they are not used to, they are outside the traditional areas. So it's very difficult for them to find the resources that they need to survive. So this will lead to tremendous pressure on the natural resources surrounding the villages, and ultimately it will impoverish them even more…the [Bushmen] have always lived sustainably in their communities, they've never depleted the resources."

Cultural insensitivity is also evidenced in the Northern Cape. The Khomani fortunately live in South African where the government does recognise their indigenous rights. This has resulted in the return of some of their land. It is claimed, however, that the Khomani community

was brought together by external sources, as there needed to be an ethnic group to claim land and subsequently gain funding. The danger in this is that these external sources view the people of the Northern Cape with all their divisions, as a homogenous community. Fiona Archer warns that "in development everything gets homogenised, even the word community" (interview, May 2003). Insensitivity towards the context in which they found themselves led to further development problems for SASI as it exacerbated the community conflict between the traditionalists and *westerse* Bushmen and *Basters*. In small, discreet and relatively homogenous communities with access to expansive wilderness CBNRM has been a phenomenal success in terms of community rights over resources becoming clearer, and control enhanced, communities also begin to exert considerable control over the actual utilization of the resources itself (Murombedzi, 2001). However, this study has shown that the two communities are not homogenous so that their respective development programmes have not resulted in such success.

Despite being recipients of R8 million in development aid the traditional Kruiper clan is poverty stricken and socially dysfunctional. The greatest challenge facing the Northern Cape Khomani community is alcohol abuse. The Bushmen are blamed for alcohol abuse, as it is an obstacle to development and catching up to the modern world. However, it was when they started receiving cash wages for the first time from casual labour on farms and from the South African and South West African armies that caused changes wreaking havoc in their lives. Alcoholism, murder, wife beating and child neglect are all forms of behaviour traditionally alien to the Bushmen that now seem commonplace (Weaver, 2000). The explanation for the communal alcohol abuse offered by Jason the young man living with Dawid Kruiper when we visited in 2003, illustrates the dialectical relationship between development and identity and more specifically the interrelatedness of alcohol abuse, identity and (lack of) hunting rights. This attests to the complexity of development in practice. "You get domestic violence when you take away masculinity. And masculinity is bringing home the food" (Jason, personal communication, July 2003). One "consequence of alcohol abuse among the [Bushmen] is that it continues to be a barrier to politicisation or 'conscientization', and thus the…level of sobriety needed to fully participate in the development process" (Macdonald & Molamu, 1998:331). This is reiterated in Freire's (1990:52) liberatory pedagogy of the oppressed that places 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). This is a process that is engendered through action-reflection and dialogue towards what Freire terms "authentic communication" (Thomas, 1996).

Lessons from Development

Through my study of development in the context of the Ngwatle and Khomani Bushmen, I have found that the different development paradigms operate simultaneously in practice. It is impossible to follow the proponents of a single paradigm. For example, the modernization paradigm's insensitivity to the needs of local people and one-way communication flow is evident in both communities. The dependency paradigm's argument of the disenfranchisement of the broader community for the benefit of those at the top of a community's social ladder is also evident in the two communities. The development support communication paradigm's (DSC) adherence to donor agendas results in confusion and conflict at the ground level. The Trust and SASI aspire towards 'another development' as discussed in Chapter Two, however as illustrated in Chapter Three and Four this paradigm is suitable for community development where there is access to resources, a stable and cohesive community, and equal participation, features that are not entirely present in both Ngwatle and the Northern Cape. Also evident in the two communities is the consequence of 'too much communication' and not enough practical follow through, as discussed in Chapter Four. It is important to bear in mind that "this paradigm is more normative in its approach" (Servaes, 1991: 66) and its objectives may not always be realised. Archer consolidated this issue for me saying that although the 'another development' paradigm is the preferred paradigm by academics because of its participatory methodology "there's a place for the top-down approach…They all play a role" (interview, May, 2003). Participation dismisses any external advice in the favour of 'the community' where not all the players are recognised because of the exclusive attitude from major role players. She warns that even the word 'participatory development' is dangerous, as it has become another politicised power tool. She suggests that the term "meaningful development" may be more suitable (Archer, interview, May 2003).

