

**The Un/changing Face of the ≠Khomani: Representation
through Promotional Media**

by
Kate Finlay

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Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Social Science, in the Graduate Programme in Culture, Communications and Media Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was used and that my supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Social Science in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

Student name

Date

Editor

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Abstract

This dissertation involves a longitudinal study of the promotional materials of !Xaus Lodge, a community-owned lodge in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park. The study engages with stakeholders of the Lodge in order to assess its promotional materials in terms of marketing, identity and development issues.

The Circuit of Culture (Du Gay et al. 1997) covers and examines the process of meaning-making which forms the basis for understanding the textual and reception analyses. This, along with pertinent tourism theories, which discuss issues such as the concept of ‘authenticity’, the notion of the ‘other’ and various modes of representation, form the basis of the theory pervading the dissertation.

The textual analysis is based on Tomaselli’s Phaneroscopic Table (1996), through which the promotional materials are examined. The reception analysis thematically discusses target market and past visitors’ opinions about the materials and the Lodge, facilitated through the process of coding. The informants’ opinions were collected through a number of focus groups conducted with the target market of !Xaus Lodge and through online questionnaires sent to past visitors. A comparison between the textual and reception analyses is conducted in order to identify similarities found and explain divergences.

The analyses refer to all aspects of the promotional materials, but tend to concentrate on ≠Khomani representation within the materials and the feedback about the ≠Khomani cultural tourism experience at the Lodge. At the moment, the ≠Khomani express a romantic identity which relates well to similar expectations of many tourists, but the ‘reality’ of ≠Khomani society does not allow these !Xaus employees to meet the idealistic expectations of some visitors.

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Abbreviations

BTG - Best of Travel Group

CCMS - Centre for Culture, Communication and Media Studies

CEO - Chief Executive Officer

CPA - Communal Property Association (≠Khomani)

DEAT - Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

DNA - Department of Native Affairs

FG1 – Focus Group 1

FG2 – Focus Group 2

FG3 – Focus Group 3

GPS – Global Positioning System

JMB – Joint Management Board

KGP - Kalahari Gemsbok National Park

KTP - Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park

NGO - Non-governmental organisation

NPB - National Parks Board

SANParks - South African National Parks

SASI - South African San Institute

SATSA - South African Tourism Services Association

TFPD - Transfrontier Parks Destinations (Pty) Ltd

UNESCO - United Nations' Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

WIMSA - Working Group of Indigenous Minorities

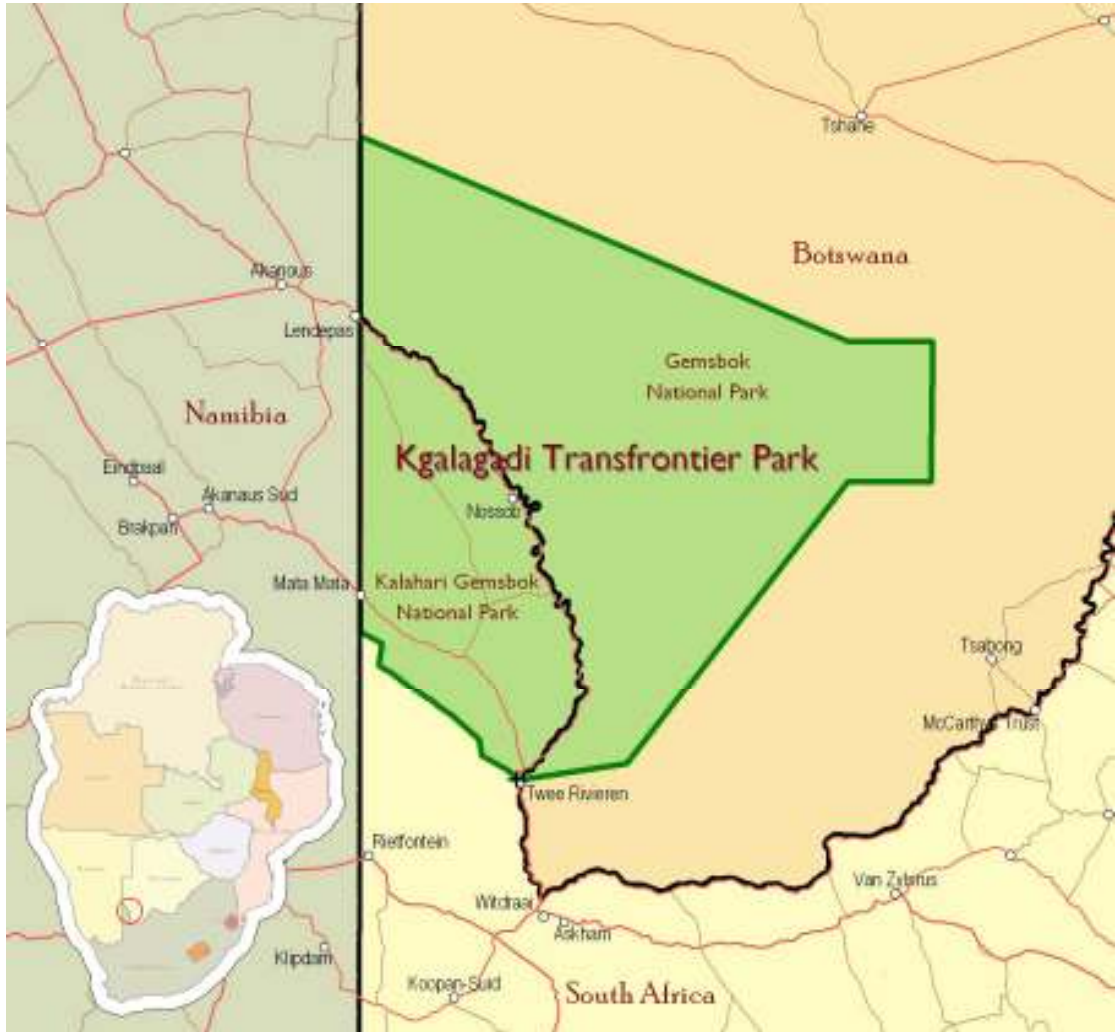


Figure 1: Map of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park and its surrounding areas.
Source: www.sanparks.org

Chapter 1: Introduction

I became interested in joining Prof. Keyan Tomaselli's long-term research project, Rethinking Indigeneity, when working for a private college in Kensington, London. I had become disillusioned with my bonus-driven position which involved scheming about how to register as many students as possible for exorbitant fees. I wanted to use my 'skills' in a more developmentally profitable way. I was given this opportunity when I was accepted in mid-2007 to do my Masters in the Centre for Culture, Communication and Media Studies (CCMS).

The Rethinking Indigeneity project has been running for 20 years and concentrates on issues such as representation, identity, cultural tourism and development communication to do with the Kalahari Bushmen. The project has involved nearly 100 Honours, Masters and Doctorate students registered at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, as well as a number of research affiliates. I have thus had the opportunity of gaining support from other involved students, researchers and my supervisor. I have incorporated the work of members of the team in my own dissertation: Tomaselli (1993; 1995; 1996; 1999; 2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2005; 2007a; 2007b; Tomaselli & Homiak 1999; Tomaselli & Wright 2007; Tomaselli et al. 1986), Lauren Dyll (2004, 2009a forthcoming; 2009b forthcoming), Dr Mick Francis (Tomaselli et al. 2008), Elana Bregin and Belinda Kruiper (2004), Vanessa McLennan-Dodd (Tomaselli & McLennan-Dodd 2005), Nhamo Mhiripiri (2009), Anthea Simões (2001), Wendy van de Weg (2007) and Jeffrey Sehume (1999).

An introduction to the ≠Khomani

I was introduced to the ≠Khomani Bushmen of the Northern Cape while on my first Kalahari trip with the research team in July 2007. On this trip we stayed at the ≠Khomani and Mier¹ owned !Xaus Lodge. The Lodge is situated in the Kgalagadi

¹ The local 'coloured' community who were also land claim recipients. The term 'coloured' refers to an ethnic group who have a diverse heritage, including lineage from the sub-Saharan, although not enough to be considered black under apartheid (or post-apartheid) law. The four official racial groups in South Africa during and after Apartheid remain classified as: African (previously Bantu), White, Indian and Coloured. For a colloquial description of 'coloured' see 'Encounter South Africa' at: <http://www.encounter.co.za/article/25.html>. Accessed on 21 April 2009. For a more critical overview see <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coloured>. Accessed on 21 April 2009. Although the term emerged in early colonial history as a racial classification, it evolved into a specific cultural and linguistic identity largely dominant in the Western Cape province (Crawhall 2001: 28).

Transfrontier Park (KTP) ², and was hosting its first official party of guests at the time. Two ≠Khomani trackers, Déon Nobitsin and Andrew Kruiper, were working at !Xaus during this period. Nobitsin was in his twenties, had lived in Johannesburg and could speak English (the majority of ≠Khomani speak Afrikaans as a *lingua franca*). Even though Nobitsin was known to be a good tracker and considered himself a Bushman, his experiences differed from that of the romantic myth of the hunter-gatherer³ portrayed in films such as *The Gods Must be Crazy* (Uys 1980) and books such as Laurens van der Post's *Lost World of the Kalahari* (1986). More recently, the South African advertising industry utilised this romantic myth in a number of campaigns, for example, the Vodacom advertisement aired during the Rugby World Cup (2007)⁴, a South African Railways advertisement and even the national crest of the South African government⁵ (Guenther 2006: 178). It is as a result of this that I became interested in issues of representation regarding the ≠Khomani and cultural tourism. I wanted to understand the reality versus the promotional material and what the target market and/or past visitors to !Xaus Lodge thought of this promotional material.

The traditionalists and naming

The ≠Khomani at !Xaus Lodge work on a rotational basis. Most of the ≠Khomani community members live and move between Witdraai⁶ and Andriesvale (both about 65 kilometres from the Twee Rivieren gate) and Welkom (a small town just outside the gate to the KTP). They are part of a particular sub-group commonly known as the 'traditionalists'⁷, who generally embrace the romantic archetype of the Bushman (cf. Ellis 2004: 10). In both July 2007 and July 2008 the research team stayed at Witdraai, interviewing and socialising with research partners such as Silikat van Wyk, Toppies and Pien Kruiper, Adam Bok, Blade Witbooi and Patat van Wyk. Apart from spending time with Déon Nobitsin and Andrew Kruiper in 2007, while they were working at the Lodge, we were also able to spend time with Corné Witbooi, Léna

² Available at: <http://www.sanparks.org/parks/kgalagadi/>. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

³ I use various terms when referring to this romantic notion of the hunter-gather, such as 'Stone Age' people and 'pre-modern' people. These should simply be regarded as synonyms of this romantic concept.

⁴ Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1MHzQK7rfxQ&feature=related>. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

⁵ See Fig 14 (219)

⁶ A restituted farm.

⁷ See for example Robins (2001) and Ellis (2004).

Malgas, Dorian Arries and Agarop Bladbeen in July 2008. I will use examples from my experiences, as well as those of the research team, to inform my research where applicable.

According to Belinda Kruiper (who married into the ≠Khomani community), traditionalists prefer to be called 'Bushmen'. They are proud of the fact that their lifestyle is connected to nature. Belinda notes that Silikat van Wyk used to say, "When I hear San, I keep walking. But when I hear Bushman, I look. That's me that" (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 54).

Much debate has occurred around the naming of the 'San' or 'Bushmen' (cf. Wilmsen 1989; Gordon 1992). I choose to use the term 'Bushmen' to describe a diverse people consisting of a number of clans, while the name ≠Khomani refers to the specific community living in the Northern Cape. Robert Gordon and Stuart Douglas (2000: 4) explain that the Bushmen are not one unified group, as they refer to themselves by different names. Thus, the concept must be externally given. Some academics are opposed to the term 'Bushmen'⁸, as, among other things, it was said to derive from a Dutch word connected with the meaning bandit. However, the term 'San' arguably originated in connection with the meaning 'outcasts' (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 5-6; Barnard 1992: 8).

Brief historical background to, and representation of, ≠Khomani society

The term ≠Khomani as used today⁹ is an umbrella term only recently appropriated (in the 1990's) in order to represent a diverse group of people with Bushmen heritage for land claim purposes in the Northern Cape of South Africa. Thus in the following chapters when discussing the history of oppression, segregation and genocide of the Bushmen I cannot specifically refer to the ≠Khomani as a result of this particular groups recent creation.

Such events as the Cape's thirty-year war between 1770 and 1800 (in which many Bushmen became involved), and private Bushman hunting parties begun in the 17th

⁸ See for example Boonzaier et al. (2000: 70) and Dornan (1925: 40).

⁹ It is interesting to note that researchers in the 1930's use the term ≠Khomani to describe a group of Southern Kalahari Bushmen (cf. Jones and Doke 1937); a term which has only recently been reclaimed by the Southern Kalahari Bushmen themselves.

century, aided in the near decimation of the Southern Kalahari Bushmen (Crawhall 2001: 7; Smith et al 2000: 47-49; Penn 1996: 83). During the 19th and early 20th centuries, the Bushmans autochthonous relationship to the land changed as a result of the penetration of both European and Baster¹⁰ farmers into the Northern periphery of South Africa. Privitisation of land meant the privitisation of all natural resources upon it and so helped to enable a new form of wage labour and/or forced labour (Schenck 2008: 10-12). The creation of the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park (KGP)¹¹ in 1931¹², as well as the segregated land policies of apartheid, further stripped the Bushmen of their ‘traditional’ use of land as well as much cultural knowledge to do with the natural environment (Crawhall 2001: 5).

These acts of genocide, appropriation of land and various other abuses were supported by the dominant Western representation of Bushmen as degenerates and vermin. It was only in the 20th century that liberal Western opinions began to take hold and Bushmen began to be represented in a romantic light as a pre-modern hunter-gathering community. This representation became popularised through various media and has been used by the Bushmen themselves in cultural tourism ventures over the last few decades¹³. The romantic representation is still in fact one used by cultural tourism ventures such as !Xaus Lodge and by non-governmental organisations (NGOs)¹⁴ in order to obtain funding. Further more recent representations and certain self-representations will also be discussed in the following chapter.

The recent #Khomani land claims in the Northern Cape, finalised in 2002, have enabled the #Khomani access to land, inside and outside the KTP. This, however, has lead to management tensions between the two #Khomani sub-groups, the ‘traditionalists’ and the other group who generally rely on other modes of

¹⁰ A Baster is a term for someone of ‘mixed’ race (Crawhall 2001: 7).

¹¹ Now known as the KTP.

¹² Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kgalagadi_Transfrontier_Park. Last accessed on 4 May 2009.

¹³ See Literature Review (Chapter 2) for futher details.

¹⁴ The representation of the Bushmen as a people in tune with and partly dependent on nature was significant in the battle for the restitution of land, as was the fact that they are considered to be an ‘original’ people with spiritual connections to land in the KTP (cf. !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 197-198, 247; Chennells 2002: 4; Office of the Presidency 2001). The reliance of the Bushmen representatives during the land claims on such representations has arguably reinforced the romantic stereotype (Groenewald 2003: 28; Jackson & Robins 1999: 86-87). This stereotype has also been used and thus been strengthened by international donors and NGOs in recent years, as the local NGOs use this indigenous discourse to attract international funding (Robins 2001: 839-840).

employment such as farming as opposed to cultural tourism and who are commonly known as the *Westerse mense* (Westerners)¹⁵. However, the land claim has enabled the construction and operation of !Xaus Lodge, part ownership of the Lodge by the ≠Khomani and job opportunities at the Lodge. The cultural tourism venture at !Xaus, as well as the ≠Khomani's representation through its promotional materials, have led (in this study) to questions around the 'authenticity' of the ≠Khomani cultural representation and the tourists opinions of this 'authenticity' and experience.

≠Khomani cultural heritage and cultural tourism

It is imperative to note the current form of ≠Khomani cultural heritage in order to understand the developing cultural tourism product offered at !Xaus Lodge at present. Much cultural knowledge has been lost over the years, with increasing speed in recent times. This is due to:

The expansion of certain dominant world cultures and languages, improvements in telecommunications and transport, the impact of worsening poverty, and in some cases, disregard of the human and civil rights of vulnerable sectors of society. These factors, mostly man-made, lead to a breakdown of intergenerational learning within indigenous societies (Crawhall 2001: 2).

Furthermore, the 'traditional' cultural heritage of the Bushmen is more intangible and thus more vulnerable than many other national heritages. Their songs, myths and cultural practices have in the past not possessed the same lasting impression as protected structural objects such as monuments, amphitheatres or written documentation (Crawhall 2001: 3; UNESCO 2003).

This is changing, with the increased interest in preserving the diversity of indigenous people by organisations such as the United Nations' Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), various other NGOs and academic theorists (cf. UNESCO 2003; Crawhall 2001: 3; Schafer 2002-2003). The South African San Institute (SASI), in co-operation with UNESCO, has been involved in a cultural audit¹⁶ in order to sustain the "indigenous identity, culture and language" of the South African Bushmen (Crawhall 2001: 3). The audit also aids in leveraging beneficial

¹⁵ See for example Robins (2001). Schenck (2008: 111) posits that the use of these terms is controversial as both groups survival strategies are "a response to the challenges of an increasingly globalized world".

¹⁶ See *SASI Annual Review: April 2001 – March 2002* at: http://www.san.org.za/sasi/ann_rep_2002.htm for more information regarding SASI, the cultural resources audit and management project. Last accessed on 6 May 2009.

partnerships with other local, national (and hopefully international) organisations (Crawhall 2001: 24).

Among other cultural projects, an art and *veld*¹⁷ school is envisaged, which will be led by the ≠Khomani Kruiper¹⁸ family to encourage the acquisition of creative and environmental knowledge (Kruiper, personal correspondence, January 2009). Another project sponsored by the food store chain, Pick 'n Pay, is named Adults in the Park. This is implemented once a year and offers the elders from the local ≠Khomani and Mier communities a chance to visit the KTP. These recipients stay for a day or two and learn about the environment. It is hoped that this project will aid in the passing down of knowledge, traditions and folklore to the next generation (De Villiers 2008: 40-41).

At !Xaus Lodge itself the operator and management have recently assisted in leveraging “donor funding for off-site community health, agriculture, education and job creation projects”¹⁹. These Welkom based initiatives so far include the sponsoring of school fees for a number of children, a photography initiative that was run at the local school and a fund raising drive to secure funding for a water purification project. Other plans for community projects are in the pipeline, from which the ≠Khomani will hopefully benefit (O’Leary, personal correspondence, April 2009).

Cultural tourism ventures such as !Xaus should benefit from such cultural heritage programmes. These programmes will aid what has been declared the priority industry in South Africa - tourism. It “outperformed gold mining as a revenue generator – traditionally, the country’s number one export industry - by three billion rand” in 2005 (Ivanovic 2008: xix). Additionally, cultural tourism has been in the last few years the fastest growing type of tourism in the world. However, the demand in South Africa is not matched by the availability of cultural tourism products (Ivanovic 2008: xviii). !Xaus is thus well positioned in this niché market. The ≠Khomani are not only part owners of the Lodge, but also provide a cultural experience through the provision

¹⁷ An Afrikaans term for plain or wilderness.

¹⁸ The Kruipers are a prominent traditionalist ≠Khomani family. Belinda Kruiper (who married into the ≠Khomani) will also teach at the school when it opens.

¹⁹ See Fig 13 (209).

of nature walks and the reconstructed Bushman village where tourists see the ≠Khomani making crafts and can choose to be taught to shoot with a bow and arrow.

Although many theorists agree that cultural tourism can have a positive impact on not only host communities' economics, but culture as well²⁰, a particular argument places blame on tourism for detrimental changes in community culture²¹ (Smith 2003: 78; Ivanovic 2008: 22). Of course, the crafts sellers at Witdraai would not sit on the roadside in their skins²² waiting for tourists in their 4X4's to stop to take a look at their products if they did not sell any to passersby. However, there seems to be little other choice of formal employment for the ≠Khomani. There is the SASI managed //Uruke livelihoods programme. The //Uruke project is funded by the GEF Small Grants Programme,²³ which aims to train members of the community to "create their own livelihood opportunities in the arenas of tourism, game counting, anti-poaching and nature conservation/biodiversity promotion"²⁴. Among other things, they have aided in turning commercial tracking at Witdraai into a formally run small business. Opportunistic and part-time work, such as wood burning and thatching in 2007 for !Xaus Lodge, tracking with tourists at Witdraai and manual labour, make up other options that are few and far between. In the light of this lack of employment in the area, well run cultural tourism²⁵ projects (such as !Xaus) offer further employment opportunities, and as discussed above, will also play a positive role in reviving 'cultural' skills and traditions (Ivanovic 2008: 22).

The application of Applied Social Science and Action Research

Applied Social Science calls for useful and useable academic knowledge production through working with practical issues which contribute to the positive transformation of contemporary societies (cf. Pohoryles 2007: 16; Van Langenhove 2007). This research falls within the above paradigm as I had anticipated that !Xaus Lodge's

²⁰ See, for example, Atsuko Hashimoto (2002: 215-216), Nigel Crawhall (2001: 24-25) and Lauren Dyll (2009a forthcoming).

²¹ This argument will be discussed in more detail in the Theory chapter (Chapter 4).

²² A discussion regarding 'authentic' versus contrived/commodified cultural tourism will take place in the Theory chapter (Chapter 4).

²³ Available at: <http://sgp.undp.org/index.cfm?module=ActiveWeb&page=WebPage&s=AboutSGP>. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

²⁴ Available at: http://sgp.undp.org/web/projects/11740/uruke_livelihoods_projects.html. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

²⁵ When I discuss the concept of cultural tourism in relation to !Xaus Lodge I mean indigenous cultural tourism (cf. Ivanovic 2008: 88).

promotional material would need to be updated and improved. In doing so, the material should have a positive knock-on effect on the ≠Khomani and Mier-owned business. I made a conscious decision to make my research applicable to this end²⁶. I examined how and why the ≠Khomani were represented as they were in the promotional materials and at !Xaus. I investigated what representation potential visitors or past visitors were attracted by and what past visitors thought of the cultural tourism offered at !Xaus: did it meet their expectations or were they expecting something more ‘traditional’, modern or more commercialised? In order to produce a holistic analysis of the promotional material²⁷, I also concentrated on other aspects of this material, such as accommodation and wildlife activities²⁸.

More specifically my research uses action research, which involves a participatory process concerned with practical issues and practical solutions which aim to aid individuals and communities (Reason & Bradbury 2001: 1). As already described above, my research is practically orientated and aims to aid the stakeholders of !Xaus Lodge. The importance of the definition above is that it describes the participatory nature of my research. I worked with the operator of !Xaus Lodge in order to improve the promotional materials, as well as used the understandings provided by the ≠Khomani employees and larger community to inform my ethnographic examples. The Chief Executive Officer (CEO) of !Xaus Lodge wrote that my past research “definitely had an impact on our thinking”. The information collated through focus groups, previous written work and various exchanges “helped to inform [!Xaus’s] ‘marketing and awareness’ approach which... culminate[d] in the info book, revised website and text changes to [!Xaus’s] brochure” (O’Leary, personal correspondence, November 2008). Furthermore, other lodges involved in cultural tourism, such as !Khwa ttu²⁹ on the Cape West Coast and the Bushman/San Village in Limpopo³⁰

²⁶ In no way am I implying that cultural tourism businesses like !Xaus are the ≠Khomani’s sole salvation. I am aware that “empowerment for the ≠Khomani lies with education and mobilisation on their own terms in developing greater agency” (Dyll 2004: 126). However, when taking into consideration the area’s high unemployment rate, cultural tourism is a viable form of employment and a way to acquire sellable tourism skills.

²⁷ It is not just the cultural tourism aspect of !Xaus that attracts potential tourists.

²⁸ It could be argued that this ‘holistic’ aspect is not represented in my dissertation title, but it does fall under the more encompassing phrase, “promotional material”.

²⁹ Available at: http://www.khwattu.org/21/tourist_attractions. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

³⁰ Available from ‘Exploring South Africa’ at: http://www.exploringsa.co.za/pages/bushmen_san_info_photo.php. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

could use this research as a case study to review aspects of their own promotional material.

Following chapters

Chapter 2: Literature Review will examine the historical and current representation of the Bushmen in order to better understand the representation of the ≠Khomani at !Xaus through the promotional material and to tourists at the Lodge. Chapter 3: The ≠Khomani and Mier Land Claims, discusses a background to the land claim in order to explain the establishment of !Xaus Lodge and the relationships which surround the land claim agreement. The theory outlined in Chapter 4 will examine the Circuit of Culture (Du Gay et al. 1997), a model which theorises the construction of meaning and is the model through which the reception analysis findings are explained. It also discusses the cultural/tourism theories employed in this study. The Methodology chapter (Chapter 5) explains the process of data collection and analysis through a semiotic framework (Tomaselli 1996) and through the process of coding. It further expands upon Applied Social Science and Action Research. The Textual Analysis (Chapter 6) is an in-depth semiotic analysis of !Xaus Lodge's promotional materials interspersed by personal ethnographic tropes, while the Reception Analysis (Chapter 7) elucidates past visitors and target market's opinions of !Xaus's promotional material and the tourist experience at the Lodge. The divergences between the outcomes of the two analyses are explained in Chapter 8 and the significance of this research is discussed in Chapter 9: Conclusion.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Representation: myths and notions of the other

The recorded history of the Bushmen, found in books, museum collections and even through interpretations of rock art, has generally been documented from a European perspective. Until recently, there was no “independent Bushman archive” available (Skotnes 2002: 263)³¹. Through war, poverty and the dispossession of land much oral tradition was lost and indigenous languages almost forgotten (Skotnes 2002: 256).

Western records of the Bushmen date from the 1600’s. Colonial records show that over the last 400 hundred years Bushmen have been hunted and at war with settlers, the subjects of evolutionary and anthropological research and included in exhibitions in South Africa and throughout Europe (cf. Smith et al. 2000). From the mid 1900s they have featured in many documentaries, entertainment films and advertisements (cf. Tomaselli 1999; 2002; Tomaselli et al 1986:77-101; Ruby 1993). More recently, Bushmen have generated agency through influence over representative literature and forms of media (Bregin & Kruiper 2004; Lange et al 2007). All these responses to, or by, the Bushmen, display varying and changing representations.

Representations of groups are largely influenced by myths. I mention myths in a semiotic sense, where they are defined as culturally conceptualised dominant connotations of an ahistorical nature (Heck 1980: 113-114). They are common, recurring themes, stereotypes and icons from within a cultural group (Tomaselli 1995: ii). Western myths regarding the Bushmen have changed over the centuries. For example, one of the guardians of a party of Bushmen who were exhibited in London in 1847, J. S. Tyler, is quoted as saying in 1847 that Bushmen were “morally, mentally and physically debased”³², whereas, in the mid-1900s, a certain nostalgic romance regarding the Bushmen was held (cf. Van der Post 1956; Marshall Thomas 1958).

³¹ See Megan Biesele (2000) for discussion surrounding a tape archive of the Nyae Nyae Ju’hoan (1987-1993). The article discusses “processes of discourse development during an unprecedented period of challenge and contact for the Ju’hoan Bushman people” three years before and three years after independence in Namibia (Biesele 2000: 145).

³² Tyler in Voss (1987: 22). For a similar mythical representation see Van Zyl (1980).

Depictions of ‘savage’ societies began when travel accounts emerged and combined into a literary genre (Duchet in Fabian 1985: 11; see also Gordon 1995). During the Enlightenment, two distinct views of the ‘other’ evolved; the first perceived ‘savage’ societies to be underdeveloped and inferior to Europe in aspects such as history, writing, religion and morals (Duchet in Fabian 1985: 11; Michaels 1987: 11). The second perspective argued that the other could teach the West to live a more authentic way of life. Philosophers of the time were convinced that contact with Europeans would cause ‘savage’ societies to disappear (Duchet in Fabian 1985: 11). Late in the 19th century, anthropology “was actually perceived as a science of disappearing societies” (Fabian 1985: 9). Johannes Fabian (1985: 12) states that anthropologists and their predecessors were motivated by the fear that their own lives were being destroyed by industrialization or the corrosive influence of bureaucratic rationalization³³.

Fabian (1987: 756) posits that our way of making the other is actually a way of making ourselves. He argues that representation should be understood as a tension between re-presentation and presence. Two consequences would thus arise: firstly, this would bring to the fore the importance of experience which requires presence (sharing of time and space); secondly, it would emphasise representation’s processual and productive nature. Representation would be seen as something that is transformed, fashioned or created (1987: 755-756). When writing on exotic othering, he states:

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

Deborah Kaspin similarly concludes that the reason images of primitive Africa still endure long after colonialism has ended is that they are not essentially about Africa, but develop from a Western bourgeois mythology of all wilderness. This wilderness is fundamentally about the “self-unknowable”, which cannot be understood unless in

³³ See also Wilmsen (1995a: 202-203).

relation to the notion of opposite (Kaspin 2002: 333). This concept of representation therefore incorporates myth; something that is not concrete, but is ideologically and culturally formed.

Representation of Bushmen is steeped in a long tradition of othering by the West (cf. Tomaselli 2007a; Gordon 1995; Voss 1987). In the following chapter I will examine how this representation of the Bushmen has changed from the days of the Western settlers up until the present day.

Western representation of the Bushmen: early 1600s–late 1800s

The earliest Western recorded representations of the Bushmen are those created by the colonists. These and the consequences arising from these images are important as a historical background to modern day representations.

Jan van Riebeeck³⁴ was the first to classify the indigenous Cape inhabitants. According to van Riebeeck's indigenous informants, Bushmen were classified as people without livestock (although this definition was not a fixed one as they were sometimes found with cattle). Throughout van Riebeeck's tenure of office Bushmen were characterised by pastoralists as thieves even though, at times, mutual co-operation existed between these two groups. Western stereotypes of the Bushmen during the 1600's saw the Bushmen as depraved. This was based on what the settlers believed was the hunters' reliance on nature, their lack of knowledge of a Christian God, no form of familiar government and their 'strange' language (Smith et al. 2000: 26-28).

The Bushmen had been identified by the Dutch colonists as the same 'race' as the Khoekhoe³⁵ but distinct on economic grounds (lacking livestock)³⁶. These two distinct

³⁴ Jan van Riebeeck was the commander of the Dutch settlement at Table Bay (1652-62) (Smith et al. 2000: 26).

³⁵ The term Khoekhoe is the 'politically correct' term for the herders or Hottentots of the Cape. It translates to English as the 'real people' and is thought to be the name that this group of people would have historically used to refer to themselves. See Smith (2002) available at: <http://www.scienceinAfrica.co.za/2002/august/khoi.htm>. Accessed on 4 May 2009. 'Khoekhoe' is the standardised Khoekhoe or Nama way of spelling the term otherwise spelt Khoikhoi. Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khoikhoi>. Accessed on 4 May 2008.

³⁶ See Isaac Schapera who discusses how the Hottentots and the Bushmen were "allied in race" (1930: 41).

naming categories that Europeans sought to impose were sometimes confused as there appeared to be a middle group that kept animals from time to time. These differentiations became more complex still when the Europeans' own influence began unsettling earlier ways of life. It was believed that certain Khoekhoe had joined the Bushmen (hunters or 'thieves')³⁷ as a result of the exploitation of cattle bartering by the Dutch East India Company. These groups were treated by the Dutch in different ways, largely as a result of the myths regarding banditry surrounding the Bushmen. Khoekhoe were seen as more civilized than the thieving and economically unstable 'Bosjesmans'³⁸ (Smith et al. 2000: 29-30). The myths concerning banditry were problematised by Dornan (1925: 45) who states that "there is good reason to believe that the Bushmen were not originally thieves, that where they had plenty of other food they usually left the stock of both Bantu and European alone, and it was only when they saw their means of existence destroyed that they took to looting"³⁹.

There was debate from as early as the mid-1800s as to the origin of the Bushmen and whether they existed before the colonists as hunter-gathers⁴⁰, or whether they were forced to become so as a result of economic circumstances brought about by colonisation. Dr John Philip (superintendent of the London Society's mission institutions) campaigned against the injustice caused by the colonists, who he argued had impoverished and oppressed the Bushmen (Smith et al. 2000: 32). In a similar vein, Thomas Pringle (a South African poet) wrote with sympathy about the plight of the Bushmen⁴¹. "His 'Wild Bushmen'⁴² is in a tradition of the 'Noble Savage'⁴³ that can be traced from Herodotus to Samuel Johnson" (Voss 1987: 22). This tradition exposed the prejudices and barbarities of Western society and portrayed a

³⁷ Boonzaier et al. (2000: 70) also refers to cattle owners who had lost their livestock and so had to live like the Bushmen.

³⁸ The earlier version of the term Bushmen (Boonzaier et al 2000: 70; Dornan 1925: 40).

³⁹ Another opinion offered is that of Cape official, William Somerville (1799-1802), who believed that Bushmen ceased being honest when farmers started to insist that they find cattle that had strayed and to punish them when they failed (in Voss 2000: 53).

⁴⁰ This theory was supported by Moodie 1838-41 (Smith et al. 32).

⁴¹ See Pringle (1835).

⁴² Pringle wrote a poem, *Song of the Wild Bushmen* (1825), in which he attempts to express the Bushman perspective. The Bushman voice in the poem challenges the intentions of the "cruel White Man" (Killam & Rowe 2000: 54).

⁴³ The concept of the 'Noble Savage' developed in America and argued that indigenous communities possessed an essential humanity unknown to the West (Tomaselli 1995: vi).

‘humanitarian’⁴⁴ view of the Bushmen, thus linking to the notion of the ‘authentic’ life of the other.

As the Cape’s ‘developed’ society expanded, many Bushman groups became involved in the thirty-year war on the Cape’s northern frontier between 1770 and 1800. Military units were first organised by the Dutch East India Company officers, but later by the colonists themselves. These commandos relied heavily on the tracking skills of the Khoekhoe. The conflict immobilised the colonists’ expansion but, in the process, caused the death of thousands of ‘Bushman-Hottentots’. Orders to the military group leaders in 1777 authorised ‘Bushman-Hottentot’ extermination as the Bushmen were largely represented as little more than vermin (Smith et al 2000: 47-49; Penn 1996: 83). However, as a result of mass killings and the disbanding of many Bushmen groups, this policy was reversed for a few years in 1792 in order to save the ‘Bushman-Hottentot’ from annihilation; a reward was given to the commandos who captured a ‘legitimate’ Bushman. When the British took over the war effort in 1795, they tried new tactics to establish peace through the distribution of goats and sheep. This allocation did not always work as hungry Bushmen groups ate their stock and many other animals were raided, thus convincing farmers of the Bushmen’s banditry nature and strengthening this prevalent representation (Smith et al. 2000: 47-49). The frontier wars continued during the 1800’s, in part fuelled by the opinion of the Bushmen as a renegade people who were devastating a section of South Africa (cf. Godlonton & Irving in Voss 1987: 25-26). Accompanying this belief was the protracted genocide begun in the 17th century (Crawhall 2001: 7). Even though colonists did come from different camps of opinion, there was an underlying ‘understanding’ that Bushmen were less civilised than Westerners, thus allowing for the inhuman killings discussed above. Even the humanitarian Pringle was quoted as calling the Bushmen “ungrateful schelms” after a stock theft in the mid 1800s (Smith et al. 2000: 55).

Many colonists were of the opinion that missions were the best way to bring the Bushmen under colonial control. Philip (1828) believed that the conversion to Christianity would be the first step in the civilisation of the Bushmen who were now

⁴⁴ Pringle pitied the Bushmen as he saw them as genetically and emotionally isolated from more developed societies (Voss 1987: 22).

characterised as “degraded people” (in Voss 1987: 26). Charles Dickens similarly saw the Bushmen as “filthy”, “brutal”, and “odious” (1853: 337), but ascribes responsibility for the “miserable object” (1853: 339) to a higher power (Voss 1987: 23).

The above response by Dickens was a reaction to a Bushmen display in London in 1847. Bushmen bodies were seen to be so peculiar that thousands of people in Europe paid to see them (Skotnes 1997: 2; Gordon 2002: 215). Modern day critiques of these Bushmen exhibitions view them as exploitative, “for entertainment and edification value” (Voss 1987: 23). The representation of the Bushman as the degraded other therefore spread from the shores of Africa to a worldwide audience. These exhibitions in Europe continued throughout the 1800’s and even in the 1900s⁴⁵. Western anthropologists were further intrigued by the Bushmen’s physical characteristics, among these, steatopygia and elongated labia in women and semi-erect penises in men (Skotnes 1997: 2).

Not only were Bushmen seen as an entertainment commodity that possessed scientific and anthropological value, but they were also seen as a cheap labour force. They were used throughout the 1800s as workers on colonists’ farms (some through forced labour) (Smith et al. 2000: 31; Schapera 1930: 32). Different Bushmen groups in the past were found throughout South Africa, but through encroachment of the Europeans and conflict with other tribes they began seeking refuge in the inaccessible parts of the interior. A few groups retained their independence beyond the border to the East and in the Drakensberg (Smith et al. 2000: 53). These examples of historical records portray the Bushmen as passive victims of European and Bantu invasion. However, over the last few hundred years Bushmen have operated in a mobile landscape, “forming and shifting their political and economic alliances to take advantage of circumstances as they perceived them” (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 11). Robert Gordon and Stuart Douglas (2000: 11) explain that they were hotshot traders, defenders of and workers in rich copper mines, and willing agents of commercial depletion of game.

⁴⁵ In 1936 local entrepreneur and philanthropist, Donald Bain, took seventy Bushmen to the British Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg (Crawhall 2001: 8). A ‘Wild’ Bushmen exhibit was held at the van Riebeeck Festival in Cape Town in 1952 (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 164; Gordon 1995).

These different opinions of Bushmen intelligence and adaptability relate to the evolutionary writing of Charles Darwin in the mid 1800s. His book, *The Origin of Species* (1859), created much interest in the ‘Stone Age’ origins of the Bushmen. This era of genetic interest also included a concern with race; in this context, the difference between the Bushmen and the Hottentots. English novelist, Anthony Trollope (1878: 44), in his travel book on South Africa, favoured the Khoekhoe to the Bushmen:

The Hottentots have not received, as Savages, a bad character. They are said to have possessed fidelity, attachment and intelligence; to have been generally good to their children; to have believed in the immortality of the soul, and to have worshipped god. The Hottentot possessed property and appreciated its value. He was not naturally cruel, and was prone rather to submit than to fight. The Bosjesman, or Bushman, was of a lower order, smaller in stature, more degraded in appearance, filthier in his habits, occasionally a cannibal, eating his own children when driven to hunger, cruel, and useless (in Voss 1987: 27).

Colonist myths of the violent and degraded nature of the Bushmen represent the “shadow archetype”⁴⁶, which is discussed in relation to the anthropological notion of the other above. The shadow society represents that which stands in opposition to the observer’s principles (Tomaselli 1995: vi), as was the case in the colonisation of South African indigenous people by the German, British and Dutch. Many colonialists in Africa saw no need to humanise the other as a result of their ‘sub-human’ status (Tomaselli 1995: vi). Any sort of humanisation would question their demeaning and degrading representations of, in this case, the Bushmen.

From the above historical accounts it is evident that Bushmen representations during this period were recorded by European settlers with Western perceptions of morality, religion, culture and economic wealth. These derogatory and depraved mythical representations had enormous consequences, one of those being organised genocide by the commando’s against the Bushmen, as opposed to the Khoekhoe. Economic and political consequences, such as the dispossession of land, were enforced and cultural consequences, such as the converting of Bushmen to Christianity and the use of Bushmen labour on farms, changed the social structure of life for these indigenous groups.

⁴⁶ See Jacobi (1959).

Opposing modernity through representation: the romantic myth

The earlier myths evolved into perceptions of “tame Bushmen”, “happy savages” who were a culturally static community of a biologically different society to the West. A new respect for “natural (uncivilised) man” was created (Tomaselli & McLennan-Dodd 2005: 231). Many of these myths portrayed through film or books ignored a contextualised understanding of the times, whether in Namibia, Botswana or South Africa. Issues such as urbanisation, urban poverty, racial issues resulting in stigma and the loss of culture and language were largely overlooked (cf. Van der Post 1986; Marshall 1957; Lee 1979a; Lee 1979b). In South Africa, specifically, the apartheid years forced Bushmen to assimilate with surrounding communities for fear of stigmatisation and victimisation (cf. Crawhall 2001: 5).

The romantic myth is argued by Edwin Wilmsen (1995a) to have begun with Jungian psychology in the theorising of the collective unconscious. Carl Jung’s theories (cf. 1921) in the first half of the 20th century emanated largely from intense self-analysis. Jung (cf. 1961) later distinguished between the personal unconscious and the collective unconscious. The personal unconscious is explained as repressed thoughts and emotions experienced and developed by an individual. The collective unconscious is said to be a series of conventional and inherited feelings, ways of expression, memory and thought processes common to all human beings. Jung theorised that these archetypes or universal mental predispositions are not grounded in experience but arise naturally in the mind.

Jung (1968: 153-154) explains that tribal history (myth) is transferred by word of mouth and is experienced rather than conceived, as it reflects the pre-conscious psyche. This story-telling: “speaks about unresolved mysteries through discussion of organic symbols. These are a kind of primordial language communicable mainly through their image-making power” (Tomaselli 1995: iii). In 1925, Jung spent time with the Elgonyi at Mount Elgon and recorded the difference between one person’s normal dream and a larger vision of public importance (Jung 1961: 51). In comparison to these ‘primitive’ people Jung believed that modern society was blemished by its lack of a sense of the “deep” and “core” nature of the primitive self (Wilmsen 1995b: 8), and that aboriginal peoples held the secret to modern man’s psychic renewal (Jung 1961: 51-53).

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

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

The Marshall family's field research and the films of John Marshall were similarly influential in generating the 'Stone Age' myth (cf. Marshall 1957). During the 1950s they entrenched the notion of the "cultural isolate" through their work with "true" or "untouched" Bushmen (Motzafi 1986: 296). Throughout this time they only worked with the Ju/'hoansi in the Nyae Nyae area of Namibia and excluded those working on farms or in towns, etcetera. John Marshall's films, shot in the late fifties and released over the next fifteen years, create a 'representation' of the primordial hunter gatherer lifestyle (Tomaselli & Homiak 1999: 153-155; Tomaselli 2007b). The Marshalls (Marshall & Marshall 1956) were amongst the first Western recorders to debunk the previously held myths of Bushmen being "vermin"⁴⁷, the lowest form of humanity, unintelligent and depraved (Tomaselli & Homiak 1999: 155; Gordon 1992: 43).

⁴⁷ See Tomaselli & Homiak (1999: 155).

“Their fundamental popular rearticulation of the ‘Bushmen’ was to emphasize the intelligence, moral codes and stabilizing customs required for survival in a harsh desert environment” (Tomaselli & Homiak 1999: 155). Along with the development of the field of anthropology in the 1970’s, John Marshall’s later work challenged the romantic conclusions drawn by his earlier records. His films made after 1978 (cf. Marshall 1980; Marshall et al 1984) illustrate the cultural and political changes which hugely effected the !Kung community’s “previously pre-modern ways of life” (Tomaselli & Homiak 1999: 155).

Another film maker who is alleged to have supported the myth of Bushmen as a gentle hunter-gather people, is Paul Myburgh (cf. Wilmsen 1995b: 1-2). Some theorise that Myburgh’s film, *People of the Great Sandface* (1985), projected an ‘authentic’ cultural image which supported the fear of modernity and the resulting romantic myth with the underlying message that what had been lost by ‘development’ could be recuperated (cf. Wilmsen 1995b: 2-3). However, Myburgh (1989) opposes this viewpoint. He believes that, unlike Van der Post, he had not perpetuated mythical connotations. Keyan Tomaselli concurred to some degree, stating that Myburgh had included scenes detrimental to the romantic experience (Myburgh 1989: 27), but agrees with Gordon (1990) and Wilmsen (1991: 60) that “the film failed to do justice to the actual conditions of the people represented” (Tomaselli 2002: 204).

Anthropologist, Richard Lee, also concentrated on the hunter-gathering lifestyle in the 1970s (cf. Lee 1979a; 1979b). His portrayal of the Bushmen was one of an isolated society that was fast being eradicated as a result of its static nature. However, in the postscript to *The Dobe !Kung* (1979a), he does explain the economic and political circumstances of the time. For example, he describes the creation of Bushmanland through the apartheid policies of South Africa (which then administered South West Africa, later known as Namibia), and the recruitment of the Bushmen by the South-West African People’s Organisation (Lee 1979a: 147). In *The Dobe Ju/’hoansi* (2003), Lee further warned that one has to simultaneously avoid the pitfalls of romanticism and racism when working with, representing or publishing work on the Bushmen.

George Silberbauer worked roughly around the same time as Lee on documenting the social, economic and political organisation, environmental adaption and subsistence technology of the G/wi Bushmen society in the Botswanan Central Kalahari Game Reserve. However, unlike Lee, he did not contrast his findings with a more contextualised explanation of the broader national policies and politics of the time (cf. Silberbauer 1981).

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

Contemporary representation: late 1980s-present

Bushmen agency in representation

As far back as the 1870s, a large collection of Bushmen folklore and life narratives were captured by the family of the language specialist, Wilhelm Bleek and Lucy Lloyd (Skotnes 2007; see also Bleek 1911; Wessels 2008; Banks 2006). During the period of the romantic myth some of the people involved in myth-making claimed to have given voice to the Bushmen. For example, Myburgh (1989: 27) stated that, “I ran with the Gwike, I hunted with the Gwike... I was the first white man they knew of who had lived with the Bushmen according to their own ancient manner”. This still remains the case in much representation of the Bushmen today (as will be discussed below). However, in the last few decades, the voices of the Bushmen themselves have penetrated and influenced literature and other forms of media.

A fairly recent post-apartheid representation of the Bushmen is that of a community who links the past with the future (Tomaselli 1995: i). As one of the founders of this argument, Ntongela Masilela maintained that it would be useful to encourage representation of the Bushmen to “construct a singular and unified structure of our culture” in the ‘New South Africa’ (Masilela 1987: 58). The Bushmen are seen as a group who precede and therefore transcend the many divided groups in South Africa

by decentering contending nationalisms (Guenther 2006: 178; Blundell 1998: 155). They were viewed as the natural custodians of “a new Eden” (Tomaselli 1993: 83). This representation was utilised by the government to create its new national crest⁴⁸. The figure in the centre is based on a Bushmen rock art painting found in the Eastern Cape. The motto accompanying the crest is written in the /Xam language, which translated means “people who are different join together” (Guenther 2006: 178).

The concept of otherness is used by national and private corporations in a less commendable way in order to sell themselves or their products. ‘Traditional’ Bushmen motifs or rock art have been used to advertise the South African Broadcasting Corporation and South African Railways (Guenther 2006: 178). Television advertisements, such as the Vodacom Rugby advertisement⁴⁹, aired in 2007 for the Rugby World Cup, have also been used. Advertising incorporating Bushmen is, however, seen by much of the South African population as enjoyable and unifying and not demeaning in any way (cf. Ritchie 2007).

In the past Bushmen have not had direct access to authorities or the media in order to influence the way in which they are represented, but recently this has started to change. An example of the strengthening agency of Bushmen in relation to the media is the Khoisan Legacy Project. This project began at the University of the Western Cape, but since 2001 has been run by the Heritage Section of the Department of Arts and Culture (Mentoor⁵⁰, personal correspondence, July 2008). In conjunction with the Khoisan National Committee, the organisations work with filmmakers, academics and development workers who are interested in participatory practices used in production, marketing and distribution processes (Tomaselli 2002: 205-206).

Another example of this growing agency is found in certain aspects of Pippa Skotnes’s *Miscast* Exhibit, in the National Gallery in Cape Town (1996). The exhibit was a response to the Bleek and Lloyd Bushman archive and the Bushman diorama on display at the South African museum in Cape Town and a way of interpreting their

⁴⁸ See Fig 14 (219)

⁴⁹ Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1MHZQK7rfxQ&feature=related>. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

⁵⁰ Sabrina Mentoor was working as the PA to the CEO of Iziko Museums of Cape Town. Available at: <http://www.iziko.org.za>. Last accessed on 4 May 2009.

manner of creation (Skotnes 2002: 253). The archive was constructed in the second half of the 19th century and was a collaborative project between the /Xam and the researchers in recording /Xam oral tradition. She wished to challenge the traditional primitive view of the Bushmen which, in a museum context, she says is still “passed down from one tour guide to the other, from indoctrinated visitors to their friends and children” (Skotnes 1997: 4). She wanted to position her exhibited material far from the ethnographic and natural history tradition and incite interest in “human” and “aesthetic” value (Skotnes 1997: 10). She succeeded in this respect with regards to visitors who were able to distance themselves from the displays. However, many unexpected reactions occurred, especially concerning coloured and Bushmen individuals (cf. Jackson & Robins 1999).

A few coloured students were recorded by Shannon Jackson and Steven Robins (1999: 76) as being disgusted by the bodily displays of ‘scientific’ study in the early 1900s. These students identified with the objects and images on display representing the Bushmen as colonised subjects and thus could not view the exhibition as an impartial audience. Skotnes also exhibited various pictures of the Bushmen being ill-treated by Europeans, screenprinted and heat sealed into the tiles of the exhibit in order to symbolise the colonists’ ‘trampling’ of the Bushmen’s history and culture. Mario Mahongo, a !Xu from the Schmidtsdrift area, stated at the opening ceremony that he did “not want to walk on this floor, because I am walking on my people. Their suffering is too important” (Jackson & Robins 1999: 84-85). The opening included further interrogations of the notion of identity, which encouraged a dispute about naming; generally, those who have the power to control names empower themselves as representatives of the represented (Tomaselli 2002: 205). Jackson and Robins (1999: 95-97) maintain that this exhibit allowed for the voices of the subjects to be heard. With regards to the exhibit, they state that, “Bushman and those who identify with Bushmen are still alive and capable of talking back to her attempts as well as those of others to represent them” (1999: 95).

In the case of the ≠Khomani, the power of naming lay with the 200 dispersed adults who came together under this unifying term. This term⁵¹ was not forced upon them,

⁵¹ See Land Claim chapter (Chapter 3: 35) for more information on the term ≠Khomani.

they utilized it for the purposes of land restitution. As one unified group, they put in a claim for and acquired compensatory land (Tomaselli 2005: 3; Chennells 2002: 2).

I have been unable to concentrate on a historical representation of the ≠Khomani themselves as a result of their relatively recent reformation, but will now exclusively elaborate on their depiction over the last few years. The ≠Khomani were highlighted in the media during the land reformation process in the late 1990s. President Thabo Mbeki's statement, in relation to the claim, "It's your land, take it", headlined internationally (Grossman & Holden 2002: 1). The claim entitling the ≠Khomani to land was settled on March 21 1999. The redistribution of land, as well as Mbeki's statement, affirmed the belief that the Bushmen were the First People of South Africa, thus empowering the Bushmen through this representation⁵².

Although the land distribution was empowering to a certain extent, the independence of the Bushmen is questioned by certain academics. Steven Robins proposes that, in order to gain financial aid from non-governmental organisations and donors, specific agendas have to be adhered to, which causes oppositional representations. 'Donor double visions'⁵³ require Bushmen to be original inhabitants, yet modern citizens-in-the-making, causing a certain amount of social disruption in the process. This disruption is revealed in a comparison between the ≠Khomani and a !Xoo⁵⁴ community living in the Ghanzi district of Botswana. The !Xoo are not recognised as indigenous peoples, as occurs in South Africa, but are seen as an impoverished community surviving on informal and formal income generated activities, supplemented by government food rations (Dyll 2009a forthcoming: 45-46). Surveys have shown that the less funded !Xoo are more socially cohesive and more contented than the well funded ≠Khomani, who generally remain financially and socially unstable (Simões 2001: 160-170; Dyll 2009a forthcoming: 44).

⁵² This sense of empowerment did not continue for long. Arguments between ≠Khomani sub groups, such as about how to use the land handed over in the land claim, created a feeling of discontent (Ellis 2004: 8). Belinda Kruiper believes that since the land claim the community is worse off. "The community is in shambles and the dreams of better things have vanished into the chaos of drunkenness, hardship and hunger" (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 43).

⁵³ See (Robins 2001: 833).

⁵⁴ The !Xoo (also spelt !Xõ) are widely scattered people who live in certain parts of Namibia and Botswana (Barnard 1992: 62).

Similar to Robins's notion of 'donor double visions', yet involved in the field of tourism, is that of Elizabeth Garland and Robert Gordon's theory of 'meta-tourism' (Garland & Gordon 1999: 267). They discuss the tendency of Namibian community-based cultural tourism ventures to portray their Bushmen hosts as "modernizing producers of tourism in their own right, and not just as objects of touristic commodification". Although these ventures explain how Bushmen are involved in the modern world, Garland and Gordon posit that the Bushmen are still portrayed as "forever not-quite-yet fully modern" (Garland & Gordon 1999: 267). This is in contrast to tourists who are seen as modern subjects.

Barbara Buntman (1996: 279) explains that this semi/reliance on notions such as timelessness is as a result of persuasion by outside forces. She argues that it is apparent that Bushmen have been persuaded that it is in their own interests to retain these representations and as a result of their severely limited opportunities they willingly reproduce their subordination. From a different angle, Tomaselli (2007a) argues that the ≠Khomani, with emphasis on the leading family, the Kruipers, have constructed their authenticity in relation to the romantic myth. This enables them to "sell these myths to the West (and tourists) in terms of discourses of indigeneity (politics), authenticity (owners of original knowledge), of tourism (marketing) and in terms of poverty-alleviation (aid/begging)" (Tomaselli 2007a: 12)⁵⁵. He critiques the reaffirmation by the ≠Khomani of this myth as it can assist in suppressing the realisation of this group as a contemporary people with real problems such as abuse, poverty and alcoholism (Tomaselli 2007a: 1).

Garland and Gordon (1999), as well as Buntman (1996), theorise that outside forces have dictated how the ≠Khomani represent themselves in order to survive via cultural tourism. They certainly do problematise these power relations by accepting that the Bushmen are willing participants and even producers in their 'traditional' representations (Garland & Gordon 1999: 274-279; Buntman 1996: 271). Similarly, Tomaselli's analysis (2007a) displays a problematic set of power relations between ≠Khomani producers and tourist consumers. There can be no dispute that the ≠Khomani at !Xaus generally have had limited opportunities available to them,

⁵⁵ Although, Tomaselli (2007a: 12) posits that the ≠Khomani show resentment towards the circuit of dependency in which they have placed themselves.

employment wise. However, it is through informal interviews with the ≠Khomani and the CEO of TFPD⁵⁶ and through the teams' long-term relationship with the community that it becomes clear that the ≠Khomani are not victims in these cultural representations (cf. Tomaselli 2005: 93, 135-149). They negotiate employment opportunities and power relations and also "have their own stories to sell" (Tomaselli 2002: 204; 216). Throughout my dissertation I will give examples of how the ≠Khomani (specifically at !Xaus) find ways to leverage their cultural tourism positions.

Self representation

Influential self representation of the ≠Khomani has occurred in a number of ways in literature and art in the recent past, even though community constraints such as government delivery of services, policing matters and poverty are widely prevalent (cf. SAHRC 2004⁵⁷; Dyll 2009a forthcoming: 44). An example of a self chosen representative for the ≠Khomani is Belinda Kruiper (who married the ≠Khomani artist Vetkat Kruiper). She is involved in a number of development art and educational projects⁵⁸ (cf. Dyll 2009a forthcoming: 42), and is something of an organic intellectual (Tomaselli & Kashope Wright 2007). After living for years with the community at Witdraai she co-authored the book *Kalahari Rainsong* with Elena Bregin (2004) about her life journey in the Kalahari and meeting her husband and "his people, the ≠Khomani Bushmen, who opened their hearts to me and made me one of them" (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 1).

Vetkat was a successful artist who sold and exhibited in galleries locally and internationally (Van de Weg 2007: 6; Tomaselli 2003b). ≠Khomani artists, such as Vetkat and Silikat van Wyk (a resident at Witdraai), have been creating art pieces for many years by using paper, pens and crayons (Van de Weg 2007: 15). Both artists' work has seemingly retained some of the 'traditional' qualities of Bushmen rock art, using human and animal figures reminiscent of this 'ancient' convention⁵⁹ (cf.

⁵⁶ Transfrontier Parks Destinations, the operating company of !Xaus.

⁵⁷ Available at: http://www.sahrc.org.za/sahrc/cms/publish/article_160.shtml. Last access on 5 May 2009.

⁵⁸ Belinda Kruiper was integral in starting the !Ara Foundation: <http://www.arafoundation.org.za/> Accessed on 4 May 2009. Presently she is involved as a director of the foundation.

⁵⁹ See photograph of Vetkat Kruiper's painting (Fig 4: 67). However, there is no rock art presence in the Northern Cape as a result of the geomorphologic terrain. Local artists who show traces of this

Mhiripiri 2009: 204-211). Mathias Guenther (2003: 103) explains that this style of painting is often described as childlike and untutored. The composition, colour scheme, style and content, the link with rock art, as well as the audience's preconceived romantic notions of the Bushmen, all contribute to the idea that contemporary Bushman art remains to some degree 'primitive' and tribal (Van de Weg 2007: 18). The lack of formal Western training, however, has come to connote a sense of authenticity in the market and a sense of empowerment⁶⁰ for the artists through the display of their art for outside audiences (Van de Weg 2007: 13-14). Furthermore, many exhibitions include an image of the artist and an informative paragraph on their lives, thus helping in the contestation of the romantic stereotype (Van de Weg 2007: 18-19).

Conclusion

The information and examples discussed in this chapter have been through a process of subjective filtering as the scope of reading regarding Bushmen representation over the centuries is extremely broad. Choices had to be made as to what would be most appropriate for this particular study.

Representations of the Bushmen have changed over the centuries from that of being barley human, to gentle and spiritual, a repressed community and a community with agency. These representations do not generally take a chronological approach whereby one replaces the other; fragments of older myths may mesh with newer ones. For example, aspects of the romantic myth still remain in the way that Bushmen are represented in South African media. At the same time, Bushmen can still be seen as a developmentally inhibited community as a result of past oppression, while also being regarded as agents for change in connection with land claims. In the following chapters I want to discover how these differing, yet enmeshed representations are

'traditional' art form most likely have been influenced by museums, books, films and magazines (Mhiripiri 2009: 208-209).

⁶⁰ A similar situation of recently achieved agency for first peoples has occurred with the Aboriginal filmmakers, visual and performing artists of Australia. Up until the 1970s indigenous works by unknown artefact makers were mainly collected by anthropologists and museums for display in othering exhibitions, publications etc. Since the 1990's, however, certain Aboriginal works have been considered to be 'serious' art by the global art industry (Langton 2005: 1. Available at: <http://www.rouge.com.au/6/aboriginal.html>. Last accessed on 14 May 2009). This acknowledgement and popularity of the exotic other in Australian and local art corresponds with the increased social and governmental recognition of the indigenous ≠Khomani group in South Africa.

used by !Xaus to sell itself as a community-owned Lodge, with a focus on cultural tourism.

However, before this examination takes place, I think it is imperative to gain an understanding of the history behind the land claim as well as the process of the land claim itself. This leads to a contextualised understanding of the present day reality of the Lodge. For example, how historical relationships affect: social issues such as identity and poverty, relations between communities and within the ≠Khomani, as well as the cultural representation of the ≠Khomani themselves.

Chapter 3: The ≠Khomani and Mier Land Claims

!Xaus Lodge

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

The statement in the end agreement of the ≠Khomani and Mier land claims above pertains to !Xaus Lodge. Why were these efforts made by government and South African National Parks (SANParks) to alleviate poverty in the region, to award the ≠Khomani and Mier communities land and to help finance the building of a tourism venture such as !Xaus? This answer lies in colonial⁶¹ (and apartheid) domination and loss of land over centuries explained in an historical account of both communities below. A study of the land claim examines the rights now afforded to the communities in the KTP and the construction of the Lodge itself. It explains the role of the operating party and the Joint Management Board (JMB) and contextualises the relationship between the Mier and the ≠Khomani communities.

The land restitution prophecy

Makai, the grandfather of Oom Dawid Kruiper, who is the present leader of the ≠Khomani traditionalists⁶², was said to have predicted the return of their ancestral lands after dreaming of a time in the not so distant future when strangers would arrive, bringing with them change to the Kalahari. Makai's son, Regopstaan Kruiper, added to this prophecy a few years later when he dreamt that the strangers would make the "little people" dance and the drought would be put to an end (Ellis 2004: 2).

And so it happened that in the 1990's the strangers came – NGO workers, researchers, new age searchers and filmmakers – and helped the San of the Southern Kalahari lodge a land claim for their ancestral lands. The claim was settled amidst celebrations that included a rain dance by the ≠Khomani San climaxing as the dancers threw a bat eared fox... into the fire. That rainy season more rain fell than the previous years, there were reports of water flowing in the usually dry Nossob riverbed and the prophecies, it seems, were fulfilled (Ellis 2004: 2).

⁶¹ Inclusive of the Bushman genocide. See Literature Review (Chapter 2) for further details.

⁶² See the section *Historical and current implications of the land restitution* (42) in this chapter for more details regarding the traditionalists.

In order to understand the nuances related to the contemporary and self representation of the ≠Khomani in the promotional materials of !Xaus Lodge, it is essential that I portray historical accounts of their dispossession of land, the recent restitution of part of this land, and the processes through which they came together as one group. Although I do not dwell on the history of the land claim process itself in the following chapters, this contextualisation is imperative for an understanding of how the Bushmen were seen as a primitive and powerless people who could be moved around at others' will and so become legitimate claimants for lost land. An explanation of the land claim process itself includes implications of how the ≠Khomani are still represented in a romantic and spiritual light⁶³ in the face of day to day realities⁶⁴.

Reasons that lead to the ≠Khomani Bushmen Land Claim

Before the 'elimination' of the vast majority of Bushmen in the Southern Kalahari there had been a variety of groups living in the area (Crawhall 2001: 8)⁶⁵. The largest group termed themselves the Nǀnǁe (which means Home People), or Sasi (which was an inclusive term for Bushmen), and they spoke Nǀu, a !Ui variety. In the early 1900's, European researchers in the area referred to the dominant group as the ≠Khomani⁶⁶. The origin of this term is unclear, however, it could have been an exonym given by another group in the vicinity. Neighbouring groups were known as the ǀ'Auni and Khatea, who both spoke !Ui varieties. Two other groups driven south from Namibia were also present in the area: the Nǀamani and the ≠Hanaseb, who both spoke Khoekhoe (Crawhall 2001: 8, 28).

After the end of World War I the 9 450 square kilometres of land on which the Park was proclaimed was surveyed as land for white farmers, but generally was not used for this purpose. Several white farmers settled as borehole caretakers along the course of the Auob River, but many farms allocated along both the Auob and the Nossob River were not occupied as the harsh environment did not allow for a comfortable

⁶³ See summary of *Symbolic and Cultural Use of Land in the Park* (Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 247-248)

⁶⁴ Such as rifts within the ≠Khomani groups (to be discussed later in the chapter) and alcohol abuse (cf. SAHRC 2004. Available at: http://www.sahrc.org.za/sahrc_cms/publish/article_160.shtml. Last accessed on 5 May 2009).

⁶⁵ This was reiterated in an interview with a Bushman elder who recounted that "Wild Bushmen" resided in the Park but fled "when these things started to happen" (Jappies, interview, January 2007).

⁶⁶ See for example Dart (1937).

living. As a result, the occupants of the land were mainly Bushmen and the Mier communities (SANParks 2004: 2-3; Gordon 1995: 30).

Although the Bushmen still occupied unsuitable Kalahari farming land at this time, land in the areas that they had previously occupied and used for hunting and gathering had been encroached upon since the arrival of other ethnic groups in the area (Gordon 1992: 28-32; Wilmsen 1989: 101-102). One significant example was that of the settlement of Captain Vilander and his pastoralist followers in the mid to late 1800's, in an area of land close to (and slightly within) the now named KTP (SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 6). Some Bushmen were integrated into this community through marriage or worked for them as servants (Ellis 2001).

The land that the Bushmen had traditionally inhabited was then further depleted by the creation of the KGP, which was proclaimed on the 31st of July 1931. The Park sought to protect mainly migrating game such as Gemsbok from poaching⁶⁷, but through this protection of fauna (and flora) the Bushmen were forcibly removed from an enormous amount of land on which they had previously lived and hunted.

Since approximately 1836, Bushmen were viewed by some as a first people in 'crisis' and efforts were made by Westerners to 'save them' from dispossession of land, famine and extermination by genocide⁶⁸ or assimilation (Gordon 1995: 28-29; Pringle 1835; Makin 1929: 286-287). One of the most well-known attempts to educate the public on the Bushmen's plight was by an entrepreneur and philanthropist, Donald Bain.

In 1936, Bain took seventy Bushmen out of the KGP area to participate in the British Empire Exhibition in Johannesburg. He wanted to draw attention to their plight regarding the declaration of the National Park on lands where the Bushmen had hunted and lived (Crawhall 2001: 8). The Bushmen who left the Park to join Bain in Johannesburg were never allowed back and all their possessions were burned. In 1937 the new warden brought in new Bushmen and other 'ethnic' labourers. The majority

⁶⁷ Available at: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kgalagadi_Transfrontier_Park. Last accessed on 4 May 2009.

⁶⁸ See Literature Review (Chapter 2) for more information.

of the Bushmen labourers were ≠Hanaseb and N|amani Bushmen “who had been casual users of the area prior to proclamation” (Crawhall 2001: 8). In fact, it was during the 1930’s that Regopstaan Kruiper, father to Dawid Kruiper came to work in the KGP with this extended family⁶⁹.

As an added insult to the Bushmen who had been evicted in 1931 from Park claimed land, they were also persecuted for hunting in the park (Chennells 2002: 2; Gordon 1995: 31). Even though some politicians were sympathetic to the Bushmen’s predicament they could not use their influence to effect change as the KGP fell under the National Parks Board (NPB)⁷⁰, an independent body (Gordon 1995: 31). The Southern Kalahari San (as they were then called) spread over a wide area of South Africa, Namibia and Botswana and many were integrated into, or subjugated by, local pastoralist groups such as the various Tswana⁷¹ groups and the local Mier community (Chennells 2002: 2; Wilmsen 1989: 1).

In response to the lack of aid from the government regarding Bain’s requests, he took another delegation of approximately 55 Bushmen to Cape Town (White 1995: 32). Although their Protest March on Parliament drummed up support from politicians and newspaper editorials, the NPB would not be moved on the issue. The NPB claimed that it was useless protecting game when it would be exterminated by the Bushmen and the skins sold to smugglers (Gordon 1995: 32). The NPB also stated that these were not ‘pure’ Bushmen; many spoke Afrikaans and Nama, thus implying that they did not have First People status. In response, Prof. Raymond Dart disputed the notion of a ‘pure’ race⁷² as an impossibility and the argument was published in the *The Star* on 24 September 1936 (Gordon 1995: 32).

Bain fought for a reserve where, among other things, the Bushmen would be able to hunt traditionally without persecution by the NPB authorities (Gordon 1995: 30-31).

⁶⁹ Julie Grant, personal correspondence, May 2009

⁷⁰ Now known as SANParks. Available at: www.sanparks.org. Last accessed on 4 May 2009.

⁷¹ In this context the term refers to “the name of a Southern African people. The Tswana language, also called Setswana, belongs to the Bantu group of the Niger-Congo languages. Ethnic Batswana make up a majority of the population of Botswana” Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tswana>. Last accessed on 4 May 2009.

⁷² Even in the 1960’s Richard Lee (1965: 2) explains that he chose to conduct his research in the Northern Kalahari as “the research goals required a population as isolated and traditionally orientated as possible”.

He was supported in his endeavour by scientists, anthropologists and linguists who were interested in further study of this First People (Gordon & Douglas 2000: 148; Maingard 1937; Doke 1937; Bleek 1937⁷³). Many scientists wished to protect this ‘primordial’, indigenous group so that they might be preserved through modern times (cf. Makin 1929: 278-279). Some administrators and journalists felt that the proclamation of Bushmen reserves would be mainly for the benefit of academics and so opposed the idea (Gordon 1995: 32; Gordon & Douglas 2000: 148).

After much sympathetic support for the creation of a Bushmen reserve by various committees, academics and the press, the Minister of Native Affairs commissioned a survey which found a residual population of 129 “pure” or “almost pure” Bushmen. It suggested the creation of a reserve on a farm in the Kalahari. Consequently, in 1940 the Department of Native Affairs (DNA) decided to assist the Bushmen in creating a reserve. Since the DNA could not find a suitable Reserve Supervisor they asked the head ranger of the KGP to fulfil this role, which he accepted. A misunderstanding between the NPB and the DNA then occurred. The DNA thought that the KGP had offered their land as a Bushman reserve, but this was refuted by the NPB. Even so, 30 or so Bushmen were able to move into and remain in the reserve much to the dismay of the unwelcoming Park authorities (Gordon 1995: 35-38⁷⁴). As discussed above, Bushmen had been allowed to stay in the Park during the 1930’s as labourers and continued to do so during the 1940’s, with an understanding from the Park that they were allowed to hunt and gather. All other Bushmen were driven out to work as cheap labour on surrounding farms (Crawhall 2001: 8).

The NPB would not allow KGP land to be sold to create a Bushmen reserve within the Park. The situation worsened during apartheid as the Bushmen who remained in the Park encountered increasing degradation. When they resisted, they were expelled by the warden in 1972 (Crawhall 2001: 8). Most of the Bushmen left the Park and settled in the neighbouring Coloured Mier Reserve and were simply reclassified by the government as coloureds (Gordon 1995: 35-38). Many survived for the next two

⁷³ The last three authors (Maingard, Doke & Bleek) all published articles in *Bushmen in the Southern Kalahari* (1937). All deal with Bain’s Bushmen group exhibited at the Empire Exhibition. In one article J. F. Maingard discusses health and diseases of the Bushmen (especially with reference to malnutrition) (Cline 1939). C.F. Maingard (1937), C. M. Doke (1937) and D. F. Bleek (1937) include studies on Bushmen language.

⁷⁴ Gordon (1995: 37) includes a letter from the head ranger (le Riche), describing the event.

decades working in odd jobs, foraging and posing for tourist photographs at the Park gates (Hitchcock 1996: 83). Others worked and often acted as servants for the Mier⁷⁵ (Ellis 2001). By this time, the various Bushmen groups had dwindled and the ‘traditional’ languages spoken were dying off⁷⁶.

In 1991, the core remaining ≠Hanaseb group⁷⁷ moved to Kagga Kamma, the tourist resort situated in the Cedeberg mountains of the Western Cape (Crawhall 2001: 8). In offering the community the chance to move to the resort, the owners of the establishment stated that they wished to ‘rescue’ “these people from the perils of unemployment, alcoholism, and lack of identity” (Sehume 1999: 7). The aim of solving unemployment was resolved to an extent through this relocation to the Western Cape. In exchange, the newly created cultural village at Kagga Kamma supported the display of hundreds of Bushmen paintings on the reserve’s rocky premises⁷⁸, in strengthening⁷⁹ the aspect of cultural heritage offered at Kagga Kamma, which termed itself “The Place of the Bushmen” (Sehume 1999: 9; Tomaselli 2003a: 858). Even though the employment and living conditions at Kagga Kamma were basic⁸⁰, the group continued to migrate between Witdraai and Kagga Kamma until some time after the land claim was awarded (Robins 2001: 839). It was here that the group met the human rights lawyer, Roger Chennells, who was a driving force behind their legal battle (Crawhall 2001: 8).

Reasons that lead to the Mier Land Claim

As with the Bushmen, the Mier⁸¹ have a strong historical link to the area. Records show that from the 1860’s onwards Basters⁸² moved into the Southern Kalahari

⁷⁵ The strained relationship between the two groups is still seen today. In Beverly Bezuidenhout’s interview (July 2007), she talked about the differing work duties of each group and implied that Bushmen were alcoholics.

⁷⁶ See Literature Review (Chapter 2) for further information regarding the virtual elimination of Bushmen culture.

⁷⁷ This consisted mainly of the Kruiper family (Crawhall 2001: 8).

⁷⁸ Available at: <http://www.kaggakamma.co.za/>. Last accessed on 4 May 2009.

⁷⁹ Buntman (1996) posits that the Kagga Kamma experience aids in the continuation of the social subordination of the Bushmen.

⁸⁰ They received free accommodation and limited hunting and foraging rights in the Kagga Kamma reserve (White 1995: 40) and for a while earned a portion of the gate fee and sold crafts.

⁸¹ There is not much recorded information available on the Mier (cf. Dyll forthcoming), hence my repetitive use of references.

⁸² In this specific context the term ‘Baster’ pertains to the identity of Captain Vilander’s descendants (SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 10).

(Crawhall 2001: 7). The Baster leader, Captain Dirk Vilander⁸³, moved his people from Stellenbosch in the Cape as they had not been accepted by either the local black or white communities (Pieter Retief, interview, July 2008; SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 6). In 1865, they settled on land spanning from Rietfontein to German West Africa⁸⁴ and Bechuanaland, and farmed sheep, goat and cattle (SANParks 2004: 15; SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 6). The name of the place where they settled is 'Mier'. The origin of this name is explained through the following story:

Dirk Vilander discovered an aardvark burrow filled with water. When he tried to drink from the water... he noticed the water was full of ants. He named the place Mier, Afrikaans for ant and it is still so called today (SANParks 2004: 15).

In 1883, the Imperial British and German governments came to an agreement over the boundary between German South West Africa and the Cape Colony. As a result of this agreement, the Vilander territory was cut in half. The half remaining in the Cape Colony then came under 'protection' of the British crown (SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 8).

The Mier first used their land for communal farming. In 1888 this was later divided into separate farms with assigned owners as Dirk Vilander's son, David Vilander, believed that without title deeds the British would annex the area (SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 9). Many of these farms were lost when the Coloured Persons Settlement Areas Bill was implemented in 1930. This Bill sought to 'protect' coloured land from further dispossession by European settlers and used a number of the original farms for the creation of this protectorate. During a parliamentary debate around the Mier Coloured Settlement it was decided that the land was not to be restricted for Basters but for all coloured people (SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 10).

Further communal land was lost after changes in legislation in the 1960s allowed for land to be allocated, leased and sold. People's communal grazing rights were affected and in the late 1970s the Mier land was divided into 125 units and sold off to certain members of the community. This permanently removed ownership of land from the majority of residents (SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 14).

⁸³ Dirk Vilander's father was a white man and his mother a slave (SurplusPeopleProject 1990: 6).

⁸⁴ Later it was called South West African and now is called Namibia.

In addition, when the KGP was proclaimed in 1931, the Mier were negatively affected as they were deprived of access to grazing and hunting land which they had used in the past. A group from the Mier community were removed from their homes within the newly proclaimed park. Furthermore, during apartheid, large portions of land reserved for the community were privatised against the wishes of the people, and the erection of new boundary fences for the Park infringed on the community reserve without any reasonable compensation (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002: 165). As a result, the Mier were entitled to apply for land restitution under the new land laws of South Africa's first democratic constitution (Crawhall 2001: 8; Chennells 2002: 2).

The ≠Khomani Land Claim

In 1995, when the group at Kagga Kamma came into contact with the human rights lawyer, Chennells, he explained their right to restitution for their loss of land since 1913 (Crawhall 2001: 8). Soon afterwards, the group lodged a claim for land in and around the KGP. With the help of Chennells, The Albertyn Law Firm in South Africa and the Working Group of Indigenous Minorities (WIMSA), representatives from a number of different groups were re-constituted into one community (cf. Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 7; !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement: 164).

Approximately 200 adults were first brought together under the name the ≠Khomani which means 'large group' (Tomaselli 2005: 3). The numbers of ≠Khomani members grew over the years and at the time of the land claim was estimated at 1500 (Chennells 2002: 2). This bringing together of previously dispersed groups with the prominent Kruiper family resulted in subgroups within the ≠Khomani name. The Kruipers⁸⁵ and their extended family refer to themselves as the traditionalists. They see themselves as more culturally 'authentic'⁸⁶ than the rest of the group who have adopted more western ways. This other group is known as the *westerse mense* (western people) (cf. Ellis 2004: 10; Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 7). The latter group of ≠Khomani members are more aligned with the Mier community than the

⁸⁵ The descendents of Regopstaan Kruiper.

⁸⁶ See Tomaselli (2007) for further details on Kruiper cultural 'authenticity' and the appropriation of the romantic myth.

traditionalists, as both the *westerse mense* and the Mier are farmers and many live in small towns and so live a more ‘western’ lifestyle than that offered by the utilisation of cultural tourism and small scale subsistence farming (Ellis 2004: 10; Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 7). The differences between these subgroups did not, however, effect the unitary nature of the ≠Khomani land claim which was awarded to the group as a whole.

After many years of negotiation, stage one of the land claim was awarded on the 21 March 1999 (Grossman & Holden 2002: 1). The ceremony in the Northern Cape was attended by former president, Thabo Mkebi, and received much local and international media attention. It was seen to embody the new reconciliatory South African spirit (cf. Riley 2000⁸⁷). Six farms, about 50 kilometres south of the KTP and covering an area of approximately 37 000 hectares, were handed over to the ≠Khomani Communal Property Association (CPA)⁸⁸ (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002: 166). The second phase of the land claim⁸⁹ was put on hold until the ≠Khomani could organise their self-government and manage resettlement on the farms (Chennells 2002: 3).

A period of uncertainty arose where members of the association were found to be responsible for extreme mismanagement and a new committee was voted in. Throughout this process, SASI was involved in training and ensuring that the interests of the more ‘traditional’ members of the ≠Khomani were represented. This is still an area of debate. However, under the supervision of a task team the second phase of the land claim continued (Chennells 2002: 3).

The final !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement included a settlement between the ≠Khomani, SANParks and the Mier Local Council. It was signed by the South African Government on 31 August 2002.

⁸⁷ Available at: http://www.afrol.com/Categories/Environment/env052_kalahari_manag.htm. Last accessed on 4 May 2009.

⁸⁸ The ≠Khomani CPA acts on behalf of the ≠Khomani community (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, 2002: 167). It is intended to be a representative organisation, the executive committee of which consists of members elected by different districts within the Northern Cape. The purpose of the CPA is to manage the assets of the restituted land (Dyll forthcoming).

⁸⁹ The !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement

The declaration of the ≠Khomani’s lawyer that this land restitution was the first land claim of South Africa’s “First Peoples”⁹⁰ indicates that the timeless notion of the Bushmen as a primordial group played a large part in this process. In fact, donor double visions were used in the negotiations as the ≠Khomani not only received ‘cultural’ rights but also farms and aid to build an economically viable Lodge (!Xaus)⁹¹. These examples above support the notion that the Bushmen are swayed by externally influenced representations⁹². However, the ≠Khomani themselves were central agents in processing and finalising the land claim⁹³. These ‘traditional’ notions not only result from outside forces and are not just assumed for the benefits of cultural tourism. The community, under the leadership of Dawid Kruiper, was concerned about the rapid deterioration of ‘traditional’ identity and knowledge. Kruiper asked SASI to aid in reconstructing “lives and livelihoods” through a cultural audit (Crawhall 2001: 10). After experiencing a case of drunken begging at Witdraai in July 2007 and hearing about other similar incidents through the research team (cf. Dyll 2003), I can confirm the need for a reconstruction of pride in the community’s identity, cultural or otherwise. In this case, it seems that the notion of ‘traditional’ culture, or the reconstruction of such an identity, is central to both the outside representations and the ≠Khomani’s sense of self.

The Mier Land Claim

In December 1998 the Mier decided to lodge a land claim for reasons described above. Some of the suggested land competed with the ≠Khomani land claim with regards to the southern section of the Park. However, the ≠Khomani did not protest (cf. Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 16)⁹⁴. The Mier community also owned some of the land pinpointed by the ≠Khomani land claim (Ellis 2004: 3).

⁹⁰ See Chennells (2002: 2-3).

⁹¹ See !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (2002: 165-166, 194-196)

⁹² See Literature Review (Chapter 2) regarding Robins (2001: 833), Gordon and Garland (1999: 267), Buntman (1996: 279) and Tomaselli (2007) discussion.

⁹³ Take for example the *Raad van Oudstes* (Council of Elders) which was formed during the land claim. Each family group elected a representative to aid with certain issues during the restitution (Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 15). Thus, many families in the community were involved participants, even though many organisational and management problems abounded within the community during the time (cf. Grossman & Holden 2002: 3).

⁹⁴ The ≠Khomani benefited from the Mier land claim. Currently, the majority of the ≠Khomani live within the jurisdiction of the Mier Local Municipality. The settlement of the Mier land claim is thus inclusive of the community as a whole, which includes the ≠Khomani (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement: 162).

The Mier community were involved in the 21 March 1999 land claim ceremony. One of the documents included in the broad settlement agreement was the initial Mier Agreement. This contained a transfer of approximately 42 500 hectares of land outside the Park to the Mier (Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 166). Included in the broad settlement agreement was a clause which made available approximately 55 000 hectares in the KTP to the ≠Khomani and Mier communities to be used as a contract park. The details of this first agreement were negotiated over the next three years between the Mier Local Council, SANParks and the ≠Khomani until the 2002 agreement was reached (cf. Chennells 2002).

Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement

The 55 000 hectares of land in the KTP, which was handed over to the ≠Khomani and the Mier inside the Park, was split approximately in half. The reason that these tracts of land are referred to as ‘contract parks’ is that private land has been incorporated into a national park and the parties involved are under contractual agreement to work together to maintain conservation while at the same time creating sustainable economic, symbolic and cultural usage. The parties involved in the Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement included the ≠Khomani CPA, the Mier Local Municipality, SANParks and the Government (Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 166-168). The agreement (2002: 167) aimed to create:

two distinctive and successful contract parks, to the benefit of all parties and in the national interest, to finally settle the land claims of the community parties and to establish a positive, co-operative relationship between the community parties and SANParks.

SANParks was given the responsibility for the conservation management of the two contract parks. Consequently, the communities must abide by SANParks conservation laws in these areas, but are entitled to develop and operate tourism projects individually or with outside parties. This agreement is binding for 99 years, subject to one break law. In order to arrange co-operation and management matters, the JMB, consisting of a forum established by the principal parties, was created. As a first step to effect cooperation the parties decided to establish a cooperation lodge (Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 169).

!Xaus: The cooperation lodge



Figure 2: A Photograph of !Xaus Lodge in July 2007.
Source: CCMS research affiliate, Kristine van den Oever.

!Xaus Lodge was constructed roughly on the dividing line between the ≠Khomani and Mier lands. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) assigned 6.5 million Rand to build !Xaus (Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 28). Many architectural and environmental errors were made in its construction and, as a result, DEAT allocated a further 1.5 million Rand and SANParks another million to finish the lodge (O’Leary, interview, July 2007). On 24 January 2007, a South African registered company, Transfrontier Parks Destinations (Pty) Ltd (TFPD), signed the !Xaus Lodge contract with the JMB as the operating party in the agreement (Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 28). The contract is for a period of 20 years, with the right of first refusal awarded to TFPD after the contract ends. TFPD pays a monthly concession fee which is split three ways between the ≠Khomani, the Mier and SANParks, and after 10 years of management will handover 10% of the profit to the communities to be used in infrastructural development (O’Leary, interview July 2007).

Many problems occurred with !Xaus Lodge before and after opening in July 2007. The funders and state had lost interest in the Lodge by the time that TFPD had signed the contract with the JMB on 24 January 2007. TFPD had to spend much time convincing

DEAT and SANParks to fund the completion of the Lodge (O' Leary July 2007). Even the #Khomani and Mier owners had lost interest in the project. Support for !Xaus was partly initiated by Belinda Kruiper (the Lodge's then self appointed spiritual adviser). Since then, training of a number of new Mier and #Khomani staff has had to take place as many of the original staff resigned⁹⁵. The historical tensions between the #Khomani and Mier are seen through the lack of social integration and different working spaces and positions. The Mier staff work in the Lodge as receptionists, cooks and cleaners. The #Khomani work in the cultural village (found approximately a hundred metres away from the Lodge), making crafts. Visitors from the Lodge are also encouraged to visit the village where they can observe the making of the crafts and learn to shoot with a bow and arrow. As a result of the employment of a number of Mier and #Khomani staff, !Xaus is aiding in alleviating poverty in the region (cf. Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 194). It also “symbolise[s]”⁹⁶ co-operation between the #Khomani and Mier, but as explained above has not succeeded in creating actual co-operation.

Other physical problems abound. The #Khomani and Mier land within the KTP is far away from main tourist roads: 30km's into the desert, over 91 sand dunes from the turnoff at Rooibrak, which is approximately 60km's from Tweeriveren camp. This means that the road to !Xaus is a long way off the beaten track and was difficult to drive (even in the required 4X4) before extensive grading by !Xaus. The water pumped from the borehole is salty, and the lack of natural water sources in the area means that few animals frequent this location. Importantly, there was no solar powered electricity installed in the Lodge, so creating a problem for the Lodge operators as the only electricity supply is an expensive, noisy, fuel powered generator which provides 220 volts. In order to limit environmental impact, it operates for 5 hours a day (see Fig 13: 211). So, although SanParks and DEAT envisioned !Xaus to be a facility for “eco-tourism”⁹⁷, this is not easily established when faced with such an oversight. !Xaus is currently investigating the implementation of solar power, battery storage and back-up generators (cf. Fig 13: 211).

⁹⁵ This occurred for a number of reasons, among them personal disagreements and remoteness of work place.

⁹⁶ See (Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 194).

⁹⁷ See (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002:194).

In the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement (cf. 2002: 247) the ≠Khomani were also awarded “Commercial and Symbolic Rights”. These rights are important to my research on representation as they imply that the ≠Khomani had strong links to this specific ‘natural’ land in the past. This historical identity is portrayed in !Xaus’s promotional material through statements such as: “a landmark ruling allowed these traditional communities to regain their tribal lands”. The section not only links the ≠Khomani to the land in respect to their historical identities and ‘traditional’ sustainable livelihoods, but also in a spiritual manner⁹⁸. This concept of the ≠Khomani being a people with strong links to nature (even though it may be true) reinforces the romantic myth.

Commercial and symbolic rights

SANParks “have recognised that the San heritage is and should be inextricably linked with the identity of this section of the Kalahari, and intend to find ways to give substance to that notion” (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 248). This area is located between the ≠Khomani and Mier owned area and the Auob River. It allows for cultural practices and the formulation and conduction of eco-tourism projects (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 247). Further, all tourists who enter this zone must pay a levy that will be transferred to the ≠Khomani community. This levy also applies to tourists visiting !Xaus Lodge and will be determined by the JMB (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 200).

An area of approximately one half of the South African section of the Park (+- 4000 square kilometres) has been set aside for symbolic and cultural use. This area is in the southern section of the Park and enables the ≠Khomani to utilise the land for traditional and ancestral activities as long as it has nothing to do with commercial ventures. The vision for this area is that ≠Khomani community members be taken “deep into the Park, where they can experience the Kalahari as it was” (!Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement 2002: 247-248).

⁹⁸ See the section *Commercial and Symbolic Rights* below.

Historical and current implications of the land restitution

Through the exploration of the historical reasons for the ≠Khomani land claim, the view of the Bushmen as an indispensable people by the former NPB authorities becomes apparent. The government through its inaction also became culpable. The historical displacement of the Bushmen within the Southern Kalahari plays a large part in today's problems of poverty, the relative loss of 'traditional' language and environmental knowledge (cf. Crawhall 2001).

Through the declaration of !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement and the construction of !Xaus Lodge, the government and SANParks have made some effort to reverse the injustice caused by their predecessors. The land claim agreements created a "general sense that restitution would result in a revival and survival of the San culture" (Ellis 2004: 1). This notion supports that of a 'traditional' Bushmen experience utilised by the ≠Khomani themselves⁹⁹ and in some cultural tourism ventures. This appropriation by the ≠Khomani of the romantic myth provides a living for many members of the community, through both constructive and destructive forms. A constructive example is that of tracking: the notion that the Bushman are at one with nature and so excellent trackers has enabled tracking tours to be conducted from Molopo Lodge¹⁰⁰ at Witdraai for many years and now at !Xaus Lodge. However, many members of the ≠Khomani (particularly members of the prominent Kruiper family) have come to expect handouts as a result of their first people status¹⁰¹ (cf. Tomaselli et al. 2008: 349). One of the Kalahari research team members, Lauren Dyll¹⁰², writes that Bushman identity holds currency in the South African tourism sector. She describes a scene in July 2007 where she was walking along the road and was greeted by two Kruiper brothers. They introduced themselves in a pseudo James Bond fashion, "*Die naam is Kruiper, Pien Kruiper*" (The name is Kruiper, Pien Kruiper). They then held out their hands, awaiting payment. Dyll dubbed this expectation "Kruiper currency". The romantic myth ignores such present day realities

⁹⁹ See Tomaselli (2007). Also see Literature Review (Chapter 2) regarding Robins (2001: 833), Gordon and Garland (1999: 267), Buntman (1996: 279) and Tomaselli (2007) discussion.

¹⁰⁰ Available at <http://www.molopo.co.za/>. Last accessed on 5 May 2009.

¹⁰¹ This commodification of identity is discussed in more detail in the Literature Review (Chapter 2).

¹⁰² See Dyll (2009b forthcoming: 13).

as this begging phenomenon as well as issues such as poverty and alcohol abuse (SAHRC, 2004¹⁰³; Dyll 2009a forthcoming: 44).

The land claim has entrenched rifts between the traditionalists and the *westerse mense*. The two distinct groups wanted to use the acquired farms from the land claim in different ways. The traditionalists wanted to use the farms for gathering and hunting food as well as performing for tourists. However, the *westerse mense's* ideas of how to use these farms conflicted with those of the traditionalists (Ellis 2004: 8). Some of the *westerse mense* became farmers and farmed sheep and goats, while others moved into small towns in the Northern Cape such as Upington, Rietfontein and Welkom (Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 7). This group is less interested in the socio-economic development of the farms as they have no aspirations of living there. Generally, they wanted to use the land to graze domestic animals (Ellis 2004: 8). These ≠Khomani members are commonly wealthier and better-resourced than the traditionalists and so better able to exploit available resources (Ellis 2004: 2; Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 56). From my own experience at !Xaus Lodge in July 2007 and 2008, it is apparent that there are no formally educated ≠Khomani in senior and/or managerial positions. The more formally educated *westerse mense* do not seem to be interested in the running of the Lodge while the less formally educated traditionalists generally need and seek employment in cultural tourism as their educational status means that they are not able to work in administrative or management positions.

The characteristics of brochures and leaflets (although informational) do not lend themselves to an in-depth historical or analytical description. A short history of both communities and a brief explanation of problematic issues such as language limitations, lack of formal education and the statement that “this is not a choreographed show”¹⁰⁴ are addressed in the 2009 information booklet¹⁰⁵. The 2009 website can also incorporate more detailed information such as an in-depth history of the communities and/or an analysis of the complex structure of the Mier and

¹⁰³ Available at: http://www.sahrc.org.za/sahrc_cms/publish/article_160.shtml. Last accessed on 5 May 2009.

¹⁰⁴ Fig 13 (204)

¹⁰⁵ Downloadable from the 2009 website. Available at www.xauslodge.co.za. Last accessed on 5 May 2009.

≠Khomani communities today, even if simply through links to other websites¹⁰⁶. Many of the guests, before coming to !Xaus, visit their site¹⁰⁷. So, this incorporation of further information may have a positive effect regarding people's expectations of aspects of cultural tourism at the Lodge. For example, since 'traditional' culture has been diluted tourists may comprehend why a Bushman tracker would be learning names of traditional plants from an ex-SANParks employee, as happened on our nature walk in July 2008. Some tourists do not enjoy reading too much information¹⁰⁸, but this extra reading is, of course, optional.

The current 'reality' of the effects of the land claim is that far more needs to be done in order to help in creating viable business or management solutions for the recipients¹⁰⁹ (cf. Dyll 2009a forthcoming: 48). Perhaps Makai and Regopstaan's prophecy has nothing to do with the land claims at all; perhaps it is, as Belinda Kruiper believes (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 3):

Oupa Regop was a seer. He spoke desert wisdom, not according to Western logic. His prophecy is a parable. The drought that has to be broken is not in the land, but in the people's hearts. The Bushmen have lost their humanity. They are so used to being treated like nothing that they are no longer capable of feeling anything... That is the curse that has to be broken, the block that keeps the spiritual rain at bay. It's only when the Bushmen's tears begin to flow freely again, when feeling floods back into their hearts and they start to release their pain through the singing and dancing and healing that has always been their salvation, that they will be able to value themselves – and each other – as human beings again. Only then will the spiritual blessings fall from the sky and bring the rains of renewal back to the desert.

This last chapter has aided in an understanding, not only of how the land restitution and !Xaus Lodge came to be and why, but also in an appreciation of the complexities of ≠Khomani history, identity and resulting representation. However, before this cultural representation and the !Xaus Lodge experience can be analysed in the Textual and Reception Analyses (Chapters 6 & 7), the theoretical framework through which this examination will take place needs to be expounded.

¹⁰⁶ The new 2009 website (not analysed by this dissertation) does include book and article references. However, for example, it could provide links to this specific dissertation and/or Dyll's thesis (2009b forthcoming).

¹⁰⁷ See Reception Analysis (Chapter 7) for further details.

¹⁰⁸ See respondent 5, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript 1. 6.

¹⁰⁹ Although the ≠Khomani have put their 'traditional' identities to good use in the land claim process and have utilised the romantic myth in order to aid in cultural tourism, limited education opportunities have generally not allowed for many other employment opportunities (cf. Buntman 1996: 279).

Chapter 4: Theory

Introduction

The Circuit of Culture is a model through which cultural texts or artefacts can be analysed (Du Gay et al. 1997). It clearly describes how meanings are regulated, distributed, interpreted, appropriated and made. This model can be applied in understanding how the ≠Khomani are represented, how they construct their own identity, the transformation of the ≠Khomani culture, the expectations of potential visitors as a result of the promotional materials' representation of the !Xaus experience, and the experience itself. The theories of Hall (1996; 1997) and Du Gay et al. (1997) on culture are far reaching enough to cover all aspects of my study related to and regarding changing representations and meaning making.

A discussion of prominent and pertinent tourism theories is included in this chapter in relation to an understanding of the meaning-making of !Xaus's promotional material as well as the tourist 'reality' of the !Xaus experience.

The Circuit of Culture

The definition of the term 'culture' has evolved over time and has various meanings in different sectors of society. The description most relevant to cultural studies and the process of representation is one similar to this:

Primarily culture is concerned with the production and the exchange of meanings – the 'giving and taking of meanings' – between the members of a society or group. To say that two people belong to the same culture is to say that they interpret the world in roughly the same ways (Hall 1997: 2).

Once culture is understood as a system through which we view the world, other explanations, such as the anthropological definition of culture as being a 'way of life' (Geertz 1973) and modern notions of 'popular culture' (McRobbie 1994) are unproblematic in their difference, as they fall within this broader explanation.

Considering culture is about meaning making, it follows that the intention of the Circuit of Culture (Du Gay et al. 1997) is to analyse this process: how meaning is constructed, circulated and interpreted. The five major processes identified in the

circuit are: representation, identity, production, regulation and consumption. It is argued that it is through a combination of these processes, “in their articulation”, that meaning is discovered. This ‘articulation’ is not necessary, absolute or fixed, but evolves through changing circumstance (Du Gay et al. 1997: 3).

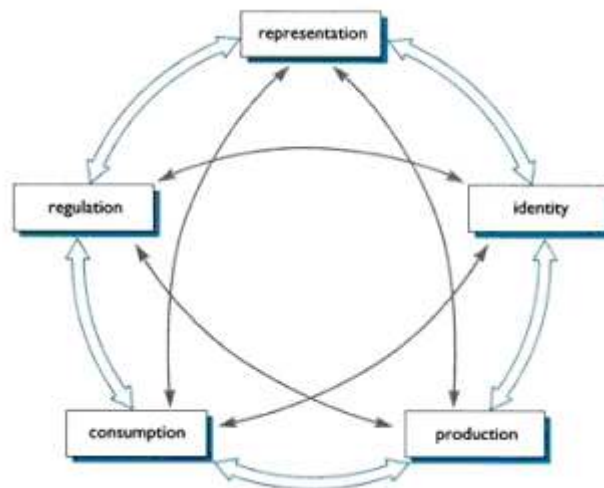


Figure 3: The Circuit of Culture
Source: Du Gay et al. (1997: 3)

Representation

Representation is the most important process regarding the concerns of the following chapters. Hall theorises that representation “connects meaning and language to culture” (Hall 1997: 15). He proposes that meaning is given to ‘things’ through language. Language, in this sense, includes spoken, written, visual and mental systems and is the way in which one would view the world, understand a complex thought and communicate with other people (Hall 1997: 15).

According to Hall (1997: 18), there are two systems of representation: mental representations and language, which have to work together to create cultural understanding. Mental representations are concepts we use to interpret the world. This includes representation of material ‘things’ as well as concepts about things we have never seen. In order to understand another person one has to have a similar conceptual ‘map’ and thus interpret the world in similar ways. These mental understandings have to be translated into a common language “so that we can correlate our concepts and ideas with certain written words, spoken sounds or visual images” (Hall 1997: 18). This common language is known as ‘shared codes’. Codes fix the relationship

between concepts and signs (which make up language). They stabilise meaning within a culture (Hall 1997: 21).

!Xaus Lodge itself can form an example of the above system of representations. A simple example would be: when conducting a focus group with potential tourists who had never been to !Xaus, I had to give the group some information about the Lodge, including an explanation of where it is situated - the Kalahari. Most interpreters who had knowledge of the area through actual experience or through media would imagine a vast, dry, arid environment. This would be part of one's mental 'map'. A shared code must have been in use in order for the interpretants to have understood the concept *Kalahari*, as the connection between name and place is arbitrary. It is a connection that has been built up over time through word-of-mouth and through media in relation to the area. Additionally, in order to express their thoughts to the rest of the group, the interviewees used a shared language, in this case the spoken word, facial expressions and gestures.

If people of the same culture share similar conceptual maps and ways of interpreting signs, then it follows that by conducting focus groups, interviews and questionnaires I will be able to establish themes of ideas from each group. This explanation, however, is oversimplified and excludes important individual and group realities. As Hall states, we all have personal views, beliefs and identities (Hall 1997: 18). It may be that tourists' viewpoints coincide with those of the ≠Khomani, for instance, or that there is a rift in the representation of identity between the ≠Khomani staff at the Lodge. This study makes no claim to identify a culture of tourists; it simply analyses outcomes of focus groups and questionnaires of individuals who constitute the Lodge's target market. Similarly, I acknowledge that the views of the ≠Khomani interviewed, and the way that the ≠Khomani employees portray themselves at the Lodge, do not speak for the group as a whole. My aim is not to pinpoint cultures but rather to achieve an understanding of some of the main themes involved in the interconnected relationships described above.

Hall's explanation of representation is strongly influenced by the social constructivist approach of the Swiss linguist, Ferdinand de Saussure (cf. Culler 1976). Saussure was integral to the foundation of semiology (the structuralist study of signs), similarly

explored by Charles Sanders Peirce in his study of Semiotics¹¹⁰. Semiotics is concerned with *how* signs produce meaning and thus is integral to my textual analysis of !Xaus Lodge's promotional material.

Identity

As representation produces certain meanings about mental and physical 'things', it follows that identity is closely connected with this concept, as "meaning gives us a sense of our own identity, of who we are and with whom we 'belong'" (Hall 1996: 3).

We construct our own identities by recognising common characteristics or origins between ourselves and another person, with a group of people, or with similar thought processes to our own. We then establish solidarity on these grounds. In contrast to this common sense definition is the postmodern explanation, that identity is a process; it avoids being fixed. It is also constructed on the notion of 'difference' and so includes discursive boundaries which construct inside versus outside beliefs, knowledge and practices. One constructs identity in relation to the other; in relation to what it is not (Hall 1996: 2-4). Elaborating on the postmodern definition, Zygmunt Bauman (1996: 18-22) theorises that a durable identity turns into a liability and it is important to prevent 'sticking'. He posits that the capacity to embrace new experiences and incorporate this into an identity is crucial in today's age. For example, the ≠Khomani's contemporary identity is now relatively briefly portrayed in !Xaus's 2009 information booklet (cf. Fig 13: 204). This helps in avoiding the continuation of the fixed romanticised and mythical representation.

A sense of Mier cultural identity is evident at !Xaus Lodge. When visiting the Lodge in July 2007, the Mier sang their 'traditional'/religious songs for us (the visitors) while sitting around a fire in the *boma* (a fenced enclosure). There was also a 'traditional' Mier pudding included as a dessert for the visiting group of American tourists. Although these two last examples may have been produced essentially for visitors, another example springs to mind. When I interviewed a Mier member of staff, she distanced herself and her fellow Mier staff members from the 'drinking problems' of the ≠Khomani, thus stating a difference from the other.

¹¹⁰ See Methodology chapter (Chapter 5) for more information

The ≠Khomani have also fixed their own sense of identity. The most obvious example is that of formally dispersed peoples having come together under one name in the land claim process (cf. Tomaselli 2005: 3). Another example from !Xaus itself has to do with the workings of the cultural village. When visited in July 2008, there were four members of the community all working on producing crafts. These were: Corné Witbooi (a young male), Dorain Arries (a young female), Léna Malgas (an elderly woman), and Agarop Bladbeen (an elderly man). Even though they were not related and were of different ages all knew how to make ‘traditional’ crafts; there was no teaching occurring. Further, Corné, Léna and Agarop were working together to produce their goods and so showing respect for the other’s craft-making abilities. The fluid and inclusive nature of culture should not be excluded from these examples: ‘modern’ influences are also included in ≠Khomani personal identities. When I visited the research team one evening, Corné began singing American R&B songs. He told us that he listens to them regularly on his wind up radio when not working at the Lodge. This exemplifies the inclusiveness of globalised¹¹¹ nuances in contemporary ≠Khomani identities.

Another pertinent aspect of identity in relation to !Xaus is that of the identity of the target market. In order to ‘sell’ the Lodge to potential tourists, it is imperative that the public relations representatives of !Xaus go about marketing through the correct media to the most appropriate reader. For example, articles have been published in a few magazines such as the English South African travel magazine *Getaway*, in May 2008 (Stefanski 2008: 62-66), and the Afrikaans lifestyle magazine *Wegbreek*, in March 2008 (Bakkes 2008: 26-32). Both magazines cater for readers with “a fairly high disposable income and [who] are seeking a range of experiences that include travel as a way of enriching their often very busy and stressful lives (Marsland 2006)¹¹². Public relations, in any form, create a way of circulating meaning (representation) through production.

¹¹¹ “Globalisation ... refers to the growing interconnectedness of different parts of the world, a process which gives rise to complex forms of interaction and interdependency” (Thompson 1995: 149).

¹¹² Available at: <http://www.bizcommunity.com/Article/196/39/9886.html>. Last accessed on 6 May 2009.

Production and Consumption

Production and consumption drive each other, without one the other would cease to exist. Karl Marx provides a simple material explanation regarding this relationship:

Production is... at the same time consumption, and consumption is at the same time production. Each is directly its own counterpart. But at the same time an intermediary movement goes on between the two. Production furthers consumption by creating material for the latter which otherwise would lack its object. But consumption in its turn furthers production, by providing for the products the individual for whom they are products... Without production, no consumption; but on the other hand, without consumption, no production; since production would then be without a purpose (Marx 1980/1857-8: 24).

The definition of production in the sense to which I refer is inclusive of the above statement, but more complex. Production and exchange of meaning takes place constantly, in every single personal and social interaction in which we engage. Meaning is produced through the way in which we express ourselves, appropriate and consume cultural ‘things’. In this way, we give them significance in our everyday lives (Hall 1997: 3-4).

The terms ‘encode’ and ‘decode’ have become colloquial terms in cultural studies, referring to the creation and understanding of messages. Hall used the term ‘encode’ to refer to the way ideas or meanings are produced, and the term ‘decode’ for the way these are understood (consumed) (Hall 1997: 166)¹¹³. This encoding/decoding model was first proposed in 1973. Early criticisms related to its sender-message-receiver element and its tendency to exclude aspects of difference in the reception of the message. It was seen as based in the realm of communication and not culture. As a result of the model’s link with mass communication, ideas of dominant cultures came to be synonymous with ‘the sender’ (Nightingale 1996: 22-24). In the mid 1970s, Hall and Jefferson (1975) integrated subculture and deviance research into their previous work. “A position of resistance – as either negotiation or opposition was assumed” (Nightingale 1996: 25). Messages that were decoded according to the dominant discourse were referred to as the preferred reading (Hall 1997: 166). Even though these preferred interpretations related closely to the concepts of encoded message, no message is ever decoded in exactly the way that was intended by the meaning maker.

¹¹³ He has since produced other, more holistic ways of explaining how meaning is made and interpreted, such as the Circuit of Culture which I am in the process of discussing (Du Gay et al. 1997). Also see Hall (1997).

Hall (1980: 129) wrote that no matter how accurate an encoded message or how efficient the transmission of the message, the decoded meaning will not be exactly the same.

An example of an encoded message with regards to mass media is the hegemonically encoded message portrayed by the popular filmmakers and academics of Bushmen of the early to mid 1950's. They were portrayed as a Stone Age people who lived in peaceful hunter-gather communities. The dominant code was accepted by a large Western audience. This began to be negotiated or even opposed in later years, even by the same people who aided in the creation of this myth (cf. John Marshall 2002).

When discussing the meaning-making process of !Xaus Lodge's promotional material I infrequently use the terms 'encode' and 'decode'. When I do so it is in a more inclusive manner of the meaning makers' and audience's context than was originally included in Hall's model of communication (Nightingale 1996: 22). There is a complex contextual framework in which the !Xaus meaning makers work. For example, the managing director not only wants to promote the Lodge to tourists but also wants to aid in the knowledge growth of these visitors to !Xaus through contextualised information about the local people and their environment included in the information booklet¹¹⁴. The framework in which the messages are decoded is similarly complex. Tourists have a varied background in respect to nationality, age group, identity and more.

Du Gay et al. (1997: 62) refer to designers as "cultural intermediaries". Designers are the group of people who provide symbolic goods and services, for example public relations practitioners, web and graphic designers and anyone involved in advertising. It is these meaning makers (as well as the TFPD's CEO who writes the text) who create promotional representations¹¹⁵. They have to embody culture in their work; therefore their products are inscribed with meaning (Du Gay et al. 1997: 62). The designers of !Xaus's website, leaflet and brochure have embodied the 'culture' of !Xaus. Among other things, the text in the media describes the arid wilderness of the

¹¹⁴ See for example Fig 13 (204)

¹¹⁵ The power relations created as a result of this representation will be discussed in the Textual Analysis (Chapter 6).

area as well as the Bushmen ownership and presence, while the visual images show photographs of the rustic comfort of the lodge, wildlife in the Park, the remote beauty of the area and staff at the lodge.

At !Xaus, as with all companies, production and consumption are closely related in terms of business; the producer produces for the consumer. For example, in order to make !Xaus more luxurious for the high paying clientele, the present operators did away with some of the canvas and mesh doors which opened out onto the balconies of the chalets and replaced these with glass doors so that one can see out of them and open them with ease.

Regulation

Meanings help in setting the conventions and rules by which social life is ordered; they regulate our practices. These meanings can also be structured and shaped by people who wish to govern and regulate ideas of others (Hall 1997: 4).

Regulations abound in the tourist industry. Accommodation, food, health and many other issues are under constant scrutiny. In July 2007, !Xaus hosted its first group of international tourists. Being in its fledgling stage as a newly opened Lodge and being hours from the nearest town, it encountered a few minor problems, such as the fact that there was only instant and no filter coffee available. Small items, such as what kind of coffee is on offer, can signify the difference between a comfortable and a luxury lodge when taking a relatively wealthy, Western set of ideas into account.

It may be beneficial for !Xaus to disregard some conventions in order to create a positive element of surprise. Usually, in comfortable accommodation, visitors may interact with management but do not usually interact with the general staff other than through polite greetings. From my experience in July 2008, this convention seems to have been followed at !Xaus. However, the staff are encouraged to interact with tourists as !Xaus is a *cultural* lodge. Beverly Bezuidenhout (a member of the local Mier community) stated in July 2007 that if she had the chance she would talk to tourists and tell them stories of the Kalahari. This would give visitors a better idea of who the local people are and a better understanding of their traditions.

Making sense of tourist behaviour in relation to cultural tourism and the other

Although this study does not seek to identify typical tourist behaviour, a theoretical background in this field is helpful in understanding cultural tourism as a practice and tourism as a business.

Cultural tourism plays an important part in the representation of the ≠Khomani. This representation is created and continued mainly by the ≠Khomani traditionalists. Cultural tourism in the form of craft sales outside the South African Twee Rivieren entrance of the KTP has been a source of income for members of this Bushman group since the mid 1900's (Hitchcock 1996: 83). Aspects of this 'traditional' form of cultural representation are now being used at !Xaus Lodge, within the Park¹¹⁶.

!Xaus Lodge incorporates ≠Khomani cultural tourism through aspects such as the ≠Khomani cultural village (where crafts are displayed and sold), ≠Khomani art and crafts displayed around the Lodge and the tracking experience. These activities and items express differences between visiting cultures and the ≠Khomani¹¹⁷. The fact that cultures are distinctly different between societies is the reason for cultural tourism; "People are attracted to differences not similarities" (Ivanovic 2008: 74). Over the last fifteen years cultural tourism has rapidly evolved from being a special-interest niche-market to being a familiar tourist form. Rapid diversification of the dominant form of 'sun-lust' tourism has generated new forms of tourism (Ivanovic 2008: 79).

According to John Urry (2006: 92), one of the contributing factors to the rise in cultural tourism is that of permeation of visual media in Western societies. Thus, the production and consumption (Circuit of Culture) of visual media representing othered cultures has increased (Du Gay et al. 1997). Urry (2006: 92) states that "There is a massive upward shift in the level of what is 'ordinary' and hence what people view as 'extraordinary'". People will not gain as much pleasure from continuing to do what their family has always done on holiday and as a result a large number of people demand new and out-of-the-ordinary experiences (Urry 2006: 92). Even though the

¹¹⁶ See Figs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13 (178-219)

¹¹⁷ The Circuit of Culture (Du Gay et al. 1997) ties in well with the cultural tourism aspects at !Xaus. The ≠Khomani represent themselves through the cultural ventures offered. These activities are produced by the employees in order to be consumed by visitors. The way that the activities are presented is regulated by tourist expectations and the ≠Khomani's internalised romantic self image (identity).

majority of Western tourists have watched documentaries, read books and read or viewed other forms of media which represent the 'Bushmen', most have never met any individual who claims a Bushman identity¹¹⁸. The #Khomani staff at the Lodge, and activities such as tracking and 'traditional' story telling offer an intriguing experience for most tourists, as does the 'safari'¹¹⁹ aspect.

Although these 'traditional' aspects are out-of-the-ordinary for most Western visitors, they are not 'authentic' in that they have been recreated or enacted for the visitor. Daniel Boorstin's theory of the 'pseudo-event' (1964) is relevant to the 'imitation' of culture at !Xaus Lodge. Boorstin claims that contemporary Americans cannot experience 'reality' directly. The simulation or reproduction of an event becomes more 'real' than the event itself. It is through the pseudo-event that the tourist finds pleasure in non-authentic attractions, thus disregarding the outside world (Urry 2006: 7). This theory also substantiates Jean Baudrillard's (1983, 1985) argument that we increasingly consume representations of social identities, in this instance through interaction with, photographs of, and 'information' about 'authentic' Bushmen who have probably never lived in a hunter-gathering community. Both of the theories above relate to the Circuit of Culture. The performers' identities are used to produce a culturally representative, or seemingly 'inauthentic', product which is to be consumed by the visitor (Du Gay et al. 1997).

Although it may be argued that at !Xaus the staff are not part of a 'living museum' and that the #Khomani in the cultural village are simply doing what they would be doing in places such as Witdraai - making their crafts - the village itself was erected for the interest of visitors. The #Khomani would never be living at !Xaus (situated a two and a half hour drive inside the Park) if it were not for the driving force of cultural tourism. Although Boorstin's theory is helpful in defining the term 'pseudo-event', I will not incorporate his profile of the American tourist (cf. Boorstin 1964). Visitor reactions to the cultural village at !Xaus are complex and cannot be described in terms through which researchers project how meanings are both produced by cultural performers and interpreted by observers – in the absence of actually

¹¹⁸ See Focus Group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 38-39.

¹¹⁹ Although this term has come to mean some sort of Game Park or wilderness experience, its original Swahili meaning referred to a time when one was away and unreachable (Theroux 2002: 3; Fowler & Fowler 1958). This use of the term 'safari' relates to both meanings.

interviewing or conducting ethnographic research involving both parties to the encounter (cf. Tomaselli 2001). This negotiation of authenticity will be discussed below.

Related to Boorstin's concept of authenticity is Eric Cohen's theory (1972: 166-167) regarding an artificial accommodation environment¹²⁰. In relation to mass tourism, Cohen argues that modern tourists do not abandon their accustomed environment as such as they are enveloped by an 'environmental bubble' of their native culture. These tourists view the people, culture and places through the "protective walls" of this bubble (Cohen 1972: 166-167). This is partly¹²¹ true of !Xaus, as tourists have bought into the comforts of a Lodge which is situated in a foreign and harsh environment: they have consumed the !Xaus product (Du Gay et al. 1997).

Dean MacCannell (1976) views authenticity as a given philosophical concept; one could experience 'reality' or a reproduction of it. His theories oppose those of Boorstin in some ways as he proposes that cultural tourism is a "quest for authentic experiences, perceptions and insights" and not for the inauthentic (MacCannell 1976: 105). In a similar vein to the romantic theories of Jung (cf. Jung 1961) and Van der Post (cf. 1956), he proposes that tourists seek authenticity to act as a substitute for the isolation and dehumanisation of modern day living¹²². According to MacCannell, this search for the authentic is the main reason for tourists' physical journeys (MacCannell 1976: 14; 91-92). Milena Ivanovic (2008: 15) supports these modernist notions:

Modern cultural tourists are showing growing interest in authentic, somewhat mysterious and exotic, traditional people whose wisdom and simple life styles are not governed by material possessions but by spiritual upliftment, which is in great contrast to the consumption-driven, materialistic societies these tourists come from.

MacCannell (1976: 91-96) separates 'front' and 'back' stages, based on Erving Goffman's (1959) 'front' and 'back' regions. He states that the front region is the meeting place of tourists and the performers; it is the space where 'authentic'

¹²⁰ Cohen's theory is based on a theory proposed by Hans-Joachim Knebel (1960).

¹²¹ There are still 'rustic' features about the Lodge, such as salty shower water, lack of air-conditioning and conservation of generator power.

¹²² That is tourists seek a representation of another culture's identity in order to make up for the isolation created by their own identity. See Circuit of Culture in relation to representation and identity (Du Gay et al. 1997).

experiences that are based on reality are shared. In Circuit of Culture terms¹²³, this is where meanings are negotiated, with some tourists accepting the representation, others negotiating it and the sceptics rejecting it (e.g. Buntman 1996; Garland & Gordon 1999). The back region is where the performers or cultural intermediaries relax or prepare for the meeting. Incorporation into the back region requires an acceptance by the other. MacCannell thus proposes that the experience had by the tourists is contrived; it is a show based on the structure of reality (1976: 95). However, he points out that the “actual act of communion between tourist and attraction is less important than the ‘image’ or the ‘idea’ of society that the collective act generates” (MacCannell 1976: 15). So the fact that the visitors to !Xaus are meeting with the ≠Khomani may provide the ‘authentic’ experience they require, even if the meeting is ‘inauthentic’ in nature.

In a similar vein to Boorstin, MacCannell proposes that the staging of culture results in commodification. He warns that if the back region of the host culture became staged, this would lead to a complete loss of authenticity. If this total commodification occurred, culture would be discarded by the indigenous host community as it would become alien to their traditions. MacCannell, in opposition to Boorstin, theorises that tourists would then realise that their experiences are not authentic (1979: 95-96).

Cohen (1988) moves beyond MacCannell’s theory of the image or idea of a society creating a sense of ‘authenticity’. He argues that ‘authenticity’ is not a given concept but is “a socially constructed, negotiable concept, which is negotiated by each tourist individually” (Ivanovic 2008: 324). What the audience thinks is ‘authentic’ differs from group to group and person to person¹²⁴. Tourists enjoy meaningful cultural experiences through any encounter that satisfies his or her own cultural needs; this creates its own reality (Ivanovic 2008: 27). According to the various reactions to the cultural village at !Xaus it would seem that the notion of authenticity is something that is personal and negotiable.