It is therefore imperative to create and implement development programmes based on the parameters of the context within which a development organisation is working. Two-way communication and cultural sensitivity are two essential features of a successful development programme. Failure to equitably involve all stakeholders in Ngwatle and the Northern Cape as partners in all phases of the CBNRM and CRAM programmes from design to implementation has led to disappointing project results.

A perspective that must be appreciated when approaching a development project is that the idea behind it should come from within the community and not be exogenously imposed. In this way the community have a sense of responsibility and pride in what is done. Simply building a structure (such as the 'lean to' described by Toppies Kruiper) in the hope that it may generate benefits for the community in not development. Follow through and training of skills in management and maintenance of the project is of primary importance, allowing the local people to have input therefore creating a context sensitive mode of sustaining the project. Archer warns that "what is best for the community is not always the moist strategic" (interview, May 2003). It is therefore vital to work out what she terms a "body of feeling by going into the community

humbly, seeing what happens, speaking to the local people where they are comfortable, under a tree, around a fire and working with that" (Archer, interview, May 2003). In doing this, however, what must be remembered is that in encouraging *only* western methods of communication, development workers deny the validity of local methods and knowledge and only gain a superficial understanding of the people's development needs. In turn the Bushmen should fulfil their responsibility in the relationship, as they will trust the NGOs enough to communicate their ideas.

Hand in hand with this awareness of the context one is working in, development workers should implement and follow through with skills training that will assist the Khomani in coping with a cash economy therefore not limiting the Bushmen to producing and selling crafts as their sole means of development.

"In more practical terms, development needs to be perceived as a provision of resources to equal, responsible and ultimately powerful agents whose role as traditional hunter-gatherers is just as authentic and completely compatible with their roles as modern subjects" (Simoes, 2001: 128-129). Tourists and donors chase an illusion of the romanticised representation of 'pristine pre-modern' Bushman and with SASI's encouragements the traditionalists in the Northern Cape have commodified this image to sell to tourists and film and television companies and to attract donorship. It must be realised that cultural tourism is not the only development answer for the Kalahari. Although it provides a means for communities to attain a level of self-representation and empowerment it is essential that it is a choice and is not forced on the Bushmen as their sole means of development. The desire for cultural tourism needs to be balanced with skills in coping within the modern world. They do not need to abandon their tradition but need to acquire skills in areas such as basic business, commercial farming, literacy, computer literacy, investment, banking, stock control etc. to cope with the effects of modernity. There should be a choice to adopt modern elements or revive a traditional lifestyle. Empowerment for the Ngwatle and Khomani Bushmen lies with education and mobilisation on their own terms in developing greater agency.

Further Research

Although this research sought to gather the Ngwatle and Khomani Bushmen's perceptions of development, the perspective from the Trust board members and manager, Francinah Nkali and the Bakgalagadi in Ngwatle would balance out the bottom up approach I have used in discussing the development initiatives in the area. This could not be done due to the time limit during fieldwork. An extension of this research could involve these perspectives, which would provide for a richer and more complex analysis.

This research opens itself up to further speculation on cultural tourism. Following the investigation of the clash between theory and practice discussed in this research the pro-poor tourism approach (Ashley *et al*, 2001) as advocated by Caleb Wang (2001) could be analysed to

ascertain the applicability of this form of cultural tourism as development within the context of each community. Wang (2001) argues that the pro-poor tourism approach could integrate structure and agency in the form of partnerships between the Ngwatle Bushmen and the Trust and the Khomani Bushmen and SASI. Taking into consideration the development problems observed and discussed in this study, further research involving long-term fieldwork would allow for an analysis of Wang's (2001) application of pro-poor tourism (Ashley et al, 2001a/b) to the two communities. This further research could test the applicability of Wang's proposition of pro-poor tourism as a "viable means of bringing sustainable development to communities" (Wang, 2001: ii) by analysing social, economic, political and philosophical indicators that support or deny this applicability.

The southern African Bushmen's story of survival attests to the resilience of a spirited people who have faced centuries of exploitation and discrimination. I am very privileged to have met the Ngwatle and Khomani Bushmen who have opened my eyes to the necessity of perseverance and a will to survive. It is my hope that stakeholders in the development process; governments, development organisations, donors and NGOs are aware of their role in ensuring that in the development process first and foremost the basic human rights of a people need to be addressed before any major development scheme can be implemented. These include the security of rights to land, water and food, a fair deal in tourism ventures and farming opportunities, and that education does not necessarily mean a loss of tradition.