¹²³ Du Gay et al. (1997)

¹²⁴ That is, the concept of ‘authenticity’ differs from person to person as a result of the regulations imposed upon it. See the Circuit of Culture in relation to regulation (Du Gay et al. 1997).

Cohen (1988) critiques MacCannell's (1979: 95-96) notion of the commodification of culture. He suggests that commodification does not lead to the eradication of local culture and does not create a 'superlie'¹²⁵ in presenting 'inauthentic' attractions. Cohen proposes that this commodification creates an 'emergent authenticity' which over a period of time becomes 'authentic' for both the local community and the tourists. The community involved knowingly introduces changes to the mainstream culture, thereby preserving cultural vitality (Ivanovic 2008: 324).

Theatricality runs deep in cultural encounters between Witdraai residents and visiting tourists. When walking towards a group of ≠Khomani craft sellers in Witdraai in July 2007 I was astonished to see that one of the men, on seeing the researchers walking towards him, quickly removed his blue overalls and donned his !Xai (skins). This 'authentic' marketing ploy must assist the craft seller in improving his sales to passing tourists. Although this level of traditional role play was not evident at !Xaus, in either July 2007 or 2008, it is now evident in that the ≠Khomani have taken to wearing skins out of their own volition¹²⁶ (O'Leary, personal correspondence, January 2009). This is an example of the notion of 'claptrap' (Denning 1994).

Related to the pseudo event through the sense of 'false' portrayal, although based more solidly within a social structure, is Greg Denning's notion of the 'claptrap' (1994). 'Claptrap', "is the moment of theatricality in any representation ... in which the audience ... participates in the creative process of representing" (Denning 1994: 458). The 'claptrap' performance is one in which habits being represented transform into a habit of representation (Denning 1994: 458). This has occurred between Bushmen and Westerners ever since the invasion of filmmakers and fieldworkers in the period of the romantic myth¹²⁷; representation becomes regulated by tourist expectations of a 'traditional' experience (Du Gay et al. 1997). The representation still continues, even at !Xaus Lodge where the ≠Khomani are represented and represent themselves as the 'traditional' other through the inclusion of a separate cultural village, away from the Mier staff quarters.

¹²⁵ See (MacCannell 1976: 103)

¹²⁶ The romantic myth is also present in the 2007 and 2008 text of the promotional materials (Figs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12: 179-200) and in the images of the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13: 201-219).

¹²⁷ This theory differs from that of the opinions expressed by Gordon and Garland (1999) and Buntman (1996) in that Denning (1994) does not explicitly concentrate on power relationships in representation.

All these theories involved in the notion of authenticity relate to how tourists perceive the other – in this case, the Bushmen. Many theorists writing in the last two decades seem to assume that tourists perceive the Bushmen in a romantic light. For example, Gordon, Ciraj Rassool and Leslie Witz's paper *Fashioning the Bushman in Van Riebeeck's Cape Town, 1952 and 1993*, describes a Bushman exhibit at Tyger Valley shopping centre in Bellville in 1993 (Gordon, Rassool & Witz 1996: 268-269). This description (as well as the description of a Bushman exhibit in 1952) is based on other sources. It does not seem as if the spectators were interviewed to find out what they thought about the exhibit¹²⁸. Another example is that Buntman (1996: 279) claims that the romanticised presentation of the Bushmen at Kagga Kamma in the 1990's helped to keep them in a nostalgic role. No tourists seem to have been interviewed here either, in order to obtain what they thought of the Bushman experience; the authors lean towards a tendency for textualism (cf. Tomaselli 2003a: 856). In my research, many of !Xaus Lodge's past tourists and members of their target group's opinions are garnered. For example, there are many varying opinions regarding what used to be referred to as !Xaus's cultural village (now craft village or re-created cultural village in the 2009 information booklet¹²⁹). Some do see it in a romantic light. Others see this as a false representation of a lost era and/or not reflecting the 'reality' of the Bushman situation in South Africa. These tourist perceptions will be dealt with in detail in the Reception Analysis (Chapter 7).

All these above theories regarding 'authenticity' bring to light the question: who judges what is deemed 'authentic'? It seems that a large majority of academics¹³⁰ tend to consume the othered representations within their sceptical discourses and then project their interpretation of how tourists respond or should respond. This enddistancing theory seems to remove the tourists' and performers' agency. Through my research I have come to understand that many tourists are critical about their

¹²⁸ No interviews were mentioned in the text. Also, see Gordon and Garland (1999), where Bushmen representation in cultural tourism ventures in Namibia is discussed without the apparent influence of interaction with tourists at these ventures.

¹²⁹ See Fig 13 (201-219).

¹³⁰ Cohen (1988) seems to take into consideration the individuality of the tourists and their ability to be critical when theorising about recent and 'traditional' cultural representations.

experiences¹³¹. Therefore, their understandings should be included in academic discourse.

Cultural tourism and the host community

So far tourist perceptions have been discussed, but the effects of cultural tourism on the host community have been ignored. Theorists are generally split into two camps over this latter issue. The first sees cultural tourism as a development tool and/or as a means for cultural conservation. The second, even if they support the efforts of cultural tourism, are more cynical about its effects. In some cases, theorists may blame cultural tourism for detrimental changes observed in community culture (Ivanovic 2008: 22). This latter argument was discussed in the Introduction (Chapter 1), but will now be further elaborated.

The former group “regard tourism as a positive force in reviving forgotten skills and traditions, especially of indigenous cultures, and recognise the role that tourism plays in the conservation and preservation of cultural heritage” (Ivanovic 2008: 22). They posit that indigenous heritage tourism is deemed suitable for development and that the main challenge facing these developers is to maintain a balance between attracting tourists by various means, on the one hand, and the preservation of cultural authenticity, on the other (Ivanovic 2008: 10, 88). Theorists from this frame of reference would then presumably argue that the craft making in the cultural village and the tracking offered around !Xaus would help to preserve ‘traditional’ knowledge as well as create work for ≠Khomani employees (cf. Hashimoto 2002: 215). The Cultural Resources Auditing Management programme (CRAM¹³²) conducted by the SASI in the Northern Cape concludes that cultural tourism would advance empowerment of the ≠Khomani (Crawhall 2001: 24-25).

The latter group are concerned about the effects of cultural tourism. Often culture that is reproduced for tourism is thought to ‘cheapen’ ‘authentic’ culture (cf. Bester & Buntman 1999). This is refuted by Cohen’s notion of emergent authenticity (1988) (see argument above). Another argument against cultural tourism is that it requires a

¹³¹ See Tomaselli (2002) regarding critical tourists.

¹³² See *SASI Annual Review: April 2001 – March 2002* at: http://www.san.org.za/sasi/ann_rep_2002.htm for more information regarding CRAM. Last accessed on 6 May 2009.

framing of the other; it is a “prerequisite aspect and consequence of tourism” (Cole 2006: 90). Through this othering, the notion of the Bushmen as a Stone Age people, with its resulting paternalist connotations, may be entrenched. I do not think that !Xaus Lodge intends to ingrain the notion of the cultural isolate. It is up to the ≠Khomani staff members whether they wish to wear their ‘traditional’ outfits or not. However, the fact that there is a cultural village suggests that this community is othered.

An aspect of ‘reality’ for the ≠Khomani is that cultural tourism is often “one of the only forms of self-employment available for rural and indigenous communities” (Dyll 2009b forthcoming: 22). At Witdraai and Andriesvale, certainly, there is not much of a choice regarding forms of employment. Through my study of representation of !Xaus’s promotional materials in relation to the ‘reality’ of the Lodge, some strategies may be developed through which the ‘performers’ can engage the perceptions and anticipations of visitors who might bring with them Western stereotypes to the encounter.

Conclusion

The tourism theories discussed above help to contextualise the !Xaus experience. These theories aid in an understanding of what is expected of ‘performers’ in cultural tourism, in order to portray an ‘authentic’ experience and (to a certain extent) what effects this may have on their society. Certain characteristics and behaviours of tourists are discussed, which will allow for a deeper understanding of !Xaus’s target market and past visitors. Links to past theory and research also facilitates a more nuanced approach than my own participant observations would permit.

The Circuit of Culture enables an in-depth understanding of how meanings are constructed, interpreted, circulated, internalised and constantly changing. It offers the reader a theoretical background to the methodology of semiotics and the various reception analysis processes: semiotics concentrates on the meaning making and interpretation of signs, and the material obtained from the reception analysis is useful in detecting and analysing common conceptual themes which regulate and produce meaning/representation and create identity. These conceptual themes, as well as the semiotic analysis, aim to understand how the promotional materials of !Xaus are

made and understood and how this links to the ‘reality’ of the !Xaus experience. The following methodological chapter (Chapter 5) will show how the research material/data was obtained, which lent itself to such a theoretical framework.

Chapter 5: Methodology

In this chapter I will outline the methods used in obtaining my research and the methods involved in both the textual and reception analyses. The paradigm of Applied Social Science is discussed in relation to my research aim to assist the improvement of !Xaus Lodge's commercial product and thus support the development of employment opportunities and a regeneration of usable historical cultural knowledge¹³³ for the ≠Khomani. I then go on to explain how both the textual and reception analyses include elements of participant observation; they include examples of my own personal experience at the Lodge. This will offer nuance to both the textual and reception analyses and incorporate vital information imperative to the understanding and workings of the Lodge and people involved. The difference between the analyses is explained through an examination of what each entails. I examine Charles Sanders Peirce's (1931-1958) work through Tomaselli's *Phaneroscopic Table* (1996:37), in order to elucidate the methodological background of my textual/semiotic analysis. I also include an explanation of the focus groups, interviews and questionnaires conducted in order to describe how I obtained the perspectives of the target market and past visitors to !Xaus for the reception analysis. To end, I explain how I place all the acquired information from the reception analysis into various themes through a process known as coding, to facilitate examination of the subject matter.

Applied Social Science and Action Research

“Applied Social Science refers to [academic] knowledge production that is supposed to be ‘useful’” (Pohoryles 2007:16). In the footsteps of Paul Lazarsfeld¹³⁴, more recent theorists¹³⁵ such as Luk van Langenhove (2007) propose that the social sciences need to produce more useable knowledge for societies. Van Langenhove (2007) states that social sciences are trapped in a traditional academic paradigm which may fail to address everyday issues and that academic work is generally not used by

¹³³ I nor !Xaus Lodge try to convince the ≠Khomani that the presentation of cultural tourism is in their own interest (cf. Buntman 1996; O’Leary, personal correspondence, January 2009).

¹³⁴ Lazarsfeld conducted one of the most renowned studies in the field of Applied Social Science (cf. Jahoda et al. 1933). By combining quantitative and qualitative methods in this study Lazarsfeld overcame criticisms by meeting acceptable ‘scientific’ standards (cf. Pohoryles 2007: 17). Lazarsfeld then went on to write academic texts in this field (cf. Lazarsfeld et al. 1975).

¹³⁵ See for example: Phillips (1987) and Durrheim et al. (2006).

others (academic or otherwise) in problem solving. He suggests that social science must work with, and for, more practical issues in order to contribute to the transformation of contemporary societies. This subjective approach is supported by contemporary social science paradigms¹³⁶, where complete objectivity is generally seen to be an impossibility. Not only does this paradigm strive for practicality, but it also calls for a normative dimension which acts against “empirically uninformed moral philosophy and political theory” (Joas 2004: 12)¹³⁷.

My research falls within this Applied Social Science paradigm as it is not only a ‘scientific’¹³⁸ academic study but is also of practical value for the stakeholders of !Xaus: the ≠Khomani and Mier owners, as well as the operating company (TFPD). It aims to help improve the promotional materials as well as the !Xaus experience through the outcomes of an in-depth textual analysis and a past visitor and target market reception analysis (as well as my own ethnographic tropes). As explained in the Introduction (Chapter 1), my research intends not only to aid business for the operator of the Lodge but also to aid the business of the ≠Khomani and Mier owners and the prospects of the employees of the Lodge¹³⁹. I also problematise issues around the cultural tourism at !Xaus, the analysis of which can be utilised by the performers themselves. More specifically, my research falls within the systematic inquiry of action research which:

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

It is through this participatory relationship with TFPD, the collection of data and the application of relevant meaning making and tourist theory and various methodologies (and resulting reflections) that my practical analysis arises. As described above, my

¹³⁶ See the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development’s (OECD) 2004 report: *Re-inventing the Social Sciences*. Available at: www.oecd.org/dataoecd/46/45/33695704.pdf. Last accessed on 7 May 2009.

¹³⁷ Available at: www.oecd.org/dataoecd/46/45/33695704.pdf. Last accessed on 7 May 2009.

¹³⁸ Different methods, theories and data from various researchers were used (cf. De Beer 2004).

¹³⁹ CCMS research partner, Lauren Dyll, will use this dissertation to inform her own research in creating a viable model aimed at empowerment and sustainable development that will hopefully be consulted in future indigenous community/lodge partnerships and cultural tourism ventures.

research aims to produce “worthwhile”¹⁴⁰ results for communities and individuals. It has thus far (since July 2007) been shared with the CEO of TFPD who, in turn, has provided me with much information through interviews, emails and unsolicited feedback from past visitors to !Xaus Lodge. According to O’Leary, I have contributed to changes in the promotional material through feedback obtained from the 2007 focus groups, a research essay I had written about the marketing material in November 2007 (which I have used as a planning document for this dissertation¹⁴¹), and through personal discussions (O’Leary, personal correspondence, 25 February 2009). This has culminated in the 2009 informational booklet¹⁴², revised website¹⁴³ and brochure¹⁴⁴ (O’Leary, personal correspondence, 27 November 2008)¹⁴⁵.

Ethnography and participant observation

When discussing my analysis of !Xaus Lodge and its staff, I give examples to validate my assessment. This contextual element is based on the qualitative method of participant observation, which derives from anthropological ethnographic methods.

Ethnography traditionally was considered a straight-forward cultural description by a researcher about a foreign group of people. It was thought to emerge from a stay in the field where one simply took notes about the studied group which were later written up. In the second half of the twentieth century this simple description of ethnography came under fire as theorists interrogated aspects such as Western cultural conceit and unwarranted claims of objectivity (Van Maanen 1995: 1-2). Contemporary anthropology, and thus the theory and practice of ethnography, solves the argument of Western conceit to some degree as it includes critiques on Western society and its assumptions, “to enlighten us about other human possibilities, engendering an awareness that we are merely one pattern among many” (Marcus &

¹⁴⁰ See Reason & Bradbury (2001: 1).

¹⁴¹ The research essay was written for the postgraduate course, Visual Anthropology (CCMS). See http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=20&Itemid=20 for further information regarding the course. Last accessed on 7 May 2009. This research essay is soon to be published (Finlay 2009 forthcoming).

¹⁴² To be discussed under the Textual (Chapter 6) and Reception (Chapter 7) analyses.

¹⁴³ The 2009 website was released at too late a date for an analysis to be included in this dissertation, but it has been re-designed, using a more user-friendly structure and has included a lot more information than previously incorporated (O’Leary, personal correspondence, February 2009).

¹⁴⁴ The brochure was also released too late in 2009 for an analysis of this material to be included.

¹⁴⁵ The results of how my work influenced the new 2009 materials will be discussed in the Textual Analysis (Chapter 6).

Fischer 1999: ix). Discussions on objectivity still abound but have been partly solved by reflexive methods, which will be discussed below.

One of ethnography's most characteristic procedures is that of participant observation where the author takes part in the life of the community/group involved in the research process (Kottak 2002: 35-36). By having joined Tomaselli's team as a participant observer on two trips in July 2007 and 2008¹⁴⁶, I was able to consider staff responses to the newly opened Lodge from their off-the-cuff remarks¹⁴⁷, as well as to record my own assessment of the Lodge. I was also given the opportunity to informally interview a number of staff members at !Xaus and the CEO of TFPD on a number of occasions, most of these occurring in the back region, the staff accommodation where we were sojourning, which offered a more informal way of interacting with staff.

Participant observation allows for a far deeper understanding of a community than literary research would be able to provide. Many current publications on the Bushmen still concentrate on historical contexts of how the Bushmen came to be dominated by other groups and disposed of land (c.f. Skotnes 2007; Smith et al. 2000). Other publications lack much contextualisation of their subjects' emotions, living conditions, beliefs etcetera (cf. Garland & Gordon 1999). Even publications by Tomaselli's research team have, in the past, created a tension between the text and reality. Tomaselli et al. (2008: 349) posit that theory and formal texts had an enddistancing effect on the tangible lives of the subjects, such as their fears, expectations and working conditions. The privilege of my being there at !Xaus allowed a far greater understanding of the personalities, environment and issues dealt with at the Lodge. Further, I was inserted into fieldwork that had been ongoing since 1995, as previous student cohorts and researchers had already established close relationships with particular ≠Khomani individuals, their representative bodies and some of the NGOs servicing them. This institutional and personal immersion will be reflected through the ethnographic examples in the following chapters.

¹⁴⁶ In July 2007 we stayed for five nights at !Xaus Lodge and in July 2008 we stayed for two nights.

¹⁴⁷ Informal interviews will be discussed later in the chapter.

Traditional ethnography through participant observation generally informs the reader as to the location and community of study. It may also explain how the author came to know certain individuals and perhaps even include humorous stories of misfortune (cf. Gullahorn-Holecek 1983; Mead 1928). However, few ground level problems are addressed, and the research process involved behind many studies, publications and films concentrating on the Bushmen is often obscured by theories and methodology that say little about how the researcher obtained his/her material (Tomaselli et al. 2008: 349-350). One must allow participatory observation to document “the mess of everyday life, the contradictions which befuddle the theory” (Tomaselli et al. 2008: 349). I do this through problematising my experiences. For example, problematising Corné Witbooi’s romantic versus globalised identity¹⁴⁸. Additionally, some of my encounters will be linked to other articles written by the team (c.f. Tomaselli 2007a; Dyll 2003). This connection will allow for a more triangulated and reflexive stance in my own work.

Outline of analysis

A textual analysis of !Xaus Lodge’s promotional material (Figs 8-13: 178-219), using Peircian semiotics¹⁴⁹ qualified by Tomaselli’s Table of Phaneroscopy (1996), is applied to discover what ideas the producers wish to portray about the Lodge. This is followed by a reception analysis using focus groups consisting of participants that match !Xaus’s target market and questionnaires completed by respondents who had previously visited !Xaus Lodge. The textual analysis of the promotional materials will be compared to the reception analysis of these materials and divergences will be explained.

Semiotic analysis

A semiotic/textual analysis of the promotional media allows one to move beyond a denotative explanation to examine connotative social meanings. Although much formalist writing concentrates mainly on texts, meanings take place within a context, and “prevailing meanings are the outcomes of encounters between individuals, groups and classes and their respective cosmologies and conditions of existence” (Tomaselli 1996: 29).

¹⁴⁸ See Theory Chapter 4 (49).

¹⁴⁹ See Peirce 1931-1958.

Peirce wrote, “the meaning of representation can be nothing but a representation” (Peirce 1931-1958, 1.339). He argued that all experience was mediated through sense making of signs. He produced a model where he theorised that the sign was made up of three parts: the representamen, the interpretant and the object. The representamen signifies something to somebody. It generates another equivalent or more developed sign in the mind of the person; this is the interpretant of the first sign. This latter idea or representation stands for its object, which is something to which the sign refers (Peirce 1931-1958, 2.228).

I will use the painting below, one which is displayed at !Xaus Lodge, to describe Peirce’s triadic process in a more contextualised fashion.



Figure 4: Photograph of painting by Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper (2003).
Source: CCMS research affiliate, Van den Oever (July 2007).

The painting itself is the representamen. The interpretant is what the audience makes of the painting, for example linking it to preconceived notions of traditional Bushmen paintings and perhaps coming to the conclusion that this modern painting has many similar artistic traits to historic rock art. The object of the sign would be the artist, Vetkat Kruiper.

This explanation and example highlights the fact that Peircian semiotics insists that the meaning of the sign is not contained within it, but is formed through its

interpretation (Chandler 2004: 35). In fact, these interpretants could lead to successive interpretants ad infinitum (Chandler 2004: 33). For example, Vetkat's painting could produce further connotations as a result of the radio in the foreground, such as the colloquial use of the term 'modern'. This notion could lead to other ideas such as links to local music.

Peirce further employed three basic 'modes of relationship' between sign vehicles and their referent: iconic, indexical and symbolic (Hawkes 1977: 129). An iconic sign represents its object through its similarity (it does not necessarily have to be visual) (Chandler 2004: 39). An example of an iconic sign would be a photograph of !Xaus Lodge which looks like the actual Lodge. However, semioticians agree that there are no pure icons; there is always an element of cultural convention. Take the example of the !Xaus photograph, again. The photograph only portrays a certain aspect of the Lodge, perhaps an aspect which the photographer may find appealing, thus excluding many other informative features (Chandler 2004: 38-39).

An indexical sign is one where the sign draws attention to its referent. When looking at the photograph in the 2007 !Xaus Lodge brochure of people standing on the deck staring out at the pan (Fig 8: 179), one would conclude that they are admiring the wilderness. The former sign draws our attention to the latter sign (Tomaselli 1996: 30-31).

A symbolic sign is one in which the idea represented is linked through social conventions and has no observable connection (Tomaselli 1996: 30-31). The interpretation is usually ideological or mythical; it ties in with one's cultural experience of the world (Tomaselli 1996: 39). The photograph on the back page of the brochure¹⁵⁰ shows two figures riding on a donkey cart. A symbolic idea represented to potential clients may be that these people still enjoy the simplicity of life, or it may connote paternal ideas of primitivism and poverty.

Peirce's philosophy goes beyond simply making sense of signs. Through phanerescopy he examines "the collective total of all that is in any way or in any

¹⁵⁰ Figs 8 & 9. However, I did not include pages inclusive of contact details and so these pages cannot be seen in the figures attached.

sense present to the mind, quite regardless of whether it corresponds to any real thing or not” (Peirce 1931-1958: 1.284). He explains the process of signs becoming signs and the way that meaning is constructed through an interplay between the categories of firstness, secondness and thirdness. Firstness is an objective reality of something; it is as it is without relation to anything else. Secondness relates that something to something else, but not to a third entity (Merrell 2001: 31-32). Thirdness mediates between firstness and secondness, for example a meaning or habit (Johansen & Larsen 2002: 123).

Peirce’s ‘modes of relationships’ are drawn together with his theory of phaneroscopy in conjunction with the postulates of Roland Barthes (1972), John Fiske (1982), Fiske and John Hartley (1978) and, in some ways, Ferdinand de Saussure¹⁵¹, in Tomaselli’s Table of Phaneroscopy (1996: 37).

Orders of Signification	Phaneroscopy	2nd Trichotomy of Signs		Nature of Semiotic Interaction	Phenomenology
1	Firstness: Central Idea	Icon		Encounter	Being-there
2	Secondness: Identity in the face of the Other	Index	Denotation Connotation Myth	Experience Transmission/transmitted texts	Activity/Doing Reading/writing Conceived/received texts
3	Thirdness: Codes/syntagma Modes of relations	Symbol:	Myth Commonsense Ideology	Intelligibility Making sense	Public Signs

Figure 5: Tomaselli’s Table of Phaneroscopy
Source: Tomaselli (1996: 37)

The Phaneroscopic Table not only simplifies Peirce’s theories, but also elaborates on his ideas.

The first level is that of the inactive text or the self-contained sign (Tomaselli 1996: 38). The medium of film can be used as an example. Uys’s *The Gods Must be Crazy* (1980) is taken at face value in this context. Conceptual links such as the primitive connotations of the film¹⁵², or even a comparison with other fiction or documentary films related to Bushmen, are not considered until the second level (Tomaselli 1996: 57). Also incorporated in this level is that of the replica of ‘reality’ or the replica of

¹⁵¹ See Tomaselli (1996: 36).

¹⁵² See Davis (1985: 51).

the text itself as this still relates to the central idea. For example, a photograph of wildlife may signify this concept in one's mind.

However, all signs, even at this basic level, are hypothetical as they arise within specific social contexts (Tomaselli 1996: 38). As discussed above, it is presumed that the target audience of !Xaus would understand what the concept 'wildlife' signifies when looking at the !Xaus brochure. If a reader of the promotional material had never seen a wildebeest before in reality or through some form of media, s/he may be unaware of this animal.

When taking the focus group participants (target market), questionnaire respondents (past visitors) and interviewees into consideration, they supply the 'voice' when viewing/reading the promotional materials, whereas when viewing a film the film provides the 'voice': their respective firstness is different (Tomaselli 1996: 57). In a film the information is presented to the viewer, while in the reading of the !Xaus materials one can choose what information to read and in what way. The sense of 'being there' is similarly the act of the reading of the materials in a specific context. The focus group participants read the promotional materials in a totally different context as they would when reading the material at the Lodge where one can relate it to the 'reality' (level of secondness).

The central idea of the texts is that of promoting a remote, culturally owned Lodge in the Kalahari. This is presented through signs of the encounter; through photographs and text portraying the experience of !Xaus. In this case, the encounter is similar to the iconicity of the experience where the 'reality' of the Lodge is represented through the same photographs and text (Tomaselli 1996: 57).

The concepts discussed above involve the reading of the text, but firstness also covers the stages involved in the meaning making of signs (i.e. what is there before it is seen by an audience). Firstness would then cover the production of the !Xaus website and brochure. Even so, explanatory backgrounds and consequences are not included in this definition as this would disqualify its autonomous status. Therefore, the reasons

that images and text were chosen by Lemonade¹⁵³ and the authorities at TFPD, and the connotations derived by the readers of these materials, have to be excluded. When the phaneron generated by the text produces conceptual links, connotations and/or questions, this refers to the level of secondness (Tomaselli 1996: 57).

“Secondness as experience demands practical engagement as a necessary consequence for an encounter to become meaningful” (Tomaselli 1996: 58). Unlike level one where the informants do not interact with the material, this level requires an intellectual connection. Secondness is still relatively autonomous, but the concept perceived forms its identity in relation to something else (Tomaselli 1996: 37). Let us take, for example, the Mier identity in relation to that of the ≠Khomani identity; both are co-owners of the Lodge but have strong community links which are self and structurally imposed. In an interview with Beverly Bezuidenhout (of the original Mier staff members) she stated that someone will have to keep an eye on the Bushmen’s drinking problems in the cultural village (Bezuidenhout, interview, July 2007). Further separation of the communities occurs at the Lodge. The Mier are hired by TFPD to work in the Lodge at reception, as cleaners and cooks, while the ≠Khomani are mainly hired as trackers and to work in the cultural village.

Very similar to the concept of secondness is that of Peirce’s index (discussed in more detail above), which draws our attention to a perception of something else. It involves connotative meaning arising from simple denotative explanations. When one studies the 2008 brochure and the photograph of the set dining table (Fig 9: 182), this may denote eating but may connote the idea of service as opposed to self-catering. Of course, not all denotations and connotations fit with what the meaning makers of the messages foresee¹⁵⁴ (Tomaselli 1996: 38-39 & 58-58). For example, a potential visitor to !Xaus may read in the text that it is a “luxury lodge”¹⁵⁵ but be convinced otherwise by the exterior photographs of the Lodge, which could be viewed as ‘semi-rustic’.

All conceptual understandings at this level of simple motivated meaning involve “culturally shaped ways of making sense ... from the way particular societies, social

¹⁵³ The brochures and leaflets were designed by a Cape Town design company, Lemonade.

¹⁵⁴ What Umberto Eco (1965) referred to as aberrant decoding.

¹⁵⁵ See, for example, Fig 8 (179).

groups or classes use, value and encode” signs (Tomaselli 1996: 38). In endowing signs with meaning the interpreter is active in his/her understanding of the experience. For example, when buying a painted pebble from the side of the road from one of the residents at Witdraai, a visitor may feel that it is an item representative of ≠Khomani culture. The ≠Khomani artist may not share these ideals and conceive of these stones as objects needed in order to sustain his/her livelihood.

The example given above discusses differing connotations regarding an object. Also incorporated at this level is the issue of aberrant decoding, where signs with seemingly conventional connotations produce surprising new or oppositional meanings. People reading !Xaus’s 2007 promotional materials¹⁵⁶ may be concerned that because !Xaus is community owned that it may be community run as well. Negative connotations may then occur based on past experience at other lodges such as the worry that the Lodge may not live up to expected accommodation standards. Therefore, this example could be considered a case of aberrant decoding and should be clarified in the promotional material¹⁵⁷. It is clear that signs are made meaningful through convention and so are more arbitrary and less motivated at this level than at the level of firstness (Tomaselli 1996: 39).

The third level is the level which is responsible for a broad cultural view of the world; a society, class or group’s perspective of how ‘reality’ is organised (Tomaselli 1996: 39). Thirdness connects the other two levels, thereby making them intelligible, connecting them to larger chains of thought. It corresponds to classical communication theories of syntagmas and codes where people share similar mind maps when making sense of their worlds (therefore inclusive of public signs) (Tomaselli 1996: 58-59). An example of these codes would be in the use of the photograph of the gemsbok at the watering hole, in the 2008 brochure (Fig 9: 182). Many ‘modern’ societal codes would require people to interpret these animals as protected wildlife (unless, of course, they were kept on a farm specifically used for hunting purposes where people pay for this sport). However, in a ‘traditional’ Bushmen context, a herd of gemsbok may signify a source of food.

¹⁵⁶ See Fig 8 (178-180) & Figs 10, 11 (183-188).

¹⁵⁷ As is done in the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13:207).

The level of thirdness in the Table of Phaneroscopy is also inclusive of myth, commonsense, moving into ideology, which are inherent in the creation of meaning. The myths discussed in the Literature Review (Chapter 2) surrounding the representation of the Bushmen would fall between secondness and thirdness. Considering that various interpretations, resulting from cultural codes and ideological concepts, could be involved in the decoding of signs, the people involved in the marketing of !Xaus would preferably have to have a solid knowledge foundation regarding the target market they would be intending to advertise too. It is at this level of thirdness that the reader of the promotional materials would gather their thoughts and create an opinion of the Lodge, based on the information and photographs supplied.

This level is one of significant symbolic activity (Tomaselli 1996: 59). The fact that tourists come to !Xaus, knowing that it is a place to meet Bushmen, signifies that the ≠Khomani have something unique to offer. This expectation is potentially met through activities such as the cultural village and guided walks where the ≠Khomani become the other – identified by secondness, difference in the face of the Same/tourist. This gaze may in the future be challenged by the ≠Khomani staff taking a more active role in the welcoming of the guests to the Lodge and direct involvement in explaining their history to guests (De Knoop, personal correspondence, June 2008).

When conducting the textual semiotic analysis of the materials, I am by no means claiming that this is an objective interpretation. I am but one voice, one interpreter, albeit a voice of an outsider who is not as involved with the Lodge itself as are the staff, owners, operator or managers, or as intimately connected with the production of the promotional material as the operator and the designers. This ‘outsider’ perspective could be of help in seeing things from a more impartial angle.

The first analysis I will conduct of the !Xaus brochure (Fig 8: 178-180), leaflet (Fig 10: 183) and website (Fig 11: 184-188) is as of July 2007. A new, re-designed brochure (Fig 9: 180-182) was brought out later in 2007 and photographs on the website were updated (Fig 12: 189-200). I will refer to these materials as the 2008 brochure and website in order to avoid confusion. The focus group participants discussed the 2007 materials while the questionnaire respondents (past visitors to the

Lodge) responded to the 2008 materials in the reception analysis in order to provide feedback for the longitudinal study. The 2009 questionnaire respondents gave feedback on the new information booklet (Fig 13: 201-219).

An analysis of material in 2009 will be different to another analysis of the same material just a few years later as the meanings of signs change with time and through people's thought processes (interpretants) (Johansen & Larsen 2002). This analysis of !Xaus's texts may date quickly and thus the meaning-makers should re-examine the representative connotations with every run.

Reception analysis

Participatory approach

My research consults both the producers and the consumers of the !Xaus Lodge product and its promotional materials. Therefore, this is not a linear top-down research approach as is still practiced by many academics, development and research institutions (cf. Dyll 2009a forthcoming). Rather, I use the relevant knowledge of !Xaus's past visitors (questionnaire respondents), and that of the target market who have not visited !Xaus (focus group participants), to bring together their knowledge and experience with that of the promotional material producers; those who are part of the phenomena being studied and those who make decisions about this phenomena (Van Langenhove 2007: 244-245). I obtained the target groups' understandings through focus groups. The insight of the consumer/past visitor of !Xaus was received through the distribution of questionnaires. The stakeholders' opinions¹⁵⁸ were also obtained from interviews and participatory observation. This triangulated information (between the operator, consumer and owners) is a thorough way of understanding how to best improve one's product and promotional material.

Focus Groups

Focus groups were used in order to obtain information about !Xaus's materials (to be discussed in Chapter 7: the Reception Analysis). These groups allowed me to test the reaction of the participants to the 2007 promotional material¹⁵⁹, thus providing me

¹⁵⁸ The owners (≠Khomani and Mier) as well as the !Xaus operators (TFPD).

¹⁵⁹ Fig 8, (178-180), 10 (183), 11 (184-188).

with feedback as to whether there are inconsistencies between my textual analysis and these decodings.

I conducted three focus groups within the KwaZulu-Natal area in September and October 2007¹⁶⁰. Each focus group had five or six participants, both male and female, and fitted into the high income earning South African target market of !Xaus. The ‘snowball’ method was used whereby an informant finds relevant others to participate in the research and refers the researcher to these informants and even perhaps to others, so in time, amassing a large number of informants (Katz & Liebes 1993: 25). The first group’s ages ranged between fifties and sixties, the second group between thirties and forties, and the third group concentrated on the mid-twenties. Most of the participants were white South Africans, barring three foreign residents: one male Canadian and a German couple. When referring to opinions stated within focus groups, I have used informant’s first names as these seem more personal than representative names.

The use of focus groups is arguably conducive to a relaxed environment, encouraging a free flow of information (McClellan 1992: 100). Using qualitative methodology allows the researcher to know people personally and to obtain a deeper understanding of respondent’s beliefs, as opposed to quantitative methodology, which may reduce people to statistical aggregates (Bogdan 1975: 4). Furthermore, the format of focus groups allows the researcher to observe interaction about a topic. “Group discussions provide direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participants’ opinions and experiences” (Morgan 1997: 10).

There are, of course, limitations that need to be considered when using focus groups. The fact that these groups are driven by a researcher’s interests can result in a situation that is distinctly less naturalistic than one which would arise out of a relaxed informative reading¹⁶¹. Also, informants could withhold information or express more extreme views in a group than they would in private. However, researchers influence most situations in which they are present (Gephart & Richardson 2007: 45). Another

¹⁶⁰ See appendices 10, 11, 12 (226-275) for FG1, FG2 and FG3 transcripts.

¹⁶¹ However, David Morgan (1997: 10) states that the researcher has more control over individual interviews.

criticism of focus groups is that participants may influence each other's responses and positions may be modified or reversed (Krueger 1994: 36). From the perspective of the focus group facilitator and through my own immersion in the data, I posit that opinions generally did not vary widely within groups regarding their opinions on Bushmen cultural tourism¹⁶² (they did differ when discussing aspects of the accommodation). There are differences of opinions between groups, possibly as a result of age differences. However, as a result of the relatively small number of focus groups and focus group participants, sixteen in total, this project does not claim to be representative of the target market of !Xaus¹⁶³. It is simply representative of these three groups and these individuals.

I examined people's perceptions of the Bushmen through open-ended questions (Appendix 1: 220) and photo-elicitation (see below). This assisted in keeping the participants on track in their discussion and in an understanding of their interpretations of the promotional media.

Photo-elicitation

Photo-elicitation relating to Figs 8 (178-180), 10 (183) and 11 (184-188) was used as a reference point for discussion. I also showed the participants some of my own photographs that were taken at !Xaus Lodge and at the ≠Khomani community of Witdraai. Through the display of these visual promotional materials the complex intentions of the meaning-makers were contextually decoded by the participants (Kaspin 2002: 320). Discussion around these materials and the photographs allowed for structured conversation without the inhibitive effect that questionnaires or verbal probes would cause, and the participants were further kept from wandering off topic. In facilitating this dialogical environment, the informants realised that they were not the sole subjects of examination. Though they may have felt that the "facts are in the pictures"¹⁶⁴, they were encouraged to voice concerns or perspectives that they may otherwise have repressed in a formal questionnaire. This apparent 'objectivity'

¹⁶² With the exception of Focus Group 1, where there was a disagreement between two respondents regarding Bushmen representation (Appendix 10: 241-243).

¹⁶³ In fact, when calculating the average age of the questionnaire respondent (34 in total. 8 respondents included their partner's age. 1 respondent's age was unknown), it was calculated at 55. Thus, the mid-twenties focus group's opinions do not fit well within the profile of !Xaus Lodge's past visitors.

¹⁶⁴ Collier & Collier (1986: 106).

associated with discussing materials allowed for the use of a recording device (Collier & Collier 1986: 106).

Recording

The first two focus groups were video-taped and the last focus group was recorded, using a dictaphone, as the cameraman was not available. I found it easier to transcribe from video recordings as one could see who was addressing whom, whereas with the dictaphone one has to distinguish a voice from a number of others. These discussions were then transcribed into a written form in order for the information to be analysed.

Interviews

Through qualitative interviews you can understand experiences and reconstruct events in which you did not participate... You can extend your intellectual and emotional reach across age, occupation, class, race, sex, and geographical boundaries (Rubin & Rubin 2005: 3).

Formal and informal qualitative interviews were conducted with the operator, management and Mier staff of !Xaus Lodge, visitors at the Lodge and the ≠Khomani workers at the cultural village. The reason for these interviews is that I needed to understand perspectives other than my own. For example, an understanding of the identity of the staff, Mier and ≠Khomani, is vital in order to assess whether the cultural representation in the promotional materials is accurate. Another example is that of the opinions of past visitors to the Lodge, which I needed to obtain to see if the expectations created by the promotional materials were met.

Informal interviews are those carried out in a relaxed environment with 'non-directive' interviewing techniques. Therefore, no concretely defined questions are in place (Gillham 2003: 1). Most informal interviews with the CEO of TFPD (O'Leary) were recorded, unlike those carried out with staff and guests who are those informants who need to be put at ease. The staff and guests had less of an understanding of the research project than O'Leary, who had read all the research teams' associated writing. A long-time colleague – both having worked in the film industry and on regulatory issues – O'Leary had approached Tomaselli as their new interest in tourism, the Bushmen, and media-induced tourism had similarly converged. Following a series of formal negotiations over many months, a *modus operandi* was

agreed upon, whereby CCMS would extend its research project to include the Lodge, this being a natural outcome of its previous studies in the Kalahari. Further, the research would continue to be funded by the project via the National Research Foundation, not the Lodge, thus protecting the integrity of the academic critique.

In “conversational partnerships, most people try to be honest and open; lies are rare and easily discovered” (Rubin & Rubin 2005: 71). Even so, other issues may influence the believability factor. When interviewing someone at !Xaus, whether it be a tourist, staff member or managerial figure, their answers could be restrained if other people involved in the Lodge were present. This factor was taken into account and when interviewing the staff or members of the cultural village no managerial members were present, and visa versa.

O’Leary also sent me unsolicited comments from guests written direct to him. These varied in length, with some being very comprehensive and often highly constructively critical. Even seriously negative letters were also sent on to me by O’Leary. This uncharacteristic openness on the part of the lodge operator was part of the structured relationship negotiated by Tomaselli and has typified the entire project thus far, involving a number of students. However, I have only used the information from two of these emails¹⁶⁵ to inform my work as I have collected much of my own data.

Questionnaires

My two visits to !Xaus in July 2007 and 2008 did not allow enough time to gain information from very many tourists. In order to increase my data and to allow time for reflection on their experiences, I sent an open-ended questionnaire via email to 137¹⁶⁶ past visitors. There were a total of 27 responses (19.7% response¹⁶⁷) from various countries: South Africa, Germany, Australia, Italy, Canada, Namibia, the Netherlands, Switzerland, Sweden, and the United Kingdom. These contact e-mail addresses were sent to me by Retief (the manager of !Xaus) and the Cape Town offices of TFPD, thus creating a purposive sample. “Purposive samples seek out

¹⁶⁵ De Knoop, personal correspondence, June 2008 and MacDonald, personal correspondence, July 2008

¹⁶⁶ This number does not include addresses which failed permanently.

¹⁶⁷ All percentages were rounded up to the nearest decimal point.

groups, settings and individuals where... the processes being studied are most likely to occur” (Denzin & Lincoln 2000: 370).

I sent the questionnaires on three separate occasions in 2008 as numbers of past visitors to the Lodge increased; 10 June (Appendix 2: 220), 25 July (Appendix 3: 221) and 6 November (Appendix 3: 221). Thus, the respondents used the 2008 materials as a reference point.

On my first attempt, which I used as my pilot survey, I sent out a cover letter introducing myself, my research and the project, with the questionnaire attached, (Appendix 5: 222) to 23 past visitors of !Xaus. The questionnaire consisted of 18 questions regarding the past visitors’ responses to !Xaus’s promotional materials and the cultural tourism offered at the Lodge. This received a very low response rate of 8.7% (only two out of 23 past visitors replied).

The fact that I approached these past visitors to !Xaus to conduct my pilot survey is important as it allowed me an understanding of how the target market (as opposed to a random sample) would respond (Dijkstra & Van der Zouwen 1982: 39). As a result of the low response rate, Retief and I decided to precede my email by a pre-notification email from himself (Appendix 6: 222), as the past visitors were then more likely to acknowledge the authenticity of my email as well as understand the relevance of the larger research project for the Lodge itself (Punch 2003: 43). Retief’s role as manager includes his conducting lectures on the history of the ≠Khomani, Mier and the Northern Cape area and seeing to the general running of the Lodge, so all the visitors would have interacted with him personally. I then sent my introductory letter (Appendix 5: 222) and questionnaire (Appendix 3: 221) a few days later. Bourque and Fielder (2003: 20) suggest that few online survey respondents enjoy typing lengthy responses to open-ended questions. So, I had shortened the questionnaire by four questions (Appendix 3: 221) so that the respondents were less daunted by its length. This second attempt was substantially better received than the first and obtained a 22.5% response rate (9 out of 40 past visitors replied). Thus, the modified introductory letter (Appendix 7: 223) was again used on 6 November 2008, when an 18.8% response rate was received (3 out of 16 past visitors replied). Even though this response rate was not high, it was substantially higher than the first pilot survey.

!Xaus Lodge released a new information booklet in February 2009. This booklet is placed in all the bedrooms at !Xaus and can be downloaded from the new 2008 website¹⁶⁸. As my analysis concentrates on the development of !Xaus's promotional material, I sent out a further questionnaire (Appendix 4: 221) in order to obtain past visitors' opinions on this new material. I used another modified introductory letter (Appendix 8: 224) from Retief to introduce myself and my topic, which I sent to 58 past visitors before sending out the questionnaire on 5 February 2009. In following with the last set of questionnaires, I kept the questions to a minimum and asked six open ended questions. I received a positive response rate of 22.4% (13 out of 58 replied).

Open-ended questions were used as I wanted respondents to explain their points of view in a more in-depth manner than quantitative questionnaires allow. Some respondents were not as conscientious as others regarding reflective responses, but even short responses contain important opinions. As with interviews, it could be argued that questionnaires could be deceiving. However, it seems to be the suitable approach¹⁶⁹ in this situation as the writing down of answers to a questionnaire allows for respondents to say in words what they may have been wary of expressing to the management face-to-face.

When referring to questionnaire respondents in the Reception Analysis (Chapter 7), I decided that it would be confusing to use first names as I had in the focus groups. It was relatively easy to find relevant pieces of information in the focus group transcripts as there are only three. However, in the 2008 questionnaire group there are 14 transcripts and in the 2009 group there are 13. If questionnaire respondents are referred to by numbers, for example Respondent 1, the reader immediately knows which transcript to consult.

¹⁶⁸ This new website was released at too late a date to be included in this dissertation's analysis.

¹⁶⁹ A. N. Oppenheim (1973: 8) states that there is no single approach which is superior; "it depends on what we need to find out, on the type of question to which we seek an answer".

Coding

Three main qualitative methods (focus groups, interviews and open-ended questionnaires) have been used in order to gain a diverse understanding of !Xaus's target audience, past visitors and meaning makers' perceptions. In order to analyse this material's common or differing themes within and between methods, I used a process known as 'coding'.

In order to code research material one first has to first transcribe one's interviews, after which accompanying annotation can be a helpful aid in forming the main categories/themes on which one wants to focus (Kitchin 2000: 237-242). After involving myself with my material I found that the information coincided with the Circuit of Culture¹⁷⁰ and its four main points: identity, representation, regulation and production and consumption. This correlation makes sense as the Circuit of Culture is about meaning making and through my analysis I am analysing the meaning making of !Xaus's promotional materials and the Lodge experience. Thus, I recorded the four main themes¹⁷¹ on a master sheet¹⁷² as: respondents' beliefs regarding Bushman representation, identity, production and consumption and regulation.

These themes are then refined by creating further sub-themes or data-bits (Kitchin 2000: 24). Each theme and further defined data-bit is represented by a symbol/code¹⁷³. The data-bits are then used to clarify which information pertains to each sub-theme in the transcript by placing the relevant code in the column next to a dialogue box (cf. Appendices 10, 11, 12: 226-275). Understandably, these codes may overlap at times as certain statements contain a number of conceptual codes (Kitchin 2000: 242-243).

The data from the transcripts is then cut and pasted into new documents, according to the relevant sub-themes/data-bit, using a Word processor. The data which is placed within a certain sub-theme must be internally consistent and conceptually related. This aids the researcher in sorting her respondents' input into a more analytically

¹⁷⁰ Du Gay et al. (1997)

¹⁷¹ See Carl F. Auerbach and Louise B. Silverstein (2003: 42-43) for more information regarding themes in coding.

¹⁷² See Appendix 9 (225)

¹⁷³ I gave each category a number and each data-bit the corresponding number and a letter, for example 1a, 1b etcetera.

useful form¹⁷⁴ (Kitchin 2000: 245). Not only did this method help me in identifying the aims of my study, but it was imperative to my realisation of the complexities of my data.

Conclusion

This methodology not only allows for the inclusion of my own experiences through the use of ethnography and participant observation, but also includes my more structured and in-depth analysis of !Xaus Lodge's promotional materials through a semiotic study and enables the comparison of this analysis to the personal opinions of the Lodge's past visitors and South African target market. The following chapter (Chapter 6: the semiotic study) will discuss in detail my¹⁷⁵ Western¹⁷⁶ understanding of the signs making up !Xaus's promotional materials.

¹⁷⁴ However, when referencing, I will refer to the original transcript in order to contextualise the material.

¹⁷⁵ Although the analysis is methodologically and structurally comprehensive, it still includes the author's opinion.

¹⁷⁶ Shared codes between certain groups create similar, or alternatively dissimilar, understandings (Hall 1997: 21).

Chapter 6: Textual Analysis of the !Xaus Promotional Material: A Semiotic Perspective

The 2007/2008 website, brochure¹⁷⁷ and leaflet (Figs 8-12: 178-200) are, to a large extent, reflections of each other. Only slight differences occur between the text (writing) used in the three media and the photographs generally replicate each other according to how much space there is on the page and in the medium itself.

Even though both the website and the brochure were updated in 2008, from the previous year's materials, not much changed regarding the layout and the informational content. The most noteworthy change was that there were more and varying photographs added.

The meaning extolled by the text and visuals of the various promotional materials as well as the discrepancies created within these materials will be examined. The changes between the 2007/8 materials will also be analysed¹⁷⁸.

Promotional materials as signs

When disaggregating their signifying components, it is evident that the brochure, website and leaflet encode similar objects, interpretants and representamens (cf. Peirce 1931-58, 2.228). The representamens are the promotional materials themselves. The objects of the signs are the makers of the representamen. In this case, the makers were the CEO of TFPD, who wrote the text and was integral to the design of the material, and the design company, Lemonade. The interpretant is the idea elicited in a reader from the representamen. Each reader may interpret the text and visuals in different ways, relating to their own life experience and context.

The following discussion analyses the text and visuals within the promotional materials and discusses how their meaning is made through the lens of phaneroscopy (levels of firstness, secondness and thirdness) (cf. Merrell 2001: 31-32; Johansen &

¹⁷⁷The brochures were used at national and international trade shows during 2007/8 (O'Leary, interview, November 2007). The leaflets are found at the gate to the KTP.

¹⁷⁸The 2009 information booklet is too different to the 2007/8 brochures to conduct a comparison between these materials.

Larsen 2002: 123). The relationship between the textual and visual signs and their referent will also be examined. In order to incorporate these different areas of analysis the Phaneroscopic Table will be applied (Tomaselli 1996: 37). As the analysis deepens, it is important to remember that all these signs are made up of the same three aspects discussed above (cf. Peirce 1931-58, 2.228).

Orders of Signification	Phanerology	2nd Trichotomy of Signs	Nature of Semiotic Interaction	Phenomenology
1	Firstness: Central Idea	Icon	Encounter	Being-there
2	Secondness: Identity in the face of the Other	Index	Denotation Connotation Myth	Experience Transmission/transmitted texts Activity/Doing Reading/writing Conceived/received texts
3	Thirdness: Codes/syntagma Modes of relations	Symbol:	Myth Commonsense Ideology	Intelligibility Making sense Public Signs

Tomaselli's table of phanerology (1996: 37)

Source: Tomaselli (1996: 37)

Who has the power: ≠Khomani representation in !Xaus's promotional materials?

Before analysing the promotional materials one may ask who decided on these representations. When the first set of promotional materials¹⁷⁹ was released, the message makers (O'Leary and Lemonade) agreed on how to promote the Lodge and the !Xaus experience. As will be discussed below, there are discrepancies between photographic representations of a 'realistic' nature and textually¹⁸⁰ romantic characterisations in the 2007/8 materials. Whatever the outcome of the portrayal in these earlier materials, the ≠Khomani lacked agency. However, O'Leary (personal correspondence, February 2009) stated that my past research had encouraged the team at the Lodge to assess the cultural product and discuss with the ≠Khomani at the Lodge how they wanted to "present this offering to prospective guests". The outcome is reflected in the evolving cultural product as well as the promotional material. It seems that the !Xaus team must have agreed upon a 'traditional' representation in the context of today's world. Although the social circumstances of the ≠Khomani are discussed to an extent in the informational booklet (Fig 13: 201-219), drawings of stereotypical Bushmen figures are now included. Also, the ≠Khomani have begun to incorporate more timeless portrayals at the Lodge. A new employee known as Elvis

¹⁷⁹ The second set of promotional materials (2008) was based on the first set.

¹⁸⁰ That is written romantic characterisations.

Swartz voluntarily encouraged a more ‘traditional’ approach by choosing to wear a loincloth at times (O’Leary, personal correspondence, January 2009). Through such a portrayal Swartz asserts his cultural difference and encourages communication with guests. The romantic myth is therefore not one propagated by the CEO and design company, but one that is projected by these parties and the ≠Khomani at !Xaus Lodge.

Visual analysis: 2007/2008 materials (Figs 8-12)

Semiologist Christian Metz (1974: 26) posits that a still image is not “a discrete unit”; it provides the reader with an amount of indeterminate information. Roland Barthes (2007: 33-40) theorises that photographs are epistemologically complex as a result of a dual representation of “having-been-there” (a point in time), while at the same time creating a persisting instant. In a similar vein, Jessica Evans (2007: 12-14) agrees with Victor Burgin (1982: 143) that “there is no language of photography, no single signifying system... (in the sense in which all forms of spoken and written language in English ultimately depend upon the English language)”. They theorize that this makes the meaning and understanding of visual images complex to deduce.

In light of the arguments above I stress that there may be many more ways of looking at the colours, icons, photographs, paintings and map discussed below (this statement is also true of the semiotic analysis of the text).

Colours 2007 (Figs 8, 10, 11)

At the level of firstness, the colours of the website (Fig 11: 184-188), brochure (Fig 8: 178-180) and leaflet (Fig 10: 183) are seen for what they are: orange, ochre¹⁸¹, light brown, khaki and green. This ‘reality’ relates to that of the icon – these colours represent the physical environment at !Xaus; the arid semi-desert shrubbery and the orange sand (although one would only mentally associate these references in the second order of signification). The notion of the ‘encounter’ and aspect of ‘being there’ reflect the experience of reading/viewing the promotional material before any associations or understandings are made (this is true for all other sections of the analysis).

¹⁸¹ I think that the Lodge’s colour blends in with the red sand.

The level of secondness allows for comparison to other colours. One would now conclude that these earth tones are there for a specific reason – to denote !Xaus’s semi-desert environment. The blue, almost cloudless, sky in some of the brochure’s photographs reinforces the feeling of being in a remote, desolate landscape.

This is also the level where connotations come to the fore. The rich, warm colours of the brochure and website, in contrast to the clear blue sky, connote feelings of physical warmth, so enabling an appreciation of the physical location. An inclusion of ≠Khomani art in both the website and brochure creates a clear distinction between these bright and varied displays of colours and those of the natural colours used in the rest of the promotional material. This dissimilarity brings with it connotations of an unfamiliar and othered society.

The ‘experience’ created through the ‘reading’ of these ‘conceived’ and ‘received’ materials is different according to the context in which one is reading them. If one were reading the material before arriving at !Xaus, the colours would create expectations of an arid and dry climate. After visiting the Lodge one could compare these colours to the ‘reality’ of the environment.

The third order of signification, in relation to the aspect of colour, leans towards decoding the signs in a ‘common sense’ way. ‘Making sense’ of the browns, oranges blues and greens and linking these to nature seems ‘common sense’ through the frame of my western context; the way that my society makes sense of ‘reality’ (Tomaselli 1996: 39). The browns, oranges and blues especially link to a notion of an African desert where the environment is dry and the sky is without clouds.

Colours 2008 (Figs 9, 10, 12)

The colours inside the 2008 brochure (Fig 9: 180-182) are very similar to those of the inside of the 2007 brochure¹⁸² (Fig 8: 178-180). The difference between the two is that the 2008 brochure included the bright blue of the sky on its front cover, whereas the 2007 brochure included a white background. In addition, the new front cover shows the red sand against the very similar colour of the chalets.

¹⁸² The 2008 website (Fig 12: 189-200) did not change noticeably except for different photographs being included and the leaflet (Fig 10: 183) did not change at all.

A comparison between the blue sky versus the white background of the 2007 brochure takes place at the second order of signification. The blue of the sky connotes good weather, whereas the white background lacks this signification. The bright blue is also more eye-catching than the stark white. The red sand against the chalets also emphasises how the chalets do blend into the environment. The third level of signification in relation to these natural colours has already been discussed with regards to the 2007 materials above.

Icons 2007 and 2008¹⁸³ (Figs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12)

Through the encounter of reading the promotional material, the iconic symbols of the 4x4 eco trails, !Xaus Lodge and hiking trails found on the front page of the 2007 brochure (Fig 8: 178), and the first page of the 2008 brochure (Fig 9: 181), represents their respective activities and the physical structure of !Xaus Lodge.

Through ‘reading’ and ‘experiencing’ the icons in the texts many connotations arise. An ethnic feel is connoted through the earthy colours and simplistic design. The 4X4 symbol of a tyre track situated over another tyre track is indicative, on the level of secondness (indexical level), of the dirt roads travelled in the area around the Lodge by four wheel drives. The !Xaus Lodge symbol mirrors the outline of one of the cabins at !Xaus. The wooden poles are shown rising above the roof, reminding the reader that this is not a usual western house by expressing an ethnically African or rustic feel.

The hiking trails symbol (which is also found on almost every page of the website) originated from a painting done on an ostrich egg by the ≠Khomani artist, Vetkat Kruiper. The figure represents a Bushman holding a stick. At the level of secondness it relates to the cultural tourism aspect of !Xaus as a place where one can experience ‘indigenous’ Bushman culture and knowledge. In the hiking context the stick may be linked to a walking stick. The Bushman figure implies that the walks will be ≠Khomani lead. At the second and third level the icon represents how the West has historically viewed the Bushmen. Indexically, the figure connotes a racial stereotype

¹⁸³ The icons did not change in the 2008 promotional material.

arising from unique ‘traditional’ genetic features such as a large posterior. Conversely, the Bushman figure is very similar to those found in ‘traditional’ Bushmen paintings (cf. Lewis-Williams & Pearce 2000). The ≠Khomani have utilised this representation¹⁸⁴ in order to sell ‘authentic’ arts, crafts and paintings¹⁸⁵.

It is through analysing these icons, using the table’s level of thirdness, that the meaning or codes behind such public signs are made apparent. These icons fall within an ideological code which represents ‘Africa’ to the West. One only has to read a few tourist websites to gain a sense of how ‘Africa’ is represented to the Western tourist¹⁸⁶. Some aspects¹⁸⁷ of the continent that are emphasised are those of a wild/remote environment, wildlife and indigenous people. These icons would fit in well with this ideological impression of Africa. The !Xaus Lodge and 4X4 icons relate to the ‘safari’ or physically remote aspect. However, the fact that the Lodge is represented as a substantial building and the fact that the tyre track connotes vehicle access allows for the shield of the ‘environmental bubble’ from the unknown (Cohen 1972: 166-167).

The hiking symbol relates to the ‘Africa’ code through its representation of indigenous people. There is a widely held belief that the Bushmen are at one with nature¹⁸⁸. A trail taken by a ≠Khomani member would thus signify an ‘authentic’ Bushman experience. The fact that an organised trail in itself is not an ‘authentic’ experience but a pseudo-event may be considered, depending on the reader (Boorstin 1964). On the tracking experience I attended in July 2008, we were lead by an ex-ranger of KTP. Corné Witbooi (a member of the ≠Khomani) followed the visitors and added in some information to tracking or plant explanations every now and then. This may be because he spoke limited English. However, Corné’s lack of involvement did

¹⁸⁴ See Tomaselli (2007a: 12).

¹⁸⁵ I have seen many crafts being sold in the area of Witdraai in the Northern Cape bearing the stereotypical Bushmen figure. Also see Vetkat Kruiper’s painting (Fig 4: 67).

¹⁸⁶ See Geographia at: <http://www.geographia.com/indx06.htm> & New African Frontiers at: <http://www.newafricanfrontiers.com>. Accessed on 11 May 2009.

¹⁸⁷ There are some travel agencies who promote other aspects such as relaxing at beach resorts. See, for example, ‘Africa Stay’ at: <http://www.africastay.com/>. Accessed on 11 May 2009.