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Appendix

Photograph 1: A typical home in Ngwatle, KD1. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2003.)

Photograph 2: A 'traditional' home in Witdraai, Northern Cape. (Photographer-Gareth Myklebust, July 2003.)

**Photograph 3: Miriam Motshabise and her daughter in Ngwatle, KD1. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2003.)**

Photograph 4: Rosa Koper and I looking at photographs during our walk on the Erin dunes, Northern Cape. (Photographer - Vanessa McLennan-Dodd, July 2003.)

Photograph 5: Silikat Van Wyk (right) & Hans Kortman sitting by their roadside stall outside Witdraai, Northern Cape. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 6: Kort Jan sitting around a fire in Ngwatle, KD1. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2003.)
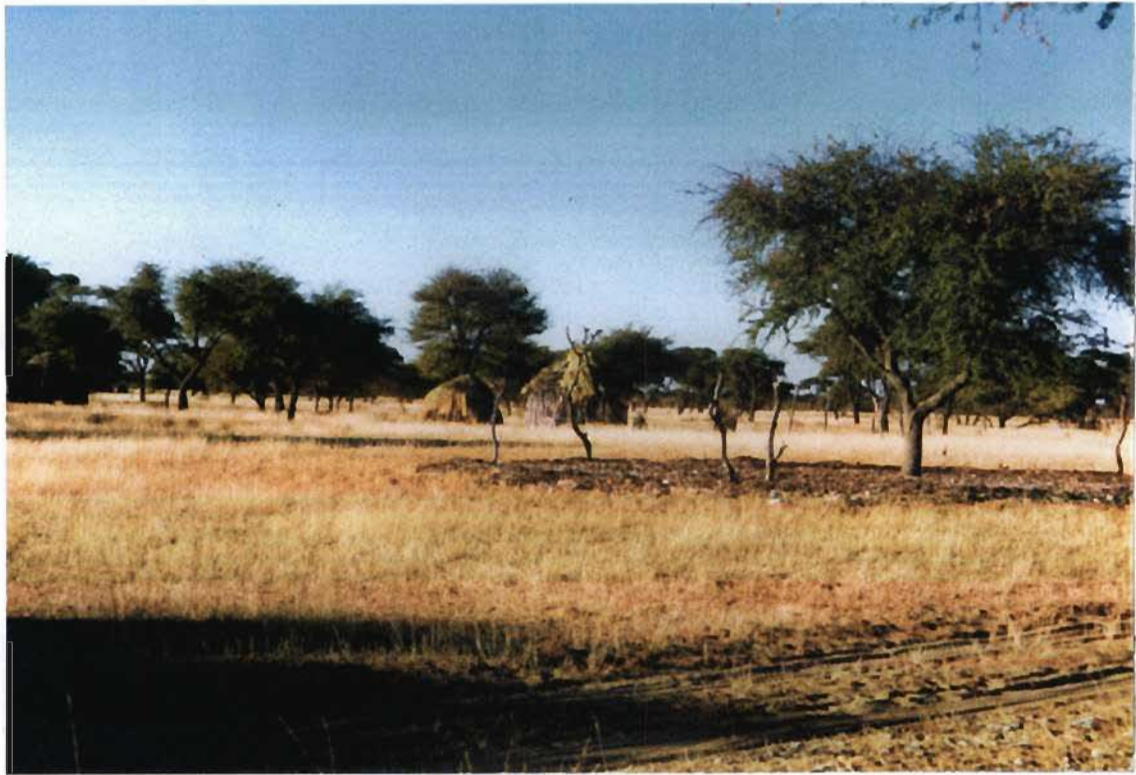
Photograph 7: Broken fence surrounding a few remaining huts where the Ngwatle Bushmen used to live. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 8: Ngwatle's only water tank surrounded by thirsty goats. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 9: A mother and child stand outside Ngwatle's only school that lies vacant. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 10: Pre-primary school in Ukhwi, KD1. note: Water tank provided for the school and communal shop in the background. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 11: The well kept playground of Ukhwi's Pre-primary school may point to the disproportionate allocation of services and facilities as compared to Ngwatle, see photograph 9. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 12: Belinda Kruiper sitting next to her husband, Vetkat Kruiper at their home in Blinkwater, Northern Cape (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2003.)