¹⁸⁸ This belief falls within the romantic myth, however ‘true’ it is. The ≠Khomani traditionalists identify themselves as a people able to read and relate to nature (cf. Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 56).

detract from an ‘authentic’ Bushman tracking experience¹⁸⁹. Presenting a romantic identity becomes problematic when there is a lack of much ‘traditional’ knowledge. This is partly the reason why romantic representations are discussed in this textual analysis as well as in the following reception analysis (Chapter 7).

The other icon of the lion’s paw print within the circled text, TFPD, shown on both brochures (Figs 8 & 9: 178, 180) as well as throughout the 2007 and 2008 website (Figs 11 & 12: 184-200), represents the operating company. The operator also has another lodge in Moçambique’s Parque Nacional do Limpopo¹⁹⁰. In the active reading of the icon, at the level of secondness, the symbolism becomes clear; that both lodges are situated in transnational conservation parks, leading one to the conclusion that they are interested in facilitating ecotourism. Assumptions behind the concept of ecotourism include an interest in nurturing cultural heritage as well as fauna and flora¹⁹¹. Thus, this icon strengthens the ≠Khomani cultural tourism aspect of !Xaus Lodge.

Lastly, the iconic branding, which refers to “Tranfrontier Trails Kgalagadi” in the 2007 brochure (Fig 8: 178) and “!Xaus Lodge” in the 2008 brochure (Fig 9: 180), connote and imply very different things. The 2007 branding does not specify the Lodge’s name but rather the operating company and the location. At the second level this may be confusing for the readers as they may not be aware of the relationship between TFPD and the Lodge¹⁹² (one may be unaware of the denotations or connotations). The branding of the 2008 material is far more specific as it relates to the Lodge itself and states the location underneath (“Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park”) as well as the web address for further clarification. This branding would lead to connotations such as comfortable accommodation in the KTP. The 2007 branding may not lead to the level of thirdness if the reader does not make sense of the former level. The 2008 branding (in conjunction with the photographic image of the Lodge

¹⁸⁹ O’Leary informed me (personal correspondence, January 2009) that the ≠Khomani members are becoming more involved in the tracking experience. This new experience would fit within the code of the romantic myth.

¹⁹⁰ Mozambique’s National do Limpopo Park has now joined with the South African Kruger National Park and Zimbabwe’s Gonarezhou National Park to form the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park. Available at: http://www.sanparks.org/parks/kruger/tourism/activities/do_limpopo/default.php. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

¹⁹¹ Available at: <http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ecotourism>. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

¹⁹² In my opinion, this is not explained clearly in the promotional text (Fig 8: 178).

below¹⁹³) would most probably lie within Western codes of a comfortable ‘safari’ Lodge.

Iconic links 2008 (Figs 12)

The 2008 website (Fig 12: 189-200) had links to the South African Tourism Services Association¹⁹⁴ (SATSA) and the Best of Travel Group¹⁹⁵ (BTG). SATSA is a non-profit, member-driven association which represents private tour operators, accommodation establishments, transport providers and many other organisations to do with the South African tourism industry. BTG is a Dutch tourism website which offers tours in many different countries. Under their South African offers they include a stay at !Xaus in their Northern Cape Kaleidoscope tour.

At the level of firstness, these iconic website links stand for the organisations they represent. At the level of secondness, the reader would comprehend this iconic link to the organisations simply through reading their names as they are both spelt out in full. If one was unsure as to what the companies were one would simply have to follow the links. Having a reciprocal relationship with BTG and being an accredited member of SATSA brings with it connotations of credibility. On the BTG site it displays an international and a New Zealand award, both for best brochures of the year in 2007/2008 and 2008 respectively. At the level of thirdness, readers would ‘make sense’ of these trustworthy connotations and would most likely feel assured that they would be attending a quality place of accommodation.

Photographs 2007 (Figs 8, 10, 11)

At the level of firstness, the photographs stand for the physical structures, environment and animals that they represent¹⁹⁶. Consequently, it is through this encounter with the promotional material that the reader understands what the Lodge looks like and the environment in which it is situated.

At the second level, the photographs are iconic symbols reflecting/expressing specific ideas about the Kalahari/Africa/etcetera. They concentrate largely on the surrounding

¹⁹³ See Fig 9 (180)

¹⁹⁴ Available at: <http://www.satsa.com/Pages/About.asp>. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

¹⁹⁵ Available at: <http://www.botg.de/index.php?id=22>. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

¹⁹⁶ See Figs 8 (178-180), 10 (183) & 11 (184-188).

environment, external pictures of the Lodge itself, and wildlife found in the Transfrontier Park. The external pictures of the Lodge, being roughly the same colour as the sand surrounding it, show how it blends into the environment, connoting a sense of environmental friendliness¹⁹⁷. Furthermore, the way the Lodge is situated on the hill, overlooking the pan, allows for beautiful views of the barren landscape. Together with the other photographs of the sand dunes, the pan and the red plains all convey a sense of desolation and wilderness. The wildlife photographs are enticing for those looking for a ‘safari’ adventure and may impress upon potential tourists ideas of untamed nature. Both the external environment and the wildlife photographs convey something which the reader may not have seen before and therefore want to experience (Urry 2006: 92). The one aspect missing is that of interior photographs of the Lodge. These images would connote ideas of comfort¹⁹⁸.

As discussed in my 2007 research essay (Finlay 2009), the few photographs of people are ambiguous as they are stripped of context or references to roles or places¹⁹⁹. The picture of the man in the red cap and the woman in the blue and red *doek*²⁰⁰ may represent the present day ≠Khomani in realistic terms, but if one had no prior knowledge of the Lodge, or the people involved, one could not be sure as to whom the people were. An example of a contextualised photograph is one of ≠Khomani staff situated in the cultural village, making crafts for sale. Through incorporation of such photographs in the promotional material one could garner some kind of expectation of what to expect of the cultural tourism on offer at the Lodge.

At the level of thirdness, it could be argued that by including such non-contextualised pictures as the one of the ≠Khomani man and woman, they do not conform to the romantic image of the Bushmen. However, if one was unsure as to who the people actually are, this defeats the object. The ideological message that lies behind the

¹⁹⁷ This connotation is incorrect in that the generator is highly fuel intensive.

¹⁹⁸ The discussion surrounding the inclusion of internal photographs was examined in my 2007 research essay for the CCMS postgraduate course, Visual Anthropology (used as a draft for this dissertation). In order for potential tourists to assess for themselves the comfort of the accommodation, I stated that internal photographs needed to be included (see Finlay 2009 forthcoming).

¹⁹⁹ Very unlike Buntman’s (1996) analysis of the promotional material at Kagga Kamma Private Game Reserve, where she posits that stereotypical photographs of the Bushmen as hunter-gathers were portrayed.

²⁰⁰ Meaning cloth, linen or fabric. Available at: <http://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/doek>. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

majority of the photographs is that this is a remote and wild space, away from the pressures of modern living, where one can relax and experience wildlife in its natural habitat. In my experience, this expectation is met. However, the implication that one will see many animals through the inclusion of animal photographs will probably set the potential visitor up for disappointment. Springbok may be seen on the drive to !Xaus but will most likely not be seen around the area as it lacks natural water sources (other than the pan). Gemsbok will be seen around the pan, but lions are not guaranteed. Interior photographs of the Lodge would allow for more ‘realistic’ expectations as the readers’ mental codes associated with the term “luxury”²⁰¹ may be questioned.

Photographs 2008 (Figs 9, 10, 12)

The 2008 leaflet was left unchanged (Fig 10: 183); however, photographs within the 2008 brochure (Fig 9: 180-182) and website (Fig 12: 189-200) changed. The front cover of the 2007 and 2008 brochures (Fig 8 & 9: 178, 180) differ in that the 2007 brochure includes a few small pictures of the Lodge and the host environment, as well as the icons discussed above, on a white background. The 2008 brochure has one main picture of an external view of the various rooms at the Lodge as the centre focus, framed by a bright blue sky. It also includes a few small pictures at the top of the page, of the environment, interior of the Lodge and a picture of a lion. Inside the brochure the pictures are quite similar except that the 2007 picture of a lion has been replaced by one of a lion and a lioness²⁰². A few external pictures of the Lodge that were included in 2007 were axed, as well as a picture of a springbok. These were replaced with interior pictures of the lounge, dining room and one of a bedroom. A picture of a telescope on the balcony with the Lodge in the background was also included, as well as a picture taken by one of the members of the Kalahari team in 2007 of two ≠Khomani trackers wearing their !Xaus uniforms, sitting on a game viewing vehicle.

The website kept most of the original pictures, but simply added new ones into the 2008 version (Fig 12: 189-200). This was made possible by adding extra photographs

²⁰¹ See Figs 8 (179), 9 (181), 10 (page not included), 11 (185), 12 (190).

²⁰² There is also a photograph of a male lion on the front cover.

to each page, as well as by adding a photo album²⁰³. Further pictures not in either the 2007/8 brochures or 2007 website were also included. Most noticeably, a photograph of a black maned lion was added to the title bar.

At the level of firstness, all these pictures represent their respective ‘realities’. As a result of the connotations of these ‘realities’, impressions of the Lodge are forged in the reader’s mind. The 2007 brochure’s front page photographs (Fig 8: 178) give one more of an idea about the environment in which !Xaus is based: desert-like, situated above a pan and free from human development. It hints at what the accommodation would be like through the inclusion of small parts of the Lodge in two photographs. As explained above, these photographs connote an African/ethnic feel. The inclusion of the large photograph of the outside view of the Lodge’s rooms in 2008 (Fig 9: 180) gives one a good idea of what is to be expected of !Xaus’s accommodation, further improving upon the 2007 material which produced concern about levels of accommodation as a result of a lack of focus on interior pictures. One can see what the room looks like: thatch roofs, fly net on the doors and vents, good sized balconies, all aspects blending in well with the environment. These connotations are of a ‘safari’ experience; something that is out-of-the-ordinary (Urry 2006: 92). The inclusion of the picture of the reception area, full of local paintings and artwork, in 2008 also connotes feelings of cultural difference (for Western readers such as myself).

At the level of secondness, most of the 2008 photographs connote similar qualities to those already discussed under the 2007 section. However, the fact that interior pictures were incorporated added a new, positive dimension (which was proposed in my 2007 research essay²⁰⁴) to the promotional materials. In both the 2007/8 materials, !Xaus is described as a “luxury lodge”²⁰⁵. The outside pictures of the Lodge, however, do not connote such an experience. Through the inclusion of a photograph of a lounge, with comfortable couches and a huge fireplace, a fully set wooden dining table and a picture of twin beds in one of the rooms²⁰⁶, the reader can judge for him/herself through his or her own connotations if the Lodge is comfortable,

²⁰³ Although this album mainly shows repetitions of photographs already displayed on the website pages.

²⁰⁴ See Finlay (2009 forthcoming)

²⁰⁵ See Figs 8 (179), 9 (181), 10 (page not included), 11 (185), 12 (190).

²⁰⁶ This picture was only included in the brochure. It should have been included on one of the website pages as it aided in the reader’s understanding of the what was to be expected at !Xaus Lodge.

upmarket and/or luxurious. Without the inclusion of these photographs, one may worry that the inside is as rustic as the exterior pictures.

The more recent wildlife pictures that were added to the website in 2008 would interest a nature lover. The photograph of the goshawk connotes a rich birdlife in the area. I do remember seeing a number of birds on our game drive to the surrounding pans in July 2008. The added pictures of the lion, however, is somewhat misleading as this connotes an abundance of wildlife not guaranteed in an area as dry as !Xaus's. There are lions in the area; I have seen lion footprints on the drive to and from the Lodge. However, we did not see the lions in July 2007 or July 2008.

The photograph of the two ≠Khomani trackers, Déon Nobitsin and Andrew Kruiper, in their !Xaus t-shirts, pants, jackets and hats, sitting on a game viewing vehicle contextualises their roles at the Lodge. Reading the text clarifies that it is the ≠Khomani who take visitors on guided walks. This conclusion creates an expectation of a ≠Khomani-led walk. From my experience, this was not always a reality at !Xaus. However, according to O'Leary, certain ≠Khomani trackers are now becoming more involved in the experience (personal correspondence, January 2009). However, as examined in my research essay (Finlay 2009), the positive outcome of these more contextualised photographs is that one links the people represented to the Lodge; one is not left wondering how these people are associated with !Xaus.

At the level of thirdness, the photographs of the environment and wildlife don't embody new codes or ideologies different to that of the 2007 material. However, the contextualised picture of Kruiper and Nobitsin and the interior photographs of the Lodge do link to new understandings. The contextualised picture of the two trackers links to the 'myth' of authenticity. As Bushmen are generally thought to be brilliant trackers²⁰⁷, the reader may assume a game drive or walk with these guides would be an 'authentic' Bushmen experience. Both the reader and the ≠Khomani members represented in this photograph fall into Denning's notion of claptrap (1994). The

²⁰⁷ For example 'Bushman' groups began to be incorporated by the South African Defence Force in 1974 in order to help defend the northern Namibian border against attacks by South West Africa People's Organization guerrillas who were based in Angola. See Tomaselli (1991). Available at: http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=332&Itemid=44. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

≠Khomani act as Bushmen trackers for !Xaus, representing themselves in this way for the photograph in their uniform, with walking sticks. The reader also knows that although Kruiper and Nobitsin may be well-renowned trackers, this experience is set up for visitors.

The interior pictures connect to some aspects of American/Western tourist ideology. The tourists who frequent !Xaus are able to experience an environment with wildlife attractions that is out-of-the-ordinary for many people (Urry 2006: 92). At the same time, they are able to stay in a comfortable Lodge, thus avoiding the ‘reality’ of the harsh surroundings through the ‘environmental bubble’ (Cohen 1972: 166-167).

Paintings 2007 and 2008 (Figs 8, 9, 11, 12)

One painting by Vetkat Kruiper was included in the 2007 brochure (Fig 8: 179) and 2007 website (Fig 11: 187). The same one was added in both media in 2008 (Fig 9 & 12: 182, 199). The photographs of these paintings are representations of the ones hung on !Xaus Lodge’s walls. Furthermore, the paintings themselves are representations of ‘real’ life, as well as Vetkat’s own fantasies.

At the level of secondness and thirdness, when we conceive and ‘make sense’ of these depictions, we are allowed a glimpse into the mechanics of the artist’s mind through the ‘reading’ experience. The bright colours of the earth, under the brightly coloured plants, may connote notions such as a life-giving force. The human-like figure, dancing with half human half animal figures, may connote the spiritual transformation of man through a trance dance²⁰⁸. Many people may not know what to make of the painting, but simply enjoy the effective design, which in its simplicity connotes a lack of Western art training (cf. Stephenson, 2006: 19).

These connotations of simplicity further fuel the romantic myth of the Bushmen as a people in touch with their ‘traditional’ culture. As the painting is reminiscent of ‘traditional’ Bushmen paintings, some may infer that the Bushmen still follow their long-established conventions. This style is used by most of the ≠Khomani artists who sell arts and crafts along the road to the KTP. Whether the style is ‘authentic’,

²⁰⁸ Some theorists understand these animal/human figures to be a representation of man entering the spirit world through trance dance (cf. Downson & Lewis-Williams, 1993: 53).

emergent²⁰⁹ or learned, it reiterates the cultural identity held by ≠Khomani traditionalists and utilised by many ≠Khomani in the Northern Cape in cultural tourism ventures.

Map 2007 and 2008 (Figs 8, 9, 11, 12)

The map in the 2007/8 brochure (Figs 8 & 9: 180, 182) and on both websites (Figs 11 & 12: 188, 200) remains the same. At the level of firstness, this map stands for a section of the Kalahari area – the KTP, as well as surrounding areas in South Africa, Botswana and Namibia. The map enables a reader to encounter the physical area through an iconic representation. This representation is broken down into smaller icons, for example, the borders between the three countries are represented by broken black lines. The KTP is signified through a green colour against the brown and oranges of the surrounding areas²¹⁰. Towns and rest camps in the KTP are represented as circles, rest camps with a red flag placed in the middle of the circle, and a red dot symbolises !Xaus Lodge. The GPS co-ordinates of !Xaus are also displayed, thus representing its physical location. The Auob River is signified by a blue line, as are other rivers on the map, and main roads are signified by red lines and dirt roads by orange. Numbers and letters stand for the distance between points (for example 60km). The meaning that all these above icons denote, however, is only understood at the second level of the Phaneroscopic Table.

The experience the map facilitates is one of understanding the physical layout of not only the Park, but what would be the easiest way to get there for the reader. This map would lead one from the town of Upington to !Xaus Lodge. Through a closer reading of the map, one comprehends the denotations discussed above and so can work out how many kilometres it takes to get to certain places, where these places are, which country or area they are in and if these are rest camps or towns.

The colours of the map create connotations of the area. The browns and yellows connote a dry and arid environment. The green, representing the KTP, could be misleading in that it could connote a more lush area (which it is not). The red roads,

²⁰⁹ See Cohen's theory (1988) of emergent authenticity.

²¹⁰ Furthermore, the concept of the KTP as a SANPark's park connotes ideas of conservation and wildlife.

red flags and red dot to signify !Xaus are eye-catching and so connote concepts of importance.

At the level of thirdness, the concept of ‘commonsense’ arises. !Xaus Lodge seems to have taken for granted the fact that their guests can read a map. This is as a result of the fact that their target market is relatively well off financially and thus would have had access to educational facilities. A large majority of the ≠Khomani have not had such privileges (Bregin & Kruiper 2004: 91²¹¹). This lack of formal education impairs the chances the ≠Khomani may have in obtaining managerial or administrative employment at !Xaus.

Text: 2007/2008 materials (Figs 8, 9, 10, 11, 12)

As with the visual images discussed above, the text itself is constructed within layers of meaning making and meaning deconstruction. At the level of firstness, one does not grasp the meaning of the words spelt out on the promotional material; one simply sees what is there.

The purported ‘reality’, or, more specifically, the sellable qualities of !Xaus Lodge, is meant to be portrayed through this text. Therefore, the text connotes the anticipated !Xaus experience through many chosen words and phrases. The introduction to !Xaus Lodge, entitled *A sharing community spirit*²¹², uses many references pertaining to the ≠Khomani and Mier. Even the title reminds us that the Lodge is community owned land. It is implied that tourists would meet these communities at the Lodge by the use of the word “invite” and the phrase “to be drawn into the fascinating rituals...”. As a result of these connotations, the potential visitor may feel privileged that they are able to visit this small community that is still involved in creating “fascinating rituals”. At the level of thirdness, the ideology contained in films and documentaries (among other enterprises)²¹³ may have convinced the reader that the Bushmen are an ‘endangered’²¹⁴ and/or Stone Age community (cf. White 1995: 1). The fact that there is little actual interaction between the tourists and the ≠Khomani at the Lodge does

²¹¹ Here, Belinda Kruiper describes how the artist, Vetkat Kruiper, had never picked up a pen before the SASI Art Project.

²¹² See Figs 8 (178), 9 (181), 10 (183), 11 (184), 12 (189).

²¹³ See the section on *Opposing Modernity through Representation: the Romantic Myth* in the Literature Review chapter (Chapter 2: 17).

²¹⁴ See Marshall (2002).

not seem to pair up with the 2007/8 promotional materials' description. Visitors can visit the cultural village where they can watch a few ≠Khomani making craft and/or learn to shoot an arrow. Also, on our trip in July 2008, Corné Witbooi aided in the tracking experience. However, other than the tracking, a few hours in duration, the visitor interaction was brief.

It is unclear in the first line of the text that one out of the two communities at the Lodge is not a Bushmen sub-group. It begins, "The Mier and ≠Khomani San communities"²¹⁵. This ambiguity needs to be avoided as a tourist with no background knowledge of these communities could arrive expecting to meet two local Bushmen groups and feel let down when this is not the case. Further information would help to contextualise who these communities are²¹⁶. Perhaps, by introducing some of the staff and their job roles, the reader may be confronted with the 'reality' of the situation and know what to expect: that the ≠Khomani generally work in the village, away from the Lodge, and that the Mier generally work in administrative, house work and guest relation positions²¹⁷. This information could not be included in a leaflet or brochure, but could be incorporated in a re-design of the website. See, for instance, the San Culture and Education Centre in the Western Cape, called !Khwat tu, where "the team" is introduced²¹⁸.

While talking to guests at !Xaus in July 2008, I realised that some expected the ≠Khomani to still practice 'traditional' culture while at the same time being able to converse with the public in English. This integration of the romantic ideology with Western expectations would be a pulling point for the Lodge²¹⁹. If one permanent ≠Khomani member²²⁰ was hired to act as an interpreter, the experience would seem more 'authentic', in the manner of Boorstin (1964) and Dening's (1994) understandings of the tourist notion. This would be extremely difficult to resolve

²¹⁵ See for example Fig. 8 (178).

²¹⁶ This is rectified in the 2009 information booklet, which includes a write-up about the two communities (See, for example, Fig 13: 204).

²¹⁷ These relations are problematised later in the chapter.

²¹⁸ Available at: http://www.khwattu.org/about_team.asp. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

²¹⁹ See Reception Analysis (Chapter 7) for further tourist opinions.

²²⁰ Another ≠Khomani member would also have to be found to fill in on a part-time basis.

however, as I only know of one ≠Khomani member who can speak English – Déon Nobitsin²²¹.

The text reinforces the notion of spirituality and ancient knowledge of the Bushmen. The use of the words “ancestors”, “magic aura” and “spirit”, “fascinating rituals” and “remarkable people” in the section *A sharing community spirit*²²² ties in with the Western belief that the Bushmen are a people in tune with not only their own communities but their ancestors and spirituality. Terms such as “traditions”, “historical culture” and “first people” seen in this section indicate that the maker promotes the communities as people who have retained their age old behaviours. The sentence, “Accompany the Bushmen, legendary hunter-gathers and learn their secrets of survival as they track through the desert”²²³, portrays a sense of historical contact, yet an ancient knowledge that is still held and practiced by these othered people. In the same section, references are made to the ≠Khomani’s aural and primordial knowledge of story-telling, interpretations of the stars and health secrets. At the level of thirdness, all these examples reaffirm the myth of the Bushmen being a primitive community living at one with nature.

This commodification of culture does not create a ‘superlie’²²⁴ in that certain sub-groups within the ≠Khomani adhere to the romantic myth. Many of the traditionalists who associate themselves with traditional leader, Dawid Kruiper, believe that they are integrated with nature. In the early to mid 1990’s, when Hylton White (1995) worked with the ≠Khomani, Abejol Kruiper explained his natural hunting prowess:

If I am following a buck, it cannot see me, because I am red like the sand of the red dunes (White 1995: 18).

Another pertinent quote is from Dawid Kruiper, himself:

A Bushman is a jackal, an animal of nature, and a Bushman has the intuition of a jackal. A jackal senses what is happening under the water, so it knows when not to

²²¹ Other *westerse mense* may be able to work in such a position, but many are farmers and/or live in towns (Ellis 2004: 10). It would most likely be difficult to convince people who are already self/employed.

²²² See Figs 8 (178), 9 (181), 10 (183), 11 (184), 12 (189).

²²³ See Figs 8 (179), 9 (182), 10 (page not included), 11 (187).

²²⁴ See MacCannell (1976: 103).

step in. A Bushman is the same – just like a lion and the whole of nature (White 1995: 18).

Even though this group of traditionalists is the group who tend to work at !Xaus, it is difficult for them to portray their beliefs, ideas and culture to tourists because of the language barrier. Through the use of English in !Xaus Lodge’s promotional material, assumptions of its target market are made clear: an educated South African and international target market. A substantial percentage of South Africans and international guests may not speak English as their mother tongue, but a large majority of formally educated people speak English as an international *lingua franca*. Therefore, !Xaus manager, Retief, or other members of management translate for visitors to the Lodge.

The indulgent aspects, layout and amenities of the Lodge are explained under the section, *!Xaus Lodge*²²⁵. The terms used suggest that the Lodge “capture(s) the essence of the Kalahari”. Terms used to invoke this notion are “thatched” and “observe animals drinking at the waterhole below”. Phrases such as “viewing deck”, “spacious”, “plunge pool”, “en-suite”, “modern traveller” and “tourist comforts” connote a sense of comfort which, according to Cohen (1972: 166-167) and his notion of the ‘environmental bubble’, tourists would be willing to pay higher prices for.

In 2007/8 the promotional materials used the term “luxury lodge”. There is a Western tourist code which provides certain expectations of a “luxury” lodge²²⁶. If a lodge markets itself as having “luxury” accommodation one would perhaps expect air-conditioned rooms and 5 star cuisine, both of which are not ‘realities’ at !Xaus. Air-conditioners would cost a fortune to run on the costly fuel-powered generator and there is limited access to shops from the Lodge. There is, of course, comfortable accommodation, with en-suite bedrooms, three cooked meals a day, a plunge pool and large decks. The 2009 information booklet²²⁷ includes a more detailed explanation of the difficulties experienced at !Xaus. Thus, tourists viewing this promotional material are informed of the difficulties of being situated hours from ‘civilisation’.

²²⁵ See Figs 8 (179), 9 (181), 10 (page not included), 11 (185), 12 (190).

²²⁶ See, for example, *Accommodation by Star Grading*. Available at SA Venues: <http://www.sa-venues.com/stargrading.htm>. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

²²⁷ See Fig 13 (201-219).

Another concern regarding comfortable accommodation is the running of the Lodge. The land claim explanation in the introduction is clear, however, the “innovative partnership” explanation is not as apparent on whether this is a community run enterprise or not. As a result of the positioning of the second paragraph of the introduction, the maker has wished to stress an understanding of these points and thus the ambiguity of the managerial nature of the Lodge needs to be clarified. Additionally, O’Leary (interview, July 2007) said that there are negative connotations associated with community-run lodges: that they would not be run smoothly and not meet tourist expectations of a luxury lodge. (This point is clarified in the 2009 information booklet²²⁸).

Discrepancies between 2007/2008 visuals and text

The almost unchanged text used in the 2008 brochure would lead one to conclude that !Xaus remains focused on marketing the Lodge as a place where a visitor would be able to experience ≠Khomani culture. The fact that a number of ≠Khomani staff work at !Xaus adds a vital aspect of traditional ‘authenticity’ to the idea of the Lodge as a place to experience cultural tourism. The 2007/8 text includes information on the Mier and ≠Khomani communities regarding the land claims, “health secrets”, lifestyle and tracking ability²²⁹. However, the 2007/8 photographs tend to focus on animals, the landscape and the Lodge. The ≠Khomani and the cultural activities at !Xaus should be shown in the brochure and website through photographs in order to correspond with the text and to attract potential tourists. However, if !Xaus continues to market themselves in this cultural tourism light they must improve their cultural experience²³⁰.

2009 information booklet (Fig 13)

A new information booklet was issued in February 2009. The booklet can also be downloaded from the new 2009 website²³¹.

²²⁸ See Fig 13 (207)

²²⁹ See Figs 8, 9, 10, 11, 13 (178-219)

²³⁰ Many suggestions given by interviewees, focus groups and questionnaire respondents suggest how the cultural experience could be improved. See the Reception Analysis (Chapter 7) for more information.

²³¹ Both the 2009 website and brochure were released at too late a date to be included in this analysis.

Many discrepancies or issues regarding problematic text discussed in the above analysis are dealt with in the 2009 information booklet. According to O’Leary (personal correspondence, 25 February 2009), specific points of change are related to the availability of more descriptive material and the avoidance of “false expectations”. The booklet itself is far more descriptive than previous materials and through reading this informative text the readers’ expectations become more ‘realistic’. For example, the ≠Khomani’s everyday existence is now contextualised to a greater extent in the booklet and what used to be referred to as “luxury” accommodation in the older materials²³² is also examined in greater detail and related challenges explained.

Visual analysis of the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13)

The new informational booklet (Fig 13: 201-219) contains mainly text, but a number of Bushmen figures and animal pictures (in greyscale) are included. The function of these pictures not only breaks up the text for aesthetic reasons, but also reinforces the idea of !Xaus being a cultural Lodge in an African wilderness area.

!Xaus Lodge’s icon

On the front page of the information booklet, as well as on the bottom of the other pages, is an icon of !Xaus Lodge. The design is of two of the !Xaus bedroom chalets. It takes the form of a rough outline of these buildings, one behind the other. The text is in a bold font with the word ‘Xaus’ a lighter colour than the exclamation mark preceding it and the word ‘Lodge’ following it. (This icon has included the branding of the 2008 title, !Xaus Lodge, as well as the 2007/2008 !Xaus Lodge icon²³³).

At the level of firstness, one would ‘encounter’ this icon at face value. One may be attracted by the look of the design, or simply by its location on the page. At the level of secondness, one identifies the relation between this symbol and the actual Lodge. Even if the reader had never been to !Xaus Lodge or seen a photograph of it, one would assume that the symbol denotes the ‘reality’ of the accommodation. The architectural design of the bedroom chalets represented in the icon connotes ideas of relatively comfortable accommodation compared to one of the options in the KTP –

²³² See Figs 8 (179), 9 (181), 10 (page not included), 11 (185), 12 (190).

²³³ By doing so, it reinforces connotations of Lodge type accommodation. The word “Lodge” supports the image of the chalets.

camping. In addition, the poles jutting over the tops of the roofs portray a non-Western feel. These connotations would lead one to the ‘commonsense’ conclusion that one would be staying in relative comfort, but in a wilderness environment. This concept of the ‘environmental bubble’ would, according to Cohen (1972: 166-167), aid in selling the Lodge to Western tourists who want to experience something different but also want to be able to retire in comfort at the end of the day.

Drawings of Bushmen figures and animals

The icon that had been used in the 2007/8 materials to represent the hiking trails symbol is used a number of times throughout the 2009 information booklet. Other pictures depicting Bushmen have also been used. A figure is seen holding a stick and running over tufts of grass. Another picture is of two Bushmen women sporting large posteriors. Further pictures portray a figure holding a bow and arrow as well as one of a Bushman killing a giraffe with an arrow.

As a result of the links between the pictures and that of the design and the style of ‘traditional’ Bushmen paintings, as well as the fact that the human depictions are supposed to represent a ‘traditional’ Bushman figure²³⁴, the reader would most likely link these representations to Bushmen. This link may then be extended to the ≠Khomani at !Xaus. These connotations fall within the romantic myth of a Stone Age people who are still physically representative of their forefathers. This set of ideas is mythical as many people who classify themselves as Bushmen do not have ‘traditionally’ stereotypical features; for example the CCMS research partners the !Xoo of Botswana who reside in Ngwatle. These Bushmen have integrated with the local Bakgalagadi²³⁵, and although they still consider themselves to be Bushmen, many do not have these ‘stereotypical’ physical attributes.

²³⁴ See for example Skotnes (1997: 2).

²³⁵ “The Bakgalagadi live mainly on the fringes or within the Kgalagadi Desert. Today, they are found throughout Botswana, but are still mainly concentrated on the higher land, stretching from the west of Molepolole village to the Botswana-Namibia border. The word "bakgalagadi" means "people of the great thirst land" and was given to different groups of people living on the fringes or within the Kgalagadi Desert”. Available at Embassy of Botswana Website, Japan: http://www.botswanaembassy.or.jp/gene_info/index2.html. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

Animal drawings of antelope, ostrich, giraffe and warthog in the same ‘traditional’ style are seen throughout the information booklet²³⁶. At the level of firstness, one would not link these pictures to the animals which they represent. Conceptual links take place at the level of secondness, where one would realise that the pictures denote a certain animal species. The pictures also connote a wildlife experience: these representations create an expectation in the reader. One may come to the conclusion that, as a result of the lack of pictures of large cats, viewings of these may be rare.

Although these depictions do support romantic notions, it is to this identity that the ≠Khomani subscribe. This particular point about ‘traditional’ drawings is especially problematic as the ≠Khomani still do paint in this stylistic fashion²³⁷ (whereas the traditional hunting and gathering lifestyle is for this group of Bushmen largely a myth).

Booklet cover

At the level of firstness the reader would simply ‘encounter’ the leather cover with coloured buttons sewn around the edges and depictions of !Xaus’s Lodge’s new icon, antelope and the environment drawn on. At the next level, the reader would draw connections between the depictions and !Xaus Lodge itself and its surrounding environment; these drawings denote !Xaus’s ‘reality’. Through a close ‘reading’ of the text one may assume that the cover was made by the Mier or the ≠Khomani, as it looks like a craft item. (In fact it was made by the ≠Khomani at !Xaus). At the level of thirdness, this ‘reading’ may fall within a cultural tourism code where host or visited communities are seen as the other. Crafts are usually displayed at venues in order to emphasise the presence of another culture, different to that of the tourists.

²³⁶ These drawings also support the romantic myth.

²³⁷ See Kruiper’s painting Fig 4 (67).



Figure 6: 2009 Information Booklet Cover to be Placed in Each Bedroom at !Xaus Lodge.
Source: O’Leary (2009).

Textual analysis of the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13)

The booklet is a lengthy document, addressing the accommodation and additional amenities (including difficulties associated with being situated hours from a town), the environment and wildlife, links to research on the Kalahari, information on communities in the area and many more areas of interest. This additional information allows the reader a deeper insight into the ‘realities’ of the Lodge, making provisions against unrealistic expectations.

General information and accommodation

The level of firstness remains the same as the 2007/8 materials. At the level of secondness, however, the huge increase in informational content may clarify that this is not an everyday Lodge. Logistical issues are discussed, as well as historical aspects and political relations revolving around the host communities and the place of accommodation. This extra information introduces the reader to the ‘reality’ of the !Xaus experience. Some would think of this as an ‘authentic’,²³⁸ ‘safari’ and community experience. Others may be taken in by the indulgence of the ‘environmental bubble’ (Cohen1972: 166-167). Whatever the readers’ reaction to the material, they have a better understanding of the !Xaus context than was available in the 2007/2008 materials.

²³⁸ The mental codes revolving around the term ‘authentic’, as discussed in the Theory chapter (Chapter 4), differs from person to person (Ivanovic 2008: 27).

The first page, including information, *The !Xaus Experience*²³⁹, is very different to the first page in the 2007/2008 brochures and home page of the 2007/2008 website. It does not begin by introducing the Mier and the ≠Khomani communities as such²⁴⁰. It begins by introducing the Lodge. The connotations involved with the descriptive words explaining !Xaus: “tranquillity” and “inner peace” are those of isolation, thus emphasising the restful nature of the location.

The problem discussed in my research essay (Finlay 2009) and in the 2007 textual analysis revolving around the 2007/8 terminology, “luxury” accommodation, is addressed as it is replaced by phrases such as “high standards of service”. Furthermore, !Xaus is explained as a lodge that is not a commercialised “resort”. Within the sections *!Xaus Lodge*²⁴¹ and *The Lodge Complex*²⁴², the problems associated with its location are explained in full: the rough dune track access, the saline water provided, the septic tank system, harsh climate conditions and lack of cellular phone reception. The lack of air conditioning is mentioned and a “traditional” method of cooling suggested. The information states that the power is only on for five hours a day and that gas is used for heating water in the bathrooms and to run heaters in winter. The lack of variety of food and beverages is explained, as well as the fact that the food is prepared in a Mier traditional style.

The experience connoted by these descriptive explanations is that this Lodge is not one of luxurious standards, but one that is comfortable and offers unique accommodation. The cooling methods and Mier cuisine offered connote a ‘traditional’ Kalahari experience. The fact that the generator is only used for short periods connotes an eco-friendly environment. These connotations fall within a code revolving around game lodges²⁴³ that usually fall within a conservation area and are more comfortable than normal camp facilities²⁴⁴. Unlike rest camps which are self-

²³⁹ See Fig 13 (203).

²⁴⁰ It does make reference to the “authentic way of life that guests are privileged to experience first hand”. See Fig 13 (203).

²⁴¹ Fig 13 (203-209).

²⁴² Fig 13 (210-215).

²⁴³ See SA Places at: http://www.places.co.za/game_lodges/ for a number of game lodges found all over South Africa. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

²⁴⁴ See SanParks at: <http://www.sanparks.org/tourism/accommodation/> and also see information on Hilltop camp at Hluhluwe Game Reserve at KZN Parks:

catering, have shared facilities such as bathrooms and kitchens, expectations of bush lodges are of prepared meals, private facilities and relative comfort.

Environment, wildlife and activities

The section *About the Kgalagadi Tranfrontier Park*²⁴⁵ is informationally advantageous for readers as it describes how the Park was formed as well as the climate in which !Xaus is situated and the fauna and flora of the KTP.

Connotations arising from such climatic descriptions as “dramatic thunderstorms” and “The temperatures in the area vary from -11°C on cold winter nights to a sweltering 42°C in the shade on a summer’s day”, as well as the description of the flora as “deceptively monotonous” and the explanation of how the camelthorn and shepherd’s trees cool “the sand below from a shocking 73°C to 21°C”, suggest a harsh, unrelenting and powerful environment.

Under the section *Fauna*²⁴⁶, a variety of wildlife and birdlife is listed and described, including a list of predators. Although this connotes a rich viewing experience in the KTP, the section *Wildlife at !Xaus*²⁴⁷ is pertinent to the area itself. The inclusion of text describing wildlife in the !Xaus vicinity suggests that there are not always large, exciting predators around and that smaller insects such as “armoured crickets” and smaller animals such as a “the Cape fox” are unique in themselves. There is mention of lion, but it does imply that you may not see any. The ideas connoted are those of an entertaining, educational and thorough²⁴⁸ experience.

The *Activities*²⁴⁹ information in the 2009 material is very different from the information in the 2007/8 promotional materials. This information does not promote the Bushman experience to the extent of the earlier material. The 2007/8 text explained how the reader could enjoy a Bushman guided walk, story-telling, their

http://www.kznparks.com/accommodation/kwazulunatal_hluhluwe.htm. Last accessed on 11 May 2009.

²⁴⁵ See Fig 13 (216-219)

²⁴⁶ See Fig 13 (216)

²⁴⁷ See Fig 13 (205)

²⁴⁸ Inclusive of all types of wildlife and birdlife.

²⁴⁹ See Fig 13 (206)

interpretation of the stars and “health secrets”²⁵⁰. This material avoids any such claims as these activities were never offered full-time because of the problems the Lodge encountered. There have been few ≠Khomani interested in working at the Lodge as a result of its location. A few employees have worked at the Lodge before but cannot be relied upon to be involved in the rotational schedule. Some ≠Khomani were not used to working in such an environment and being involved in extra chores around the Lodge on a timely basis (Nobitsin, interview, July 2007).

Instead, the booklet’s text offers a “guided wilderness walk”; it does not specify who would take you (Mier or ≠Khomani). It also says “Gaze at our star-spangled night sky from the observation deck using telescopes”; it does not say that the ≠Khomani will explain their own interpretation of the stars. It does not say that you would be told Bushman stories or health secrets; it only says that one can visit the “re-created cultural village to visit the Bushman crafters at work, see young Bushmen demonstrating their traditional games and to purchase traditional crafts”. With regards to the cultural village, the word “re-created” connotes aspects of an inauthentic experience. In order for the reader to understand the cultural tourism offered at !Xaus they must understand that the ≠Khomani do not live in a traditional manner at the Lodge. The above explanations addressing the ‘reality’ of the situation at !Xaus does not build up false expectations, as did the earlier material.

By addressing the inauthentic origins of the cultural village in the promotional materials, the reader knows what to expect. Thus, at the level of thirdness, if the reader then visited !Xaus they would be aware of the ‘claptrap’²⁵¹ relationship and the ‘pseudo events’²⁵² surrounding it. Many tourists still enjoy ‘authentic’ aspects of the recreated experience. Philip Pearce and Gianna Moscardo (1986) maintain that there is a difference between the authenticity of the location and the authenticity of the community [and their cultural product]. For example, a visitor may enjoy buying an ‘authentic’ craft even though the cultural village was re-created for tourist reasons²⁵³.

²⁵⁰ See Figs 8 (179), 9 (182), 10 (page not included), 11 (187), 12 (199).

²⁵¹ See Denning (1994).

²⁵² See Boorstin (1964).

²⁵³ This relates to Cohen’s notion (1988) of emergent authenticity, discussed in the Theory chapter (Chapter 4).

Beginnings of the Lodge

In the section, *The name of !Xaus Lodge*²⁵⁴, the name '!Xaus' (which means heart²⁵⁵ in the Nama language), is said to symbolise “the healing of relationships, the restoration of dignity and the aspirations of these communities”. The “healing of relationships” was hinted at in the 2007/8 materials through the phrase, “symbolises a spirit of reconciliation”²⁵⁶. However, in the informational booklet, this reconciliatory aspect is emphasised again in two other instances: when discussing the location of the Lodge between both parties’ land and through an explanation of the co-operative relationship between the communities and SANParks.

The connotations that arise out of the phrase “healing relationships” are ones of good will between the three parties (the ≠Khomani, Mier and SANParks). The “restoration of dignity and the aspirations of these communities” denotes the importance of not only the Lodge but visitors to the Lodge.

Furthermore, the information under *The Value of !Xaus Lodge to the Neighbouring Communities*²⁵⁷ connotes notions of development . I speculated in my 2007 research essay²⁵⁸ that this information may encourage potential tourists who are interested in tourism development initiatives to visit !Xaus. Phrases such as “donor funding” and “monthly rental” (paid to the ≠Khomani and Mier), as well as the fact that TFPD “manages !Xaus Lodge commercially on behalf of the ... communities”, suggest that the Mier and ≠Khomani must be making a profit from the !Xaus enterprise. This understanding is true in the sense that the funds from !Xaus have so far been used for the erection of a gate specifically so that the ≠Khomani can have direct access onto their land in the KTP. The money was also used for guard training purposes and to establish living quarters for them (Holden, personal correspondence, February 2009).

Another issue regarding relationships between the ≠Khomani, Mier and TFPD was that the 2007/8 materials did not make the “innovate partnership”²⁵⁹ between the ≠Khomani, Mier and TFPD clear. The reader may not have been sure whether the

²⁵⁴ See Fig 13 (208)

²⁵⁵ This name was chosen as a result of the shape of the pan that lies below the Lodge.

²⁵⁶ See Figs 8 (178), 9 (181), 10 (183), 11 (184), 12 (189).

²⁵⁷ See Fig 13 (209)

²⁵⁸ See Finlay (2009 forthcoming).

²⁵⁹ See Figs 8 (178), 9 (181), 10 (183), 11 (184), 12 (189).

Lodge was community-run or not (Finlay 2009). This ambiguity is cleared up in the new promotional material which explains that TFPD is a “black-empowered Lodge Management Company” (Fig 13: 207). Thus the declaration that the Lodge is not community-run may lead concerned readers to ‘make-sense’ of the above description of management in a more positive way.

The strapline of the new information booklet is “!Xaus means ‘heart’: a symbol of reconciliation between the traditional San and Mier communities” (Fig 13: 201). This phrase connotes difficulties between the ≠Khomani and Mier in the past. However, this aspect of the relationship²⁶⁰ between the ≠Khomani and Mier is not discussed anywhere in the new information. The phrase seems to connote good relations at present between the two communities (who were once at odds), but ignores the past tensions between the ≠Khomani and SANParks and/or the government. At an interpretative level (level of thirdness) this exclusion seems to trivialise the role the authorities played in the dispossession of ≠Khomani land and an almost complete annihilation of the ≠Khomani culture. The past wrongdoings of the government and the then NPB is hinted at under the section *How !Xaus Began* (Fig 13: 207). It states that the land settlement was reached with “the government of South Africa and South African National Parks”. This, however, is not hinted at in the strapline. Perhaps, the description of the heart shape should simply declare that it is a “symbol of reconciliation” in order to avoid ambiguities. After all, the term “reconciliation” reflects positively on all parties.

Staff, neighbouring communities and link to !Xaus Lodge

One of the criticisms of the earlier promotional material was that it did not explain who the Mier and ≠Khomani were. One only assumed that the ≠Khomani were Bushmen because they were referred to as “≠Khomani San”²⁶¹. The information booklet’s material includes a section on each community: a short history as well as a brief description of the location of the communities at present. At the level of secondness (where comparisons are made), the reader would now be aware that the

²⁶⁰ Tense relationships resulted from historical domination of the ≠Khomani by the Mier. Also, both communities competed for some of the same land in the land claims. See the Land Claim chapter (Chapter 3) for more details.

²⁶¹ See Figs 8 (178), 9 (180), 10 (183), 11 (184), 12 (189). The Mier may have also been mistaken as a Bushman community.

≠Khomani is the community involved in the Bushman side of cultural tourism. The romantic connotations associated with the historical description of the ≠Khomani as “hunter-gatherers”²⁶² could lead readers to the mythical conclusion that Bushman culture remains largely unchanged. However, the reader will now be faced with the ‘reality’ of the contemporary ≠Khomani community through the warning in the section *The !Xaus Staff* (Fig 13: 204):

this is not a historic tour, but a glimpse of the way of life of these peoples today. Some of the Bushmen may wear traditional dress while working in the craft village or demonstrating their games, as visits to the village will give guests an accurate and up-to-date view of the way in which these communities use their traditional skills in the modern world to generate a livelihood for themselves and their families.

This explanation as well as terms such as “re-created craft village” and “we hope to provide you with an authentic view of the way in which they work and craft in modern times”²⁶³ relates once again to the shattering of the romantic myth. It also focuses on the issue that many members of staff have a limited education and have trouble conversing in English²⁶⁴. Although I think the text is far more ‘realistic’ than the last two runs of promotional material, photographs of members of staff and a short auto-biography of each member would further entrench reasonable expectations of issues such as conversational abilities and modern identity.

Discrepancies between the 2009 visuals and text

The text is at times inclined to depict characteristics of the romantic myth and the timeless-ness notion of the Bushmen, but there are sections which explain aspects of the ‘reality’ of life for many members the ≠Khomani. In comparison, the Bushmen figures placed in the booklet are similar to that of ‘traditional’ painting techniques of the Bushmen and representative of stereotypical Bushmen physiques, and ‘traditional’ culture. Whether the 2007/8 discrepancies as well as those of the 2009 materials are noted by respondents will be discussed in the reception analysis (Chapter 7).

²⁶² See Fig 13 (218)

²⁶³ See Fig 13 (204)

²⁶⁴ Afrikaans visitors would be better able to converse with the Mier and the ≠Khomani as this is the *lingua franca* of the region.

Textual versus reception analysis

The semiotic analysis that makes up the last chapter is comprehensive in an academic context, but not holistically complete in the sense that the South African target audience and past tourists' opinions have not been garnered. It is these groups of people to whom the !Xaus experience is being sold and so it follows that the research needs to include a sample of these 'tourist'²⁶⁵ perspectives.

²⁶⁵ I am by no means claiming that I do not indulge in tourist behaviour (cf. MacCannell 1999: 107).

Chapter 7: Reception Analysis: A ‘Tourist’²⁶⁶ Understanding of Promotional Representation and the !Xaus Experience

Using the Circuit of Culture

The Circuit of Culture (Du Gay et al. 1997) not only provides a theoretical framework under which the reception analysis falls, but the common themes to be discussed in the analysis link to its four elements: participants/respondents’ *identities*, their understanding of #Khomani/Bushmen *representation*, their take on the *production* and *consumption* of the promotional materials and the resulting expectations created by these materials (*regulation*). While the last chapter’s semiotic analysis concentrates on text, this chapter concentrates on the opinions of !Xaus Lodge’s South African target market (the focus groups) and those of their past visitors²⁶⁷ (the questionnaire respondents).

2007 focus groups (Appendix 10, 11, 12)

Identity

As discussed in the Methodology (Chapter 5), the 2007 focus groups were made up of !Xaus Lodge’s South African target market – high income earning local visitors²⁶⁸. The participants had not been to !Xaus, and their opinions were based purely on !Xaus’s promotional material and beliefs regarding Bushmen representation. The age difference between the groups produced one key outcome – that the 50s-60s group have a more paternal outlook²⁶⁹ towards the Bushmen than the 30s-40s and 20s age groups. As stated in the Methodology (Chapter 5), I do not claim that these groups are representative of !Xaus’s target market as a whole.

When studying statements relating to the focus groups’ identities, three points become clear: that the respondents are financially able to travel regularly within South Africa (some respondent’s travel internationally), that the majority of respondents are

²⁶⁶ Tourist refers to the South Africa target market of !Xaus and the past visitors to the Lodge.

²⁶⁷ Not every sub/theme found in the research data can be dealt with as this dissertation is limited in length. Recurring themes and those which add meaning to this analysis are those that will be examined.

²⁶⁸ In total, the groups consist of 13 South Africans. One male Canadian and a German couple were also part of focus group 1, but they have all lived in South Africa for a number of years.

²⁶⁹ See, for example, Edwina, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 111; Helge, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 57. This generalisation excludes the Canadian male.

interested in visiting the Kalahari (two already had), and that they believe that ‘tourists’ would enjoy the cultural aspect offered at !Xaus. Identification with the last point differs from person to person. Some respondents view themselves as cultural tourists²⁷⁰, while others distance themselves from this category by discussing ‘tourist’ behaviour in relation to the Bushmen²⁷¹. This latter sense of disbelief regarding a culturally motivated ‘pseudo-event’ is similar to Boorstin’s²⁷² stance that “other people are tourists while I am a traveller” (cf. Urry 2006: 9; MacCannell 1999: 107). In general, this lack of identification with a ‘tourist’ does not alter the respondents’ expectations of a ‘traditional’ cultural tourism product. They still expect and look forward to a ‘pseudo-event’²⁷³.

Representation

Hall’s (1997: 15-21) meaning of ‘representation’ includes the notion of ‘shared codes’, where the relationship between concepts and signs is fixed within a culture. There are a number of ‘shared codes’ which have represented Bushmen in the past. A number of new codes have emerged and older codes have been questioned. Some codes have run concurrently over the last few decades²⁷⁴. These ‘codes’ or ‘myths’ have appeared to the South African public through television programmes, films, books and articles over the years (cf. Van der Post 1956; Groenewald 2003). Through information obtained in all three focus groups, it is apparent that media representations of the Bushmen have been and are pervasive in the South African public. A few participants recognise the works of Van der Post and the vast majority of respondents remember Uys’s film, *The Gods Must be Crazy* (1980), as well as the Vodacom Tri Nations Rugby Advertisement²⁷⁵, which was aired in 2007²⁷⁶. Van der Post (cf. 1956) tended to portray his Bushmen characters in a romantic light.

²⁷⁰ See, for example, Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 142; Helge, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 143.

²⁷¹ See, for example, Sarah, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 318; David, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 319.

²⁷² See Boorstin (1964).

²⁷³ See, for example, focus group 2, September 2007 transcript, l. 302-309; Nicolina, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 200.

²⁷⁴ See Literature Review (Chapter 2) for further information regarding the different ‘shared codes’ or myths surrounding the Bushmen at different times in history.

²⁷⁵ This advertisement was a spoof of *The Gods Must be Crazy* (Uys 1980) and showed a number of Bushmen playing rugby. Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1MHzQK7rfxQ&feature=related>. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

²⁷⁶ See, for example, focus group 1, September 2007, transcription l. 2-5; Christopher, focus group 2, September 2007, transcription, l. 393 for participants’ opinions on this advertisement.

Additionally, Uys's film and the Vodacom advertisement depicted the Bushmen as a premodern people. This romantically-inclined, shared code is therefore still prevalent, as seen by the release date of the Vodacom advertisement. However, this myth has been questioned in newspaper articles, television programmes, etcetera, in the last few decades (cf. Staehelin & Wicksteed 1997; Groenewald 2003). A more contextualised understanding of Bushman identity is found in an interest in a more 'realistic' portrayal of Bushmen lifestyle by two informants²⁷⁷. They had an interest in and a knowledge of the uproar caused by a Platfontein²⁷⁸ resident dressed in skins working as a tee carrier at a Currie Cup rugby match²⁷⁹ in Kimberley (offshoot from the Vodacom advertisement).

Representations of the Bushmen in *The Gods Must be Crazy* (Uys 1980) and the Vodacom advertisement (2007) are thought by the large majority of participants in all groups to be amusing²⁸⁰. The simplicity of the Bushmen lifestyle implicit in the romantic myth allows for comic sketches involving modern concepts such as a coke bottle (cf. Uys 1980). Some participants in focus group one (FG1) feel that the Bushmen are a "primitive"²⁸¹ people. They refer to the Bushmen's "lack of intelligence"²⁸², the fact that they dress in "loin cloths"²⁸³ and could thus be considered "naked"²⁸⁴. One respondent goes so far as to say that the Bushmen have yet to be affected by AIDS²⁸⁵. In comparison, a respondent in focus group two (FG2) is interested in the concept 'Bushman' because it is the "oldest"²⁸⁶ culture, while some respondents in focus group three (FG3) think that the ≠Khomani's first people status is a good selling point²⁸⁷. All three focus groups make some paternal insinuations²⁸⁸; they feel as if the ≠Khomani are victimised as a result of their othered status and what

²⁷⁷ See Christopher, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 59; Lisa, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 60.

²⁷⁸ Platfontein (just outside Kimberley) is the home to the Xun and !Khwe Bushmen communities.

²⁷⁹ An article about this event was published by *Independent Online* in August 2007 (cf. Ritchie 2007).

²⁸⁰ See, for example, Ulla, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 49; Nicolina, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 46.

²⁸¹ See Helge, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 107.

²⁸² See Edwina, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 126.

²⁸³ See Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 341.

²⁸⁴ See Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 54.

²⁸⁵ See Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 341.

²⁸⁶ See Lisa, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 29.

²⁸⁷ See, for example, Marek, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 174; Paul, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 181.

²⁸⁸ See, for example, Ulla, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 292; Marek, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 77.

they perceive as the Bushmen's lack of agency in business and in social relations²⁸⁹. For example, Helge in FG1²⁹⁰ is concerned that the use of Bushmen actors in the Vodacom advertisement mocks their culture. Marek in FG3²⁹¹ is concerned that !Xaus businessmen may outsmart the uneducated ≠Khomani. In addition, there is an assumption in FG1 that as a result of the assumed financial position of the Bushmen, a small amount of money would suffice for work done²⁹². However, this is disputed by most members of FG3 as they think it morally incorrect to pay Bushmen less than a Westerner²⁹³; they see this as another form of victimisation.

As already identified by Gordon and Garland (1999) and Robins (2001), many of the focus group participants possess opposing, yet seemingly non-contradictory, opinions of the Bushmen. At the same time as possessing some paternal notions, a counter opinion is also held by all groups – that the Bushmen are part of a modern world. Lisa reminds the other participants in FG2²⁹⁴ that, “We’ve got to remember that they are living in a modern world”. Furthermore, there are a few examples of how some participants think that there are too many politically correct procedures surrounding the Bushmen. These respondents believe that the Bushmen are capable of making choices for and representing themselves²⁹⁵. As a result of these dual opinions, it seems that the Bushmen are seen by these groups to be modernising citizens; that is, a group which is not yet fully modern (cf. Gordon & Garland 1999: 267). For example, Helge in FG1²⁹⁶ states, “I don’t want to see people in this show²⁹⁷. I want to see them succeeding”. He thinks they have some way to go before they reach the Western notion of success.

²⁸⁹ However, as described in the Literature Review (Chapter 2), the ≠Khomani now have far greater agency than ever before.

²⁹⁰ See September 2007, transcript l. 57 & 59

²⁹¹ See October 2007, transcript l. 110-112; 191

²⁹² See Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 60; Edwina, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 90. Even though many of the ≠Khomani (more so the traditionalists) have had a limited education and are not afforded many business opportunities, this by no means suggests that they are unaware of the value of money.

²⁹³ See focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 80-89.

²⁹⁴ See September 2007, transcript l. 131

²⁹⁵ See, for example, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 71-74; focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 101-105.

²⁹⁶ See September 2007, transcript l. 352

²⁹⁷ He is referring to the representation of what he sees as ‘false’ ‘authenticity’.

As previously discussed, many ≠Khomani make a living (and thus a relative success of their circumstances) out of selling their ‘authenticity’: physical and cultural. The vast majority of focus group participants believe that Bushmen (in this case the ≠Khomani) must look like Bushmen in order to claim that identity. Comments such as “real wrinkled San person”²⁹⁸ and “sort of slit eyes”²⁹⁹ are made. This generalisation may be a positive one for the ≠Khomani, as from my experience at Witdraai and Andriesvale the traditionalists tend to possess these ‘romantic’ physical characteristics and, as discussed above, these can be leveraged to their advantage. For example, the traditionalists’ characteristics allow them to act in television advertisements for which they are paid even though they may not have acting or practical experience³⁰⁰. Another example would be that Corné Witbooi (a member of the ≠Khomani) formed part of the two man team who took the research team for a wilderness walk at !Xaus in July 2007. He may well possess much ‘traditional’ Bushmen knowledge, however, he seemed to know less about the environment than the ex-ranger who led the walk and he seemed to be learning the ropes from this more experienced guide. Even so, his identity as a ≠Khomani Bushman fits in well with the romantic notion of a knowledgeable tracker.

This facet of the romantic myth, that the Bushmen have an innate knowledge of the earth and living beings upon it, is held by participants of the focus groups. This assumption includes traditional healing knowledge³⁰¹, the ability to ‘read’ the land³⁰², and access to spiritual understanding³⁰³. The majority of participants feel strongly about the Bushmen retaining this ‘culture’. Many participants feel that the Bushmen must move with the times, yet still pass down this cultural knowledge in order to preserve a sense of self³⁰⁴, as well as to use the knowledge in the business of cultural tourism³⁰⁵. Focus group participants are aware that the ≠Khomani can utilise their

²⁹⁸ See Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 426.

²⁹⁹ See Lisa, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 162.

³⁰⁰ 32 members of the ≠Khomani were involved in the making of the 2007 Vodacom Rugby Currie Cup advertisement. Between them, they received R60 000 in cash. The community also made a wish list of practical items such as solar panels, kit for the soccer team and bicycles for the children, which made up another R60 000 (Kleynhans, interview, July 2007).

³⁰¹ See Helge, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 132.

³⁰² See Deborah, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 22.

³⁰³ See Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 399.

³⁰⁴ See Helge, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 345

³⁰⁵ See, for example, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 302-309.

identity for their own benefit regarding cultural tourism³⁰⁶, as well as create an ‘emergent authenticity’ (Cohen 1988). For example, Lisa in FG2³⁰⁷ exclaims, “That’s a modern San drawing” in reference to Vetkat Krupier’s work. She is taken with the similarities to the ‘traditional’ art form but sees nothing wrong with a ‘modernised’ version.

Participants in both FG1 and FG2 realise that it is as a result of the above notions of otherness associated with Bushmen that their identity can be used to represent a united South African image³⁰⁸. For example, Deborah says in FG2³⁰⁹ that the Vodacom rugby advertisement which features Bushmen playing rugby illustrates “that it is getting rugby to every culture of South Africa”³¹⁰.

The opinions of the focus groups regarding ≠Khomani representation are important as they tend to concentrate on the aspect of representation more thoroughly than the questionnaire respondents who are restrained by time, space and more direct questions.

Production and Consumption

Production and consumption in the context of !Xaus Lodge addresses not only the production of the !Xaus’ promotional materials and consumption by its readers, but also the production of the !Xaus Lodge experience and the consumption by its visitors. It should be pointed out that there are overlaps between the Circuit of Culture elements. The *produced* material is a *representation* of something and the reader *consumes* this *representation*. There are also many parallels between the *consumption* of the tourist experience with regards to accommodation and the *regulation* of this upmarket Lodge. Therefore, the accommodation aspect will be discussed under the *Regulation* sections.

³⁰⁶ The majority of participants see no problem with representing a cultural image even though most are aware that this is not a ‘reality’ for the ≠Khomani anymore. See, for example, September 2007, transcript l. 252. This links to Denning’s (1994) notion of claptrap whereby this beneficial relationship between audience and performer is discussed.

³⁰⁷ See September 2007, transcript l. 252

³⁰⁸ See Masilela (1987) for more information regarding this united representation.

³⁰⁹ See September 2007, transcript l. 34

³¹⁰ Also, see focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 49-57.

The meaning makers' roles in producing the promotional materials, as well as their power of choice over representation, has already been discussed in the Textual Analysis (Chapter 6). This section analyses the decoding of these promotional messages by the South African target market.

Both the brochure and leaflet received positive overall responses from FG1³¹¹. (It is a possibility that the reason the website itself did not receive any specific praise whereas the brochure and leaflet did was that website print-offs were used in the discussion and therefore paper quality of the brochure was better).

Positive comments resulting from the text are that it is not transparently orientated towards selling the !Xaus experience, but that it concentrates on being informative³¹². The reference to the host communities is praised. Bianca from FG3 maintains that she “like[s] the way they say the community “invites you to share” their ancestors, because it’s almost like they are welcoming you to their home and their space, so it makes it seem more authentic, not just going to a random hotel”³¹³. There also seems to be a general consensus in FG1 and FG2 that the Lodge offers good value for money with regards to food and pick-ups being included³¹⁴. On the other hand, what worries Bianca in FG3³¹⁵ is that there is a lack of description regarding what the accommodation involves. She adamantly states that she wants “luxury” accommodation. She wants to be assured that she will be protected in an ‘environmental bubble’ (Cohen 1972: 166-167). Christopher in FG2³¹⁶ is concerned about the lack of clarity regarding whether the Lodge is community run or not. According to this respondent, community run Lodges produce negative connotations³¹⁷.

³¹¹ See, for example, Edwina, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 418; Sarah, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 417. The other focus groups leapt into in-depth analyses without giving their overall opinions.

³¹² See, for example, Richard, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 430.

³¹³ See October 2007, transcript l. 265. Also, see Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 364.

³¹⁴ See, for example, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 249-252; focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 275-278.

³¹⁵ See October 2007, transcript l. 157.

³¹⁶ See September 2007, transcript l. 444

³¹⁷ As already discussed in the Textual Analysis (Chapter 6), O’Leary also communicated his concern over these negative connotations (interview, July 2007).

The last two issues discussed above, pertaining to the ‘authentic’ cultural experience and “luxury” accommodation, also arise in response to the visuals in the promotional materials. With regards to the former point, respondents in all groups state that more pictures of the Bushmen should be included³¹⁸. For example, Catherine in FG1³¹⁹ asks “So why are there no pictures of the San?” The photograph of two ≠Khomani is included (Fig 8: 179). The focus group respondents do not link this to the ≠Khomani however, as it was not contextualised. The people are not wearing !Xaus uniforms, nor are they shown tracking³²⁰, or in the cultural village, etcetera. This desire to see more photographs of the ≠Khomani is probably as a result of the text which promotes a ‘traditional’ cultural experience. However, there is a general consensus amongst FG1 and FG2 that the painting/s done by Vetkat Kruiper, although not truly ‘traditional’ in that they are drawn on paper with pen and represent modern subjects and objects, do present an inherent ‘traditional’ Bushman style³²¹. The point regarding the lack of descriptive text about accommodation above is supported by the lack of interior photographs included in the materials. Many focus group participants feel that interior photographs should be shown in order for the reader to assess for themselves whether it would be “luxurious”³²². Mellany from FG2³²³ states “You know what I think? They should have pictures of the rooms. You see that’s very important, what the room looks like inside”.

Some photographic representations are negatively received by two participants in FG1; there is a debate about whether the Lodge blends into the environment or not³²⁴ (although there are no complaints in this vein from the questionnaire respondents). Possibly the picture on the front page of the 2008 brochure (Fig 9: 180) portrays the chalets in a better light than the 2007 photographs (Fig 8: 178-180); the red sand seems to be the same colour as the red of the cabins. There are also differences of

³¹⁸ See, for example, Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 421; focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 274-276.

³¹⁹ See September 2007, transcript l. 389

³²⁰ There is also a very small picture of a ≠Khomani person tracking on the front cover of the brochure, but this again seems out of context as he is not wearing uniform (Fig 8: 178).

³²¹ See FG2, September 2007, transcript l. 247-255. Also, see FG3, October 2007, transcript l. 173-179.

³²² See, for example, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 387-388; Bianca, focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 157.

³²³ See September 2007, transcript l. 356

³²⁴ See, for example, Helge, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 408; David, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 395.

opinion on whether there should be more or fewer photographs of wildlife³²⁵. Other aspects of the materials are commended. The remoteness portrayed in the photographs is appreciated by FG1 and FG2. For example, Catherine in FG1³²⁶ states that she would, “love to see this [meaning the view of the pan]”. Comments are also made as to how the colours of the brochure/website are aesthetically pleasing³²⁷ and correlate to the “Bushman theme, because that is the colour of Bushmen paintings”.³²⁸

The focus group participants had not visited !Xaus and therefore could not compare the ‘reality’ of the situation to the promotional material. However, certain comments are pertinent to the running of the Lodge and the cultural village. Two respondents in FG1 are concerned with the occupancy rate. Sarah³²⁹ seems impressed upon hearing that the Lodge had been full with international guests over the research team’s stay in July 2007. In order to maintain this high occupancy rate positive word-of-mouth responses, either via other tourists or tourist operators, is helpful. The standard of service is very important in creating a favourable opinion. !Xaus seems to be doing well in this regard as the management at the Lodge has received much complimentary feedback in the questionnaires (Appendices 13 & 14: 276-313).

There are many opinions and suggestions offered on the ≠Khomani cultural tourism aspect at the Lodge. Even though the majority of respondents in the focus groups are aware that the ≠Khomani, as with Western cultures, have adapted their ‘traditional’ lifestyles³³⁰, they still expect a romantic hunter-gather representation to be portrayed for the benefit of ‘tourists’ (cf. the 2007 section *Identity* above: 113). This target group supports the portrayal of ‘pseudo-events’ for ‘tourists’³³¹. David in FG2³³² declares that “If you were a tourist you would want them to be in the loincloth” (sic). Nicolina in FG3³³³ declares that “You don’t want to see what you see around you

³²⁵ Catherine (FG1, September 2007, transcript l. 419) wants to see more pictures of the ≠Khomani and so says that there should be less photographs of wildlife. Bianca (FG3, October 2007, transcript l. 273) thinks that an inclusion of a picture of a lion would attract further visitors.

³²⁶ See September 2007, transcript l. 284

³²⁷ See Ulla, FG1, September 2007, transcript l. 415.

³²⁸ See Paul, FG3, October 2007, transcript l. 239.

³²⁹ See FG1, September 2007, transcript l. 219

³³⁰ See for example focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 156-158.

³³¹ See Boorstin (1964)

³³² See September 2007, transcript l. 294

³³³ See October 2007, transcript l. 217

everyday”. She demands an out-of-the-ordinary experience; something that is becoming sought after in today’s tourist trade (Urry 2006: 92).

Many of the focus group respondents buy into an emerging authenticity³³⁴. An example is that Deborah in FG2³³⁵ suggests that “beadwork and paintings and things like that” would sell well. Although these items would be made specifically for tourists, and paintings are not ‘traditionally’ ‘authentic’, these items still carry with them a sense of ‘authenticity’ as they are made by ‘genuine’ Bushmen³³⁶.

Regulation

Meanings help in the ordering of social life and the construction and implementation of conventions (Hall 1997: 4). I have identified three main types of such ‘regulations’ involved in !Xaus Lodge: under the regulation of SANParks, in terms of being an upmarket Lodge and in terms of the expectations created by the promotional materials. All of these regulations are based within expectations of the participants and thus may seem repetitive at times as these anticipations overlap themes and subthemes. However, it is important for !Xaus to realise what these expectations are in order to be prepared for such probabilities.

The fact that !Xaus Lodge is situated in the KTP under the management of SANParks is described early in the text in each piece of promotional material. The KTP connotes ideas of wildlife to FG1 and FG2 as there is discussion about what wildlife resides in the Park³³⁷. (FG3 however experience no such connotations of the KTP³³⁸. They assume that since the environment is dry it would sustain little wildlife³³⁹).

!Xaus is advertised as a “luxury” lodge in the 2007/8 promotional materials³⁴⁰. Even though disagreements abound as to whether the Lodge blends into the environment,

³³⁴ (Cohen 1988).

³³⁵ See September 2007, transcript I. 323.

³³⁶ Also, see FG3’s interest in a Bushman run health spa which links with ‘traditional’ health knowledge (October 2007, transcript I. 254-261).

³³⁷ Catherine had obviously not read the text explaining what wildlife reside in the KTP as yet when asking what game is available (September 2007, transcript I. 259-262).

³³⁸ See October 2007, transcript I. 145-148.

³³⁹ Similarly to Catherine in FG1, these participants had obviously not read the text explaining what wildlife resides in the KTP.

³⁴⁰ See Figs 8 (179), 9 (181), 10 (page not included), 11 (185), 12 (190).

whether it is aesthetically pleasing or if the price is expensive, all three groups are concerned about “luxury” accommodation. They want: “lovely linen”³⁴¹, beautiful decorations³⁴², exotic food³⁴³ and “sunken bath[s]”³⁴⁴. Although !Xaus Lodge is comfortable and furnished/decorated in an African design (see Fig 7 below) and incorporates local food, the complications of being hours from the nearest town, over difficult roads, does make it extremely difficult to offer the sort of luxury accommodation expected from 5 star hotels in cities³⁴⁵.



Figure 7: Photograph of Reception Area at !Xaus Lodge.
Source: CCMS research affiliate, Van den Oever (July 2007).

In general, the photographs included in the brochure (Fig 8: 178-180) and website (Fig 11: 184-188) of the 2007 material give one a basic impression of what to expect from the Lodge itself and the surrounding environment: a wilderness Lodge situated in an arid and remote location. (Of course, more precise information regarding aspects of “luxury” is required and discussed above). However, the participants think that the photographs are ‘realistic’ in their portrayal of a stark landscape which is appealing to most respondents in FG1 and FG2³⁴⁶.

³⁴¹ See Deborah, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 437.

³⁴² See Lisa, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 438

³⁴³ See focus group 3, October 2007, transcript l. 286-287

³⁴⁴ See Christopher, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 366

³⁴⁵ As has already been stated, this point has been taken into consideration and the word “luxury” has not been used in the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13: 201-219).

³⁴⁶ See, for example, Catherine, focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 284; Christopher, focus group 2, September 2007, transcription l. 395. FG3 were not impressed by the landscape (cf. Nicolina, focus group 3, October 2007, transcription l. 266). It should be remembered, though, that this focus

Expectations of the cultural experience have been discussed under the 2007 section *production and consumption* above (118-122). However, it is important to clarify that the participants did not know what to expect of this interaction. They understood that the text promoted a ‘romantic’ experience, but they wanted to see a clarification of this in the photographs.

2008 questionnaire respondents (Appendix: 13)

Identity

The identity of the fourteen 2008 respondents is quite different to that of the 2007 focus group participants in that they had actually been to !Xaus Lodge. Their responses therefore have greater depth as they could draw on their own experience as well as compare the ‘reality’ of their visit to the promotional materials. Furthermore, the sample is more representative of !Xaus Lodge’s actual target market (not an estimated target market such as the focus groups), and is more typical of the international target market. This group consisted of nine South Africans, one German, two Australians, one Italian and one respondent from the United Kingdom³⁴⁷. Ages ranged between 36 and 84 with an average age of 54.6 years³⁴⁸. This group provided feedback on the leaflet, brochure and website, their expectations of the Lodge and the ‘reality’ of their experience (Appendix 13: 276-298). The questionnaire was sent to the respondents via email. An advantage of these online open-ended questionnaires is that the respondent is less likely to be influenced by others opinions and more likely to give his/her own opinion (Morgan 1988: 21). Opinions of the questionnaire respondents differ quite substantially from person to person, which is why I do not claim that there is one ‘true’ tourist understanding of the !Xaus Lodge experience or their promotional materials.

Representation

Unlike the focus groups above, the questionnaire respondents were able to give feedback on whether they were enticed by the cultural tourism offerings at the Lodge

group is below the average age of !Xaus’s usual visitors. The average age of visitors to !Xaus will be discussed in relation to 2008/2009 questionnaire respondents below.

³⁴⁷ Unless otherwise stated, these statistics, as well as those of the 2009 group, are based on where people reside.

³⁴⁸ Some respondents included their partner’s age. These were included in the calculation.

and also convey their own experiences of these activities. This section also concentrates on past visitors' perceptions of the ≠Khomani through the representation portrayed at !Xaus Lodge.

The main premise on which cultural tourism is based is that the culture being 'sold' is different to that of the tourists. !Xaus's promotional material, through the representation of the ≠Khomani, incorporates this aspect of 'othering' which attracts many visitors, like many of the questionnaire respondents³⁴⁹ who want to experience a first people/Bushman culture. One respondent reacts to this first people status in political terms; he believes that as the Bushmen were the first people of South Africa, they should have the "first right to land"³⁵⁰. Another respondent sees this 'Stone-Age' status as one that allows for intimate knowledge of nature³⁵¹. Taking a similarly romantic ideological slant, another respondent implies that as a result of the ≠Khomani's 'traditional' culture they find it difficult to adapt to Western ways³⁵² (the ≠Khomani are seen as victims of a modernising world).

Many respondents make it clear that they are aware that the ≠Khomani are part of the modern world: they discuss past versus present beliefs and culture³⁵³. Another respondent writes about the drug and alcohol abuse³⁵⁴ in the ≠Khomani community (she obtained this information through interactions at !Xaus; it was not an already held belief). Even so, the majority of the respondents promote 'traditional' representation and cultural activities. Even though respondents are aware that the ≠Khomani do not live as primitive hunter-gathers they would like to be further informed about the history of the Bushmen³⁵⁵ and/or take part in other 'traditional' activities³⁵⁶. Although some respondents feel the cultural tourism at the Lodge is "forced"³⁵⁷ or "weak"³⁵⁸, this seems to be as a result of the products' unpolished

³⁴⁹ See, for example, respondent 5, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6; respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁵⁰ See respondent 8, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript (extra notes).

³⁵¹ See respondent 13, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 3.

³⁵² See respondent 2, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 9.

³⁵³ See, for example, respondent 7, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 7.

³⁵⁴ See respondent 5, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 5. This information was obtained from the manager's talk at !Xaus Lodge.

³⁵⁵ See respondent 6, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁵⁶ See respondent 5, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14.

³⁵⁷ See respondent 3, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10.

³⁵⁸ See respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10.

style³⁵⁹. Just one respondent totally disagrees with the reconstructed village at !Xaus and sees this part of cultural tourism not as a form of job creation but as enabling a Bushmen “display”. He sees the ≠Khomani as victimised³⁶⁰.

Production and Consumption

As with the 2007 focus groups, these 2008 questionnaire respondents tell us how they perceive the promotional material. However, as already discussed above, they relate this to their own experience. An important issue to be dealt with is that of when and where the past visitors of !Xaus came into contact with the promotional materials and if this had any influence on their decision to stay at the Lodge³⁶¹.

Out of the fourteen respondents in the 2008 group two state that they had seen the brochure before visiting the Lodge³⁶², two say that they heard about !Xaus via word-of-mouth recommendations³⁶³, one writes that she was recommended through a tourist agency in Germany³⁶⁴, three affirm that they had seen articles about the Lodge in travel magazines³⁶⁵, one mentions that he had seen a small information board at the KTP camp, Twee Rivieren³⁶⁶, and ten reveal that they had viewed the website³⁶⁷. Even with this small group of respondents it becomes strikingly apparent how important advertising on the internet has become. The restructuring of the website in 2009 shows that TFPD is aware of the significance of this informative and sellable promotional material.

The respondents who mention the brochure seem to have encountered it whilst at the Lodge - it is placed in the bedrooms³⁶⁸. In comparison, word-of-mouth and travel

³⁵⁹ See respondent 3, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10; respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10.

³⁶⁰ See respondent 13, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 10.

³⁶¹ Some of the respondents had heard about the Lodge in more than one way.

³⁶² See respondent 12, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 5.

³⁶³ See respondent 3, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 2; respondent 14, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 2.

³⁶⁴ See respondent 2, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 2.

³⁶⁵ See respondent 6, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 2; respondent 3, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 5; respondent 4, July 2008, questionnaire, transcript l. 5.

³⁶⁶ See respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 5.

³⁶⁷ See respondent 1, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 2; respondents 4, 7, 9, 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 2; respondent 13, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 2; respondent 2, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 3; respondents 3, 5, 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 3.

³⁶⁸ See respondent 1, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 5; respondent 7, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 5.

agent recommendations, magazine articles and website perusal occur before visiting !Xaus Lodge. Through mentioning the vocal recommendations and magazine articles in their questionnaires, respondents imply that these factors influenced their decision to visit the Lodge. !Xaus Lodge's websites' influence is more concrete – a number of respondents specifically state that the website persuaded them to visit the Lodge. Respondent 2³⁶⁹ discloses that she looked at “the internet homepage and then we decided to book”.

The persuasiveness of the material in part results from the text used. In general, the response to the text is a positive one. (Tensions resulting from the experience advertised in comparison to the actual !Xaus experience will be discussed under the 2008 section *Regulation*, below). Respondents enjoy the descriptiveness of the environment, its “remoteness³⁷⁰”, and activities associated with “the Bushmen”³⁷¹ and “star gazing”³⁷². Nevertheless, it is suggested by two respondents that the aspects of “topography and [environmental] wilderness”³⁷³ need to be strengthened in order to capture the essence of the place.

There are not many responses regarding visuals, in particular. However, replies obtained from a few respondents express their enjoyment of the photographs of the “unusual location”³⁷⁴ and the “remoteness of the Lodge”³⁷⁵ and the eye-catching map³⁷⁶. Another aspect which the visuals have in common with the text is that it is this feature of the Lodge (that of its surrounding environment) which should be promoted more thoroughly³⁷⁷. Respondent 11 even suggests including a photograph of the “night sky”³⁷⁸. In addition to the attributes of the environment, he is also

³⁶⁹ See questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 3. Also, see respondent 7, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 3.

³⁷⁰ See respondent 5, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁷¹ See, for example, respondent 7, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁷² See, for example, respondent 9, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁷³ See respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 8; respondent 2, questionnaire June 2008, transcript l. 7.

³⁷⁴ See respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁷⁵ See respondent 5, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁷⁶ See respondent 8, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 5.

³⁷⁷ See respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14. This similarity between opinions on text and visuals partly results from the fact that many respondents did not separate their responses to these facets of the promotional materials. They replied to their overall impression.

³⁷⁸ See respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 8.

attracted by photographs of the Lodge itself³⁷⁹ (although respondent 4 was not engaged by this aspect³⁸⁰). Another respondent thinks that the brochures should be made more “eye-catching”³⁸¹ so that they will be read on arrival. (This last point is now extraneous as the new information booklet is larger, with a leather cover made by the #Khomani)³⁸². A few respondents think that the photographs of wildlife are slightly deceptive as they assumedly did not see much wildlife during their visits³⁸³.

Two of the main problems in relation to the tourism trade the stakeholders have to endure are that of location, as well as construction issues. Eight of the 14 respondents comment on the lack of game in the area³⁸⁴, one refers to the accessibility of the main roads³⁸⁵ (where game viewing is more frequent), and one respondent is surprised by the lack of “solar water heating, rainwater harvesting or PV electricity generation”³⁸⁶. Unfortunately, there is not much that the Lodge can do with regards to the first two points except address them on their website³⁸⁷, and, as already stated, the Lodge is looking into alternative power resources.

In spite of the problems discussed above, the management and running of the Lodge receive praise from these past visitors. The staff members working at the Lodge itself are considered to be “friendly”³⁸⁸ and “helpful”³⁸⁹. The respondents say that the guides and the manager Retief are good sources of information regarding “fauna and flora and the stars”³⁹⁰. A reference to the “thinking picture” obtained from “good talks”³⁹¹ probably refers to talks like the one given by Retief about the context of the Bushmen today. A problem regarding the level of training of the guides at !Xaus is

³⁷⁹ See respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁸⁰ See respondent 4, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6.

³⁸¹ See respondent 8, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 8.

³⁸² See photograph of leather cover for information booklet (Fig 6: 105).

³⁸³ See respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 6 and 8. Also, see respondent 12, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 7.

³⁸⁴ See respondents 12, 13, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 7. Also, see respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 7; respondent 3, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14; respondent 14, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 14; respondent 6, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 9; respondent 7, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 4; respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 13.

³⁸⁵ See respondent 14, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 14.

³⁸⁶ See respondent 6, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14.

³⁸⁷ The distance and the terrain crossed from the main road are addressed in the 2009 website.

³⁸⁸ See for example respondent 12, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 13.

³⁸⁹ See respondent 8, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 13.

³⁹⁰ See respondent 9, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 13.

³⁹¹ See respondent 2, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 5.

pointed out by respondent 11³⁹². The lack of rifles carried by the guides may make guests feel insecure on game walks, as mentioned by respondent 13³⁹³. (Responses about services levels and quality of food will be discussed under the 2008 section *Regulation*, with regards to luxury accommodation).

Although the management and staff at the Lodge receive praise, the cultural tourism product does not receive the same degree of admiration. There are respondents who think that the ≠Khomani experience is “excellent”³⁹⁴, “good”³⁹⁵ and “important”³⁹⁶, but the majority found the experience to be lacking in cultural activities³⁹⁷. As already discussed above, the 2008 questionnaire respondents are generally aware that the ≠Khomani do not live a ‘traditional’ hunter-gather lifestyle. This fact, however, does not deter them from wanting to experience a culturally ‘traditional’ representation at the Lodge.

There are certain aspects of !Xaus’s cultural tourism which are enjoyed for their ‘emergent authenticity’³⁹⁸. A few respondents comment on the wilderness walks with guides. Respondent 13³⁹⁹ elaborates, “My favourite aspect is the early morning walks and explanation of the different tracks and dune life on the top of the sand dunes”. Others enjoy being shown how to shoot with a bow and arrow⁴⁰⁰. One respondent even comments on “the kind of graphics, picture, textile patchworks, the native jewellery; [and] the kind of art description”⁴⁰¹.

³⁹² See respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 9. See below for further details regarding story telling on walks.

³⁹³ See questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 14.

³⁹⁴ See respondent 8, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10; respondent 1, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 15.

³⁹⁵ See respondent 14, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 10.

³⁹⁶ See, for example, respondent 1, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 9.

³⁹⁷ Respondent 10 (questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10) remarks, “If by culture you are referring to the local tribes people and visit to close by dwelling, I thought this was a little weak – it didn’t come across a particularly authentic” (sic). Similarly, respondent 12 (questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 12) maintains that “Knowing that the Bushmen do not live there, and indeed are there only because of the Lodge, made it feel a little like a museum piece. If I were a regular tourist I think I would have found there to be too little interaction with the Bushman. As a tourist I think I would have preferred to see more activity”.

³⁹⁸ See Cohen (1988). The respondents do not want to see a museum exhibition. See, for example, respondent 7, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 7. He wants to learn about present cultural practices as well as past practices.

³⁹⁹ See questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 11.

⁴⁰⁰ See respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 11.

⁴⁰¹ See respondent 2, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 16.

Various respondents give numerous suggestions regarding extra activities which could be included at !Xaus to improve the cultural tourism product. For example, respondent 12⁴⁰² reasons that:

Interaction with the Bushmen is limited to a visit to the cultural village where one is left feeling more like an observer than a participant. Buying crafts is nice, but the experience would be richer if visitors could be taught to make – and actually make – their own. Sitting around the boma was nice, and Pieter [the manager] was a wonderful and informed host, but the stories he told of the Bushmen would have been better received had they actually come from a Bushman.

Respondent 5 proposes that Bushman stories be told around the *boma* (fenced enclosure) facilitated by a translator⁴⁰³. Respondent 11 suggests that guides be trained in the art of story telling in order to “weave a story and create atmosphere”⁴⁰⁴. Respondent 13 agrees that employing ≠Khomani members to impart information whilst tracking should be an important selling point⁴⁰⁵. Respondent 5⁴⁰⁶ further suggests, “Teaching visitors on the walk how to make fire, bird traps. Ending walk with a dance demonstration. Digging up pre-buried ostrich eggs filled with water. Allowing the San to put on traditional clothing for the activities” (sic). In a similarly ‘traditional’ but less action-orientated vein, respondent 6⁴⁰⁷ suggests that it would be interesting to provide more material on “how the people lived, ate, foraged, made things, etc”. This new cultural experience could be vastly improved by one “unique guide to spark the other guides and give guests a memorable experience”, claims respondent 11⁴⁰⁸.

Although it can be argued by theorists such as Garland and Gordon (1999: 267) that such timeless portrayals lead to a representation of the Bushmen as a people who are “forever not-quiet-yet fully modern”, I think this can be averted by both management and ≠Khomani employees by discussing their representation with visitors. Through studies such as this dissertation performers can be made more aware of what to expect regarding tourist expectations and so deal with them accordingly. The ‘traditional’

⁴⁰² See questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 10.

⁴⁰³ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14.

⁴⁰⁴ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14.

⁴⁰⁵ See questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 14.

⁴⁰⁶ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14.

⁴⁰⁷ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10.

⁴⁰⁸ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10.

representations do not necessarily lead to or support notions of a ‘modernizing’⁴⁰⁹ people as long as any timeless concepts are challenged in the process. For example, when I visited Shakaland⁴¹⁰ on the 4th August 2007, a guide led us around the reconstructed Zulu village. Instead of telling the audience that this is how life is for the Zulu of today, he told us that this was a historical depiction. Furthermore, he made a joke about paying *lobola*⁴¹¹ with cars instead of cattle and other jokes which reminded the audience that our Zulu guide was most certainly a man of the modern South Africa. If the management and ≠Khomani employees⁴¹² at !Xaus could use such tactics then visitors who do perhaps possess ideological leanings towards patriotism for indigenous groups may be forced out of this mental code.

Much of the respondents’ feedback above regarding further ≠Khomani interaction with visitors, as well as my suggestion of how to interact with tourists in order to question the timeless myth, implies that the ≠Khomani should speak a dominant Western language⁴¹³. In the economic and social context of the ≠Khomani today it would be difficult to find a ≠Khomani employee who does speak fluent English⁴¹⁴. The assumption that the ≠Khomani should learn the first language of tourists in order to converse with visitors seems naive and even conceited in terms of power relations related to hegemonically dominant languages. However, in the future the likelihood of this one-on-one interaction in a Western language will probably become more likely if ≠Khomani children gain economic access to schools in the area⁴¹⁵.

Regulation

Potential visitors’ expectations of !Xaus Lodge are regulated by the fact that it is located within a SANParks game reserve. Many of the respondents expected to see more game than they did (supported by the fact that wildlife sightings were promoted

⁴⁰⁹ Garland & Gordon (1999).

⁴¹⁰ Available at: <http://www.shakaland.co.za/> for more information. Last accessed on 12 May 2009.

⁴¹¹ *Lobola* is the payment a man’s family must give to the bride’s family in order to marry. Lobola recognises the bride’s family’s contribution in raising her and offers compensation for their loss of a daughter (after the marriage she lives with her husband’s family) (Ngwane 1997: 23).

⁴¹² Even if the ≠Khomani do not speak English but have a translator, this can still be done.

⁴¹³ A past visitor to the Lodge in July 2008 writes that: “Our interaction with the four occupants of the village was extremely limited, none of us speak Afrikaans so we didn’t understand what they were saying” (McDonald, personal correspondence, July 2008)

⁴¹⁴ I have only met one ≠Khomani person (Déon Kruiper) who speaks limited English.

⁴¹⁵ See Introduction (Chapter 1) for information on the development initiatives leveraged so far by the operator and management at !Xaus.

in the text)⁴¹⁶. Respondent 11⁴¹⁷ claims that “the quantity and quality of game in the immediate area was poor”. !Xaus Lodge can do very little about the fact that the game viewing in the area of land the ≠Khomani and Mier were given in the land claim is inferior to other parts of the KTP, where more water is to be found. What they should have done earlier is to address this problem in the text/photographs. The 2008 material does not distinguish between game seen in the KTP and game generally seen in the !Xaus vicinity, nor does it warn the reader that game is not prolific (as does the 2009 information booklet). Respondent 12⁴¹⁸ explains, “Technically it doesn’t say that game will be seen from the Lodge, though this seems implied”. Respondent 11⁴¹⁹ protests that he “saw no Kalahari lions; we thought we would see much more game”. Another respondent suggests that she would like to be informed in the promotional material that one cannot reach the Lodge unless one has a 4X4 vehicle⁴²⁰. This limitation is as a result of the location of !Xaus, but should be dealt with in the text⁴²¹.

Some respondents were so impressed with the solitude, the landscape and the night skies that they do not think it is and/or could be matched by the promotional material. Respondent 2⁴²² says that she would try to improve the “description of a peculiar place of world, the aura in a semi arid area, the landscape with pan and s.o.” (sic). Respondent 7⁴²³ further expands upon the ‘place’ by describing how “The setting of the lodge is spectacular and the layout and rooms are wonderful”. However, respondent 7⁴²⁴ goes on to say that this is marred by the services levels at the Lodge (for example tea/coffee should be delivered to the rooms in the morning) and the quality of the food. A few other respondents agreed that the quality of the food was not up to scratch⁴²⁵. Despite the feedback above⁴²⁶, a number of respondents feel that

⁴¹⁶ See, for example, respondent 7, questionnaire, July 2008, transcription l. 8.

⁴¹⁷ See questionnaire, November 2008, transcription l. 13.

⁴¹⁸ See questionnaire, November 2008, transcription l. 7.

⁴¹⁹ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 7.

⁴²⁰ See respondent 9, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 8.

⁴²¹ This is done in the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13:214).

⁴²² Questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 11. Also, see, for example, respondent 1, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 10.

⁴²³ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14.

⁴²⁴ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14.

⁴²⁵ The problem with sourcing fresh food at !Xaus is discussed in the 2009 informational brochure (Fig 13: 211).

⁴²⁶ As discussed in detail above, an expectation which the promotional material creates is that of a cultural interaction with the ≠Khomani. Respondent 6 (questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 4) says that he was interested in a “Quick immersion into bushman culture” (sic). Many people were

the !Xaus experience is well portrayed in the promotional materials. Respondent 9⁴²⁷ affirms that the brochure has “sufficient details for people to make up their minds”.

2009 questionnaire respondents (Appendix 14)

Identity

The identities of the 2009 questionnaire respondents are very similar to those of the 2008 respondents. They were representatives of !Xaus Lodge’s past visitors (local and international) who were able to draw on their own experiences at the Lodge. Additionally, the average age of 55.5 years is very similar to that of the 2008 group (ages ranged from 41 to 64)⁴²⁸. There were fewer South African’s in this group than the last: four South Africans, three Italians, one Canadian, one Namibian, one respondent from the Netherlands, two respondents from Switzerland and one from Sweden. Through an email questionnaire this group provided feedback on the suitability of the 2009 information booklet as well as their !Xaus experience overall (Appendix 14: 298-313). In order to keep the questionnaire as short as possible questions regarding other promotional materials were not included. Again, in this 2009 group of respondents, there were differences of opinion – I do not claim that there is one tourist reaction, but only find themes in the replies of these respondents.

Representation

As with the 2008 questionnaire group, the 2009 group drew on their own experiences at !Xaus Lodge in their questionnaire responses. Through their answers they reveal much about the representation of the ≠Khomani at !Xaus. In addition, their discussion of their experiences and their scrutinising of the information booklet brings to light their own beliefs (mental codes).

The notion of the ≠Khomani as the cultural other forms a main component of the cultural tourism offered at !Xaus Lodge. The aspects of otherness identified by these respondents relate to concepts of culture, artistic style and a ‘modernising’ people.

disappointed with the lack of ‘traditional’ cultural activities provided (see above). Consequently, a number of respondents complain that the promotional materials create a “false impression of interaction with the San people” (Respondent 13, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 7).

⁴²⁷ See questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 7. Also, see respondents 4, 5, 8, July 2008, transcript l. 7.

⁴²⁸ If respondents provided the age of their partners this information was also included in the calculation.

Respondent 8⁴²⁹ is intrigued by the ≠Khomani's 'traditional' culture. He maintains that "the meeting with the San shows their manual skills and their knowledge of their environment". In a similar vein, four respondents relate the illustrations in the information booklet to 'traditional' "bushman like drawings" (sic)⁴³⁰. Respondent 11 is more paternal in his outlook. He sees the ≠Khomani as a 'modernising' people. For example, he states that:

The concern over the bushmen and the perceptual difficulty a newcomer will have - was very ably explained and understood. The life has changed for ever and the lodge helps them to bridge the divide (just to hope that some lessons on alcohol misuse and hiv/aids dangers could be part of the lessons/experience to give them (sic)⁴³¹.

Other respondents make reference to the culture of the ≠Khomani today. For example, respondent 4 thinks that Retief's introductory talk about the ≠Khomani gives a good introduction to "to the bushmen way of life in the past and now" (sic).⁴³²

In all the above responses this aspect of 'otherness' creates an exciting experience. Respondent 4⁴³³ explains that the website promised "contact with the ultimate bushmen", which is one of the factors that attracted her to the Lodge.

Production and Consumption

As the 2009 online questionnaire only concentrates on the information booklet it does not involve a response on how effective other aspects of promotional media are in gaining the target markets interest in the Lodge. However, as the information booklets are downloadable from the website (the most effective form of promotional communication, as discussed above) and as the booklets themselves will be placed in the rooms, a discussion about the effectiveness of this material will aid in the next production run of !Xaus's promotional media.

⁴²⁹ See questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2. Also, see respondent 6, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴³⁰ See respondent 11, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 6. Also see respondents 3, 7, 8, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 6.

⁴³¹ See questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴³² See questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴³³ Questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5. Also see respondent 3, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5.

The large majority of respondents think that the booklet is “informative”⁴³⁴ and two respondents mention that it is easy to read⁴³⁵. Problematic issues not included in the 2007/8 materials are addressed. Respondent 8⁴³⁶ describes how it is imperative to read about the Lodge and its location before arrival. He says that he would have liked to have received information regarding tyre pressure and transfer “before arriving at !Xaus”. This is now covered in the downloadable booklet (Fig 13: 215). The concern regarding the term “luxury”, discussed in the textual analysis (and pointed out in my past research essay⁴³⁷) is also addressed in the 2009 booklet (Fig 13: 203).

There are a few issues which respondents point out that could still be included briefly in the text of the promotional material. Respondent 5⁴³⁸ says that it still needs to be made clearer how *long* (own italics) it takes to reach the Lodge from Rooibrak (the main road). It must also be made clear under the section *!Xaus Staff* (Fig 13: 204) that not all staff at the Lodge are ≠Khomani or Mier⁴³⁹. Similarly to the textual analysis of the information booklet, respondent 7⁴⁴⁰ thinks that the strap line is confusing and that the “reconciliation bit” should be moved. Among other suggestions, two respondents say that they would have liked more information about the Bushman naming debate⁴⁴¹, the ≠Khomani today and further history on the Mier community⁴⁴². Nevertheless, the text cannot include every aspect of information regarding the communities involved in the Lodge. There are informative books available in the Lounge; perhaps further books could be made available.

As discussed in the textual analysis, the text is less romantically inclined than that of the two previous runs. Consequently, the complaints voiced about the

⁴³⁴ See respondent 1, 2, 4, 6, 8, 9, 10, 12 & 13, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 4.

⁴³⁵ See respondents 1, 7, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 6. One respondent thinks that it is “useful, but not necessary” (See respondent 3, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 4). Another thinks that it is “interesting but too long” (See respondent 7, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 4). Also, see respondent 5, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 6).

⁴³⁶ See respondent 8, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 3.

⁴³⁷ Which O’Leary (personal correspondence, February 2009) said helped to inform the new promotional material.

⁴³⁸ See questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 4.

⁴³⁹ See respondent 3, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 7.

⁴⁴⁰ See questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 7.

⁴⁴¹ The debate, which revolved around the use of the term ‘Bushman’ or ‘San’. See the Introduction (Chapter 1) for more details.

⁴⁴² See respondents 11 & 3, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 7.

misrepresentative text by the 2008 respondents are not repeated here⁴⁴³. However, the drawings do elicit a romantic response. A number of respondents refer to the Sanness⁴⁴⁴ of the illustrations. The majority of respondents enjoy the ‘traditional’ aesthetics of these depictions⁴⁴⁵ and do not mention the differing connotations produced by the text and the pictures. Perhaps the representation seems congruous to the respondents in that ≠Khomani artists do draw in this ‘traditional’ style⁴⁴⁶ and it does not clash the ≠Khomani identity and the text does not clash with the Lodge experience. Also, it must be remembered that the managerial staff discussed the portrayal of the ≠Khomani in this promotional material with the ≠Khomani employees and that this promotional material is the outcome (cf. O’Leary, personal correspondence, February 2009).

As with the 2008 respondents, the 2009 respondents discuss representation of the ≠Khomani at !Xaus itself. One respondent states that the Bushmen village was a bit disappointing⁴⁴⁷, while another two respondents feel that the ≠Khomani need to be more involved in their own representation⁴⁴⁸. Respondent 4⁴⁴⁹ explains that:

I expected to see a few bushmen in their villages but proud of teaching us, simple tourists, who they were in the past: their tradition, how they hunted, what type of dances they used to perform, how they used the environment to survive, how their ancestors did rock paintings and carvings, how were their shelters built.

To me it would have been different if were they to speak about themselves. I mean that if the aim of your project is to give them the possibility to regain self respect and to spread what they were, the word must be given to them and the approach should be different (sic).

Although Retief’s introductory talk about the ≠Khomani and Mier communities introduces visitors to the past and present lives of the ≠Khomani, it is also suggested

⁴⁴³ One complaint about the textual material is that the phrase “re-created crafts village” seems to portray a place where the ≠Khomani live and not where they simply practice their crafts. Respondent 3 advises the use of the word “workshop” to avoid confusion (questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5).

⁴⁴⁴ See respondent 3, 7, 8, 11, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 6.

⁴⁴⁵ See for example respondents 7, 2, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 6.

⁴⁴⁶ See Vetkat Kruiper’s painting (Fig 4: 67). Also see Van der Weg (2007).

⁴⁴⁷ See respondent 5, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁴⁸ See respondent 4, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5. Also, see respondent 7, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 3.

⁴⁴⁹ See questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5.

that dvd's could aid in further information transmission⁴⁵⁰. Another respondent suggests the inclusion of more information about the Mier people in Retief's talk⁴⁵¹. As too much information may make Retief's talk too long for some visitors, the texts suggested by the respondent could also be included in the lounge for perusal.

Other complaints by respondents had to do with problems associated with the location of the Lodge: that it is far from the main road and water and so there are fewer opportunities to see game⁴⁵². Also, one respondent⁴⁵³ complained that no solar power was available. These problems are the same as stated by the 2008 respondents above and are being dealt with by !Xaus and mentioned or implied in the text. On the other hand, the management and staff at the Lodge are (as in the 2008 group) described in an extremely positive light⁴⁵⁴. Respondent 6⁴⁵⁵ asserts that "What really matters is the personal touch at the Lodge. The kindness and friendliness of the people working there make you feel welcome."

This section shows a strong correlation between the *production* (meaning making) of the promotional texts, the production of the !Xaus experience and the *consumption* of both the materials and 'reality' of the Lodge (own italics). It exemplifies the importance of the balance between the two concepts making up this element within the Circuit of Culture. The production must represent the consumption and visa versa, otherwise visitors' expectations are not met and the promotional materials would incorrectly portray the !Xaus experience.

Regulation

Expectations created by the promotional materials or mental codes associated with Lodges and game reserves play a large part in regulation. It is expectations which regulate how one perceives the 'reality' of a situation. As already discussed, all regulations in the context of this study are based on expectations. Importantly, 11 out

⁴⁵⁰ See respondent 4, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2 & 3.

⁴⁵¹ See respondent 10, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁵² See respondent 4, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5. Respondent 5, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2. See also respondent 6, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 3.

⁴⁵³ See respondent 10, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 3.

⁴⁵⁴ See respondents 2, 4, 8, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁵⁵ See questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

of 13 respondents think that the expectations created by the promotional material were met⁴⁵⁶.

As with the 2008 group, a number of respondents in the 2009 group are disappointed by the lack of wildlife seen at and around !Xaus⁴⁵⁷. High expectations are generated as a result of !Xaus being in a game reserve⁴⁵⁸ and supported by the fact that the viewing of game is promoted in the 2007/2008 promotional materials⁴⁵⁹. Not one single respondent pointedly refers to the fact that in the section *Wildlife at !Xaus* in the information booklet (Fig 13: 205) the meaning makers of the !Xaus material do rectify this situation by stating that “sightings of game are understandably rare and a source of great excitement”. However, the large majority do specify that the text squares with their experience of !Xaus Lodge.

Every single respondent in the 2009 questionnaire group praises the service and/or accommodation at !Xaus Lodge (Appendix 14: 298-313). Comments range from mentioning the “comfortable”⁴⁶⁰ and “clean”⁴⁶¹ accommodation to the “buildings being nicely furnished”⁴⁶² and the staff being of a “high professional standard”⁴⁶³. Furthermore, five respondents pointedly convey their enjoyment of the “homely, tasty”⁴⁶⁴ food. Thus, the previous description of the Lodge in the 2007/8 promotional materials, which did not include explanations of the power situation, lack of air conditioning, gas appliances, etcetera (as does the 2009 information booklet), does not seem to faze these respondents as it does with the previous group⁴⁶⁵. Perhaps, the standard of service has improved, or this group of respondents are not as particular about such luxuries. Whatever the case may be, it is best to ‘realistically’ portray the product so that false expectations are not created. The new text does seem to reflect the ‘reality’ at !Xaus far more so than the previous 2007/8 materials. In doing so, it is

⁴⁵⁶ See respondents 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5. Also see respondent 6, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 4.

⁴⁵⁷ See, for example, respondents 5, 9, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 3.

⁴⁵⁸ See, for example, respondent 4, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5.

⁴⁵⁹ See respondent 4, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5.

⁴⁶⁰ See respondent 12, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁶¹ See respondent 4, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁶² See respondent 8, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁶³ See respondent 2, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁶⁴ See respondent 1, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2. See, also, respondent 3, 4, 5, 8, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 2.

⁴⁶⁵ These past visitors would most likely have read the 2008 promotional materials (Figs 9, 10, 12: 180-183; 189-200) if not before, then at the Lodge.

likely that the materials will attract a more specific target market who enjoy a more rustic feel than that offered at a luxury hotel or resort.

Précis of the Reception Analysis

Unlike the semiotic analysis of the previous chapter, the reception analysis presents feedback on what the South African target market and past visitors to !Xaus actually think of the promotional material and analyses the past visitors' opinions of the Lodge experience.

Most importantly for this dissertation, it enables an understanding of how the ≠Khomani are regarded by the South African and international target market today and how this influences their expectations of the cultural tourism product at !Xaus. Individual opinions regarding the ≠Khomani differ; for example, some see the Bushmen as victims of historical circumstance and societal power relations⁴⁶⁶; others see Bushmen as part of the Western world. The differences of opinion are many; however, a large majority of focus group participants and respondents see cultural tourism as a way for the ≠Khomani to assert their 'special' status through the display of their 'traditional' culture. They do not see this as demeaning, but as a way of enticing tourists to !Xaus Lodge. Many respondents think that further interaction with the ≠Khomani themselves would lead to further customer satisfaction, thus opening the way for further self representation.

Also of great importance in attracting visitors to !Xaus Lodge and meeting their expectations, is a 'realistic' set of promotional materials which advertise corresponding standards of service and accommodation as well as wilderness and cultural encounters at the Lodge. The 2007/2008 materials produce a somewhat contradictory experience between expectations and amenities/activities offered, while the 2009 information booklet is more inclined to "hit it right"⁴⁶⁷.

While the reception analysis seems positive about the new promotional material, the textual analysis does pick up some incongruences. Consequently, the next chapter

⁴⁶⁶ This is more prominent in the focus groups where representations were discussed in an in-depth manner.

⁴⁶⁷ See respondent 11, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript 1. 2.

(Chapter 8) will closely explore detailed differences between the textual and reception analyses and analyse such divergences.

Chapter 8: Similarities and Differences between the Textual and Reception Analyses

The overriding difference between the textual and reception analyses is that the textual analysis aims to examine the promotional materials in a holistic and in-depth fashion through the methodology of semiotics, while the reception analysis has the advantage of being able to take into account many relevant opinions from the target market and from people who have actually experienced the Lodge. These informants only discuss certain issues which they deem valuable as a result of personal interests and time constraints, but it is vital for this study to realise what these interest are.

Unlike a semiotic study, the target market and past visitors do not respond in a structured, academic way. A key element to this study is that of the ‘reality’ of people’s perceptions, not what the semiotic study suggests but a critical look at a tourists’ actual experience. For example, most see indigenous representation through the eyes of the tourist: they suggest that visitors would like to see a ‘traditional’ representation even if they feel that this portrayal is something of a ‘pseudo event’⁴⁶⁸. In this case, it is fortunate that the traditionalist ≠Khomani depiction at the Lodge as well as the expectations of the focus groups and past visitors coincide. Although visitors expect further activities, the activities that are made available are based within the romantic code⁴⁶⁹.

The structure of the textual and reception analyses differs as a result of the different theory and methodology employed⁴⁷⁰, thus a table is used in order to allow for easy comparison. If the decoding of messages between the two analyses is similar then the implication portrayed by the meaning makers seems to possess a dominant understanding (Hall 1997: 166). If there are discrepancies between the analyses, this

⁴⁶⁸ See Boorstin (1964).

⁴⁶⁹ This expectation of a culturally ‘traditional’ portrayal supports the argument that the ≠Khomani subconsciously or consciously internalise this representation in order to survive through working in cultural tourism. I do not deny this argument but do stress that the ≠Khomani at !Xaus are not the victims in this relationship. The meaning makers at !Xaus did not impose depictions at the Lodge or in the 2009 material; these were ‘created’ by the staff themselves (O’Leary, personal correspondence, February 2009).

⁴⁷⁰ The more complex themes used in the reception analysis (Chapter 7) are discarded in this table as the more simplistic themes used here (mainly visuals and text) enable a condensed summary in which respondents’ experiences are included.

may point to a case of aberrant decoding (Eco 1965) by either analysis and so point to issues which need to be addressed in the text or at the Lodge.

2007: brochure (Fig 8), website (Fig 11) , leaflet (Fig 10)		
Textual Analysis	Reception Analysis	Conclusion
Ways of analysing		
The semiotic analysis is more structured, holistic and in-depth than the exclusively personal reflections in the reception analysis. It examines what ideas the promotional material portrays.	The participants possess their own personal opinions regarding the ≠Khomani which are shown through their responses to the material. Some participants see the ≠Khomani as primitive people. Many agree that the ≠Khomani are part of the modern world. There is also a general agreement that the ≠Khomani still possess ‘traditional’ culture and cultural knowledge.	Both analyses have positive points. The textual/semiotic analysis is more in-depth and holistic. The reception analysis discusses the actual target market’s perceptions of the generally othered ≠Khomani.
Visuals		
The branding “Transfrontier Trails” (Fig 8: 178) instead of “!Xaus Lodge” (Fig 9: 180) may be confusing to a reader who does not understand the relationship between TFPD and !Xaus Lodge.	This fact is not mentioned.	This may be as a result of my explaining to the focus groups what the initiative involves.
The colours connote an arid environment and create a link to nature and an African desert.	Colours are not discussed in much detail, although references are made to the aesthetically pleasing red sand and how the colours relate to those of Bushmen paintings.	The similar connotations point to a dominant decoding.
I think that the colour of the Lodge in the photographs blends into the red sand surrounding it (perhaps because I have visited the Lodge).	There are differing opinions about whether the Lodge blends into the environment or not.	The debate about whether the chalets blend into the environment indicates that some of the photographs of the Lodge may not be overly appealing.
Icons are discussed in great detail: how the icons relate to ‘traditional’ connotations of Bushmen, Africa, the environment	Icons are not discussed. These are not as eye-catching or meaningful to the readers as representative photographs	This does not necessarily mean that the icons do not fulfil their role, only that photographs are more eye-catching and seem to the

and the mental codes that relate to these concepts.	which create a sense of having-been-there (Barthes 2007: 33-40).	reader to be more true to life.
Photographs of the surrounding environment convey a sense of desolation and wilderness.	The remoteness that the photographs portray is appreciated.	The photographs of the surrounding environment are well depicted and received; the dominant message is portrayed.
The wildlife photographs create a sense of expectation and so may excite visitors. Both the photographs of the surrounding environment and those of wildlife create a sense of being out-of-the-ordinary for a large majority of readers (Urry 2006: 92). However, the expectations created by the wildlife photographs may perhaps lead to disappointment if there are few sightings.	There is a debate about whether more or less wildlife photographs should be included. (The argument for fewer wildlife photographs ties in with the assertion that more photographs of the ≠Khomani should be included).	Even though some participants think more photographs of animals would entice visitors, they lack the experience of having been to !Xaus and do not know what the game viewing is like in the region. Furthermore, they lack experience of the cultural tourism product (see 2008/2009 respondents for details regarding the cultural experience).
Interior photographs of the Lodge should be included in order to portray the 'reality' of the comfortable accommodation.	Interior photographs of !Xaus Lodge should be included in order to display more of its luxurious aspects.	Interior photographs would show the 'reality' of the accommodation and enable the reader to decide for themselves what they think of it.
If !Xaus wishes to portray themselves in a culturally romantic light with regards to the ≠Khomani (as does the text) then they must include more contextualised ⁴⁷¹ photographs of this host community and relevant cultural activities and also improve the cultural experience on offer.	More photographs of the ≠Khomani must be included. Suggestions of what tourists would like to see are given, that is generally a 'pseudo' type event (Boorstin 1964).	There is a general consensus regarding the inclusion of further contextualised photographs of the ≠Khomani, so confirming that the romantic text requires corresponding photographs.
The 'traditional' design of Kruiper's painting	The participant sees Kruiper's paintings ⁴⁷² as a	The similar connotations point towards a dominant

⁴⁷¹ A few photographs of the ≠Khomani were included but they were not in !Xaus uniform or obviously involved in a cultural activity offered at the Lodge. Therefore focus group participants were not sure who these people were.

⁴⁷² The focus group participants were shown another Kruiper painting in a photograph taken by myself at !Xaus Lodge in July 2007.

supports the romantic myth of a people who still follow long established cultural 'traditions'.	modern version of the 'traditional' medium.	decoding.
The map allows the reader to visualise !Xaus's location.	One person mentions the map in relation to his past experience of the KTP.	The map may seem like background information explaining where in the KTP the Lodge is situated.
Text		
The semiotic study does not state that the text is subtle in its advertising or overly informative.	The text is informative and not transparently orientated towards selling the !Xaus experience.	The textual analysis does not specify as does the reception analysis that the text does not transparently sell the experience. This is as a result of the more detailed analysis facilitated by semiotics.
The promotional text implies that one would be privileged to meet the indigenous host communities.	The text states that !Xaus "invites you to share with their ancestors" (Figs 8, 10, 11: 178, 183, 184). One participant thinks that this invitation makes the experience seem more 'authentic'.	The understanding of the text as portraying an experience whereby the reader would be privileged to meet the indigenous communities and the participant's idea that the experience is 'authentic' both lie within a similar mental code: that the ≠Khomani are seen as the other.
The text implies that the ≠Khomani are spiritual, have an ancient knowledge of nature and a 'traditional' way of storytelling.	Suggestions regarding cultural tourism at the Lodge are given based on tourist expectations. A 'pseudo' experience is required.	Participants expect a romantic cultural experience when the ≠Khomani are involved. This is supported by the romanticised text.
More description about accommodation in order to explain that it is comfortable but not luxury accommodation as experienced in 5 star hotels.	More description about "luxury" accommodation is required. As !Xaus is advertised as a luxury lodge in the 2007/8 promotional materials participants expect "lovely linen" ⁴⁷³ , beautiful decorations, exotic food and "sunken bath[s]" ⁴⁷⁴ .	Both I and the participants would like further information on the luxury accommodation. I, because I think that the reality is somewhat different and the participants, because they would like to know what they would be paying for. The text and the 'reality' must correspond in order for visitors' expectations

⁴⁷³ See Deborah, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 437.

⁴⁷⁴ See Christopher, focus group 2, September 2007, transcript l. 366.

		to be met.
Further information needs to be included in order to contextualise the communities. The roles of the staff also need to be explained as it is not clear exactly what the ≠Khomani and Mier do at the Lodge.	The participants do not mention this aspect.	This may be because they assume that the host communities share the workload. For example Ulla in FG1 ⁴⁷⁵ suggests that in order to retain culture in today's age the ≠Khomani "work as waiters or whatever and at night they show how they lived before".
The fact that !Xaus is situated in the KTP (a SANParks Park) reinforces the idea of conservation and wildlife, as does the text's promotional slant.	The KTP connotes ideas of wildlife for FG1 and FG2.	These are similar connotations and therefore the dominant message is understood.

2008: brochure (Fig 9), website (Fig 12)⁴⁷⁶		
Textual Analysis	Reception Analysis	Conclusion
Ways of analysing		
The semiotic analysis is more structured, holistic and in-depth than the exclusively personal reflections in the reception analysis. It examines the ideas portrayed by the promotional materials.	The past visitors' personal opinions are shown through their feedback. Many respondents are aware that the ≠Khomani have moved with the times. They seem to portray less paternal attitudes than the focus groups but a number were attracted by the othering experience of the indigenous at !Xaus ⁴⁷⁷ .	Both analyses have analytical elements which the other lacks. The textual/semiotic analysis is more in-depth and holistic. The reception analysis uses the actual past visitors' perceptions of the generally othered ≠Khomani.
Visuals		
The !Xaus Lodge title is clear and connotes ideas of comfortable accommodation in conjunction with the photograph below (Fig 9: 180).	Not mentioned.	The icon to the reader may be taken for granted as a result of the importance and prevalence of the brand in today's world (Klein 2001: 3-5).
The colours are very	Colours are not discussed.	In the questionnaires the

⁴⁷⁵ See focus group 1, September 2007, transcript l. 239.

⁴⁷⁶ The leaflet is not included in this explanation as it did not change from the 2007 materials.

⁴⁷⁷ Also, many suggestions are made about how to improve cultural tourism at the Lodge. These generally took the form of a 'traditional' representation.

similar to the 2007 brochure ⁴⁷⁸ . The main difference is the inclusion of the new photograph on the front cover. The bright blue sky connotes good weather and links to mental codes of an 'African' environment.		respondents do not generally give extremely detailed answers. They may have been limited by time and spatial constraints.
Icons – same as 2008 above. Iconic links are included in the 2008 website (Fig 12: 189-200). These link to the websites of SATSA and BTG. These links bring with them connotations of credibility, thus insinuating that the Lodge is of a high standard.	Icons are not discussed. These are not as eye-catching or meaningful to the readers as representative photographs which create a sense of having-been-there (Barthes 2007: 33-40).	This does not necessarily mean that the icons do not fulfil their role, only that photographs are more eye-catching and seem to the reader to be more true to life.
Many photographs of the surrounding environment remain the same (a few new ones are included). These convey a sense of desolation and wilderness.	The photographs of the surrounding environment are commended for the depiction of the remoteness of the location. However, some think that it is this aspect which should be promoted more thoroughly as a result of its uniqueness.	The dominant code is portrayed. Perhaps a photograph of the night sky could be included as suggested by respondent 11, ⁴⁷⁹ but the remoteness is further portrayed in the text itself in the 2009 information material.
The wildlife photographs create an expectation which may excite visitors. These expectations may however lead to disappointment if there are few sightings.	A number of respondents imply that the photographs of wildlife are misleading.	Both agree on the somewhat misleading decoding of the wildlife photography.
A number of interior pictures are included. This allows the readers to decide for themselves if they consider the accommodation to be luxurious, upmarket and/or comfortable.	The interior photographs are not discussed by the respondents. One does mention that the "pictures are typical of commercial advertising" ⁴⁸⁰ . She probably includes the interior photographs in this analysis.	It is important to note the lack of discussion surrounding interior photographs in the questionnaire responses. If no one mentions anything about this aspect then presumably these respondents do not see a

⁴⁷⁸ The website in 2008 did not change very much except for the inclusion of new photographs.

⁴⁷⁹ See respondent 11, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 8.