Photograph 13: Hans Kortman sitting at his roadside stall in Witdraai polishing a craft that Charlize Tomaselli is about to purchase. (Photographer - Gareth Myklebust, July 2003.)

Photograph 14: Charlize Tomaselli and Marit Saetre buying crafts from 3 young boys wearing 'traditional' skins to attract tourists, Northern Cape. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)
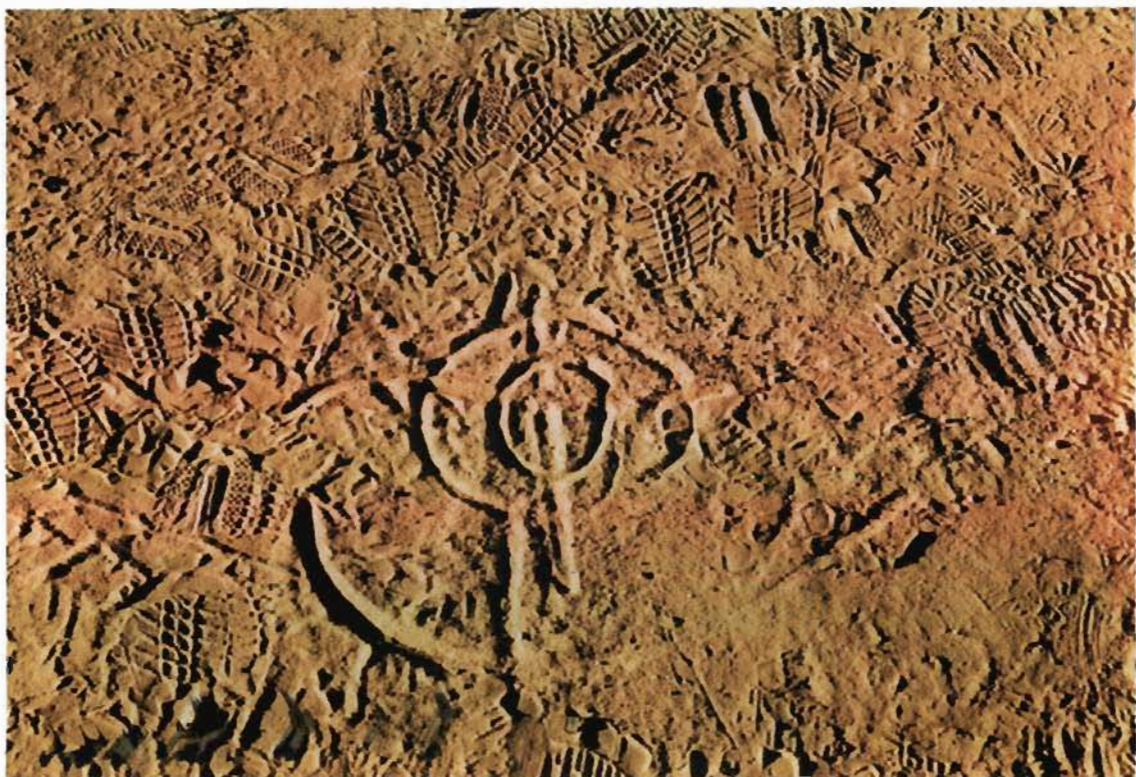
Photograph 15: Keyan Tomaselli and I interviewing Abraham Meintjies at Erin, Northern Cape, while Tim Reinhardt films. (Photographer - Charlize Tomaselli, July 2002.)

Photograph 16: The 'lean to' constructed at Witdraai, Northern Cape, to attract cultural tourism. (Photographer - Sian Dunn, April 2002.)

Photograph 17: The skeletal structure of the vandalised 'lean to' at Witdraai a few months later. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 18: A photograph of Silikat Van Wyk's "Middlepoint" drawn in the sand outside Molopo Lodge, Northern Cape. (Photographer - Lauren Dyll, July 2002.)

Photograph 19: Keyan Tomaselli & I interviewing Toppies Kruiper at Witdraai, Northern Cape. Toppies draws in the sand to reaffirm what he is saying. (Photographer– Charlize Tomaselli, July 2002.)

Map showing the location of the Northern Cape and Ngwatle within Southern Africa.
(Map Illustrator - Gareth Myklebust.)