⁴⁸⁰ See respondent 2, questionnaire, June 2008, transcript l. 8.

		problem with this element of the materials, as did the 2007 focus group participants.
A photograph of two trackers dressed in !Xaus uniforms sitting on a game viewing vehicle is included. This enables the reader to contextualise the people represented. The promotional material (Fig 9: 182) clarifies this photograph by stating that one can “accompany the Bushmen, legendary hunter-gathers and learn their secrets of survival as they track through the desert”. This expectation of the ≠Khomani led walk must be met because if a member of the ≠Khomani staff were not present a visitor may feel let down as his/her expectations were not met.	No one commented on the lack of, or showed interest in the ≠Khomani photographs even though there is much suggestion on how to improve the cultural product at !Xaus. The majority of respondents think that the development of cultural tourism lies in the offering of the long-established romantic myth through cultural activities. They see this cultural representation as an advantage for the improvement of cultural tourism at the Lodge.	The inclusion of the photograph of the two trackers enables a contextualised reading, lacking in the 2007 material. Also, the photographs which seemed out of context for people who had not been to !Xaus (also included in the 2008 material) could have been more contextualised for these respondents as they had met the ≠Khomani staff. Perhaps, because at the time of their visit the respondents were not involved in many cultural activities, they think that the visual promotional material reflects the ‘reality’ of the cultural tourism offered at !Xaus, that there is little interaction with the ≠Khomani.
Text (almost exactly the same as the 2007)		
Does not state that the text is overly informative.	Some say that the brochure has sufficient detail for people to make up their minds about visiting the Lodge. Others say that the text is slightly misleading (see below for further examples). Some respondents say it lacks information. ⁴⁸¹	These discrepancies show that the text could be more informative.
Implies that one would be privileged to meet the indigenous host	The cultural activities associated with the Bushmen in the text seem	There seems to be a dominant decoding. It is important however that the

⁴⁸¹ One respondent felt that she would have liked to have been informed in the text that one cannot reach the Lodge if not in a 4X4. This is implied by the reference to pick up points for transfers, but is not stated outright. One refers to the distance from the main road where animals are seen. See respondent 14, questionnaire, November 2008, transcript l. 14.

communities and that the ≠Khomani are spiritual, have an ancient knowledge of nature and a 'traditional' way of story-telling.	attractive to a number of respondents.	experience offered in the text must be matched in 'reality'.
The terms used suggest that the Lodge "capture(s) the essence of the Kalahari" (Fig 9 & 12: 181, 190)	Respondents enjoy the descriptiveness of the environment; that is, the description of the remoteness. Others say that they would try to improve the description of this remoteness in the text.	Dominant decoding. More descriptive explanations are available in the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13: 201-219).
More description about accommodation in order to explain that it is comfortable but not luxury accommodation as experienced in 5 star hotels.	Many respondents say that they were attracted to !Xaus by the upmarket accommodation. However, some say that the service levels were not up to scratch, nor was the food ⁴⁸² . Even so, the staff are considered to be friendly and helpful and the guides and management knowledgeable.	Agreement about slightly misleading text.
The text about the wildlife in the promotional materials as well as the fact that !Xaus is situated in the KTP reinforces the idea that wildlife will be seen.	The text which suggests that there is wildlife in the vicinity of the Lodge is misleading.	Dominant decoding of material which leads to disappointment.

2009: information booklet (Fig 13)

Textual Analysis	Reception Analysis	Conclusion
Ways of Analysing		
The semiotic analysis is more structured, holistic and in-depth than the exclusively personal reflections in the reception analysis. It examines the meaning making components of the promotional material.	The past visitors' opinions once again are obtained from their responses. Some respondents refer to ≠Khomani present day 'traditional' knowledge and art forms, while others refer to the past, which they see as different to the present. As with the	Both analyses have analytical elements which the other lacks. The textual/semiotic analysis is more in-depth and holistic. The reception analysis uses the actual past visitors' perceptions of the generally othered ≠Khomani.

⁴⁸² Others complain about the lack of rifles carried by the guides.

	previous group, the attraction to the ≠Khomani seems to be as a result of their othered status.	
Visuals		
The !Xaus icon/branding (found on the front page and all other pages) is representative of its chalets and includes the words “!Xaus Lodge” next to this depiction. The architectural structure of the chalets connotes a non-western feel, but in relatively comfortable accommodation (a Lodge).	The !Xaus icon is not discussed.	The icon to the reader may be taken for granted as a result of the importance and prevalence of the brand in today’s world (Klein 2001: 3-5).
Physical and cultural romantically representative Bushmen figures drawn in a ‘traditional’ Bushmen fashion are shown throughout the booklet. These support the romantic myth. Animal drawings also support the romantic myth as they are drawn in a ‘traditional’ Bushman fashion and, in addition, connote a wildlife experience. When making sense of the drawings, one would come to realise that there are no drawings of cats so implying that such sightings are rare. Photographs of the Lodge, wildlife, location, staff, etcetera, will be found on the new website.	A number of respondents relate the illustrations in the booklet to “bushman like drawings” ⁴⁸³ . These drawings tie in with some of the respondents’ tendencies to believe that Bushmen have retained much cultural knowledge. Although this particular point is a complicated one, it can be argued that this is a realistic expectation as the ≠Khomani still do paint in this stylistic fashion.	There is a dominant decoding of these drawings which supports the romantic myth (elements of which are still held by many respondents and ≠Khomani themselves).
The booklet cover is leather with coloured buttons sewn around the edges and depictions of the !Xaus Lodge icon,	The booklet cover is not discussed as the respondents were unable to view this new creation.	N/a

⁴⁸³ See respondent 11, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 6.

<p>antelope and environment drawn on. As a result of these depictions, links are made to the Lodge. One would think that the covers are made by the local communities as they are craft-like, thus representing the other⁴⁸⁴.</p>		
Text		
<p>There is a large increase in information. The extra information introduces the reader to the ‘reality’ of the !Xaus experience. Some may come to the conclusion that this is an ‘authentic’ safari and community experience and/or be taken in by the comfortable amenities, that is, the ‘environmental bubble’ (Cohen 1972: 166-167).</p>	<p>A number of respondents think that the text was easy to read and informative. Others offer suggestions on points to be included. Two respondents think it too long and unnecessary, but it must be remembered that the booklet is there for perusal and does not have to be read in full. The same applies for the website.</p>	<p>In general, there is a dominant decoding which describes the text as informative. The discrepancies will be discussed below.</p>
<p>The text does not promote the Bushman experience as much as the last materials, thereby avoiding ‘false’ advertising.</p> <p>It specifies that the cultural village is “re-created” and clarifies the fact that the Lodge does not offer a “historical tour, but a glimpse of the way of life of these peoples today” (Fig 13: 204). These references to modern times and actual cultural tourism activities at the Lodge aim to rectify any ‘false’ expectations created by the promotion of pseudo events.</p> <p>This creates a discrepancy between the text which is</p>	<p>Two respondents would like more information to be included on the Bushman naming debate, the ≠Khomani today and further information on the Mier community.</p> <p>Generally, the respondents do not talk about the ≠Khomani representation in the text. Rather, they refer to their own experiences.</p> <p>One respondent thinks that there should be more visitor interaction with the ≠Khomani. Another posits that the ≠Khomani should speak for themselves. She does not say whether through a translator or not, but she said that this would</p>	<p>There are no ‘false’ expectations created in the text. Even so, participants still suggest ways of improving the cultural tourism product.</p> <p>The past visitors do not seem to notice any incongruities between the text and the visuals. Perhaps, this is because the romantic nature of the visuals does not clash with the romantically inclined ≠Khomani identity and art and the ‘reality’ of the text does not clash with the Lodge experience.</p>

⁴⁸⁴ They are ≠Khomani made.

<p>'realistic' and the visuals which promote a romantic experience.</p>	<p>give the Bushmen “the possibility to regain self respect”⁴⁸⁵. She said at the moment the Bushmen do not converse with the tourists so it feels like buying crafts from a craft shop. She would like the ≠Khomani to address their own 'traditional' culture.</p> <p>Some respondents enjoyed the cultural representation offered at the cultural village, others thought it “forced”⁴⁸⁶ or “weak”⁴⁸⁷.</p>	
<p>The “tranquillity” and “inner peace” (Fig 13: 203) describing !Xaus connote a restful location.</p>	<p>The text describing this tranquillity is not discussed. The respondents must agree with the description and the connotations, however, as they generally say that the text is very informative and that the 'reality' meets the expectations of the text.</p>	<p>Dominant decoding.</p>
<p>!Xaus is explained as a Lodge that is “not a commercial resort”, but which has “high standards of service” (Fig 13: 203). These phrases connote a comfortable experience, but one that is not like a 5 star hotel.</p>	<p>The service levels and the accommodation are largely praised.</p>	<p>Dominant decoding of comfortable accommodation and the resulting 'reality' of this expectation.</p>
<p>The textual analysis assumes that the reader would distinguish between the sections <i>Wildlife at !Xaus</i> (Fig 13: 205) and the section <i>Fauna</i> (Fig 13:216). The implication in the former section that there is not too much wildlife in the area would</p>	<p>The respondents are generally disappointed with game sightings at and around !Xaus. They do not mention the implications of the <i>Wildlife at !Xaus</i> (Fig 13: 205) section, but many do specify that the text squares with their experience at the Lodge.</p>	<p>Dominant decoding.</p>

⁴⁸⁵ Respondent 4, questionnaire, February 2009, transcript l. 5.

⁴⁸⁶ See respondent 3, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10.

⁴⁸⁷ See respondent 10, questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 10.

then appeal to visitors' who have already had the opportunity to view the 'Big 5' or larger cats.		
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With each run of promotional materials problematic issues pertaining to the previous runs were improved upon. In the 2008 materials, the successful colour scheme remained, but more representative photographs of the exterior and interior of the Lodge were included. Although the wildlife photographs were seen as controversial in the 2008 materials, with regards to the 'reality' of the viewing experience, these types of photographs may be balanced by the new text to be included in the 2009 website. In 2008, a more contextualised photograph of the ≠Khomani staff was included in the brochure and website. This trait needs to be carried into the 2009 materials as then the reader will be aware that either the people represented are staff at !Xaus or that they are members of the Mier or ≠Khomani communities. The 2009 !Xaus icon is more representative of the Lodge's unique nature than the previous two runs and the text is more informative: aspects pertaining to the comfortable accommodation, location, difficulties experienced at the Lodge, host communities and wildlife are discussed. The text in the informational booklet is more representative of the cultural tourism offered at !Xaus Lodge than the previous runs and so creates more 'realistic' expectations. Although the drawings in the 2009 information booklet are romantically inclined, the respondents do not state that they see a contradiction between the text and these depictions.

Although the 2009 respondents admit that the information booklet's text meets with the 'reality' of their !Xaus experience, they still include suggestions on how to improve the cultural experience at the Lodge⁴⁸⁸. However, the cultural product at !Xaus is still a work in progress. There are many challenges that the operator, management and ≠Khomani face at !Xaus Lodge. I have therefore included a table below which succinctly juxtaposes some of the many economic and social problems involved in the relationship between the ≠Khomani and the Lodge operators/management, the other party in the land claim agreement – SANParks⁴⁸⁹ -

⁴⁸⁸ These suggestions are supported by the suggestions of many respondents in the 2008 questionnaire group.

⁴⁸⁹ This information will be based on the work of Bertus De Villiers (2008: 33-46).

and the expectations of potential/past tourists (the focus groups and questionnaire respondents).

Stakeholder versus informants table	
Stakeholders: ≠Khomani, operator (TFPD) and SANParks	Informants: Target market (focus groups)/Past visitors (questionnaires)
Local ≠Khomani: problems related to poverty, lack of education (and resulting limited ability to converse in English), and alcohol abuse.	The paternal opinions expressed link to the fact that many of the ≠Khomani are economically and educationally disadvantaged. Even so, many informants expect there to be more interaction with the ≠Khomani (either through a translator or through English speaking ≠Khomani staff).
Conflicts within the ≠Khomani community and between the ≠Khomani, Mier and SANParks.	These conflicts are unknown and visitors expect the Lodge to run smoothly.
To supplement employment opportunities the Lodge operator is “committed to providing visitors with a San-type experience to enhance game watching... the San will be trained as guides” (De Villiers 2008: 36). Also on offer is the re-created cultural village where one can watch the making of craft, learn to shoot with a bow and arrow and interact with the ≠Khomani. Other projects had included the telling of folklore and star identification by the ≠Khomani, but these have yet to be implemented (De Villiers 2008: 36). There are socioeconomic and cultural problems linked to such projects; e.g. ≠Khomani elders say that a cultural event cannot be reproduced as if they are paid actors performing for tourists. These events have to be linked to a spiritual experience.	Guests expect a cultural performance if a cultural tourism product is advertised. However, with the less romantic 2009 text in the information booklet, visitors’ expectations may not be as romantically inclined (although the 2009 respondents still suggest ways of improving the cultural experience).
Visitors should be encouraged to visit Welkom to visit the local community in order to get an idea of the issues facing the community.	Focus group participants express an interest in visiting local communities, but expect them to be in the immediate area (Welkom is approximately two hours from the Lodge).
The co-ownership of the Lodge has helped to give some of the members of the local communities a new sense of purpose. (However, I was told in July 2007, by staff at !Xaus, that some members of these communities had become disillusioned with the Lodge).	Focus group feel that a community-run lodge would be run inefficiently, but seemed placated once they find out it is community-owned but not run. This is clarified in the text of the 2009 information booklet (Fig 13: 207).
Further recognition of the ≠Khomani within the Park through reading material,	Further recognition of the ≠Khomani in photographs of !Xaus Lodge’s

signage, photographs, history, etc.	promotional materials (focus groups). Further recognition of the cultural history of the ≠Khomani through further cultural tourism options. Further recognition of ≠Khomani agency through more interaction with guests and resulting self-representation.
Training of ≠Khomani field guides aids in transferring knowledge to the younger generation. A project where the youth and elders from local disadvantaged communities spend a few days in the Park aims to instil current and future emotional links to the land, their culture and the role of the national park in protecting these.	Many informants believe that the ≠Khomani still possess their tracking abilities, along with their cultural and spiritual practices.
Resource use such as traditional hunting and harvesting of seeds by the ≠Khomani is contested and not yet practiced, but could be a draw card for tourists to the Park.	Informants want to see ‘traditional’ Bushmen practices.

It is difficult to meet tourist expectations when these are of a ‘falsely’ romantic nature. The ≠Khomani traditionalists do identity with and/or have internalised the romantic myth, but it is difficult to produce historically romantic cultural tourism activities such as medicinal and eatable knowledge of plants and even tracking⁴⁹⁰ when this is no longer a ‘reality’ for many people in the community. Although members of the ≠Khomani do still tell ‘traditional’ stories⁴⁹¹ it is difficult to offer these sorts of cultural tourism activities when such problems as the elders refusing to put on a cultural show⁴⁹² and needing a translator arise. Some romantic representations are more simple to deliver, such as the new habit of the wearing of skins in the cultural village at !Xaus. This ‘pseudo’⁴⁹³ portrayal has been adopted by the ≠Khomani presumably to meet tourist expectations. The question whether these romantic expectations are ‘realistic’ and/or whether they can be satisfied in the

⁴⁹⁰ Although !Xaus was at first able to employ Déon Nobitson and Andrew Kruiper (two ≠Khomani trackers), these employees had left in July 2008. A young ≠Khomani man (Corné Witbooi) was being trained by an ex-KTP ranger to improve his knowledge of the environment.

⁴⁹¹ When visiting Witdraai in July 2007, the research team was entertained by a ≠Khomani man named Adam Bok, who told us a number of stories around the fire one particular evening.

⁴⁹² See *Stakeholders versus informants* table above.

⁴⁹³ See Boorstin (1964).

context of !Xaus Lodge at present will be discussed in the following chapter (Chapter 9).

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Significance of analyses

The textual⁴⁹⁴ and reception⁴⁹⁵ analyses and the comparison chapter⁴⁹⁶ all provide examinations of the various runs of !Xaus Lodge's promotional materials and in doing so supply the stakeholders of !Xaus with applicable and/or critical marketing and cultural tourism information. The reception analysis is especially significant as it takes the South African target market's and past visitors' opinions into account, thus including a non-academic/tourist perspective. Hopefully, this more comprehensive and recent analysis⁴⁹⁷ will offer further relevant information than my previous study, which has already influenced how the product !Xaus Lodge has been marketed.

Future research

In my research I have conducted a longitudinal study of !Xaus's promotional materials. I examined all three of the 2007/2008 materials (brochure, leaflet and website), but only one medium of the 2009 material: the new information booklet. A study which carries on from this point and conducts a semiotic and reception analysis of the other 2009 promotional materials would further reveal how Western tourists perceive the ≠Khomani and how the materials challenge or affirm their ideological shared codes⁴⁹⁸. The evolving cultural tourism product at !Xaus could also be further analysed in relation to the agreement and/or divergences between ≠Khomani identity and how they represent their First People status and tourist expectations of indigenous representation.

In my reception analysis, my research tended to concentrate on target market and past visitors' perceptions of the Lodge and its cultural tourism. I think that this study could be enriched by research which concentrates more specifically on how the ≠Khomani wish to portray themselves to the tourist public. I have included theory regarding Bushmen representation, discussed ≠Khomani identity and the internalisation of the romantic myth, included relevant ethnographic tropes from other Rethinking

⁴⁹⁴ See Chapter 6

⁴⁹⁵ See Chapter 7

⁴⁹⁶ See Chapter 8

⁴⁹⁷ The analysis is now inclusive of part of the 2009 materials.

⁴⁹⁸ The term is used in the context of Hall's (1997: 21) work.

Indigeneity⁴⁹⁹ researchers, given examples from my own experience of cultural tourism at !Xaus and Witdraai and included relevant information obtained from the CEO of TFPD about the ≠Khomani at the Lodge. This aspect, however, could be expanded upon either by conducting in-depth interviews with the ≠Khomani employees at !Xaus or introducing a more anthropological approach by staying for a lengthy period at the Lodge. This would allow time to witness the differences and/or similarities between the ‘front’ and ‘back’ stages (MacCannell 1976: 91-96).

As discussed in the Introduction (Chapter 1), various development projects have been initiated by !Xaus Lodge already. However, a comparison study between !Xaus Lodge and another cultural tourism venture such as !Khwa ttu⁵⁰⁰ may shed light on certain development issues which could be addressed at !Xaus, such as the creation of partnerships with other organisations which could fund educational training and capacity building for the employees themselves⁵⁰¹. A further comparison between the ventures’ promotional materials could also be conducted. A study such as this may aid both ventures in improving the representative nature and the selling points of their materials.

Can we mesh tourist interests with representative ‘reality’?

Although the textual and reception analyses provide the operator at !Xaus with relevant information about the promotional materials, which have in the past aided with their re-development, the issues with the cultural experience offered at the Lodge are not as easily solved. It is more problematic in the sense that it is extremely difficult to mesh tourist expectations with the ‘reality’ of the cultural tourism product. The tourists largely expect a romantic cultural experience⁵⁰² made up of numerous activities such as story-telling, making one’s own craft, dancing, teaching the visitors how to make fire and many more. Similar expectations are held by the 2009 respondents even though the new 2009 text in the information booklet warns the potential visitor that this is not a historical depiction. The ≠Khomani seem to have

⁴⁹⁹ Prof. Tomaselli’s long-term research project to do with representation, identity, cultural tourism and development communication regarding the Kalahari Bushmen.

⁵⁰⁰ See <http://www.khwattu.org>. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

⁵⁰¹ See <http://www.khwattu.org/39/mission-and-background> for information about !Khwa ttu’s partnerships with NGO’s and a charity organisation. Last accessed on 21 April 2009.

⁵⁰² Even if they know that this experience is not a representation of the ‘reality’ of the present context.

internalised a romantic identity⁵⁰³, but do not, as a result of linguistic problems, spiritual beliefs and lack of ‘traditional’ knowledge⁵⁰⁴, offer as many cultural activities as visitors would expect.

Even though the ≠Khomani are regaining more ‘traditional’ knowledge through projects such as SASI’s cultural audit and management project⁵⁰⁵ and Adults in the Park⁵⁰⁶, this is a slow process. How does one offer many ‘pseudo events’⁵⁰⁷ when this ‘traditional’ knowledge is lacking? The operator has been very careful to not impose any type of representation or dictate what cultural activities should be offered⁵⁰⁸ in order to meet such tourist expectations, thereby limiting the number of ‘pseudo events’ which could be offered⁵⁰⁹.

Additionally, a number of visitors to the Lodge comment on the difficulties presented by the ≠Khomani not being able to speak a dominant Western language. One visitor writes that the experience with “the Bushmen was not so exciting. They can only talk Africans⁵¹⁰ with the tourists”, but that “my boss enjoyed Torsten [a German trainee at !Xaus] because he talked German with him” (sic) (Brückl, personal correspondence, March 2009). The expectations of this above respondent and her employer and the expectations of other respondents who imply that the Bushmen should converse with the tourists in a Western language⁵¹¹ are unrealistic in the current social and economic context of the ≠Khomani. “Africans”⁵¹² [Afrikaans] is the mother tongue of many of the ≠Khomani employees.

⁵⁰³ See Tomaselli (2007).

⁵⁰⁴ See stakeholders versus informants table in the Conclusion chapter (Chapter 9).

⁵⁰⁵ See *SASI Annual Review: April 2001 – March 2002* at:

http://www.san.org.za/sasi/ann_rep_2002.htm for more information regarding SASI, the cultural resources audit and management project. Last accessed on 6 May 2009.

⁵⁰⁶ Where ≠Khomani adults stay for a few nights in the KTP and learn about the environment, traditions and folklore (De Villiers 2008: 40-41).

⁵⁰⁷ See Boorstin (1964)

⁵⁰⁸ See O’Leary (personal correspondence, January 2009)

⁵⁰⁹ Such as uncovering ostrich eggs filled with water. This challenges Buntman’s (1996: 279) position that the Bushmen have been convinced, as a result of severely limited opportunities, to reproduce these romantic representations and thus their social subordination.

⁵¹⁰ The visitor presumably means *Afrikaans*.

⁵¹¹ Although respondent 5 (questionnaire, July 2008, transcript l. 14), states that a translator be used, other respondents state that the ≠Khomani should converse with the tourists, but do not clarify whether they think a translator be used (cf. respondent 11, July 2008, transcript l. 14; respondent 13, November 2008, transcript l. 14; respondent 12, November 2008, transcript l. 10).

⁵¹² Brückl, personal correspondence, March 2009.

How can we integrate the tourist expectations with the ‘reality’ of the cultural tourism product at !Xaus Lodge? In the current context, this would be very difficult. !Xaus can warn potential visitors of the ‘realities’ of the experience through their promotional materials, but they cannot change a tourist’s ideological understanding of the Bushmen in a matter of days. Even though many informants are aware that the romantic hunter-gather lifestyle is a myth in today’s context, they still believe that the Bushmen have retained much of their ‘traditional’ cultural knowledge and expect this to be offered in either a historical way or through a semi-artificial⁵¹³ cultural experience.

⁵¹³ Taking into consideration that the ≠Khomani traditionalists have internalised many aspects of the romantic myth.

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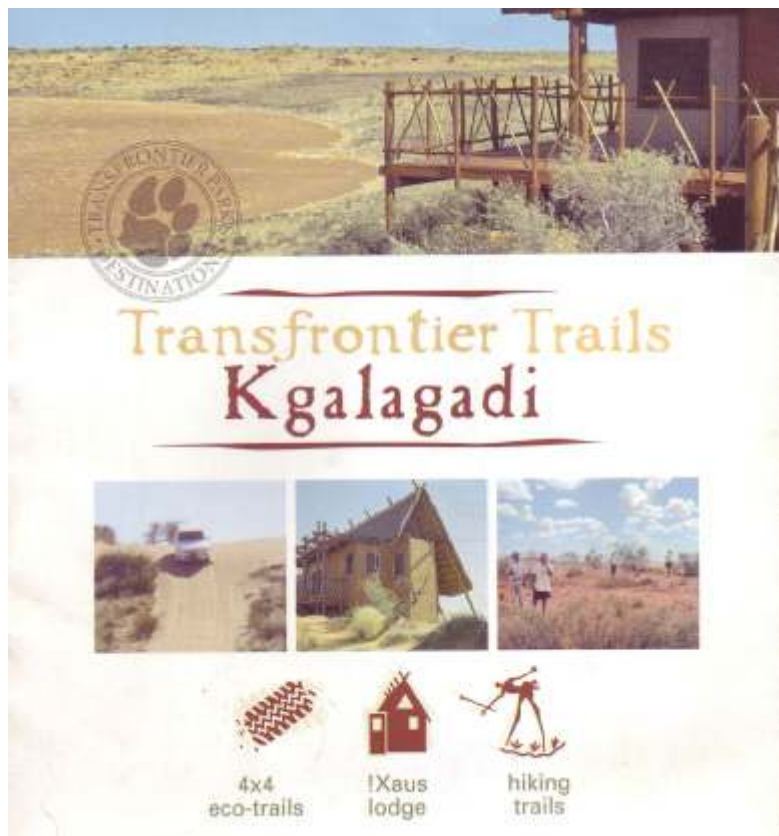
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Figure 8: 2007 Brochure



A sharing community spirit

The Mier and !Khomani San communities invite you to share with their ancestors the magic aura of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park located in the Northern Cape, bridging South Africa and Botswana.

A landmark ruling allowed these traditional communities to regain their tribal lands and an innovative partnership with Sanparks and Transfrontier Parks Destinations has created IXaus Lodge as the focal centre to experiencing the scenic unspoiled splendour of this vast arid land; to be drawn into the fascinating rituals, traditions and historical culture of these remarkable people, the first people of southern Africa.

IXaus, the name of the lodge (ph. Kaus) is derived from the shape in the pan that lies below and symbolises a spirit of reconciliation.





!XAUS LODGE

"A place to experience, not simply observe."

Crafted to blend into the landscape, the 24 bed thatched luxury lodge overlooks Klein Skrij Pan. Here, from the privacy of your own chalet, you can observe the animals drinking at the waterhole below.

Wander across to the viewing deck of the main lodge with it's spacious central area that includes a lounge and dining area, plunge pool and curio shop.

The 12 twin bed en-suite rooms capture the

essence of the Kalahari, while providing the modern traveller with all of today's tourist comforts.

Experience an African sunset, the sound of silence and touch the stars from the Boma, while marvelling at the tastes of the Mier's unique culinary offerings.

Game drives provide the opportunity to find the leopard, lion, cheetah, hyena, bat-eared fox, giraffe, springbok, wildebeest and jackal to whom the Kgalagadi is home. An abundance of birdlife including



two-thirds of the raptor species found in southern Africa, as well as rodents, caracal and the honeybadger are but just a handful of the resident wildlife.

Accompany with the Bushmen, the legendary hunter-gatherers and learn their secrets of survival as you accompany them as they track through the desert.

Listen to the Bushmen's story-telling of their legends and their interpretation of the stars and learn about their health secrets handed down over centuries.

Gain an appreciation of the sacred artworks of Vetkat Regopstaan Kruijer and his fellow Bushmen.

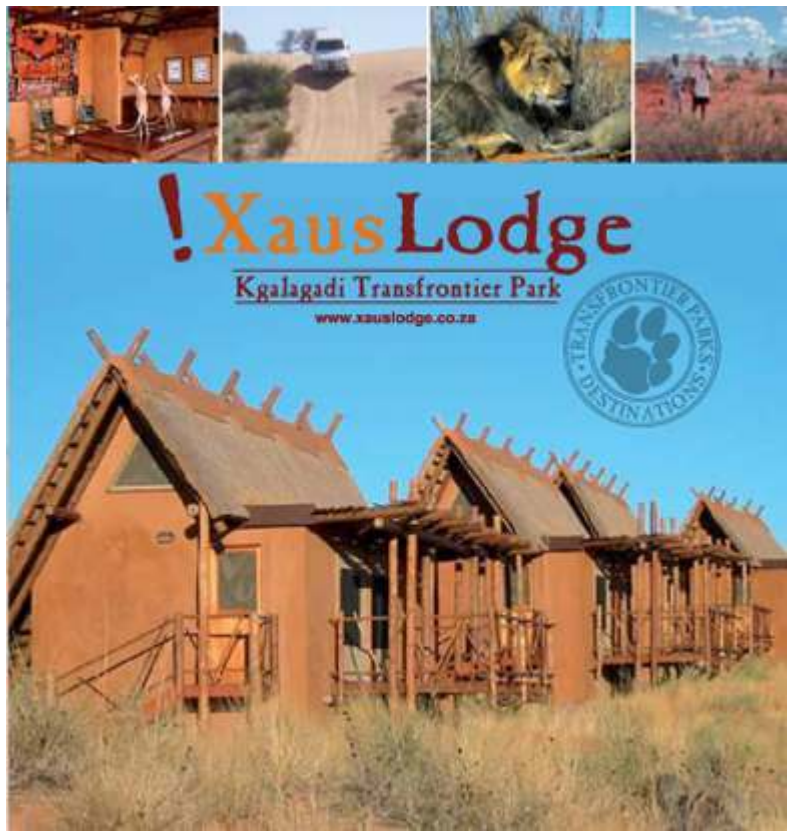


"This ancient African land seen through the eyes of the Bushmen is mystical, magical and spiritual."
 Laurens van der Post





Figure 9: 2008 Brochure





A sharing community spirit

The Mier and !Khomani San communities invite you to share with their ancestors the magic aura of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park located in the Northern Cape, bridging South Africa and Botswana.

A landmark ruling allowed these traditional communities to regain their tribal lands and an innovative partnership with Sanparks and Transfrontier Parks Destinations has created !Xaus Lodge as the focal centre for experiencing the scenic unspoiled splendour of this vast arid land; to be drawn into the fascinating rituals, traditions and historical culture of these remarkable people, the first people of southern Africa.

!Xaus, the name of the lodge (ph. Kaus) is derived from the 'heart' shape in the pan that lies below and symbolises a spirit of reconciliation.



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Listen to the Bushmen's story-telling of their legends and their interpretation of the stars and learn about their health secrets handed down over centuries.

Gain an appreciation of the sacred artworks of Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper and his fellow Bushmen.

And then bid farewell, fulfilled in spirit and recalling the words of Laurens van der Post: *"This ancient African land seen through the eyes of the Bushmen is mystical, magical and spiritual."*



Figure 10: Leaflet



Figure 11: 2007 Website



home | !Xaus Lodge | 4 x 4 trails | nature walks | map | price list | contact us

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Transfrontier Trails Kgalagadi



[home](#) | [!Xaus Lodge](#) | [4 x 4 trails](#) | [nature walks](#) | [map](#) | [price list](#) | [contact us](#)

!Xaus Lodge

"A place to experience, not merely observe."

Crafted to blend into the landscape, the 24 bed thatched luxury lodge overlooks Klein Skrij Pan. Here, from the privacy of your own chalet, you can observe the animals drinking at the waterhole below.

Wander across to the viewing deck of the main lodge with its spacious central area that includes a lounge and dining area, plunge pool and curio shop.

The 12 twin bed en-suite rooms capture the essence of the Kalahari, while providing the modern traveller with all of today's tourist comforts.

Experience an African sunset, the sound of silence and touch the stars from the Boma, while marvelling at the tastes of the Mier's unique culinary offerings.



Transfrontier Trails Kgalagadi



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4x4 Trails

Game drives provide the opportunity to find the leopard, lion, cheetah, hyena, bat-eared fox, giraffe, springbok, wildebeest and jackal to whom the Kgalagadi is home. An abundance of birdlife including two-thirds of the raptor species found in southern Africa, as well as rodents, caracal and the honeybadger are but just a handful of the resident wildlife.



Transfrontier Trails Kgalagadi



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Nature Walks

Accompany the Bushmen, legendary hunter-gatherers and learn their secrets of survival as they track through the desert.

Listen to the Bushmen's story-telling of their legends and their interpretation of the stars and learn about their health secrets handed down over centuries.

Gain an appreciation of the sacred artworks of Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper and his fellow Bushmen.

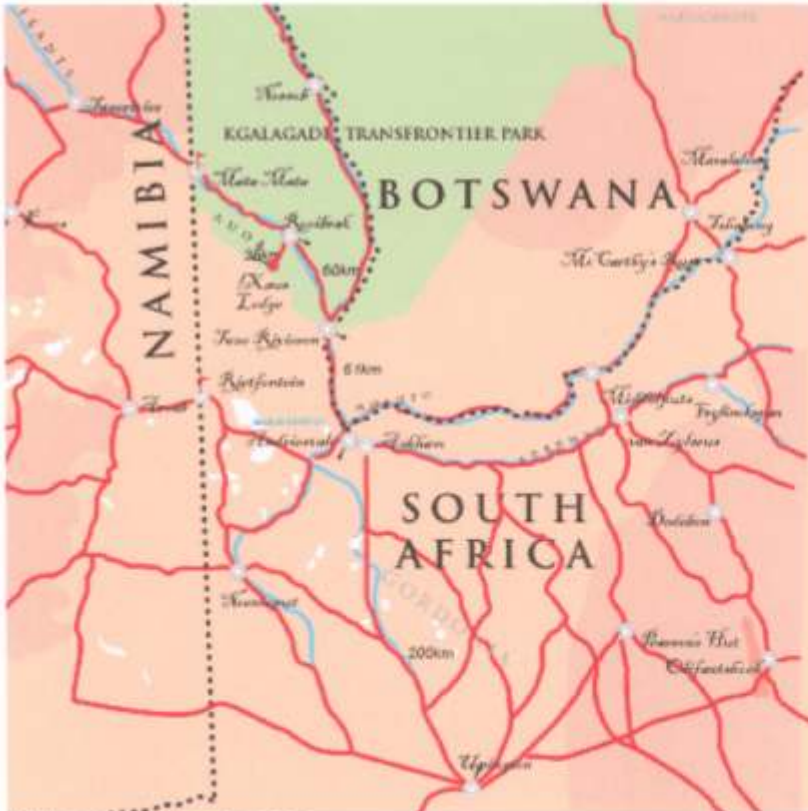


"This ancient African land seen through the eyes of the Bushmen is mystical, magical and spiritual."
Laurens van der Post

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Figure 12: 2008 Website

Transfrontier Trails Kgalagadi

TRANSFRONTIER PARKS DESTINATIONS

SATSA

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!Xaus Lodge

4x4 trails

Photo album

Nature walks

Map

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A sharing community spirit

The Mier and !Khomani San communities invite you to share with their ancestors the magic aura of the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park located in the Northern Cape, bridging South Africa and Botswana.

A landmark ruling allowed these traditional communities to regain their tribal lands and an innovative partnership with Sanparks and Transfrontier Parks Destinations has created !Xaus Lodge as the focal centre for experiencing the scenic unspoiled splendour of this vast arid land; to be drawn into the fascinating rituals, traditions and historical culture of these remarkable people, the first people of southern Africa.

!Xaus; the name of the lodge (ph. Kaus) is derived from the "heart" shape in the pan that lies below and symbolises a spirit of reconciliation.

doLimpopo

Moonglow

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4x4 Trails



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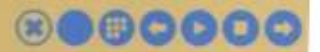
Xaus Lodge



Xaus Lodge



Xaus Lodge



Xaus Lodge



Xaus Lodge



Xaus Lodge



Xaus Lodge



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Nature Walks



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Figure 13: 2009 Information Booklet



!Xaus means 'heart'
a symbol of reconciliation between the traditional
‡Khomani San and Mier communities.



www.xauslodge.co.za

!Xaus lodge | Useful Information



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The !Xaus Experience

!Xaus Lodge strives to offer a unique, holistic and authentic experience and provides an opportunity for guests to gain an appreciation of this vast arid desert environment. Its remote, quiet tranquillity allows visitors to be immersed in the environment and experience a deep sense of inner peace. !Xaus is intended as a *place to experience; not merely observe.*

!Xaus is known for its warm, friendly and informal atmosphere. It is comfortably appointed with high standards of service. !Xaus is not simply a place to stay overnight nor is it suited to guests who are expecting a resort-type experience or have an 'African bush safari' in mind. From its remote location in the desert, with its long and sometimes corrugated dune track access, scarce saline water and limited power supply to the harsh climatic conditions that prevail, the experience of !Xaus is realistic and these aspects are all part of the authentic way of life that guests are privileged to experience first hand.



The !Xaus Staff

The lodge employees are all members of the Mier and ǀKhomani San/Bushman communities. Through your interaction with our friendly staff we hope to provide you with an authentic view of the way in which they work and craft in modern times.

It is a perfect opportunity to experience elements of their culture; from the Mier recipes, the ingredients they use and their methods of food preparation to visits to a re-created craft village to see Bushman crafters peacefully at work or the younger members demonstrating their skills with a bow and arrow or playing one of their many traditional games.

Keep in mind, this is not a choreographed show, but a glimpse of the way of life of these peoples today. Some of the Bushmen may wear traditional dress while working in the craft village or demonstrating their games, but visits to the village will give guests insight into the way in which these communities use their traditional skills in the modern world to generate a livelihood for themselves and their families.

Most of our guides and trackers have lived and worked in the Kalahari their entire lives. Many have had a limited formal education but have a deep, meaningful understanding of this environment, the wildlife, and the plant-life with its medicinal properties. This information has been handed down through many generations, and they seek to share this rich knowledge with guests while out on wilderness walks.

The language of the Kalahari is Afrikaans and while we encourage our staff to converse in English, many are still quite shy about their language skills. Please feel free to encourage them to chat to you in English or ask one of our management staff to translate for you if necessary.

Our staff work on a rotational cycle, as most of them come from the villages of Welkom (100 km away), Andriesvale and Askham (160 km) and the Rietfontein area (230 km). A visit to a roadside craft stall or to one of these villages while you are in the Kalahari will provide further insight into the people of this region and perhaps a more holistic view of life in the Kalahari.

Wildlife at !Xaus

The lodge is unfenced and located in an area that is home to predators, reptiles and various other animal species and bird life. Being in a dune environment, our sightings range from armoured crickets to the herds of gemsbok that visit the pan. The African wild cat might be spotted on a night drive, or the red hartebeest seen in silhouette on the dunes. Cape foxes forage while hyena roam the vicinity of the lodge at night, and if you're lucky you may encounter the comical meerkat on your walk to the Bushman village. Jackals are sighted as they hurry about their business, or a shy duiker may peer at you through the dune grass. If you're not fortunate enough to see one, you may well hear the famous black-maned lion of the Kalahari roaring during the night or see its spoor the following morning after it has been on the prowl.



There are a myriad of birds that drink at the waterhole or flit between the dune shrub, as well as barn owls for whom we have provided nests. The resident crows will wake you at dawn and you can see the raptors that soar through the blue expanse in search of prey.

In the summer months one needs to be aware of blister beetles and scorpions, so at night, while the lights in your chalet are on, you need to keep the windows closed and wear closed shoes, especially when walking on the sand or spending time in the boma.

The privilege of encountering special game viewing moments needs to be mentioned. Remembering the vastness of the KTP – only slightly smaller than the Netherlands – sightings of game are understandably rare and a source of great excitement, particularly if it's lion or leopard, as such sightings are often exclusive to those who happen to be there at *that* precise moment.

Activities at !Xaus

The lodge offers a variety of activities for your enjoyment.

Wilderness walks:

- ‡ Guided wilderness walks through the dunes identifying animal spoor, birds, trees and plants, with a discussion on their medicinal uses.
- ‡ Guided walks onto the pan to see the 'heart' of the Kalahari and then to our re-created cultural village to visit the Bushman crafters at work, see young Bushmen demonstrating their traditional games and purchase traditional crafts hanging from the branches of the tree under which the crafters sit peacefully at work.

Game drives:

- ‡ Sunset pan drive and dune walk to 'listen' to the sun set over the Kalahari with an early evening game drive back to the lodge.
- ‡ After-dinner night drive, with the accompanying sounds of barking geckos, insect shrills, and larger animal calls to break the silence.
- ‡ A complimentary six to seven hour game drive through the dunes and along the Auob River, with packed breakfast and picnic lunch, is available for guests staying four nights or longer. At an additional charge, this game drive is also available to those staying for two or three nights. Please discuss the availability and cost of this with our management.

Night skies:

Join us on the observation deck after dinner and gaze through our telescopes at the splendour of the Kalahari night sky.

Please be aware that circumstances at the lodge or prevailing weather conditions can affect the availability of specific activities on a particular day. If this happens during your stay, we would appreciate your understanding. Please feel free to chat with our helpful lodge management should you want any more information or advice on our activities.



Clothing and Footwear Guide

For guests planning to participate on guided walks, clothing should be comfortable and durable. Neutral colours such as khaki and beige are preferable. Footwear should not be new, but be worn-in if possible, have thick soles and provide good ankle support. Night drives in winter can be extremely cold, so warm clothing and head-gear is highly recommended.

How !Xaus Began

In May 2002 the †Khomani San and Mier communities reached an historic land settlement agreement with the government of South Africa and South African National Parks (SANParks) which restored a large tract of land to the communities that had once roamed or farmed this area. Named the !Ae!Hai Kalahari Heritage Park Agreement, its outcome resulted in the transfer of ownership of 50 000 hectares of land within the boundaries of Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP) from SANParks to the two communities who then leased the land back to SANParks. This land is administered as a Contract Park and remains within the KTP fence line with SANParks retaining responsibility for its environmental management. The settlement agreement further provided for the communities to receive an allocation of funds for the specific purpose of constructing a tourism facility referred to as a Co-operation Lodge, to be jointly owned by the communities. Transfrontier Parks Destinations, a black-empowered Lodge Management Company, manages !Xaus Lodge commercially on behalf of the †Khomani San and Mier communities.



Location

!Xaus Lodge is located in the South African sector of the KTP and access is via the Auob River road that connects Tweerivieren with Mata Mata. The lodge is situated 30 km into the desert, reached after traversing around 91 sand dunes from the turn-off at Rooibrak waterhole, 60 km northwest of Tweerivieren. !Xaus overlooks a large salt pan approximately 4 km in circumference with a fresh-water hole directly below the lodge. GPS co-ordinates for a Google search are: S26°09.005' E20°15.392'.



The name '!Xaus Lodge'

!Xaus means 'heart' in the Nama language and was proposed as a name for the lodge by a group of visiting Bushmen and confirmed by the representative bodies of both the ǀKhomani San and Mier communities. Significantly, the lodge's name, '!Xaus', symbolises the healing of relationships, the restoration of dignity and the aspirations of these communities, who after many years of deprivation are now owners of the lodge and the land on which it is situated.

The name was inspired by the fact that the lodge overlooks a large salt pan with a distinctive heart shape in its northwest corner, as well as the fact that the lodge is located at the 'heart' – the meeting line – of the land restored to each of the Mier and Bushman communities. It also symbolises the vision of the settlement agreement which was: 'in the national interest, to finally settle the land claims of the community parties and to establish a positive, co-operative relationship between the community parties and SANParks.'

The symbol '!' denotes a palatal click in the Nama language but for those who can't master the click, !Xaus is pronounced 'kaus'.

The Value of !Xaus Lodge to the Neighbouring Communities

The !Khomani San (Bushman) and Mier communities are the owners of !Xaus Lodge and all its furnishings. In addition, the Community representative organisations receive a monthly rental from the operation of the lodge based on its turnover. Almost all the lodge employees are drawn from the local communities where unemployment is rife.

After the first ten years of operation, a !Khomani San and Mier Community Trust will be established to receive a 10% equity stake in the lodge management company. Any asset acquired through donor or grant funding is owned by the lodge and therefore its communities. !Xaus Lodge assists in leveraging donor funding for off-site community health, agricultural, educational and job creation projects.





The Lodge Complex

The complex comprises a central lodge building and 12 individual chalets, each with its own deck, accommodating 24 guests.

The central lodge overlooks a vast salt pan and waterhole fed with fresh water. It comprises a welcoming reception area with its unique wall-hanging made by the ladies of Vezokhule, a sewing co-operative in Upington. The cosy lounge has a fireplace and a library of selected books for paging through before dinner. Our dining area overlooks the pan, with furniture hand-made in Upington and images burnt by Bushmen artists.

At the art and craft shop, you can purchase locally made Bushman crafts as well as crafts made in the wider Kalahari. Visit the large observation deck from which we gaze in wonder at the night sky, and by day the swimming pool provides cool relief from the desert heat. Wood is a precious commodity in the Kalahari, so the inviting fire in the boma is made in the traditional method with three or four crossed sticks around which everyone huddles companionably.

In the chalets we provide purified drinking water from the desert

which you will find in a flask in your bathroom. Winter sheets and gas heaters provide comfort for the cold nights, and ceiling fans bring relief in the hot months.

Our staff will be only too happy to arrange the following if you require them: hot water bottles, hair dryer, and towels for use at the swimming pool (please do not use your bath towels).

Please be aware of the following:

Septic tank system

We make use of septic tanks for our effluent water and we urge you to use the waste bins provided in the bathroom and toilet for disposing of any foreign and inorganic waste matter.

Cooling

Chalets are not air conditioned but our staff will gladly explain and demonstrate the traditional methods, using shade and damp cloths as a means of keeping cool in this environment.

Gas appliances in your chalet

Gas bottles for the room heater are to be turned off at night for safety reasons. Please ask a staff member for assistance in this regard and please do not attempt to light the heater if the regulator is loose.

Gas geysers supply hot water in the bathrooms. Please let us know if you experience any problem such as a pilot light that has extinguished or if you suspect that the gas bottle may be empty, and we will attend to it immediately. The last thing we want is for you to have a cold shower on a freezing cold morning!!

Water

Water is an extremely scarce resource in our environment, so any contribution you make to using it sparingly is most valued. Our water is drawn from a borehole close to the lodge and is hard and fairly saline. A system of reverse osmosis is used to produce the water we use for cooking and the purified drinking water in your chalet. Because our laundry is done in Tweerivieren, 90 km from the camp, linen and towel changes are limited to the duration of a guest's stay unless circumstances require otherwise. Please request fresh towels should these be necessary.

Power

The lodge is equipped with a generator providing 220 volts. While this is not ideal, it is the only source of power available at the moment. We are currently investigating sources of funding to install an alternative energy supply comprising solar power, battery storage and back-up generators.

In order to limit the environmental impact, the generator operates for five hours per day, usually until 22:30 in the evenings and for an hour before sunrise, but only if needed for an early departure or a lodge activity. Computers and cameras can only be charged during generator operating hours from the wall plug in your chalet and no electric lighting is available at all outside of the generator's operating hours. Torches are available in the chalets.

Supplies

Most supplies for the lodge are sourced from Upington which is a 720 km round trip, part of which is on dune and gravel roads. For this reason the lodge is not always able to offer the variety of food and beverage that is available in establishments with easier access to sources of supply.

Meals and Beverages

Meals include dishes prepared in the tradition of the Mier community such as their delicious roosterbrood, potjiekos, braised meats, sweet pumpkin and other vegetables; seasonal local fruits such as fresh tsama melon; home-baked beskuit, breads and more.

Mealtimes are scheduled according to the day's activities and guest departures. All meals are served either in the dining area or around the fire in the boma. Three, set-menu meals are provided each day: breakfast, a light lunch and a two/three course dinner. Complimentary tea and coffee is available at the main lodge on request throughout the day. Every effort is made to accommodate dietary requests/allergies *provided we have been advised of these in advance of your arrival.*

Purified desert water is provided in guest chalets and at meals. In addition, bottled water, a limited variety of cool drinks, beer, popular brand spirits and mixers, as well as red and white wine are available for purchase.

Communications

No cell phone reception is available at the lodge, but we do have communication via two-way radio between the lodge and several of the KTP rest camps and we have two-way radios in all our lodge vehicles.

Satellite telephone and email are available. However, the tranquillity and isolation of the lodge is precious to us and our guests, so although the lodge is equipped with these services, they are available to guests only in cases of emergency.



Policies:

Wilderness Walks Policy

A maximum of eight guests may participate on each walk. Our walks are conducted at a leisurely pace to afford guests an intimate wilderness encounter.

Guests with mobility impairment are regrettably not able to participate because of the uneven nature of the terrain covered. While the walks are not necessarily over-strenuous, conditions during the summer months can be very hot. Participants on the walks must therefore be reasonably fit and be well prepared for the climatic conditions.

Child Policy

Children of all ages are welcome at !Xaus Lodge, however parents are cautioned that the lodge and its swimming pool are unfenced. Predators and reptiles are present in the vicinity of the lodge and parents are held solely responsible for their children's safety and well-being. Parents are requested to ensure that the peaceful enjoyment of the lodge by other guests is respected. *Children under 12 may only participate, at the guide's discretion, on wilderness walks that are conducted within sight of the lodge and under parental supervision.*

Safety Policy

The general rules and regulations of Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park also apply to our guests. Guests depend on the lodge manager and guides for their safety and for this reason requests or instructions from the manager or guides should be respected and followed at all times. Excessive consumption of liquor is strongly discouraged and liquor may only be consumed at the lodge or on specific activities, but absolutely not on wilderness walks.

Indemnity Policy

!Xaus Lodge is unfenced and located in a national park that is home to a variety of dangerous predators and reptiles. Wilderness walks are accompanied by guides who take all possible care, nevertheless this activity carries the risk of injury or death should predators or reptiles be encountered.

In light of the exposed nature of the camp, all guests are required to complete an indemnity form. An indemnity form signed by a parent or legal guardian is also required for all minors. These forms are to be signed in the presence of a company representative.

Payments

Payments at the lodge for activities (if not included in the price), beverages, arts and crafts, gratuities etc. may be made in South African rands. Visa and MasterCard are also accepted.

Please note: Conservation fees are not included in the !Xaus Lodge rates. A daily conservation fee is payable on entry into KTP (see www.sanparks.org for current rates).

Travel Tips

Ports of entry for guests arriving by air:

Upington in South Africa: SA Express operates daily scheduled flights from Johannesburg and Cape Town (see www.flysaa.com).

Tweervieren (entry gate to the KTP) offers a non-commercial landing facility. It has a 1.8 km tarred air strip in good condition that can accommodate aircraft of up to 5 500 kg (Kingair 200 or equivalent).

The !Xaus Lodge pan can be used for helicopter arrivals.

Road access to !Xaus Lodge:

The distance from Upington to Tweervieren is 260 km on a good tarred surface. Travelling time is two-and-a-half to three hours. From Tweervieren to Kamqua picnic site (meeting point for !Xaus Lodge) is 64 km. It is a game drive all the way along the Auob River bed and takes approximately one-and-a-half hours. From Kamqua picnic site to !Xaus Lodge is 35 km on a single-track soft sand road through the dunes. A 4x4 vehicle is necessary for this leg of the journey. Travelling time is one to one-and-a-half hours.

Transfers:

For guests flying in to Upington, a return road transfer to Kamqua picnic site in KTP can be arranged. From Kamqua, guests are transferred to !Xaus Lodge in an open safari vehicle.

For guests flying to, or wishing to leave their vehicles at Tweervieren, a return road transfer to !Xaus Lodge can be arranged.

Self-drive options:

Self-drive to Kamqua picnic site can be done in any standard sedan motor vehicle although a vehicle with good ground clearance is preferable. Guests are met at Kamqua picnic site and escorted to the !Xaus Lodge turnoff at Rooibrak waterhole. Guests' vehicles are parked in shaded carports off the road behind the dunes for the duration of their stay at !Xaus Lodge. Although this should be perfectly safe, !Xaus Lodge accepts no responsibility for any loss or damage that may occur. Guests are then transferred to the lodge in an open safari vehicle.

For self-drive directly to !Xaus Lodge, a 4x4 vehicle is definitely required. Guests are met by a lodge guide at Kamqua picnic site and drive in convoy to !Xaus Lodge.

Fuel can be purchased at the towns of Askham, Andriesvale and at KTP's Tweerivieren and Mata Mata camps.

Tyre pressures should be reduced to 1,6 bar for travelling on gravel roads in the KTP and to 1,4 bar if self-driving through the dunes to !Xaus Lodge.



Border posts:

Tweerivieren:

South Africa entry and exit: opens 07:30, closes 16:00 all year.

Two Rivers:

Botswana entry and exit: opens 07:30, closes 16:00 all year.

Mata Mata:

Namibia entry and exit: opens 08:00, closes 16:30 all year.

Please note:

Guests departing from South Africa into Namibia or Botswana *must* clear Customs and Immigration at Tweerivieren even if they are planning to spend some days in KTP before their intended date of departure. *This is particularly important if exiting into Namibia because guests will be made to return from Mata Mata to Tweerivieren (120 km) if they have not cleared South African Customs and Immigration there.*

Guests entering KTP from Namibia at Mata Mata are required to spend *at least two nights* in KTP before exiting into South Africa. Nights spent at !Xaus Lodge meet this requirement.

A valid passport is required if exiting into a country different to the one from which you have arrived.

Self-drive guests must be in possession of the motor vehicle licence papers or a letter of authority from the vehicle owner, financial institution or car hire company.



About the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park

Background

South Africa's Kalahari Gemsbok National Park was proclaimed in 1931 and Botswana's Gemsbok National Park in 1938.

A little over 60 years later the governments of South Africa and Botswana signed the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (KTP) treaty unifying the Kalahari Gemsbok National Park and the Gemsbok National Park and formalising the principle of co-operative management.

KTP is 3,8 million hectares (38 500 km²) in extent making it one of the largest national parks in the world. An interesting fact is that it is only 3 500 km² smaller than the Netherlands!

Climate

KTP falls in a semi-arid region of the Kalahari where the average annual rainfall in the southwest is 150 mm rising to 350 mm in the northeast. This rainfall, usually in the form of dramatic thunderstorms, falls between November and April.

The temperatures in the area vary from -11 °C on cold winter nights to a sweltering 42 °C in the shade on a summer's day. Winter, from May to August is generally cool and dry. In spring, from September to October, the climate is also dry, but warming up in preparation for summer which, along with autumn, brings the rainfall combined with high temperatures from November to April.

Fauna

While the Kgalagadi is renowned for its gemsbok and black-maned lion, it is also home to a large variety of mammals, birds, reptiles and amphibians. The antelope of the Kalahari, from the shy steenbok to the gemsbok – synonymous with the KTP – as well as the massive eland, have all found ways to adapt and survive in these desert conditions.

Apart from the famous black-maned lion, predators to be found in the park include leopard, cheetah, hyena (brown and spotted), black-backed jackal, Cape fox, caracal and the African wild cat, among others.

The park has a rich birdlife – 264 species of birds have been recorded of which 78 are residents, 16 seasonal migrants, 18 nomads and 152 are vagrants and irregular visitors. Two-thirds of southern Africa's raptor species can be spotted in the KTP.

A wide variety of reptiles and amphibians can also be observed in the park, among which is the yellow Cape cobra that can often be seen slithering in and out of the enormous sociable weaver nests.

Flora

The deceptively monotonous looking Kalahari plays host to hundreds of species of flora and even after 20 years of intense research, new flowering plants are discovered each year. The soft parallel-running sand dunes are covered with a patchy vegetation of grass, shrubs and trees that serve to stabilise the dunes and offer protection from rain and wind. The camelthorn and shepherd's trees are a source of life within the KTP ecosystem. They provide food but most importantly they provide shade from the harsh summer sun. The umbrella-shaped canopy of the shepherd's tree has the effect of lowering the temperature of the sand below from a shocking 73° C to 21° C.



Neighbouring Communities

ǀKhomani San

The San, known to many of us as Bushmen, are descended from the original hunting and gathering groups who have occupied southern Africa for the last 150 000 years. It is thought that a drought throughout Africa at the time may have enabled this group of people to adapt to the harsh arid conditions of the Kalahari. The San are not one society, but a collective of different peoples with different languages and cultural practices. They are united by their life of hunting and gathering in southern Africa, particularly in the Kalahari.

There are about 100 000 San living in southern Africa today, mostly scattered through the rural areas of Angola, Botswana, Namibia, South Africa, Zambia and Zimbabwe. The ǀKhomani San are the group that live predominantly in the Kalahari area of the Northern Cape, many of whom reside in the vicinity of KTP.

Mier

The Mier community originated mainly from the people of Captain Vilander who settled in an area between the Orange River, Rietfontein and into German South West Africa (Namibia) and Bechuanaland (Botswana) more than 150 years ago. The community is steeped in a rich history of farming with sheep, cattle and goats as well as horses and donkeys, which are still used as a means of transport in the area. Rietfontein is home to the municipal offices of the Mier region, a border post with Namibia and a well-regarded secondary boarding school that caters for the high school education of the children of the district.



Research on the Kalahari

Much research has been done and many books have been published on the history of the Kalahari and surrounding areas, its people and their cultures. Further information can be obtained from Professor Keyan Tomaselli (tomasell@ukzn.ac.za) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal's Culture, Communication and Media Studies unit; from Sharon Ries (sharon@origins.org.za), Public Relations Manager of the Origins Centre at the University of Witwatersrand (www.originscentre.co.za) or from the Andriesvale office of the South African San Institute (SASI).
Email: uruketrack@telkomsa.net
Website: www.san.org.za.

Among the many books published, some that you may find of interest and that can be obtained through the Origins Centre and other booksellers include:

- *Voices of the San* by Willemien le Roux and Alison White
- *The Bushmen of Southern Africa* by Andy Smith, Candy Malherbe and others
- *San Spirituality* by David Lewis-Williams and Dawid Pearce
- *Kalahari Rainsong* by Belinda Kruijer and Elana Bregin
- *Stories op die Wind*, a collection of Northern Cape Folk Tales (Published by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation)

A selection of these books is available in our lounge for your enjoyment.

Additional books are available from Rozenberg Publishers (www.rozenbergps.com):

- *Writing in the Sand: Autoethnography among Indigenous Southern Africans* edited by Keyan G. Tomaselli, University of KwaZulu-Natal.
- *Where Global Contradictions are Sharpest: Research Stories from the Kalahari* by Keyan Tomaselli.

Also of interest:

Representing Aboriginality: A post-colonial analysis of the key trends of representing aboriginality in South African, Australian and Aotearoa/New Zealand film by Sacha Clelland-Stokes (www.intervention.dk/indexip.htm).



Figure 14: South African Crest



Source: www.topicmaps.wordpress.com

Appendix 1: Interview Schedule

Ice breakers:

- Where did everyone go on holiday last?
- Would anyone consider going to the Kalahari?
- Has anyone had any interactions with 'Bushmen' before? If so where, when and what were your impressions?
- What does everyone make of the Vodacom advert in relation to the Bushmen?
- What are your perceptions of the Bushmen in general and why do you think you possess these notions?

After these initial questions, I let the discussion unfold naturally.

I showed a few photographs from previous CCMS Kalahari trips, including ones from the area of Witdraai and !Xaus Lodge itself. Copies of the !Xaus brochure, leaflet and printed versions of the website were also shown.

Appendix 2: !Xaus Lodge Questionnaire 1 (Pilot Survey)

Please include your answers below the questions

Age?

1. In which country do you reside?
2. How did you hear about !Xaus?
3. Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge?
4. What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations/what did you expect to see?
5. Please state whether you encountered any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip?
6. What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest?
7. What did you think of the text?
8. What did you think of the visuals?
9. What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge?
10. Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain.
11. What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any?
12. What do you know about the history behind the establishment of !Xaus Lodge?
13. Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how.
14. If you went tracking, what did you think of this activity?
15. How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge?
16. What has been your favourite aspect of this cultural tourism?

17. How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge?
18. What suggestions would you give to the Lodge itself?

Appendix 3: !Xaus Lodge Questionnaire 2

Please include your answers below the questions

Age?

1. In which country do you reside?
2. How did you hear about !Xaus?
3. Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge?
4. What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations?
5. Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip?
6. What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why?
7. Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain.
8. What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any?
9. Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how.
10. How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge?
11. What has been your favourite aspect of !Xaus’s cultural tourism? Why?
12. What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge?
13. How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge?
14. Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?

Appendix 4: !Xaus Lodge Questionnaire 3

Please include your answers below the questions

Age?

1. In which country do you reside?
2. What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)?
3. Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?
4. What is your general impression of the booklet?
5. Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain.
6. What do you think of the booklet’s aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)?
7. What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any?

Appendix 5: Cover Letter 1

Dear !Xaus Lodge Visitors,

Short questionnaire

I am a student at the University of KwaZulu-Natal presently conducting research for my Masters in the department of Media, Communications and Cultural Studies. The focus of my dissertation centres on cultural representation at !Xaus Lodge.

As someone who has experienced the Lodge, your views are important to me and my study. I would greatly appreciate it if you could spend a short while answering some questions on the attached questionnaire. The questions concentrate on your perceptions of the promotional materials at the Lodge, your interaction with staff and/or your cultural experiences.

Your feedback would be very much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

Kate Finlay

Appendix 6: Cover Letter 2



Dear !Xaus Visitors,

Hope all is well back home and !Xaus Lodge is still vivid in your minds and close to your hearts. Here, at !Xaus, winter is upon us and it is freezing cold; warm water bottles in bed and sherry is the order of the day. We are very busy and when the August rush is finished, spring will be upon us.

The department of Media Communication and Cultural Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has been researching aspects of cultural tourism, with specific emphasis on the Bushmen at !Xaus, since the land claim began. The research team has over the last twelve years been involved with other cultural villages and one of the methods that has been used in order to get more contextualized information is to ask for feedback from past visitors. As !Xaus Lodge is the case study at the moment, we are hoping that you would be willing to give us some feedback of your firsthand experience at the Lodge. In the near future you will receive a questionnaire from the University of KwaZulu-Natal which will help them greatly with the data collection.

We, at !Xaus Lodge, will be greatly appreciative for your participation as it would help us to better our tourist product in the future. After the research is completed, the research team would be more than willing to send you the final paper.

Keep watching your mail for the quarterly !Xaus newsletter of all the ins and outs of the heart of the Kalahari!

Pieter Retief
Manager



Appendix 7: Cover Letter 3



Dear !Xaus Visitors,

Hope all is well back home and !Xaus Lodge is still vivid in your minds and close to your hearts. Here, at !Xaus, winter is past now. We wait for the heat, with average temperature in the mid thirties and slowly climbing. Our reward will be the rains early next year, when the Kalahari will put on her beautiful green dress with an abundance of young animals. It is surprising how nature can respond with only a bit of rain.

The department of Media Communication and Cultural Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has been researching aspects of cultural tourism, with specific emphasis on the Bushmen at !Xaus, since the land claim began. The research team has over the last twelve years been involved with other cultural villages and one of the methods that has been used in order to get more contextualized information is to ask for feedback from past visitors. As !Xaus Lodge is the case study at the moment we are hoping that you would be willing to give us some feedback of your firsthand experience at the Lodge. In the near future you will receive a questionnaire from the University of KwaZulu-Natal which will help them greatly with the data collection.

We, at !Xaus Lodge, will be greatly appreciative for your participation as it would help us to better our tourist product in the future. After the research is completed the research team would be more than willing to send you the final paper.

Keep watching your mail for the quarterly !Xaus newsletter of all the ins and outs of the heart of the Kalahari!

Pieter Retief
Manager



Appendix 8: Cover Letter 4



Dear !Xaus Visitors,

Hope all is well back home and !Xaus Lodge is still vivid in your minds and close to your hearts. Here, at !Xaus, the average temperature in the last few months has been in the mid thirties and higher. Our reward is the New Year rain where the Kalahari puts on her beautiful green dress with an abundance of young animals. It is surprising how nature can respond with only a bit of rain.

The department of Media Communication and Cultural Studies at the University of KwaZulu-Natal has been researching aspects of cultural tourism, with specific emphasis on the Bushmen at !Xaus since the land claim began. The research team has over the last twelve years been involved with other cultural villages and one of the methods that has been used in order to get more contextualized information is to ask for feedback from past visitors. As !Xaus Lodge is the case study at the moment we are hoping that you would be willing to give us some feedback of your firsthand experience at the Lodge and its promotional materials. In the near future you will receive a short questionnaire from the University of KwaZulu-Natal which will help them greatly with the data collection.

We, at !Xaus Lodge, will be greatly appreciative for your participation as it would help us to better our tourist product in the future which in turn would hopefully have a knock on effect for the Mier and #Khomani communities. After the research is completed the research team would be more than willing to send you the final paper.

Keep watching your mail for the quarterly !Xaus newsletter of all the ins and outs of the heart of the Kalahari!

Pieter Retief
Manager



Appendix 9: Data Management Categories

	Categories	Data Bits	Code
1	Respondents' beliefs regarding Bushmen representation	Pervasiveness of media and events representing Bushmen and resulting discussion	1a
		Bushmen are primitive/first people	1b
		Representations of Bushmen are amusing	1c
		Bushmen are part of the 'modern' world	1d
		Paternal views towards the Bushmen	1e
		Representations of the Bushmen are uniting	1f
		Bushmen have innate knowledge of the human body and their environment and/or are spiritual	1g
		Bushmen have certain physical characteristics	1h
		Bushmen should retain their 'traditional' culture	1i
		Bushmen representations are too politically correct	1j
2	Identity	Focus Group's identities and resulting interests	2a
		Questionnaire respondents' identities and resulting interests	2b
3	Production and Consumption	Problems associated with setting up the Lodge	3a
		Management and running of the Lodge	3b
		Promotional materials	3c
		Specifically:	
		- Brochure	(b)
		- Website	(w)
	- Pamphlet	(p)	
	- Informational Booklet	(i)	
	- Public Relations	(pr)	
	- Text	(t)	

		- Visuals	(v)
		Suggestions from respondents on how to improve the Lodge itself and other general comments	3d
		Opinions of and suggestions for cultural village, tracking and other cultural tourism offered at the Lodge	3e
4	Regulation	In terms of being located in a game park under the regulation of South African National Parks	4a
		In terms of being an upmarket Lodge and a Lodge that is aesthetically appealing and/or appropriate	4b
		In terms of the expectations created by the promotional material	4c

Appendix 10: Focus Group 1 Transcription

Howick, KwaZulu-Natal
18 September 2007

In: Interviewer
F: Female
M: Male
Interviewer: Kate Finlay
Camera man: Kyle McFarlane

Age group: 50's and 60's
F1: Edwina-South African living in the UK
F2: Catherine-South African
F3: Sarah-South African
F4: Ulla-German living in South Africa
M1: Helge-German living in South Africa
M2: Richard-Canadian living in South Africa

1.	Transcript	Code	Annotations
2.	In: Oh, I must apologise because I was going to bring the Vodacom advert. You know, the one with the Bushmen they play in the rugby.		
3.	F1: The one in the rugby?		
4.	In: Yes, yes.		
5.	F2: When you said Bushmen that was the first thing that came to mind.	1a	The Vodacom advertisement is well known to the public. Many people's view of the Bushmen is influenced by media.
6.	In: Good, good.		
7.	F2: Yes, I know it well.		
8.	In: Good, okay. Because I was supposed to bring it.		
9.	F1: My two year old grandson just loves it.		
10.	In: Really?		
11.	F2: Just loves it.	1c	This arguably 'primitive' media representation is seen as a light hearted joke.

12.	F3:	We're the worst folks because we have no TV.		
13.	In:	But I will explain it to you quickly. There are these rugby players in the plane and the one throws the rugby ball and it hits the other on the head.		
14.	F2:	Ja, correct. Old Schalk Burger is sitting in the back and it hits him and it breaks the window and all his blonde hair goes crazy.		
15.	In:	And then it goes out the window and it falls, not onto the Bushmen?		
16.	F2:	Yes, onto his head.		
17.	In:	Onto his head, like the coke bottle from the "Gods Must Be Crazy". And then, um, he throws his ostrich egg away and takes his ball back to the village and then they go and have an impromptu rugby game. So, it's like for the Vodacom Rugby sponsors. So, basically I am going to get the focus group going by asking some questions. Um, because this is, oh, the luxury lodge, !Xaus lodge is in the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park, which is in the Northern Cape.		
18.	F2:	Why is it not the Kalahari? It's no more called the Kalahari.		
19.	In:	Well, they changed the name from...		
20.	F4:	Kalahari Gemsbok Park.		
21.	In:	Ja, they changed it to the Kgalagadi. So, where did everyone last go on holiday?		
22.		Incoherent		
23.	M2:	Six weeks ago.		
24.	F3:	To Hans Merensky.	2a	
25.		Incoherent		
26.	F3 to F1:	You went to Portugal.	2a	
27.	F1:	Ja, I went to Barcelona two weeks ago.	2a	
28.	In:	Oh lovely.		
29.	M1:	None of us has been in the Kalahari.		
30.	M2:	No		
31.	F1:	Puts up her hand.	2a	This is the only couple that had visited the Kgalagadi Park out of all the focus group participants.
32.	In:	Have you?		
33.	F1:	Um		
34.	In:	When did you go?		
35.	F1:	Oh when my son, who is now 31, was 12.		
36.	In:	Oh quite a while ago.		
37.		Incoherent F4		
38.	In:	Oh, okay so you have been. And did you encounter any of the Bushmen? When I say Bushmen, it is not derogatory because they prefer to be called Bushmen, well in my experience, anyway.		
39.	F1:	No		
40.	In to F1:	Where did you go in the Kalahari?		
41.	F1:	We went to find, who were the couple who were studying the brown Hyena? See now just because you have asked		

		me I have forgotten. We went up to Maun, all up North and then we went down into the Kalahari to find this camp, you know where they research.		
42.	In:	I went about two months ago, for three weeks with the varsity. We camped. Pause. So I am sure everybody must have seen the "Gods Must be Crazy"?		
43.	General agreement			
44.	In:	And how the Vodacom ad relates to that. Did everybody get that? (General agreement). I am sure you must have.	1a	All the participants understood that the advertisement was a spoof of "The Gods Must be Crazy".
45.	M2:	Incoherent.		
46.	In:	And what did everybody think of "The Gods Must be Crazy"? The movie.		
47.	F1:	Beautiful photography.		
48.	M2:	Was it 12 years ago?		
49.	F4:	It was fun.	1c	"The Gods Must be Crazy" is also seen as a bit of fun.
50.	F1:	I want to take it back to England to show my children. Oh, I'd love too. Just clips. Incoherent... Baboons getting drunk on Amarula cream.		
51.	In:	I am sure that you would be able to order it online.		
52.	F1:	Ja, you must do.		
53.	In:	So since I haven't got the Vodacom ad to show you. I'll just ask your opinions of it in general because everyone has seen it really or have had an explanation of it.		
54.	F2:	Well, I thought it was jolly good, the way they sort out related it to that movie and how it came across. You know, everyone thinks it's great. And those meerkats add a bit of (incoherent) to it. And the dust and the running around naked and I think it's great.	1b	F2 loved the 'primitive' aspect of "running around naked".
55.	In:	And has everyone seen it.		
56.	F1:	I have seen it once. It reminded me of a place I had been to and it reminded me of that movie. Even though apparently it is quite contrived. When I watch a thing if I laugh, I laugh.	1c	F1 sees the Vodacom advertisement as contrived yet funny.
57.	M1:	I think things in it are very controversial. Because it has got nothing to do with the culture of those people. Absolutely nothing. I think we are imposing something on them to make advertising. It is nice. I am not arguing that it's not. But I don't think it is suitable to make a mockery out of people like that because I mean.	1e	M1 worries that the Bushmen are being made fun of.
58.	F2:	Well I don't think it is a mockery.		
59.	M1:	No, their type of life certainly does not suit to be in rugby or something like that. Not those people. Maybe people who have moved to town or developed. But those who are there, I feel a little controversial	1e	He worries about the Bushmen being represented as playing rugby (when he believes they don't). However, he is not concerned about the fact that

		in the way they do it. But please, it is taking the mickey out of them and that is my perception of that.		they are dressed in skins.
60.	F2:	No, I thought they were really thrilled to be involved in a thing that is our sort of national sport and the South African's are all sorts of rugby folks. And there was a huge contrast I think with that aeroplane and that sort of expense up there to these poor people down here. I really think knowing the nature of rugby and sport in this country that they really involved those people and maybe even you know paid something towards their upliftment.	1e/1f	1e – She is assuming that a minority group would “be thrilled” to be recognised. She is also assuming Bushmen don't have to be paid as much as western actors. 1f – F2 sees the advertisement as uniting diverse groups in South Africa through the national sport.
61.	M1:	I hope so.		
62.	F2:	No, I am sure. I sure they would have.		
63.	M1:	If they didn't pay them, then it is more worse.	1d	Should be treated as any other actors with regards to payment
64.	F2:	I really disagree with that comment (referring to taking the mickey), but I mean fair enough.		
65.	In:	And what does everyone think of when he throws the ostrich egg away and takes up the ball? Do you think that that was derogatory in any way.		
66.	M2:	I have forgotten what that ad was advertising.	1a	He chose not to own a television.
67.	In:	It is Vodacom, because Vodacom is the rugby sponsor, which is shown when they go back to the village and have the rugby game. Pause. In this article here in the handout I have given everyone, at the back. It's a long article so I don't expect everyone to read it. Basically, at the end what happens is the president of the South African San Association, which is Andre Steenkamp, says that he disagrees with the Vodacom ad. He said that the film company ever consulted him and he said that the use of the ostrich egg, in the way that they used it, he thinks is derogatory because it is used to carry water, which is their most precious resource and the main actor is just seen to be throwing it away.		
68.	F4:	Taking to modern technology or whatever.		
69.	In:	Ja. But the director says that they consulted widely and that he did his best to observe cultural sensitivities. He said that the ad is about rugby. The brief was about Vodacom being the rugby sponsor who is responsible for bringing rugby to every part of the country. So basically what they did as a team was ask themselves, what is the most remote part of South Africa, and they thought the Kalahari, and from there the spoof with the “Gods Must be Crazy” fell into place. So there is pro's and con's for it I guess and everyone has their own point of view.		

70.	F2:	I am sure most the of lay people look at that egg. I am sure half the people, 90% of the people don't realise.	1j	They discuss the issue of Steenkamp's complaint about the Vodacom Advert. They say that it does not make sense. Steenkamp is being too critical.
71.	F4:	It would have been different if he throws it away and takes a bottle of water instead.		
72.	M4:	You don't associate that at all.		
73.	F2:	But if we had known you might have a different perspective.		
74.	In:	But do you think that that is still relevant in today's society. Do you think water carrying ...		
75.	M1 and F4:	For that yes.	1i	They think that cultural objects/activities are valuable to a community's sense of themselves/pride in their heritage.
76.	F4:	They are going back and more back. They want their culture back.		
77.	F3:	In a way it is symbolic.		
78.	F2:	It is almost a pity that they didn't say look keep this egg because it is so precious and bring a message to people watching it, as well as the rugby and Vodacom advertising. That our water is so jolly precious in this country.		
79.	In:	Ja. Pause. There has also been this big controversy about the rugby. It is in the beginning of this one here. Do you want me to read it to you, the paragraphs I think are important?		
80.	General consensus			
81.	In:	<p>It is quite long and I have highlighted some of the important points:</p> <p>Last week, Petrus Maondo, a member of the Bushman !Xun and Khwe community at Platfontein outside the diamond capital, ran on to the field at Kimberley's Absa Park.</p> <p>He was dressed only in a loincloth and pushed a wire car with the tee for the Griqualand West placekicker to kick a penalty in the team's Currie Cup rugby match against Western Province.</p> <p>By Monday, the complaints had begun, peaking by midweek. Letters and SMSs flooded into the Diamond Fields Advertiser, fiercely debating whether the Bushman community was being marginalised and exploited or whether Griqualand West Rugby Union had hit on a novel way to market the game and benefit the often marginalised community.</p> <p>The man at the centre of the storm, GWRU chief executive officer, Cassie Carstens, was bemused this week.</p> <p>[He said that he] spoke to the people at Platfontein; I saw it as great exposure for both Griquas and the Bushman</p>		

		<p>community and the leader of the IXun and Khwe community, Reverend Mario Mahongo, agreed," Carstens said.</p> <p>[He said he had] just come off the phone from one guy who wants to sponsor Petrus and pay his salary so he can run out every weekend when there's a home game. Others have asked how they can get involved in helping the Platfontein community."</p> <p>And even Mapondo, who was quoted in Thursday's Diamond Fields Advertiser moaning about only being paid R150, will be paid more.</p> <p>There have been members of the Platfontein community who have been mortified by Mapondo's blaze of glory. They claim the community leaders never consulted them and they've demanded that they be consulted in future.</p> <p>But, in a snap SMS poll midweek, the newspaper found that less than 1 percent of the readers are opposed to it - on the contrary, they are overwhelmingly favour of it.</p> <p>"The backlash is the work of a couple of disaffected individuals," said DFA editor Johan du Plessis. "It's paternalism, a few people thinking that they know better than the San themselves what's best for the San.</p> <p>The president of the South African San Association, Andre Steenkamp, agreed. "I've got no problem with it at all. We were consulted and we agreed.</p> <p>"The whole thing's been pulled out of context. We don't want and we don't need people to speak on our behalf to tell others what we think or would like, we're perfectly capable of doing it for ourselves." (Richie, 2007).</p>		
82.	In:	So it's a big controversy and I was just wondering what people's opinion's are of it?		
83.	F2:	So Kate are you saying that that little guy who pushed his car on, it was not a spontaneous thing?	1e	
84.	In:	Oh, no, they hired him to do it.		
85.	F2:	Oh, I thought it was a lovely gesture.		
86.	M1:	And he got paid for it?		
87.	In:	He did get paid for it. R150. Which he complained about, but he is getting paid more.		

88.	F4:	Finally he found out that he could get more (incomprehensible). I am sure. But he got paid for a job to do.	1e	Here the participants agree that the !Xun and Khwe representative did not know the meaning of money before he was paid for the rugby event.
89.	M2:	He agreed to do it for R150.		
90.	F1:	Shame, the poor guy thought it was a fortune probably.		
91.	F4:	At first, at first.		
92.	F1:	I mean it is a pathetic amount of money. He should have been paid more, his community should have been paid more, but we will always exploit. We people who are technologically advanced over those people. But we can never keep Africa like it was, we never will. It is on a rollercoaster to destruction or, I think, and they are just destined to exploit him.		
93.	In:	So do you think there is anything wrong with having the guy run out every week onto the field?		
94.	F4:	Well, it gets boring. I don't know if it is still exciting then.		
95.	F3:	It depends whether he is happy to run on.		
96.	F1:	He is happy to run on because he is going to get little bits of money.	1e	There is an assumption that he is poor and that money will make him "happy".
97.	F2:	And the exposure.		
98.	F4:	If he feels like he is part of the team.		
99.	In:	And so you think the community should have a say or not?		
100	F3:	You don't want them to think they are being made fun of.	1e	A concern for the self value of the community
101	General agreement			
102	M1:	That is where the danger is.		
103	F2:	And they don't realise until...		
104	M1:	How long is it that he voluntarily goes for R150? I mean he doesn't fit into the whole system. He is naked walking around here, like they do as well, but certainly not at a rugby stadium. Imagine, is the guys supporting the team walk like that? But this is a nice puppet to show around so we will put him in. It doesn't fit together. That is one of the point I am trying to make, it has got nothing to do one with the other.	1b/1e	1e - M1 seems concerned with the rugby organisers taking advantage of Petrus. 1b – M1 thinks that the Bushmen do not "fit" into the western system.
105	F3:	It makes them out to look a little primitive.	1d	Which she is assuming they are not
106	M1:	Exactly, exactly.		
107	M1:	(Incomprehensible). They are primitive correct.	1b	Believes that the Bushmen are primitive
108	F1:	And which people should come to see privately, but isn't that trying to keep Africa as it was? Ja, it is exploitation I would say. It is. And will they ever understand, no matter how much you speak to them about it, you know that it is for their good. Will they ever click that oh no we are being exploited?	1e	The Bushmen do not understand exploitation as we do!
109	In:	I guess you could also say that those girls		

		who do the whole stripper thing [the Sharks girls] are also exploited.		
110	F4:	But those girls are there for show.		
111	F1:	They are there for show and they can make the choice. They are more integrated into our society. Those people are so primitive, do they know what they are doing?	1b/1e	1b - The Bushmen are not integrated into western society. 1e - The Bushmen are not as competent in understanding exploitation as westerners.
112	F3:	Ja, they know what they are doing those girls.		
113	F2:	Ja, gosh, ja. They have a choice.		
114	F1:	And these people are just being used and they are going to get a little bit of money for it, which is actually disgusting.	1e	Believes the Bushmen are being exploited
115	F3:	And it's one person.		
116	F2:	Ja, it is exploitation.		
117	M2:	You are going to hate me for the analogy but how do we feel about the midget at the circus?	1e	They feel that Petrus is on show.
118	F1:	Sure, sad for them but...		
119	F3:	Same thing.		
120	F1:	Same thing.		
121	F4:	But on the other hand where else could he go and fit in with society. He grew up in the circus.		
122	M2:	We don't know, but he does it for R150 or whatever he does.		
123	F4:	But there are a lot of midgets doing office jobs.		
124	M2:	Okay.		
125	F4:	That is his choice of job, that is what I mean.		
126	F1:	So what we are basically saying is because of their lack of intelligence we exploiting.	1b	Belief that Bushmen lack western intelligence
127	F2:	Not lack of...		
128	F1:	Or lack of knowledge		
129	F2:	Of western...		
130	F1:	We are exploiting them ja, I think so.		
131	F2:	But one of Kate's things was exposure. I mean we are exposing them to the western world which could help them.	1e	Complete acceptance of western values/life is best.
132	M1:	Can I ask you, that is a really good question in Africa. Have you ever flown over Africa during the day, when you go to Europe or when you come back. What do you see? Nothing. Absolutely nothing. First you only see sand and then bush. No town, nothing. Absolutely nothing. Until you get to maybe Zambia, Zimbabwe and then you see a little bit. The rest nothing. What right do we have to say that we are the right? We are wrong, look at they, they are wrong. They don't die of heart attacks. They don't die of ulcers. They live shorter. Yes, I agree with that. What I am trying to say is that we are bringing this San people into our community. We are forcing them. We are	1g	Bushmen have a healthier life than westerners.

		paying them money and we using tourist attraction.		
133	F1:	We are enticing them.		
134	M1:	Exactly, exactly. Now what right do we have to take them away from their culture? Look if they were to come to us and turn around and say when we got something, you guys you can't make it onto the field when we play our games and whatever it is. We as a whitey should do the opposite thing, what would happen then? So is a little tricky the question. We are opposing onto them our culture saying that we are the (incomprehensible) of culture. What right do we have to say that?	1e	M1 is saying that the west doesn't have a right to impose their culture. He sees them as a cultural group that should be protected from the imposition of the west.
135	F1:	It's like everything. Christianity.		
136	M1:	Ja, correct.		
137	F1:	The ones who are, will rape the ones...		
138	M1:	With less advantage, the ones with less possibilities. Now I don't have a problem that we should know about their culture. These lodges like that where they are taking you to see the culture of the people. Yes, that I think is critical, it is important; we need to know about it. Right, but imagine having a tour for these guys coming into the western town and showing them around. You know how the white man lives.	1i	Bushmen culture as the culture of the 'other' is important.
139	F1:	It does happen, that is what they want, ja.	1e	Assume that Bushmen want to take on western culture
140	M1:	Sweets, sweets.		
141	In:	I took some pictures while I was there two months ago. I think I have about 16. So, the first half are the pictures I had taken just outside the park. Just of the different Bushmen people, of their daily lives or whatever. The first guy, he took us tracking and showed us the different animals and that. And then there are just families who were working outside the park selling crafts. And then the second half, which I will tell you when it starts, is of the lodge and the surrounding areas. So basically I will show you those. Maybe I will show you the first half and then we can chat about those, and then the lodge pictures and we can chat about those. So let me just get my laptop.		
142	F2:	Another thing. How many people know anything about the San? When I talk of exposure I don't talk in a nasty way. I just want to know about them and I can't just get in my car and just go and find out about them.	2a	F2 must be interested in 'finding out' about the Bushmen
143	M1:	That's why I said, the tours are fantastic.	2a	M1 thinks cultural tours are "fantastic".
144	F2:	I can't get in my car and go on one of those trips.		

145	M1:	Fortunately, because it would be a circus then. Everyone would drive past there. Control is better than if everyone has access.	2a	M1 wants an exclusive experience and not a mass produced 'cultural' experience.
146	F2:	Yes, you're right. Also remember the San were the first people here. Were they not?	1b	She sees their first people status as attractive for tourism.
147	M1:	Yes.		
148	F2:	So they are a fascinating people.	1b	
149	Start picture show.			
150	In:	This is the tracker.		
151	M2:	Now we would say about him that he was wearing something you would see in California.	1d	M1 doesn't not see this aspect of modern clothing as surprising.
152	F2:	What does it say?		
153	In:	Something Michigan.		
154	M2:	I went to Michigan. I wonder which year he was?		
155	In:	This is the father and the son who were selling crafts outside the park.		
156	F2:	But look at that. There are no true San left. I mean look how tall that guy is, if he stood up he would be pretty tall and the San are a small people. I mean do you disagree? I think he looks very tall from here.	1h	Bushmen must look like Bushmen.
157	M2:	Can I ask you a question about the father and son. Were they, well they look quite contented in that picture. Is that your sense of them, that they seem to be relaxed?		
158	In:	Ja. And then this one is just looking at the video that one of the students had taken.		
159	M1:	They knew that there were so many tourists coming.	1d	The #Khomani have taken the initiative to make craft for profit.
160	F4:	I mean if they are selling arts and crafts.		
161	M1:	Exactly, they see a video camera and cameras it is nothing new for them.		
162	M2:	Do they speak any English?		
163	In:	Afrikaans mainly, but some English. This is when we were in Botswana with the San as well. They are doing a fire dance for us.		
164	F3:	And were they happy to see you?		
165	In:	Definitely this community [Ngwatle], yes. I don't think they see many tourists. We handed out clothes and stuff to them.		
166	M2:	So do you think it was the clothes or the novelty of...		
167	In:	Also the novelty I think. Especially for the kids. Pause. This is also one on selling crafts. Just the children.		
168	F4:	Even they know that kids sell better.	1e	Why wouldn't they "know that kids sell better"?
169	In:	And from now it is just of the lodge and the surrounding areas, so it is in the park, these were outside.		
170	F2:	Where is it?		
171	F1:	Where is it in the park?		
172	In:	It is in the Northern Cape.		

173	F4:	No, no where in the park?		
174	In:	Here let me show you the map. Oh the map is on here actually. !Xaus Lodge is that red dot there.		
175	M1:	After Twee Rivieren.		
176	In:	Yes.		
177	F4:	Okay.		
178	M1:	In those days when we were there, there was nothing like that. There were only the camps.		
179	F4:	Mata Mata. There were only the camps when we were there. Between Twee Rivieren and Mata Mata. It is not that far actually. It is actually in there (points to map).		
180	In:	On that main riverbed road you turn left and go over the dune. This is one of the pans near the lodge. Just to show you what the scenery is like.		
181	F2:	Does it have any water in it?		
182	In:	No, no.		
183	F4:	It depends on the time of the year.		
184	In:	This is the lodge itself.		
185	F1:	Oh, look at that.		
186	In:	It is on a dune overlooking the pan.		
187	F1:	What are those? (chalets).	4b/4c	They are looking for a more luxurious setup.
188	F2:	Is it an upmarket lodge? (laughing between F1 and F2).	4b/4c	
189	F3:	Are they all self-catering?		
190	In:	No, no, they have a restaurant where you go to for your meals.		
191	F2:	What are those huts made of?		
192	In:	I am not sure what they are made of, but they tried to blend it into the environment, so it is sort of like a red type colour.		
193	F2:	Brick?		
194	F4:	Like mud huts?		
195	In:	Sort of, and then they have a walkway between each cabin and there is I think a double or twin beds with an en-suit bathroom. And then they have a pool, the restaurant, shop and boma area.		
196	F2:	What is the occupancy?	3b	She would base her choice on the popularity of the Lodge.
197	In:	It has just opened.		
198	F2:	Oh really. And what are those spikes on top of those, they almost look like tents.	4b/4c	Doesn't think the Lodge looks attractive
199	In:	I think that is just part of the architecture when it was designed.		
200	F4:	So is it open to the park or is it fenced?		
201	In:	No, it's open.		
202	F2:	Well I don't see how it is blending into the. I mean what is it supposed to look like, a rock or?	4b/4c	Not taken with the appearance
203	In:	Well I guess the colour I suppose.		
204	F2:	And who owns it or runs it? Is it Parks Board or...		
205	In:	It is actually owned by the San and the Mier communities. This was part of a land		

		claim.		
206	F2:	What's Mier?		
207	In:	Mier is the coloured community in the area. It is being run by a private company.		
208	M1:	It is subcontracted? So they got no say on that, it is only, they the owners. The community is the owners.		
209	In:	The community are the owners.		
210	F2:	Oh and it's run by...		
211	In:	Run by someone else, ja.		
212	F2:	And do you know who it is?		
213	In:	It is called Transfrontier Trails.		
214	F2:	So what is this Transfrontier place between? The Kalahari and...		
215	In:	They have this lodge and another one in Mozambique.		
216	M1:	The river was as well. In the old days when you drove in the river you could see it was stones marking. You were between South Africa and Botswana all the time. They have upgraded the park now further into Botswana. So that is where the Transfrontier comes from.	2a	He seems to know something about the Park.
217	F3:	So how many of those little cottages are there?		
218	In:	I think it has about 26 guests who can stay. When we were there they had international guests staying with them.	3b	F3 Seems impressed by the international guests
219	F3:	Oh did they!		
220	In:	And it was full basically, ja.		
221	F3:	So you weren't invited to stay?		
222	In:	Oh no we were staying in the huts over the hill.		
223	F2:	Oh so that's another pan?		
224	In:	Ja, that's another pan. That's the pan all the cabins look out onto. All their veranda's look out onto that. There is some water over there which animals come to drink at.		
225	F2:	And what is this vegetation in the photo?		
226	In:	Very sparse isn't it.		
227	F2:	What is it do you know?		
228	In:	Just grass and sand.		
229	F2:	Just grass. Not flowers or...		Unsure if she is impressed or unimpressed by this comment.
230	In:	Here you can see the walkway and the pool		
231	F1:	Those tents look as if they are thatched.	4b/4c	Doesn't think the Lodge looks very luxurious
232	In:	On no, they are sort of bricks and thatch, not tents.		
233	F2:	This is it (picking up website print off).		
234	In:	Yes, you can see the pictures there.		
235	F1:	Oh I think they are poofey.	4b/4c	Doesn't like look of Lodge at all
236	F2:	I suppose the colour is supposed to blend in with the sand.		
237	F3:	And this a really expensive place?		
238	In:	Yes, it is a luxury lodge.		
239	F2:	Well what do you pay a night?		

240	F4:	Well R1 700 per person sharing (looking at website print off).		
241	F3:	How much?	4b	F3 seems surprised at the price (even though by her own admission she goes on many international trips).
242	General discussion			
243	F1:	When it is very warm you get it cheaper.		
244	M1:	November you can stay cheaper. You can cook better but...		
245	F2:	So it is R1 700 a night.		
246	In:	Ja.		
247	F3:	Per person?		Again questioning the price.
248	M2:	But not the beverages. You have to take those.		Misunderstood drinks issue.
249	F2:	Well that wouldn't suit it would us Richard. You would have to take a big 4x4.		
250	General laughter and discussion			
251	F2:	What is offered in this R1700?		
252	F4:	All these (pointing to website hand out).		
253	F2:	Prices include, ah there we are.		
254	M2:	I don't have the money, but I don't think it is that expensive.	4b	He thinks it is value for money.
255	F3:	You don't?	4b	She thinks it is expensive.
256	M2:	For what they are charging for all over the place I don't think that is expensive.	4b	
257	F3:	But what else do you see? Do you see the...		
258	F4:	You are in a game reserve.		
259	F3:	And you see lots of game?	4a/4c/ 3c(v)	Concerned with seeing the Big Five. They see this as part of the wildlife experience.
260	F2:	Do you see the Big 5?		
261	M1:	Not here. Not here.		
262	F4:	Lions, cheetah.		
263	In:	There is a lot of game in the park. We just didn't see a lot of game while we were there, at the lodge.		
264	F4:	We saw a lot of game in the park.	4a	He enjoyed the wilderness aspect of the park even without the Big Five.
265	F3:	And do you get taken on game drives?		
266	In:	Yes.		
267	F2:	Yes, there we are F3 (pointing to website print off). All meals, all game walks, all game drives, return transfers from collection point.		
268	M1:	Is not bad. I don't think it is expensive. I'm sorry.	4b	Reaffirming his point on value for money
269	F2:	You know what; I don't either because F2's daughter works at Singeta and that is R7 500.	4b	Agrees with M1's point
270	M1:	That's what I'm saying.		
271	F2:	We get free nights. I think it was something like R200 (laughing).		
272	F3:	R7 500?		
273	F2:	You know F3 I go there and I try and justify, what are people paying R7 500 for this?		
274	F4:	Work it out in dollars and euro's (indistinguishable).		

275	M1:	That is what I am saying. I do not think that €200 is expensive.	4b	
276	F2:	No, I agree.	4b	
277	M1:	I don't have the money so I won't go, but I am saying that...	4b	
278	F2:	One and a half a night. We could go for two nights.	4b	She is saying that she could pay this price.
279	M1:	Per person.		
280	F2:	Um.		
281	F3:	I can go on my commission (laughter).		
282	M1:	With that you can take all of us. Don't give me that story.		
283	Laughter and general discussion			
284	F2:	No, I would love to see this [meaning the view of the pan].	4c/3c (v)	Now F2 is saying that she would like to go to the Lodge.
285	In:	They have a shop in the main reception area. This is a painting (pointing to the screen), I am not sure if that was in the shop or in the room, done by the locals. Paintings, arts and craft, books, that sort of thing. This is done by Regopstaan Kruiper.		
286	F2:	Setting sun, that is beautiful.		
287	M2:	This is typical is it of their art?	1i	M2 wants to know if what the Lodge is selling is 'authentic'.
288	In:	I saw a few similar ones ja. I am not clued up on art or anything like that.		
289	F2:	When did the San ever put pen to paint paper? But it is interesting.	1i	Doesn't think that San painting on paper is 'authentic'.
290	F3:	And now do they sell those off for a huge amount of money.		
291	In:	Yes, well I am not sure what the price is but they sell them in then. And when the tourists came while we were there they basically sold out most of the stock in there. And they did have some good meerkat art, little sculptures and things.		
292	F4:	Look somebody might have told them what is good to sell. And that's nothing wrong with that.	1e	He assumes that the #Khomani did not come up with the idea themselves.
293	In:	And I guess also the guys who are running this chose all the art to be put in the shop as well.		
294	F4:	Well because what we bought from that Bushman there in Durban. It has Springbok horns and it is like a mobile, on leather strings pieces of ostrich shell, seeds, porcupine quills and things like that.		
295	F1:	Why did you buy it, because you just liked it?		
296	F4:	Yes, yes. He was selling all sorts of things there. I think he was selling typical things.		
297	In:	This is the reception area where they have a beautiful hanging made by some local women. And then this is one of the meerkats.		
298	F2:	Oh no, that's fantastic.	4c	They like the hanging; aesthetically appealing.
299	F3:	Ja, that's nice.		

300	F2:	You see that is what [name] needs in his shop.		
301	In:	Then a lot of the staff who work there are actually from the Mier community. This is a picture of a braai we had.		
302	F2:	You see, and that is where the San have mixed a lot.	1h	Debate over who is a Bushman.
303	M1:	Some Afrikaner has been playing games there.		
304	F2:	What are we talking: Malaysia, we talking Holland.		
305	M1:	But these are San (indistinguishable).		
306	F4:	Coloured		
307		Laughter		
308	M1:	What names have they got? Have they got very funny names?	1i	He imagines that 'traditional' Bushmen names may have been kept.
309	In:	I think...		
310	F2:	Are you from Holland?		
311	M1:	No, no. German.		
312	In:	And then this is a picture of two of the trackers who were staying with us.		
313	F2:	All dressed in their western garb. You see. Now you see how controversial it does become.	1b	Unlike M2 she does not assume that the #Khomani would wear western clothes.
314	In:	Do you think if they open a cultural village, which they are thinking of doing, in or near the lodge that they should wear traditional outfits?	1i/3e	Even though they have just seen a photograph of the #Khomani wearing western clothes they still think the Bushmen experience of skins etc. would sell and give Shakaland as an example.
315	F4:	Of course.		
316		General agreement		
317	F4:	Go and take Shakaland.		
318	F3:	I mean I don't like any of those things because they are so fake (indistinguishable) but the tourists love them.	1i/3e/ 2a	I think what she means is that international tourists would love this false 'authenticity.' The focus group participants distance themselves from this expectation.
319	F4:	And look if they do a cultural village...	1i/3e	An acknowledgement that the cultural village would be set up for tourism and thus the dress sense should fit this fake 'authenticity'.
320	F3:	They have to be in cultural style.		
321	F1:	And what they are trying to show is what it was like. And we can never get back to what it was like.		It is a reproduction of historical culture.
322	M1:	Guys like this, the danger with what I was saying about the westernising ways. What you are losing is the capability these guys have, to smell the animals, to see. You are losing that capability, which is sad. I mean that guy we had in Itala, that Zulu guy there, he walked around. He was a game ranger, armed and dressed. He was a proper tracker, and he walked around and he saw a little grass thread, and he said, he could have told me any bullshit story that there was a buffalo. But I don't think that	1i	He thinks that western society is eroding cultural values.

		(indistinguishable). But the danger is that you are losing that.		
323	F4:	Now take these people. Do they really want to live in the sticks? Or do they want to take part of the modern world? I mean their kids are supposed to go to school.	1e	They are assuming that by living in Witdraai as the Mier/#Khomani do that they are depriving themselves and their children of a 'normal' life.
324	F2:	It's a huge thing.		
325	M1:	It is a big problem.		
326	M2:	I just think that, I've lived in a place where there are an aboriginal people, for a really long time. And to see them as museum pieces is terribly disappointing. Doing Indian dances, wearing government provided masks. What really works is that you see these people showing their progress. So that is what I would like to see. This is how it was, a little bit of how it was, but these are the things we are doing. And indeed this whole lodge thing is part of that. Let's get our heads around this, people want to come here. They will buy all our art for massive prices and we are making money out of that. And we have some ideas. We want to preserve this. The pan should be how is used to be.	1d	M2 does not want to see the #Khomani as 'museum exhibitions'. He wants to see some historical representation but does not want them to pretend that this is how they are in today's world. He wants to interact with the #Khomani in a 'realistic' way.
327	M1:	Money can be used for progress.		
328	M2:	Yeah, exactly. But I don't want to see them stuck in 1828 or some imaginary date. I hate that.	1d	
329	F4:	No, but the point is at daytime they work as waiters or whatsoever and at night they show how they lived before.	1d/1i	She wants a historical representation.
330	M2:	I don't want to see that.	1d	
331	F4:	History.		
332	M2:	I know what you mean, but why not have wax works or some other thing.	1d	M2 does not want to experience false authenticity of 'traditional' practices that are not practised anymore.
333	F2:	What is the progress?		
334	M2:	Loincloth, rugby ball. Hello? What has this got to do with anything at all.	1d	He thinks 'primitive' representation is long gone.
335	F3:	I want to see how they are living today, I mean all those stuff in museums...	1d	F3 agrees that she wishes to see present 'reality'.
336	M2:	I would like to see a starting point...fine but don't just carry on doing...	1d	M2 says he wants to see some history.
337	F4:	But keep tradition going. Certain traditions.	1i	F4 wants to conserve cultural traditions.
338	M2:	I'm saying that's not what I want to see. What I am glad about, and Kate seems to be explaining this, is that the San are there amongst us, they are successful in their way. I had no idea. I lived in a place where they got rid of huge tribes and in Australia they have more or less got rid of huge aboriginal people. So this is really encouraging.	1d	He sees 'progress' as empowering for the #Khomani.
339	F2:	With progress. They have got rid of them through progress.	1i	F2 thinks that the Bushmen were almost annihilated

			because of 'progress'.
340	M2: No, they went and just shot them down... bang and everyone just runs across the American west and kills everybody in sight. These people are surviving and that is pleasing. But I don't want to see them in a play for my benefit about how it used to be a zillion trillion years ago, because they don't know.	1d	He thinks the historical representation is not accurate as the Bushmen don't know how it was "a zillion trillion years ago".
341	F2: Oh M2, do you want to see them progressing to the Aids situation and to the western situation, which is happening in Africa, or do you want to see them in their homeland and as they were zillions of years ago with their loin cloths and living happily ever after, how do you define progress?	1b	She assumes that the Bushmen are still living a pre-modern lifestyle and furthermore are not affected by HIV/AIDS.
342	M2: I'm not defining progress. I am saying that what is interesting is to see people keeping the cultural ties that are important to them and succeeding. And succeeding might be, go to Johannesburg and becoming an advertising executive. I don't know what it might be.	1d	M2 is saying that progress need to be tied to cultural tourism and that the Bushmen can still keep links to their culture even in a city environment.
343	F2: Or becoming a Vodacom advert?		
344	M2: But to see them all around a village whittling (indistinguishable).		
345	M1: But then he lost his tradition. When he moved away, like you say to Jo'burg, he is no longer a San, he might say San, but he is no longer.	1i	M1 disagrees and thinks that a Bushman moves away from his/her physical cultural environment then culture will be lost.
346	M2: The first picture is Frank Michigan on a sweater I can pick up anywhere else in the world.	1d	The #Khomani are integrated into the global community.
347	F2: So it's gone, it's lost.	1i	F2 thinks that this is a loss of culture.
348	M2: That's who they are. So let's not pretend they are something else.		
349	F4: But lately I have been reading quite a bit about it. That they have land claims, they want to go back to their tradition. That they want their areas back where they can live the way they used to. What do they want?	1a	
350	M2: But you know what? That is what, were we are sitting today is the subject of a land claim and people will come along and say my great great grandfather was buried over there and we used to move stones around and worship. Bullshit! That never happened. That's just rubbish.		
351	F4: In this case here it is already proven.		
352	M2: I spoke to a man, an Indian chap last week who has a bottle store in Pietermaritzburg. He is very successful. So I say to him, do you speak very good Zulu? And he says, "I don't have to speak Zulu, these people speak English." And the only time he speaks Zulu in	1d	M2 wants to see the #Khomani "succeeding" in the global world.

		Pietermaritzburg is when a white person speaks Zulu to him. It's not true. So I don't want to see people in this show. I want to see them succeeding.		
353	F4:	It depends on what they want.		
354	M2:	No, the question was put to me, what do I want? You know what? People all over the world like the same things. They like food in a reasonable plenty today and a reasonable assurance of food tomorrow. And they want warmth and shelter and so forth. They would also like a motor car and a fridge. Every single person in the whole world wants that. Nobody is going to persuade me when they say I don't want any of that stuff. Don't make my life easier.	1d	M2 believes everyone wants luxuries to make their lives "easier".
355	F2:	Okay M2. I hear exactly what you are saying but what happens when these people who are the San, and they are clever enough and intelligent enough to have made that fridge but a way to keep their food cool and live?		
356	M2:	I'd love to see that. I'd love saying things that we now know. We now know that wasting water is a terrible terrible thing, they know that is their bones.	1g	Bushmen have an innate knowledge.
357	F2:	But then why advance them? Why progress them because they are there already?		
358	M2:	No, I am not seeking to do that. I don't want North American Indians in their fancy glasses and their beautiful leather coats that they bought in some western shop doing some tribal dance.	1d	He does not want commercialised traditional representation.
359	F4:	They were doing a tribal dance in jeans and a coat.		
360	In:	The last thing I want to concentrate on is this. The print out of the website. Let me also show you the... This is their actual brochure which you can pass along, and this is something which I just picked up from the gate to the park, which is also on the back here. Basically here just to discuss what you think of the pictures in relation to the Bushmen. And if you read some of the text what you think of the text maybe, just to get a general idea of what you think of it. Basically the website mirrors the brochure in text and pictures, almost.		
361	M2:	It wasn't clear to me, this is a native enterprise (looking at web print off). And so that's a comment I have. I thought that this was a Richard Branson, I put in a few trillion and here is my fancy webpage, but it is not like that. So it would be interesting if that were made clear to people like me. I am sure it says it.		He is refereeing to the introduction of the focus group not the brochure which he hasn't read yet.
362	F1:	In your introduction tell us.		

363	In:	Oh, for the focus group. Okay.		
364	F2:	There is actually this little bit, "We invite you to share with the ancestors." And we've done this as local people.	4c/ 3c(t)	Readers may expect to meet these communities. It creates a realisation that the local communities are involved.
365	In:	I think basically the text is not too long or anything. It's quite descriptive. It's got some pictures here of what the artists, some wildlife. But what basically do you think that they are trying to get across through the pictures or text used?		
366	M1:	The brochure is very nice.	3c(b)	
367	F4:	What message they want to get across? Come here, spend your money.		
368	M2:	That and that it is unspoiled.	4c/3c (v and t)	
369	F4:	That is definite; they want the overseas people to spend money there.		
370	M2:	Physically this is a kind of place that has not changed in a very long time.	4c/3c (v and t)	
371	F1:	Interesting.		
372	F2:	Fascinating.		
373	F1:	I mean the pictures are lovely. It does look so remote. Look at all this.	4c/3c (v)	
374	F3:	And it is not developed, that is what is nice. I mean it looks as though it is a new area which has not been commercialised.	4c/3c (v)/ 3c(t)	
375	M1:	Did you stay at Twee Rivieren with the university?	4b/4c/ 3c(v)	One sees the aesthetic of a building thorough photographs.
376	In:	No we didn't. We just drove through.		
377	M1:	Because that is also very well integrated in a similar way with the buildings.		
378	In:	With the buildings, ja. Do you think they should have more pictures of the community members?		
379	M1:	Where do you go to the community? Is it next to the camp or is it far away?		
380	In:	No, the community is quite far away. It is nowhere in the near vicinity, but they have community members working there at the lodge.		
381	M1:	So nobody living at the camp anymore?		
382	In:	No, nobody's living there.		
383	M1:	But outside the camp to see them.		
384	In:	I'm not sure that they offer tours to the community. I think that is why they are thinking of opening the cultural village.		
385	M1:	Right, so they don't want people to come to them. They want people to come to the cultural village... They want to keep their own stuff for themselves, not becoming a showground.	3e	He seems understanding that the #Khomani would not want people visiting their homes.
386	F3:	Which makes me want to see them where they are even more. Rather than...	3e	F3 wants to see 'the real thing'.
387	F2:	Are there any San on the staff?	3e/4c	
388	In:	The trackers I guess were Bushmen, but		

		the ladies who work in the lodge are actually mostly from the Mier community.		
389	F2:	So why are there no pictures of the San? I see a Mier community here, with a hat.	1h/4c/ 3c(v)	She would like to pictures of the #Khomani in the brochure. Because she has an expectation of what #Khomani members would look like she does not realise that there are a few pictures included in the brochure. Should photographs that have nothing to do with reality be incorporated?
390	In:	So you are saying more pictures then of the San?		
391	F2:	I think so.		
392	F1:	Absolutely.		
393	F2:	Because that is what we are talking about.		
394	F3:	This Mier community, how long have they been in existence?		
395	In:	I am not sure.		
396	M2:	Since the invention of sexual intercourse.		
397	M1:	Since the Afrikaner arrived.		
398	M2:	No, in Africa. Specifically in Africa.		
399	F2:	(Indistinguishable). The Bushman is mystical, magical and spiritual. I mean they are. Those wrinkles, and the littleness of them and sitting on their haunches. You could get beautiful photo's.	1h/1g	Cf. 389
400	In:	Ja, you could.		
401	F2:	And the yellow (gesturing towards the face).	1h	
402	In:	I know that the guy who I was speaking to, who is one of the guys running the lodge, says that they are going to update the pictures on the website quite soon. So I am not sure what he will use. But I guess if we could give some comments, some suggestions, that would be helpful.		
403	F4:	If you know you put out the contrasts of the cultural village and the people working in the lodge, they are part of the modern world, but they still got their tradition, which they know from the ancestors. You know they might do it just for the tourists, you know the young people, but the culture is still there. They know about it. If you show the cultural village and show the San people working at reception that is actually the progress. What you were talking about. But they mustn't lose their tradition. I think that that is very important. I mean I see it from our point of view. We still have a lot of German tradition but which we keep up, but we still feel integrated in the South African community.	1i	She feels that the #Khomani are part of the "modern" world, but feels strongly about the fact that their traditions should not be lost.
404	F1:	(Pointing to the cabins on the centre page	4b/4c/	F1 thinks that the architecture

		on the brochure). That looks like on the horizon, it could be a line of wild animals. I'm trying to find a reason to like them. I am trying to think of a reason to like this lodge.	3c (v)	does not fit well with the environment (cf. 410).
405	F4:	Why are they built like that? Gesturing in a line.		
406	M1:	Have you been in the Kalahari?		
407	F2:	(Pointing to F1). She is an artist.		
408	M1:	If you go to SANPark now. If you go to these other camps. Not Twee Rivieren but the other one, Mata Mata and Nossob or whatever. They are disgusting compared to, they don't fit into...	4b/ 4c/ 3c (v)	He thinks the photographs show the Lodge is a positive light.
409	F4:	Very basic accommodation.		
410	F1:	I was thinking if I was the architect how I could design buildings to blend.		
411	M1:	If you look at this picture here (holding up the homepage picture) it does not fit into the environment at all. It is a building in the middle of a flat.	4b/4c/ 3c(v)	Then he changes his mind and thinks it does not fit in to the environment.
412	F1:	I think like Toni did in Mkhuzi with those beams coming right down to the soil. You know the thatch coming right down.	4b	
413	F4:	That is what they did at Twee Rivieren.		
414	In:	And what do you think of the colours used (pointing to the colour print out)?		
415	F4:	The colours are nice. The red sand. The colours are actually nice.	3c(v)	
416	In:	And the pamphlet as well.		
417	F3:	The pamphlet is very nice.	3c(p)	
418	F1:	I do like that very much (the brochure). I just think that there is springbok here lots there, so you can have a group of real San people there.	3c(b)/ 1h	She likes the promotional materials, but thinks that photographs of #Khomani should be included (with physical characteristics she believes to be Bushmen).
419	F2:	There are too many animals. But this is from an African perspective. And this, who are these people here (pointing to picture of one of the past managers and other man)?	3c(v)	Too many wildlife shots.
420	F1:	Those are guests.		
421	F2:	I think more locals. I mean there's the Mier. That okay.	3c(v)	More pictures of community should be included.
422	F4:	They must show part of the village.	3e	A photograph of the cultural village should be included.
423	F2:	Absolutely		
424	In:	It hasn't been built yet. But if it was here then ja.		
425	M1:	Their own village. It doesn't mean to say where it is. Show the village but don't say where it is.		
426	F2:	And have a beautiful picture of real wrinkled San person.	1h/3c (v)	
427	In:	Could I just maybe get your opinion on some of the text? Maybe on the first page, just the introduction?	1b	
428	F4:	It has gone back into tradition.	4c/1b/	Concentrates on Bushmen

		3c(t)	tradition
429	F2: See, "the first people of South Africa".		First people
430	M2: I like that this is not high pitched advertising. This is quite dense, small print, with quite a few important messages. It doesn't say come here for the weekend. And the pictures, like we discussed earlier, the idea of a face or two is very important. The colours are great, the pictures themselves are great. And this sort of serious thing is very much in keeping with what I think this is about.	3c(v)/ 3c(t)	Not a hard sell; "serious" text. The photographs are great.
431	F2: What is this, "it is derived from the heart shape" in the pan. Oh. And "symbolises the spirit of reconciliation."		She does not say what she thinks of this.
432	F4: There you have the contrast again. "The 12 twin bed en-suite rooms capture the essence of the Kalahari, while providing the modern traveller with all of today's tourist comforts." That again is a contrast.	4b/4c/ 3c(v)	There is a contrast between the environment/outer look of Lodge and interior comfort.

Appendix 11: Focus Group 2 Transcription

Durban North, KwaZulu-Natal
27 September 2007

In: Interviewer
F: Female
M: Male
C: Child
Interviewer: Kate Finlay
Camera man: Kyle McFarlane

Age group: 30's and 40's
F1: Lisa-South African
F2: Mellany-South African
F3: Deborah-South African
M1: Christopher-South African
M2: David-South African
C1: Alice-South African
C2: Laura-South African
C3: Murry-South African
C4: ?-South African

1.	Transcript	Code	Annotations
2.	In: Where did you go on holiday last?		
3.	F1: Actually we went to St Lucia and Umfolozi Game Park.	2a	
4.	M1: We went to Ponto de Ouro.	2a	
5.	F2: It was Plet.	2a	
6.	In: Would anyone ever consider going to the Kalahari. The Transfrontier Kgalagadi Park?		
7.	M1: I would because I've never been there.	2a	

8.	F2: I'd like to go there.	2a	
9.	General consensus	2a	
10.	In: And has anyone ever been there before?		
11.	Response in the negative.		
12.	In: And has anyone ever had any encounters with Bushmen before?		
13.	F1: Not personally no.		
14.	M1: Not real Bushmen no.		
15.	In: Just to get your opinion on the Bushmen in general, what people's perceptions are. "The Gods Must be Crazy", has everyone seen that?	1a	Almost everyone has seen "The Gods Must be Crazy" in this age group.
16.	General agreement		
17.	M1: I haven't.	1a	
18.	F1: You haven't!		
19.	In: I just assumed everyone would have seen it.		
20.	M1: I've never seen it.		
21.	In: So what do you think about it (addressing question to group in general).		
22.	F3: I think that it is amazing that the people can live in harmony with land like that, and to read that signs of, that just doesn't happen today. It is fascinating.	1g	Bushmen have fascinating intrinsic knowledge.
23.	F1: What year did that come out?		
24.	M1: The 70's.	1a	Even M1, who had not seen the film, knew when it was released.
25.	F1: We were at school when it came out. I mean there wasn't much of that in the syllabus, whereas now they focus on that a lot.	1a	Also aware of the release time period.
26.	M1: What's that?		
27.	F1: On the indigenous culture.		
28.	M1: Oh.		
29.	F1: I mean San is a big one because it is the oldest. For us, that is why I think it was so fascinating... it's very much part of the curriculum.	1b	First people status
30.	F2: I think it made them look very simple. It does. I mean can someone be so simple that when a coke bottle hits you on the head you think it is a revelation?	1d	F2 does not agree with the primitive representation, she thinks it is incorrect.
31.	M2: But it was funny though.	1c	
32.	In: I know you have been talking about the Vodacom advert [before the focus started] but what does everyone think of the advert?	1a/1c	
33.	F1: It instantly brought back memories of the movie. For those of us who have seen it. It was just like a quick flashback. No, I think it is great. Very ingenious and humorous.	1a/1c	F1 links the two (film and advertisement). She thinks the advertisement is "humorous".
34.	F3: I think that it is illustrating that it is getting rugby to every culture of South Africa.	1f	F3 takes the Bushmen representation with a pinch of salt and gets to the core of the message of the advertisement.
35.	In: That was the brief actually. It says in the article in the... [gesturing to print out].		

36.	F3:	I didn't read that yet so it is not coming from that one.		
37.	In:	That was the brief to the advertising agency.		
38.	M1:	That they are taking rugby to all parts of South Africa.		
39.	In:	To every part of South Africa, ja.		
40.	M1:	Well there you see [gesturing towards F3].		
41.	F3:	Well it came across.		
42.	M1:	I didn't think of that I must say. I thought it was a rip-off of the movie.	1a	M1 connected the film and the advertisement.
43.	F1:	At first, but when you see the Bushmen playing you realise that that is the message.		
44.	M2:	Ag, it's advertising man. It's a hoot.	1c	
45.	F1:	I think it works.		
46.	M1:	General consensus is it is a good advert.		
47.	F3:	And everyone remembers it and so I think Vodacom have got a lot of mileage on it.		
48.	M1:	Everyone knows the Vodacom advert. [Indistinguishable]. That's why I said if Bill where here he would have told...	1a	
49.	F2:	He says it is belittling, he says it's not...	1d/1f	The Vodacom advertisement seems to M1 and F2 as belittling because of the rugby aspect and not the fact that the Bushmen are dressed in skins.
50.	M1:	Listen I can understand that.		
51.	F2:	And like he said, he said the Bushmen don't play rugby.		
52.	F3:	That is the point, they are trying to teach them.		
53.	F1:	That is the point, is that even though we think they don't play rugby...	1d/1f	F1 is implying that westerners may think the Bushmen don't play rugby but that does not mean this is true.
54.	F3:	They are exposed to it.	1d/1f	
55.	F1:	In a remote little place like that there are probably some of them that are exposed to it. And you know they don't necessarily dress in their traditional dress now. They might be in Windhoek and go to a pub. So they have obviously had some exposure. So they are trying to say we are linking the primitive...	1d/1f	F1 says that the Bushmen are part of the wider South African community.
56.	M2:	Ja, they don't have to play rugby as long as they embrace the game. You know what I mean.	1d/1f	M2 is referring to the Bushmen as South African citizens (more inclusive than othering).
57.	F1:	Ja, well it's true South Africanism.		
58.	In:	I've just included in your packs, but you don't really have to read it because I am going to summarise it anyway. It's basically about the article, I don't know if anyone has heard about the controversy about the Bushman running onto the rugby field...	1a	
59.	M1:	Yes, ja.	1a	
60.	In:	The Griqua thing. And then there was this big ho ha.		
61.	M1:	Ja.		
62.	In:	So let me just give a summary of it and		

		<p>then we can just chat about it. The guy who ran out onto the field is called Petrus Maondo. He is a member of the San !Xun and Khwe community in Platfontein outside of Kimberly. And in early August this year he was dressed in a loincloth pushing a wire cart with the tee for a Griqualand West player to kick a penalty in the Currie Cup rugby match again the Western province. This was as a result of the Vodacom advert. Then complaints started pouring in from the general public debating whether the San community was being exploited or whether this was a novel way to market the game. And the president of the South African San Association, Andre Steenkamp, stated that he did not have a problem with the situation. He said that he was consulted and the association agreed to it. So what he says is, We don't want and we don't need people to speak on our behalf to tell others what we think or would like, we're perfectly capable of doing it for ourselves." (IOL, 2007). So I don't know what you think of that?</p>		
63.	F1:	Absolutely.		
64.	M2:	Petrus complained (indistinguishable).		
65.	M1:	Exactly, exactly. He wanted more loot.		
66.	M2:	He wanted more loot. He got three times more than (indistinguishable).		
67.	M1:	So he said hey listen if I am to be exploited I want more money.	1d/1e	He is taking his opportunity to earn more money as would a large majority of people.
68.	In:	Ja, they said they were going to pay him more in this article here. They were going to increase his salary.		
69.	F3:	He already gets three times more than the other ball players; he wants more than three times more.		
70.	M1:	Oh the ball boys.		
71.	M2:	The other tee carriers. Getting three times more, they used to have; I don't know what they used to have.		
72.	M1:	Like Bell who does it at King's park. They don't get paid; they pay to actually take the tee out.		
73.	F2:	Yes, because it is advertising ja.		
74.	M1:	For them it's huge.		
75.	F1:	Um, ja, and wasn't that just like an extension of the advert.		
	M1:	Listen, I think it was a novel idea.		
76.	M2:	I think it's brilliant.		
77.	M1:	But once again I can see it being belittling.	1e	He doesn't want the Bushmen to feel belittled.
78.	F3:	I honestly don't think it is belittling. We have Zulu dancers coming here to show off at South African matches and that. Is that belittling? They're in their loin clothes.	1i	She feels the Bushmen as with other indigenous groups are not embarrassed about their cultural heritage, and perhaps if

		It was an extension of the advert and it is the area that they come from so they've used (indistinguishable). I don't think it is belittling at all.		they felt belittled they would not engage in the activity.
79.	F1:	It's just exposing another culture. I think it is fascinating for some. But there is always going to be those that.		
80.	M2:	He should have taken the ostrich egg full of sand, that would have been better.		
81.	F1:	Yes, exactly.		
82.	F3:	Well, by the sounds of it, having read this article, it is actually people from their own community who are upset because they weren't consulted and so maybe it's a jealousy thing.	1j	Unlike Focus Group One, where a participant felt that the community should be consulted (line 100) and another member thought that the community should be paid (line 92), this group believes the community does not need to be consulted.
83.	M1:	They're not getting the loot. Petrus.		
84.	F2:	If he were doing it for free it would be a different story. He's getting money.		
85.	In:	Which also brings in, I wanted to discuss this first, what Andre Steenkamp said was that he doesn't see anything wrong with this but he does see something wrong with the Vodacom advert because they weren't consulted.	1j	
86.	M1:	Because that is more money.	1j	
87.	F3:	Is that what he is saying about not being consulted?		Misunderstanding between interviewer and participants
88.	In:	Ja.		
89.	F3:	Oh, I see.		
90.	M1:	I suppose he wants to be able to bargain and say right okay we'll do this but...		
91.	F2:	We want so much...		
92.	M1:	And where it will be channelled.		
93.	F1:	Donations, ja. To the Khoi Trust or whatever.		
94.	M1:	Or we would like to think it is going there.		
95.	M2:	Ag, there's not a chance it will go there. Gonna go straight into the drop safe.		
96.	In:	Well what he said is that he wasn't consulted. The film crew said that they did consult widely and that they observed cultural sensitivities. And then they were talking about the brief, which we were discussing earlier, that it's not about the San it is about rugby. The brief was about Vodacom being the rugby broadcaster and responsible for bringing rugby to every single part of the country.		
97.	M2:	Fair enough.		
98.	In:	But then again some people did debate the ostrich shell and throwing that away and taking the rugby ball instead, some people thought that that was belittling.	1i	
99.	F1:	Discarding what is sacred to their culture.	1i	
100.	M1:	I wouldn't say it was belittling, but I wouldn't like to see them lose their culture.	1i	

101	In:	The ostrich egg shell is apparently what they used to carry water in.	1j	
102	F1:	But you know, I think they are just getting too serious. They can read anything [into it]. It's humorous. It's about embracing the sport, embracing the sport of rugby.	1j	
103	F3:	Yes, if anything I think it is belittling that those people who did the movie have to get the permission, in other words the guy obviously is saying they are not capable of making their own minds up, they don't understand what they are doing, they have to get his permission, that is belittling.	1j	Steenkamp wants the power to decide. F3 believes the Bushmen should decide themselves as they are quite capable to do so.
104	General agreement		1j	
105	F3:	That is really belittling. So I think he is the man who is doing the belittling not the Vodacom ad.	1j	
106	F1:	Let's face it when a Zulu person appears on an advert do they consult someone who heads up the culture.		
107	M1:	Um, never.		
108	F3:	If we appear on an advert, a white person, do you have to consult someone to say, you know...		
109	F1:	Ja, it's just getting a bit intense hey.		
110	M1:	No, no that's true hey. That why I am saying it's not an issue on culture it's a monetary issue, that's what he is after.		Steenkamp is after money
111	F3:	That's what it is all down to, a monetary issue.		
112	M1:	And look if the San want money and if it goes to looking after them then that's good, but if it goes into his drop safe then...		
113	M2:	It's Steenkamp, trust fund.		
114	M1:	Ja.		
115	In:	I think what I will do now is just show some of the pictures I took while I was on our varsity trip, and then just basically just see what you think of them. The first half it at a community called Witdraai which is on the way to the park, about sixty kilometres from the park. And I just took a few pictures of the people there.		
116	M1:	Is he indigenous?		
117	In:	He is part of the #Khomani		
118	F1:	Um, you can see he is.	1h	
119	M1:	Something Michigan. How's his gear!	1d	He is amused the #Khomani man is wearing western clothing. The romantic representation of the Bushmen is being challenged by this photograph.
120	In:	He was a tracker who, well he is part of the Kruiper family which is quite important in the #Khomani community. Like the leading family. And so he was a tracker who took us round and showed us the		

		different (indistinguishable).		
121	F1:	You see he can afford America hey?	1e	They assume that because the tracker is a #Khomani community member that he cannot afford to buy his own clothes. This links to the idea that he probably doesn't have a proper job.
122	M1:	Well I think he is probably been given that.		
123	F1:	Um, of course he has.		
124	M2:	Ah, for sure.		
125	General agreement			
126	F1:	He doesn't have to wear his loincloth anymore.		
127	Laughter			
128	M1:	Although they probably prefer to see them like that.	2a	There is again, as with Focus Group One, the idea that tourists would enjoy seeing fake 'authenticity'. Distancing themselves from this idea of 'tourists'.
129	In:	The tourists?		
130	M1:	Ja. The tourists.		
131	F1:	We've got to remember that they are living in a modern world.	1d	
132	M1:	Ja.		
133	In:	This is a father and daughter selling crafts on the side on the road.	1d	
134	M1:	Now do you think that is staged, or do you think?	1d	M1 realises that this is probably staged.
135	In:	I don't know what do you think?		
136	M1:	Or do you think they live like that all the time (addressing the others)?		
137	F2:	I think they live like that all the time.		
138	M1:	Do you?		
139	F1:	I think she'll throw a t-shirt on.	1d	F1 disagrees and thinks that the wearing of skins is something of the past.
140	M2:	No, they don't, they do that to get the tourists to buy.	1d	M2 thinks that the skins are for the tourists. 'Tourists' enjoy false authenticity.
141	F1:	I think they do that for them to stop to buy their stuff.	1d	F1 agrees.
142	M2:	He's got his own bloody pyjamas and everything.	1d	Thinks that the #Khomani wear western clothing all the time
143	F1:	I mean that is Placa paint in a bottle. Now that is totally not what the indigenous culture would use for their arts and crafts.	1d	Artistic tools are modern.
144	M1:	They would dyes and mud, ja.		
145	F1:	They would use berries and bird droppings and all that kind of thing.		
146	M1:	Is that green bottle...		
147	F1:	Placa paint, ja.		
148	M1:	Is it.		
149	In:	I never noticed that.		
150	M1:	She's an art teacher here [pointing to F1].		
151	In:	Oh okay. And that's just another picture of them.		
152	F1:	What's that red thing behind...		
153	F2:	It's a lady bending over. It's her head.		
154	F1:	Oh, it's a head. Oh, okay.		
155	In:	Ja, a shawl. Oh this is, the next photo I am going to show is in Botswana in the Ngwatle community. We camped and		

		they came over in the evening and did a fire dance for us.		
156	F1:	That's how I would expect to see the Bushmen now in town and cities...	1d	Would expect to see the Bushmen in western garments when in "towns and cities".
157	M1:	In jeans and a floppy hat and jackets.		
158	F3:	I think that most of them are like that.		
159	M2:	When you see a fire dance you don't want them dressed like that. You know what I mean? If they are going to do a fire dance they must...	1i	M2 thinks that if a cultural fire dance is done then traditional outfits should be worn.
160	F1:	You would just see by their, they've got a certain look about their face, you would know that they...	1h	
161	M1:	Like Ashwin Willemse.		
162	F1:	Ja. Sort of slight slit eyes.	1h	
163	In:	Who's Ashwin Willemse?		
164	M1:	He play's for the Springbok's, but I sure he has San in him.		
165	F1:	Definitely.		
166	M1: In:	He must have San in him. This is back to the Witdraai community. I just basically took this picture cause of the rugby ball here.		
167	General chat			
168	F3:	And they had it there? Or did you put it there?		
169	In:	Replied in the negative.		
170	F3:	They had it?		
171	In:	No, it was there.		
172	F1:	And that's a soccer ball.		
173	M1:	And a soccer ball.		
174	F3:	There you go.	1d	Because of the fact that they had rugby and soccer balls they are integrated into the wider South African context.
175	M2:	They've probably all been given rugby balls after the advert.	1a/1b	Still does not believe that the #Khomani play rugby
176	In:	It wasn't the Vodacom one.		
177	F1:	But isn't a similar one they used in the advert.		
178	General consensus			
179	In:	And there is just a picture of the kids I took on the side of the road selling crafts. And from now on the rest of the pictures are of the lodge. Just some scenic ones of the pan and also I took some of the buildings and whatever. So feel free to comment on what you think of the building, how it fits in with the landscape or whatever. This is one of the pans near the...		
180	F2:	Quite dry.		
181	M1:	Is it an empty pan, ja.		
182	In:	Salt pan.		
183	M1:	Is that water or shadow?		
184	In:	That's shadow.		
185	M2:	So hasn't got much water.		
186	F3:	Does it ever get full?		

187	M2:	They have had a drought.		
188	In:	It's very dry there.		
189	F1:	Is this in Botswana?		
190	In:	No, this is back in South Africa in the Northern Cape where the lodge is.		
191	M1:	Well there's a windmill there so it must go down.		
192	In:	This is the lodge.		
193	F3:	Oh my goodness.		
194	F2:	Quite rustic.	4b/4c	
195	M1:	Jee whiskers. Rustic for that price.		
196	F2:	I know.		
197	In:	These are the rooms, these are the cabins, and they are linked by sort of a walkway...		
198	M1:	Off the ground?		
199	In:	Yes, I guess because of the wildlife or whatever. It's situated on the ridge overlooking the pan.		
200	M1:	The pans down here?		
201	In:	Ja.		
202	M1:	But that is the empty pan?		
203	In:	That's not the one I just showed. I showed a different one just now. They have actually built a man made [waterhole] just in front. I am not sure if the [windmill] just pumps the water in to it, but to attract the animals.		
204	F1:	So you are going there basically for wildlife and to experience a bit of culture.	4a/4c	
205	M2:	But it has to be rustic to fit in with the sand. You can't have a...	4b/4c	They agree that the Lodge is aesthetically appropriate.
206	M1:	No, no, it would have to be rustic actually.	4b/4c	
207	F1:	No, I think that is what people would be looking for if you want to go there you want the whole experience.	4b/4c	The tourists going to !Xaus would want a semi rustic experience.
208	F3:	I'm sure inside it's luxurious.		
209	F1:	I'm sure inside it lovely, ja.		
210	F3:	They're just fitting it in with the...		
211	M1:	(Indistinguishable).		
212	F3:	(To M1) But you know what two days when we went to that other game reserve...		
213	F1:	It's enough.		
214	M1:	Two days, ja.		
215	In:	Basically what you can do here is go on game drives or they take you tracking. It is all in this brochure, well sorry this is a print off of the website. 4X4 trails, nature walks.		
216	M1:	But now, where do you go from, is this a base. I don't see any community out there.	4c	He expects the #Khomani community to live at the Lodge.
217	In:	Well the community work there. The nearest community is outside the park because no one can live inside the park. So they have a rotation system and whenever they are on leave they can go back.		
218	M2:	The park must be hell of a big?		
219	In:	Very big, ja.		
220	M2:	Because to sustain wildlife, I mean it is like		

		a Karoo farm.		
221	M1:	Ja, a little clump of chow.		
222	M2:	Airlift the community to it.		
223	M1:	And the 4X4's and everything are they parked here.		
224	In:	Yes, right behind here, ja. So we entered at Twee Rivieren and it is a few hours drive from there. They are building an air strip as well.		
225	M1:	That would be a good idea.	4b/3d	Airport means easier access
226	In:	Ja. Let me show you some more pictures. This is the pan beneath the lodge. There is a bit of water there, but you can't really see it.		
227	M1:	But it is a massive pan.		
228	In:	It is. It's huge.		
229	M1:	So when it is full then it must attract a lot of.		Picture not available in the promotional material.
230	F1:	So when it is full it must be a lovely scene.		
231	In:	This is just to show you what the walkway is like.		
232	F1:	Oh that's nice.		
233	In:	Well what do you think of the architecture?	4b/4c	The Lodge's appearance is seen to be well suited to the environment.
234	M1:	Good. I like it. I like it.		
235	F1:	It's all natural materials.		
236	F3:	It fits in with the environment.		
237	M1:	It reminds me of that Camp David kind of thing hey.		
238	F1:	Yes. And I like the stilts, because you're not walking on the sand and you're raised. You might be in the bush, but you...	4b/4c	F1 likes the fact that she is removed from the sand as a result of the walkways.
239	M1:	And there will never be any sand anywhere because of the cracks in-between so it's perfect.	4b/4c	M1 agrees
240	F1:	I think they have used the materials very well.	4b/4c	
241	M2:	What are you talking about Camp David?		
242	M1:	Camp David in up in uh, not the Camp David.		
243	F3:	Near Kosi Bay.		
244	F1:	And is there like a communal, where do you eat your meals?		
245	In:	Yes, to this side there is a dining room. So you have all your meals done for you. There is a communal lounge area and as you enter the reception area there's a shop where they have collected the artworks of the local community and sell them there, as well as books on the San and that sort of thing. My next picture here is an example of one of the paintings, which is in one of the bedrooms I think.		
246	F1:	Oh right, nice.		
247	M1:	Is that what they would paint nowadays?	1d	Interested in the artist Vetkat's painting

248	F1:	Nowadays, ja.		
249	In:	That is done by a guy called Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper.		
250	M1:	Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper.		
251	F3:	They have to be influenced by the Afrikaans community.		
252	F1:	Ja, that's the thing. That's a modern San drawing.	1d	She still sees the drawing as 'authentic', but modern. M1 makes a link between the traditional and the modern artistic practice.
253	M1:	Of what you would see in a wall in a cave, you know.		
254	F1:	No, you wouldn't see that in a cave.		
255	M1:	No, but I'm saying a modernised version of it.		
256	F1:	Well he's an artist now. There are groups. There's a thing called the Kuru organisation, I don't know if you've heard about it?	1a	
257	In:	Oh no, no I haven't.		
258	F1:	They run an organisation where they have San artists doing art, so for instance they make bead items out of ostrich egg shells like the traditional San. They'll have the little bow and arrow you know, which was part of their culture. They'll have the little bags made out of the type of skin and beads that they would use for gathering, the gathering bags.		
259	In:	Ja.		
260	F1:	So they are trying to keep the authentic stuff. But this is an artist who is current. So he is influenced by modern times.	1d	There was general agreement on the aesthetic and cultural appeal of Vetkat's painting. In their opinion art does not have to be 'traditional' to be authentic.
261	M1:	I like it.		
262	F1:	It's nice		
263	M1:	I think it is damn good.		
264	M2:	Got a bit of va va voom		
265	F1:	We don't want them to still be painting on rocks.	1d	Further they conclude that painting on rocks is now outdated and would thus possibly be not 'authentic'.
266	M1:	No.		
267	F1:	They've moved on from that.		
268	M1:	But it's still the old, look at that guy on the right.	1d	They like the fact that the painting still has links with the Bushmen traditions, but are not opposed to it being 'modern'.
269	F1:	It's still the stylised body.		
270	M1:	Exactly.		
271	F1:	Ja. It's nice.		
272	In:	Oh this was made by a local group of women this...		
273	F1:	Wall hanging.		
274	In:	Ja.		
275	F3:	Okay, beautiful.		
276	In:	Unfortunately, I don't have a close up of it.		
277	F1:	But look at the chairs look, samplings and that.	1d	Noticed the engravings on the chairs and liked the 'modern' craftwork.
278	M1:	What on earth is this?		
279	In:	That's a meerkat.	1a	
280	M1:	As in the Vodacom advert.		

281	In:	A statue of one on the table. This is the staff which is mainly made up of the Mier community; the girls who work there. Which is like the coloured community in the area.		
282	F3:	Yes, because they don't look like Bushmen.	1h	The Mier look coloured and don't have 'Bushman qualities.'
283	M1:	They don't at all.		
284	F3:	I mean their looks don't...		
285	M2:	They look like they've had a few grogs.		
286	M1:	They're happy.		
287	F3:	No, they look. Bushmen have got high cheek bones, accentuated cheek bones and those eyes.	1h	
288	F1:	They were probably descendents that were ja.		
289	In:	These trackers here, what do you think of them? This is a lady who works at the lodge, but these are the two trackers.		
290	F1:	You can see that they have Bushmen in them. Not the lady necessarily though.	1h	Trackers were thought to look Bushman.
291	M1:	Now is that how they work in that gear?	3e	American tourists would expect trackers to wear traditional garments.
292	In :	Yes, they would track in those clothes, ja.		
293	M1:	Now, if you were an American tourist coming out here you wouldn't expect to see them in that gear surely?		
294	M2:	If you were a tourist you would want them to be in the loincloth.		
295	M1:	In the loincloth and that Xi Xha (expression from Vodacom ad).		
296	F3:	I suppose in a way they don't want to be like that.		
297	F1:	It's the same as you say with the Zulu's. You can go to Sibaya and they'll put on a Zulu show for you, but every day. They live in the modern cities.	1d	The #Khomani are part of the global world, but can still put on a traditional show.
298	F3:	So you go to the game reserves (inaudible).		
299	M1:	They track in NPA gear.		
300	F1:	If you want to see authentic stuff you go to the reed dance or you go to.		
301	M1:	That is true.		
302	In:	What do you think they could do it make it more authentic. They were thinking of building a cultural village there. Do you think they should be dressed in traditional gear?	1d/1i	They think that the #Khomani should be traditionally dressed, perhaps do a fire dance, tell a story, explain their history. However, they do realise that the #Khomani are integrated into the modern world i.e. F1 says that they are "holding onto their culture".
303	F3:	Yes, definitely.		
304	F1:	I think there should be a certain time in the evening...		
305	M1:	A guy from America wants to see them.		
306	F3:	Their dances, traditional dances around the fire...		
307	F1:	Story telling.		
308	F3:	Story telling, because they are very good at telling stories and mimicking what the animal looks like. All that sort of thing.		
309	F1:	And just a modernised one, dressed in traditional gear, telling them like the spirits		

	and the ancestors were important and how they are holding onto their culture. That's what they want to see. I mean even we would take our kids to see that.		
310	General agreement		
311	M1: I haven't seen the "Lion King"...		
312	F2: Ah, you've got to go and see it.		
313	M1: But everyone tells me the movement of the animals is brilliant. I am willing to bet you that the people who worked out the rhythm and everything. I bet you that they were somehow of these people.	1g	Knowledge of animal movement
314	F3: They could very well have been.		
315	M1: They are very close to that kind of thing. But I don't think they should be...		
316	F1: But for everyday work it is perfect like that. They just need a little cultural village or a little boma or something like...	3e	The cultural village is a good idea.
317	In: They have got a boma and when we were there they will have...		
318	F1: They can have a fire at night and then have a little show or something.	3e	
319	M2: Ah the Yanks love all that.	2a	American tourists love shows about indigenous culture. 'Tourists' enjoy false authenticity.
320	General agreement		
321	M2: Then the oke's pay dollars.		
322	M1: Exactly.		
323	F3: And beadwork and paintings and things like that would sell very well.	3d	Beadwork and paintings are a symbol of Bushmen.
324	In: Yes, they sold a lot when that group was there. I think they almost sold out.		
325	M1: Well then job well done. Ali come here (calling to his nine year old daughter). Do you know what a Bushman is? Don't you know what a Bushman is?		
326	M2: Do you know where the Bushmen live? Where do the Bushmen live? Do they live in the jungles or ...		
327	M1: Is a Bushman someone who lives in South Africa?		
328	F1: Or does he live in the bush?		
329	C1: A person who lives in the Bush.		
330	M1: Do you know what a San is?		
331	F1: The San?		
332	M1: The Khoi Khoi?		
333	M2: Is that where you go when you are sick?		
334	M1: And quickly call Murray. I want to see what Murray says.		
335	F1: Laura, do you know what the Bushmen people are? What's the Bushmen? Do you know?		
336	C2: No.		
337	C3: The blacks.		
338	F1: Where do they live?		
339	C3: In Africa.		
340	F3: In South Africa or where?		
341	C3: Up at the top of Africa.		

342	F2:	Where have you seen Bushmen before? Are they on TV?		
343	C4:	They're in bushes.		
344	F2:	And what advert have you seen them in?		
345	M2:	You must have seen them in adverts?		
346	C2:	The rugby advert.	1a	Even young children are familiar with the Vodacom advertisement and its representation of the Bushmen.
347	M1:	Yes. Which rugby advert?		
348	C2:	They throw the rugby ball at the man in the aeroplane (indistinguishable).		
349	C1:	Ja, I know that one.		
350	C2:	And then they talk and they say [noises]. (Imitates a ball landing on her head).		
351	F1:	How are they dressed? How are they dressed these people?	1a	The Vodacom advertisement represents the Bushmen as primitive. To children who do not have the capacity to be critical of this representation as yet, this is what the Bushmen wear.
352	C2:	They have like skins and plants.		
353	M2:	"Swing it bru".		
354	M1:	Well done.		
355	In:	If everyone could just have a look at this (pointing towards the brochure) that would be great. It is sort of replicated in here (holding up print out of website), they use a lot of the same pictures and the text is sort of the same. This is a print off of the website.		
356	F2:	You know what I think? They should have pictures of the rooms. You see that's very important, what the room looks like inside.	3c(v)/ 4b	Pictures of the interior should be a selling point.
357	F3:	Where they quite luxurious inside? I am sure they probably are if they are a lodge.		
358	In:	Ja, they are sort of ...		
359	F2:	You see I like that (pointing to brochure), but I think I would just like to see what the inside is like.		
360	M1:	Do they have candles?		
361	In:	No, a generator.		
362	M1:	So they don't have those hurricane lamps? You know those bulb ones like that?		
363	In:	I can't really remember. I don't think they wanted it to be too over the top you know. It has wooden floors, en-suite bathroom, veranda, which looks onto the pan. So it's very pleasant.		
364	F2:	Is the bathroom quite rustic?	4b	Luxury aspect is important, as is service
365	In:	No, no it's quite nice.		
366	M1:	Is it a sunken bath?		
367	In:	No.		
368	M1:	And do they run the bath for you at night?		
369	In:	No, no they don't.		
370	M1:	Okay.		
371	In:	Which is true because they do that for you at Simunye.		
372	M1:	All those other ones, ja.		
373	M2:	So in our summer that is cheaper.		
374	In:	During summer it is cheaper.		

375	F3:	Because it is so hot.		
376	M2:	Our summer is cheaper...		
377	F2:	Because it is so hot.		
378	F1:	Because it is too hot, you want to go in winter.		
379	M2:	I am talking about euros, dollars, their winter our summer.		
380	F2:	Oh.		
381	M2:	Talking about foreign tourists. Sorry I should have clarified myself.		
382	M1:	How's the Springbok here?	4c	Interested in wildlife presented in the brochure.
383	In:	Basically what I want your opinion on is like the colours used, what you think of the photographs, if you have a quick glance at the text what you think of it...		
384	F2:	My biggest thing is that they need a picture inside the room.		
385	M1:	Inside the room, I agree. I think the game shots are wonderful. Brilliant.		
386	F1:	I think it covers everything. When I read what they are offering, like for instance the Nature Walk, what you are going to see, it is very to the point, outlines everything that you are after. And 4X4 trails or whatever. And it kind of tells you, if that's what you are after then you know.	3c(t)	Promotional materials are informative.
387	F2:	Also like the inside of the lounge area and stuff. There are no pictures.	3c(v)/ 4b	Must add pictures of the interior so the luxury aspect is portrayed in the promotional materials.
388	F1:	Ja, I think they definitely need. Two or three pictures, like Mellany says, of the dinning room, lounge area.		
389	M1:	And you said about the books and the paintings, is there a library kind of thing.		
390	F1:	Even the shop.		
391	M1:	The shop, what's in it. Ja.		
392	F1:	Because that will be very attractive to you know tourists actually.		
393	M1:	I see old doctor here is quoted. Did you see that? "This ancient African land seen through the eyes of the Bushmen is mystical, magical and spiritual." Doctor van der Post.	1a	
394	F2:	Doctor van der Post.		
395	M1:	I think a picture inside. Look, that looks rustic! (Pointing to the back page). It's a rustic land hey. It fits in.	3c(v)/ 4b/4c	He also agrees about including interior pictures. He likes the photographs of the Lodge that are in the brochure. He thinks that they fit in with the harsh environment.
396	M2:	It's lekker hey. It's harsh.		
397	F2:	For me I like to see that it may be rustic but inside I am getting luxury.	3c(v)/ 4b	
398	General agreement			
399	F2:	For that amount of money I am just seeing these huts.	3c(v)/ 4b	Would like more luxurious pictures of interior
400	M1:	It fits in with the landscape beautifully.	3c(v)/ 4b	Fits in with the environment
401	F1:	I do think that we are talking from a South		

		African point of view.		
402	M1:	Value for money point of view.		
403	F1:	No, no, we see that as rustic, whereas an overseas person would be drawn to it because of that, because they want to authentic.	3c (v and t)/ 4b	'Overseas' tourists would enjoy the rustic aspect
404	F2:	You see they want the authenticity but they also want the comforts.	3(v and t)/4b	F2 thinks that 'overseas' tourists want 'authenticity' but also comfort.
405	F3:	And that is what they don't illustrate, the comforts.		
406	F2:	I am wondering if they have like aircons in the room.		
407	M2:	Got to have aircons.		
408	M1:	How are they going to generate the power?		
409	F2:	Would a generator do it?		
410	M2:	A big bloody generator.		
411	M1:	Ja, maybe.		
412	F3:	Ja, but a generator's fine.		
413	In:	I know their generator is very large.		
414	M1:	Is it?		
415	In:	Ja, okay.		
416	M1:	Well then maybe they could do it hey.		
417	F3:	There are hospitals run on generators so they would be able to get a generator that could power that.		
418	M1:	Listen I think a guy from the states paying that kind of money would expect.	4b	
419	M2:	For them it's cheap.	4b/2a	The price for international tourists is cheap. There is a belief that international tourists have more money to spend.
420	M1:	How many dollars is it?		
421	M2:	It doesn't fluctuate it's just a standard, so it doesn't matter if the exchange rate...		
422	M1:	Three hundred dollars a day. You can go to Las Vegas and stay for...	4b	M1 thinks that it is a lot of money.
423	F1:	If you look at this it includes all meals.	4b	F1 and F2 disagree.
424	F2:	Ja, you see.		
425	F1:	And all game drives. And return transfers from collection point. Now a lot of these other places you pay extra for all of that.		
426	M1:	Ja, no that is true.	4b	M1 then agrees.
427	F1:	So, the ones who are like R2000 a night you expect that.		
428	M1:	Here's a thing, health centre services. My word! What have they got a gym there?	4b/4c/ 3e	The prospect of a health centre entices these readers of the promotional material.
429	F1:	There is obviously a little sauna, or I don't know, massage.		
430	In:	I think what they are thinking of bringing in it's...		
431	F2:	A spa.		
432	In:	Ja, sort of thing. Doing massages and that sort of...		
433	F3:	I think that would go down very well actually. In my point of view it looks really	4b/4c	

		nice. The only thing I would like to see is what sort of accommodation, the luxury parts of it, because you would like to think that when you come back from the game drives and that you do have a nice pub and that and what sort of meals and your room is comfy with fans or whatever.		
434	M1:	All your room has to be is comfortable. If you can see that is comfortable well then...		
435	F2:	And a bit of luxury, a little bit for that amount of money.		
436	F1:	You want a nice cosy bed.	4b/ 3c(v)	They Lodge may already have "cosy" beds and "lovely linen", but this needs to be shown in photographs. It worries M1 that they would not think to add this in the promotional material as without photographs one does not know what to expect.
437	F3:	You want lovely linen and...		
438	F1:	They could decorate it beautifully. There are these tented camps that are absolutely stunning.		
439	M1:	But the minute they are good inside they take photographs, that's what this is missing.		
440	F3:	That's what worries me.		
441	In:	I know that they were in a rush with these photographs; I think they are thinking of replacing them soon. They have on the beds inside sort of like branded pictures onto the wood which the bushman community did themselves.		
442	F1:	Oh okay.		
443	M2:	Well that's quite nice.		
444	M1:	Now this whole thing is run by the locals, is that right?	4b/ 3c(t)	One needs to stress who owns the Lodge and own runs it. M1 is worried that it is community run (cf. 448).
445	In:	No, no. It is owned by them and then it is run by a private operator.		
446	M1:	So just like Pinda now. Pinda is owned by the locals...		
447	M2:	They've got their BEE status.		
448	M1:	Run by a really jacked up organisation. Okay. That's fine. Because the last thing you want to do is pitch up there and 'where does the hot water come from'.		M1 has a low opinion of community run enterprises and would not like to visit such an establishment.
449	M2:	There's so much solar power there.		
450	M1:	Well you would think so, but you don't want to be in the Kgalagadi and no hot water. And you're full of dust.		
451	M2:	You don't want to be in the Kgalagadi and no cold water.		
452	M1:	Well it depends what, and in winter when it gets flipping cold. You were there in winter and wasn't it cold?		
453	In:	Yes, it was freezing at night.		
454	M1:	It was freezing. That's the thing. So, you know you need a bit of hot water then.		
455	In:	But during the day it's fine.		
456	M1:	Now in summer it must be 45 degrees.		
457	In:	It must be boiling ja.		

Appendix 12: Focus Group 3 Transcription

Umhlanga, KwaZulu-Natal
11 October 2007

In: Interviewer

F: Female

M: Male

Interviewer: Kate Finlay

Age group: mid 20's

F1: Bianca-South African

F2: Nicolina-South African

M1: Marek-South African

M2: Paul-South African

M3: Craig-South African

1.	Transcript	Code	Annotations
2.	In: Okay, so just to get the ball rolling. Where did everybody go on holiday last?		
3.	M1: Where or when?		
4.	In: Where.		
5.	M2: I went to the Drakensberg.	2a	
6.	M3: I also went to the Drakensberg.	2a	
7.	F1: I went to Singapore and then locally to that health spa.	2a	
8.	M1: China. Two weeks in China.	2a	
9.	F2: Drakensberg.	2a	
10.	In: Would anyone ever consider going to the Kalahari?		
11.	F1: I hadn't really thought about it before.	2a	
12.	M1: No, not me hey.	2a	
13.	M2: No not me either.	2a	
14.	In: Truly you wouldn't?		
15.	M2: I hadn't thought of it before.	2a	
16.	In: But you wouldn't?		
17.	M2: Potentially not.	2a	
18.	M3: I would think about it. Ja.	2a	
19.	In: Have any of you been to the Northern Cape/the Kalahari before?	2a	
20.	General response in the negative	2a	
21.	In: So I'm guessing that nobody has had any interaction with Bushmen then?		
22.	General response in the negative		
23.	In: Okay. But now everyone must have seen the movie "The Gods Must be Crazy"?		
24.	M1: Ages ago.	1a	The participants do not really remember the movie very well.
25.	F2: Ja, ages ago.		
26.	In: Do you guys remember it at all?		
27.	M2: I've seen that movie.		
28.	F2: Okay, I don't really remember it. I know I've watched it but I don't really remember it.		
29.	F1: I remember bits of it. I remember Bushmen being in the movie.		
30.	F2: That's about the same for me as well. Wasn't there a coke can as well?		

31.	In:	Yes.		
32.	F2:	That's what I remember.		
33.	In:	When it fell on his head.		
34.	F2:	Ja.		
35.	In:	So what did you think?		
36.	M2:	We remember so little about it.		
37.	M1:	But I really like the Vodacom ad. They've overplayed it, but I like it.	1a	They have seen and enjoy the Vodacom advert.
38.	In:	But the Vodacom ad is a spoof of "The Gods Must be Crazy".	1a	Even though they claim they do not remember "The Gods Must be Crazy" they know that the Vodacom advert is a spoof of the movie.
	F1:	Ja.		
39.	F2:	Yeah.		
40.	M1:	Ja.		
41.	In:	Okay, what do you guys think of the Vodacom ad?		
42.	M2:	It advertises rugby, I hate it.		
43.	M1:	I think it's awesome.		General feeling that the Vodacom advert is "cool".
44.	F1:	I think it's cool as well.		
45.	M1:	They've overplayed it though.		
46.	F2:	Ah, funny.	1a/1c	
47.	Pause			
48.	In:	Okay, let me just give you a scenario here. Andre Steenkamp is the president of the South African San association.		
49.	M1:	Sorry, what's his name, Andre Steenkamp?	1b	The focus group expects Bushmen names to sound exotic.
50.	F2:	It doesn't sound very...		
51.	M1:	San, no.		
52.	In:	Generally, a lot of Bushmen have Afrikaans names and speak Afrikaans.		
53.	M1:	Okay		
54.	In:	So getting back to the Vodacom advert. Andre Steenkamp has a problem with the advert. The creative director who did the advert didn't consult him before he made the ad. The must have spoken to David Kruiper, one of the main actors, but not to the association. He also thinks that the throwing away of the egg and picking up the rugby ball instead is very derogatory because the egg is what Bushmen traditionally used to carry water.		
55.	M2:	He's just pissed off because no one consulted him.	1j	M2 thinks that Mr Steenkamp is being overly sensitive about the culture issue.
	M1:	Is he a white Afrikaans guy?		
56.	In:	No, I am assuming that he is a Bushman. And when I say Bushmen I am not meaning it in a derogatory way, that's what they want to be called.		
57.	M1:	Ja		
58.	In:	I am assuming that he just has an Afrikaans name.		
59.	M1:	Okay		
60.	F1:	I read in the papers about in the rugby when they got two Bushmen to go out and there was such a big uproar about that. He was also in the papers about that.	1a	
61.	In:	Yes, he was, ja. That is in the article I handed you which we will discuss just		

		now. So back to the Vodacom ad do you guys think that they should have been consulted [the San association], or do you think that they are over reacting?		
62.	M2:	I think it's an advert. The guy can go jump.		
63.	M1:	I'm not a Bushman, but that guy needs to chill out.		
64.	M2:	You don't have to consult the blinds guy if you are making an advert about blinds.	1j	M2 is questioning why the Bushmen have to be represented. Most other groups in society are not. Therefore he sees them as a group perfectly able to represent themselves.
65.	F1:	It's not like for every single advert they consult everyone it is about so...		
66.	M1:	So say the ad was about a Portuguese person?		
67.	F2:	They are not going to do a worldwide debate and say, 'oh do you object' before they air it.		
68.	F1:	No.		
69.	F2:	That's just ridiculous.		
70.	In:	Okay. (Pause). As F1 was saying about the rugby uproar, in early August this year a guy called Petrus Mapondo was hired to run out onto the Griqualand rugby field dressed up like those guys on the advert, in a loincloth, pushing a wire cart with a tee for the Western Province to kick a penalty shot or whatever. The next day people started complaining and sms's started coming in saying it was exploitation. But Andre Steenkamp said that he did not have a problem with it because they were consulted about it.		
71.	F1:	Sounds like he is on a power trip.		
72.	M2:	Ja, Mr Andre, on a power trip.		
73.	In:	And he said that people should not speak on behalf on the San, that they are perfectly capable of doing it themselves.	1j	Again they think that the Bushmen do not need to be represented by a spokesman, they are capable of representing themselves individually.
74.	F2:	Well that's what he is trying to do.		
75.	In:	So do you guys have anything to add on the Vodacom advert, "The Gods Must be Crazy", and perceptions you have on the Bushmen? (Pause). For example, what would you imagine Bushmen to be like to you?		
76.	F2:	Like the Vodacom ad.		Bushmen are 'primitive' like the advert.
77.	M1:	I think they are quite friendly people. I am sure they are very friendly, very down to earth. If they saw the ad they would probably laugh. So why are the guys complaining about it?	1e	Bushmen are normal, everyday people who would see the humour in the advert.
78.	In:	Well when I interviewed one of the main guys in the ad he said that he did think the concept was funny, except that he had never been shown the ad.		

79.	Pause		
80.	M1: If they did not get paid very well that would be an issue for me. If they don't get paid the standard wage for an actor or whatever then that for me is an issue.	1d	Although he says that the Bushmen do not need to be represented he is worried that they would be taken advantage of by advertisers.
81.	M2: How would they spend it in the desert?		Feels that the environment warrants less pay.
82.	F2: It doesn't matter.		Feels that less payment creates inequality.
83.	M1: I don't think they really live in the desert anymore do they?	1d	Feels that the Bushmen must be 'westernised' in this day and age.
84.	M2: Kate went to the desert to find them.		
85.	Laughter		
86.	In: What if they don't have bank accounts to pay them in?		
87.	M2: Exactly.		
88.	F2: Well then you pay them in cash.		
89.	F1: Well then it is up to them what they do with it. I mean normal actors you are not going to go and question how they are going to get paid or what they are going to do with the money.	1d	These are 'normal' people and no special treatment should be dealt out.
90.	M1: Paint us a picture. Do these people still live in huts or do they go to shops now?		
91.	In: Well we visited Witdraai first. It is a community about 60km's outside the park. They live in quite rural conditions but...		
92.	M1: Ja, they have clothing and they got...	1d	He expects the Bushmen to be westernised.
93.	In: Ja, but there is no real shops in the area, they have to drive a way. I guess it depends on what area. But no they don't do the whole hunting and gathering thing anymore.		
94.	M1: Exactly, so you pay them as you would anyone else.		
95.	In: So what do you guys think of the land claim issue of the Bushmen no longer being able to hunt in the park?		
96.	M3: They eat normal food now; microwave dinners.	1d	M3 expects Bushmen to be extremely westernised.
97.	In: I don't know. I think they would probably hunt if they could. Not in a traditional way, but I'm sure that they would still hunt animals.	1d	The participants think that hunting with bows and arrows is an activity from the past.
98.	M1: With guns?		
99.	In: Ja.		
100.	M2: Not with a bow and arrow.		
101.	General laughter		
102.	F2: Well it depends why they were stopped. For conservation reasons?		
103.	M1: It's their land, we must remember that. If they want to build a shopping centre on it, so be it. If they want to build a hotel on it, so be it.	1b	M1 is affirming the #Khomani's first people status.
104.	M2: Land always belongs to people who have		

		the power to take it.		
105.		General laughter		
106.	In:	Through the land claim they have got the land on which the lodge is built and some surrounding land and the lodge.		
107.	F1:	Who does the land belong to though?		
108.	In:	The Bushmen own this portion of land. It is not the whole park, just a small portion of it. The rest belongs to the Parks Board, or whatever it is called.		
109.	M2:	Because they have the power to take it.		
110.	M1:	The land the lodge is on is theirs?	1e	M1 is concerned about the fact that the #Khomani should possess the ultimate power in the business transaction.
111.	In:	Ja.		
112.	M1:	So they could technically turf them if these people (Transfrontier Trails) (indistinguishable).		
113.	In:	I am not too sure how it works. They have probably signed agreements. (Pause). Before we discuss the brochure and website I will show you some pictures I took of the Witdraai community.		
114.		Showing pictures		
115.	In:	Okay, this guy is called Toppies Kruiper. He is part of the Witdraai community and he took us tracking.		
116.	M1:	Check at this top. He has a Michigan top on.		Incongruous sight of a Bushman (who is usually portrayed in a romantic light) in a top with an American logo.
117.		General laughter		
118.		Indistinguishable		
119.	F2:	But they don't dress like that anymore.	1d	Acknowledgement of the fact that Bushmen wear western clothing.
120.	M1:	So this is what you get.		
121.	F1:	How do they get these Afrikaans surnames?		
122.	M3:	Ja, that's what I was thinking about.		
123.	In:	I'm not really sure. It is in the Northern Cape where there is a lot of Afrikaans heritage.		
124.	M2:	Oh		
125.	In:	These are the craft sellers on the side on the road towards the park. So what do you guys think of their dress and stuff.		
126.	M2:	They look rather naked.		
127.	F2:	It looks more like the Bushmen you expect.	1d	This dress sense makes the #Khomani look like 'traditional' Bushmen.
128.	M2:	They look authentic.		
129.	F2:	Ja.		
130.	M3:	The real deal.		
131.	M1:	But the little plastic bottle on the side gives it away.		The participants know that the #Khomani are not primitive but think that they should dress up as if they were in order to sell craft.
132.	M2:	I don't think they would be selling stuff on the side of the road wearing sneakers and Michigan tops.		
133.	In:	This was in Botswana when we stayed with a rural community. Anyway this community came over one night, we		

		camped a little way away, and they did a fire dance for us.		
134.	M2:	Are those Bushmen?		
135.	In:	Ja. What do you guys think of their dress?		
136.	F1:	M2 had to ask if they were Bushmen.		
137.	F2:	If you just saw that photo anywhere it would just look like a bunch of people standing around a fire. You would never think...	1h	Even though they are discussing photographs of the community in Ngwatle, Botswana they are aware that there are stereotypes about what Bushmen look like.
138.	F1:	There's a stereotype about what the Bushmen look like.		
139.	M2:	I could look like that if I had more of a tan.		
140.	In:	That I just took of the rugby ball. It was just lying there.	1a	Reference to the Vodacom advert.
141.	M2:	Maybe Schalk Burger dropped it.		
142.	F2:	You should have got one with an ostrich egg lying nearby.		
143.	In:	And then the pictures from now on are either of the lodge or the surrounding area. This is one of the pan's there. So if you want to comment on the landscape or whatever feel free.		
144.	M1:	That is part of the reason I don't want to go there. There is nothing there. Nothing, nothing.		Author's own photograph.
145.	M2:	So there is nothing to see?	4a/4c	
146.	In:	So what if there is a lot of game and stuff?		
147.	M2:	What would they eat?		The participants think that because of the sparseness of vegetation the Lodge would lack visiting animals. They do not refer to the pictures of animals in the brochure.
148.	M1:	There would be buck. There wouldn't be anything else, maybe rabbits.		
149.	M1:	Really!		
150.	In:	There's lions. I saw lions and cheetahs. (Pause). That's the lodge. It is situated on a hill overlooking the pan here.		
151.	F1:	That is the last place I would go to.	4b/4c/ 3c(v)	The remoteness does not appeal to them.
152.	F2:	Ja, it doesn't look that appealing hey.		
153.	M2:	It looks more like a mound than a hill as well.		
154.	M1:	No ways. I would rather check into the Sheraton any day.		
155.	M2:	Maybe it's just because it is from far. What do they look like inside?		M1 is concerned with comfort and wants to know what the interiors look like.
156.	In:	The reason it may look like that on the outside is because it is blending in with the surroundings, you don't want a big hotel overlooking a pan or whatever.		
157.	F1:	What's it like? I want luxury.	4c/3c (v and t)	F1 is not convinced that the accommodation is luxurious.
158.	In:	No, it's nice. Nice rooms with en-suite bathroom and a walkway in-between. They have a pool here, a lounge area and a dinning room. Ja, it is nice. They have a telescope here.		

159.	M1:	So you're competing against places like Kruger Park and Sabi.		
160.	M2:	What's their price?		
161.	In:	That's far more than this.		
162.	F2:	I guess their main market is international tourists.	2a	F2 posits that international tourists would be more likely to pay for an 'African experience' than South African tourists.
163.	M1:	The Germans.		
164.		Laughter		
165.	In:	That's the pan.		
166.	M2:	What's a pan?		
167.	M1:	It's a dried up lake.		
168.	M2:	Oh.		
169.	In:	Here's a picture of the walkway and the pool.		
170.	M1:	See now that looks better.		
171.	In:	Ja, a close-up.		
172.	M1:	Do you have a shot of the restaurant?		
173.	In:	I don't think I do. It's done well. All wooden furniture. Their food is really good. (Pause). That is one of the pictures in the rooms. They got local artists to put their pictures up. That is by Regopstaan Kruiper. What do you guys think of it?		
174.	M1:	Awesome. It would fly in the UK, it would fly. Give me the guy's number. We can export those. It would fly, definitely.	1b	M1 believes that this art would sell really well in the UK because of the first people status of the #Khomani. This does not mean to say that he thinks that the #Khomani are still 'primitive'.
175.	In:	Because it is traditional?	1b	Even though it contains 'modern' technology the style is still considered traditional.
176.	F1:	Um.		
177.	In:	But it has a radio and stuff.		
178.	M1:	Is that a radio?		
179.	F1:	But it's done traditionally though.		
180.	In:	It has aspect of...		
181.	M2:	I see what you mean. You could most probably con a Europeans into paying shit loads of money for that.	2a	
182.	In:	They have a shop near the reception where they sell artworks and books on the San and that sort of thing. And when the Americans came when we were there they nearly totally sold out of everything.		
183.	F1:	What are the prices like?		
184.	In:	Um, not too bad. I was just interested in the meerkat there, which wasn't too bad.		
185.	M2:	What is not too bad?		
186.	In:	A couple of hundred rand. I'm not sure about the paintings. For international tourists I'm sure...		
187.	M1:	You see for something like that in Mozambique would go for R50.		
188.	In:	Oh gosh no.		
189.	M1:	So it's more expensive.		
190.	In:	Ja. (Laugh).		
191.	M1:	Okay so the question now is. Is the owner	1e	

		buying it from the locals for R10 and selling it for R300? Or is the local selling it for R300? See that is my concern. Somebody is getting in the middle here and taking advantage of these people.		
192.	In:	Ja, I'm not sure how much they buy it for to be honest.		
193.		Indistinguishable		
194.	In:	That's a wall hanging in reception. It's done by a group of local women.		
195.	F2:	That I like.		
196.	In:	That one of the meerkat's I wanted to get. I think they're cool.		
197.	F1:	Like the ones in the Vodacom ad.		
198.	M2:	Oh, God no!		
199.	In:	This is a picture of the staff that work there. Now the Mier community is a community in the area who own the lodge with the †Khomani, but their heritage is more that of a coloured community. (Pause). Say you go to a luxury lodge expecting to learn about Bushman culture, what would you expect?		
200.	F2:	People in loincloths. The Bushmen paintings on the walls.	1i	She does not clarify if she thinks Bushmen still wear loincloths or whether she thinks they should be worn for historical purposes. Nevertheless she thinks the Bushmen should retain their culture.
201.	In:	And I know they were thinking of building a cultural village type thing. What would you expect there to be?	1i	There is a expectation for present 'traditional' ways of life in cultural villages.
202.	F1:	Well I would say their stick houses. Like their cooking area, where they would cook.		
203.	F2:	Something like the little Zulu cultural villages that you find here.		
204.	M1:	But it wouldn't be authentic if it was just there for you. See here's the question. Authentic nowadays is guys in Michigan tops.		M1 states that this 'traditional' aspect would be a form of false authenticity.
205.	M2:	Ja, they don't do that kind of crap anymore. They just go and do their normal stuff.		
206.	F1:	But if you think of gullible American tourists, that's what they want to see. They don't want to see Michigan sweatshirts.		There is a belief that American tourists are more gullible than most and that they want to witness false authenticity.
207.	M2:	That's just showmanship for the bloody tourists.		
208.	F2:	But that's what they're trying to market.		
209.	M1:	It's called marketing. It's horrible, but you have to do that. That's what they want to see.		There is a disagreement as to what is 'authentic', but a strong feeling from many of the group that 'traditional' culture should be portrayed, especially for foreign tourists.

210.	In:	They have a boma. Say the international tourists sit around the fire in there and they tell them a traditional story. What do you think of that?		
211.	F2:	That's quite cool.		
212.	In:	And would you expect them to be in traditional dress?	1i/3e	The participants believe that the #Khomani should present their 'traditional' culture in order to market themselves. They say that if you are a paying tourist you want to see different cultures; you want to see the romantic image.
213.	M3:	Yes		
214.	F2:	Yip		
215.	F1:	When you go there you are buying into an experience. You're buying into an image you have in your head. You're not going all the way there to see a guy in a Michigan top. You're going there as a tourist. You want to see the whole...		
216.	M2:	You're going there to see a guy without a Michigan top. It's like going to the beach then.		
217.	F2:	You don't want to see what you see around you everyday anyway.		
218.	M2:	I think I am way too cynical for this kind of stuff.		
219.	In:	This, I don't know if you guys can see, but these are the two trackers who were there when we were there. This lady just works at the lodge. Now, they are Bushmen. Would you want them, if they were taking you tracking, would you want them dressed in those sorts of clothes or would you want them to wear something more traditional?		
220.	M2:	As long as they are tracking properly I wouldn't care less.		
221.	M1:	I think tracking is a different story. It's like going to Sabi; the guy is not going to be running around in a loincloth.		
222.	F2:	Because they still have all that knowledge about tracking and they'll be showing you that so...		
223.	F1:	You're not buying into a cultural image there as if you would if you were going to see a cultural village where you would want to see the cooking and the...		
224.	In:	Do you guys have any preconceptions about Bushmen tracking and stuff?		
225.	F2:	No		
226.	M2:	Is it different to normal tracking?		
227.	In:	Just because you know they used Bushmen trackers in Botswana in the war.		
228.	F1:	You just think they're really good.		
229.	In:	So basically the brochure mirrors the website in the pictures and text used. Do you think that the pictures are the best that could be used? If not why?		
230.	M2:	There should be pictures to justify spending the R1700.		
231.	M1:	Exactly.		
232.	In:	Do you not think that they would be paying for this type of experience though?		

		Also inside the rooms and stuff are very nice.		
233.	In:	Sorry F1, what were you saying?		
234.	F1:	The pictures need to include more cultural things, because you are going there to experience cultural things so you want to see that. I would also have more people photos as well, because part of the draw-card is the people, the Bushmen. So have more people, like the photos you had, close-up's and that.		
235.	F2:	Are there any Bushman paintings around; because that is one of the things that Bushmen are known for is their paintings.	1b	The commodified First People image includes references to 'traditional' Bushmen paintings.
236.	In:	I don't think so.		
237.	M2:	You need rock. All they have got there is sand.		
238.	In:	Apart from the type of picture I showed, which is more modern. (Pause). And what do you guys think of the colour used on the brochure and the website?		
239.	M2:	I would say that it ties in with the Bushman theme, because that is the colour of Bushmen paintings.	3c(v)	Colours of promotional materials are good.
240.	M1:	It's not too bad. No, they are alright.		
241.	F1:	The whole natural thing. I would include more of the Bushman paintings.		
242.	F2:	But I suppose if there are not any around they can't really. They don't want to put it in and then people will be expecting to see it.		
243.	In:	And what do you guys think of that picture. The one of the first page with the two people?		
244.	M1:	That's got to go. It just looks like two workers. The next three are good.	3c(v)	M1 thinks that this photograph should be removed as these two #Khomani members don't fit the stereotypical physical characteristic of 'traditional' Bushmen.
245.	F2:	The next three are good. They should include something similar to what you have of the craftsmen.		F2 thinks that the promotional material should include more 'traditional' looking members of the #Khomani.
246.	In:	So you guys think that there should be more pictures of the lodge itself?		
247.	M2:	Ja, definitely.		
248.	F1:	When you are going through say the price list or when they're describing the lodge you want to see inside. It doesn't have to be right through but one photo of the restaurant...	4b/ 3c(v)	Interior photographs should be shown in order for luxury aspects to be displayed.
249.	In:	Dinning room. It is all included hey. Food is included in the price, collection from pick-up points and that sort of thing.	3c(t)	The text is informative and specific.
250.	M3:	Ja, it does say that.		
251.	In:	And all your game drives.		
252.	M1:	Beverages aren't though.		

253.	In:	Ah no, not drinks.		
254.	M1:	They have a health centre?	1g/3e/ 4b/4c	The idea of the health centre is appealing.
255.	In:	What I think they are thinking of doing is having like a...		
256.	M1:	Spa?		
257.	In:	Like massages...		
258.	M1:	See now we are talking.		
259.	F2:	That's sounding more luxurious.		
260.	In:	Traditional healing knowledge and that sort of thing.		
261.	M1:	Okay, now we are talking. Leverage that.		
262.	In:	So you guys would be keen for that hey?		
263.	F1:	Ja.		
264.	In:	And now the text. A few points for the first page.		
265.	F1:	I like the way they say the community "invites you to share" their ancestors, because it's almost like they are welcoming you to their home and their space, so it makes it seem more authentic, not just going to a random hotel. I suppose they could milk that.	4c/ 3c(t)	This is not just any old commercial hotel, it is owned by the local #Khomani community and so seems like something different and perhaps something to support for community upliftment.
266.	F2:	I think probably leave out the "arid".	4c/ 3c(t)	The promotional material prepares you for the arid environment and is in fact a selling point.
267.	M2:	No! No, but that's what they want.		
268.	In:	I think they are probably trying to sell it in that it is desolate, desert.		
269.	M1:	Is it warm there? Is it warm, is it cold. I have no idea.		
270.	In:	Well if you look at your prices, it is cheaper in summer. That says something.		
271.	F2:	Is it really hot during the day and really cold during the night?		
272.	In:	Um, I haven't been there in summer. During winter it is quite nice during the day, at night it's cold.		
273.	F1:	Looking here where they are talking about the trails, talking about what you would find there, the lions etc. It doesn't have a picture of a lion. I mean that would be huge if you could have a picture there.	4c/ 3c(v)	F1 says that the materials should sell the Lodge to the best of its ability, and in this case through wildlife pictures. However, this may cause high expectations which could be shattered when no lions are encountered.
274.	In:	So just to confirm. You guys think that they should have, not overboard like the Vodacom ad, but more traditional pictures of Bushmen people on their website?	1h/ 3c(v)/ 4c	Focus group three thinks that 'traditional' Bushmen pictures should be included in order to entice people. However, if this is undeliverable then it should not be included in order not to raise people's expectations above what is presented in reality.
275.	F2:	Yes		
276.	F1:	Yes		
277.	M1:	And more pics of the place, the area. And you know what I was thinking, what about the food? What about pictures of the traditional food? They are talking about	4b/4c	This display of exotic food in the promotional materials may entice tourists.

		“tastes of the Mier unique culinary offering.”		
278.	In:	Ja, traditional Mier food.		
279.	M2:	What do you mean Mier food?		
280.	In:	You know, the community I was telling you about.		
281.	M2:	Oh.		
282.	F1:	You see, if they were serving ostrich on the menu...		
283.	M1:	Kudu. Do they have?		
284.	In:	They have game, ja.		
285.	M1:	That’s the sort of stuff you’ve got to have in here.		
286.	In:	Would you include on say the website, an example of the menu?	4b/4c	A menu should be included on the website. This may be impossible as a result of availability of food.
287.	M1:	Ja, definitely. Specially Kudu and Springbok and stuff, they love that sort of stuff, especially the Germans.		
288.	F2:	Just like mention it in here.		
289.	In:	Just to conclude, one last question. What would you expect Bushmen to look like traditionally or nowadays?	1a/1h	Even though these participants see the #Khomani as more westernised than most of the participants in the other groups, they still expect to see stereotypical physical characteristics.
290.	M2:	Now I would imagine the Vodacom ad guys.		
291.	F1:	Ja.		
292.	F2:	Exactly, Vodacom.		
293.	M1:	Reading the brochure. This says this guys name is Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper! (Laughing). Cat Stand-up Kruiper.		
294.	F2:	How do they get their names? Like the Red Indians do, the first thing their parents see after they get born? Seriously why would you name kids that?		
295.	M2:	I don’t know. What’s your name?		
296.	F2:	Nicolina		
297.	M2:	Why did your parents name you that?		
298.	F1:	The whole traditional vibe. I know that they aren’t like that now but...	4c	
299.	In:	And if you went to this lodge would you expect to see people like that?	4c	F1 thinks that ‘traditional’ looking #Khomani should work at the Lodge in their ‘traditional’ clothes in order to attract tourists. This participant knows that the reality of the #Khomani’s situation is not ‘traditional’ but thinks that this factor should be ignored for marketing purposes.
300.	F1:	Ja, because that is what I would be paying for.		

Appendix 13: !Xaus Lodge Questionnaires 2008

Response 1

Name: Hans

Age: 45

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? South Africa	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? Internet	3c(w)	
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? Yes	Cf. 2 above	Assume that he is referring again to the website.
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations/what did you expect to see? More informative. Slightly more upmarket than the rest of the park.	3c(w)/ 4b	Assuming he thought that the website was informative and the Lodge (after visiting) was upmarket.
5	Please state whether you encountered any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? Brochure	3c(b)	
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest? Brochure	3c(b)	Doesn't explain why.
7	What did you think of the text? Excellent	3c(t)	
8	What did you think of the visuals? Good	3c(v)	
9	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Very important	3e	In creating a different selling point? In the preservation of culture?
10	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. The real thing one can only experience on the spot.	4c	He does not answer the question, but does not reply in the negative.
11	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? Fine	-	
12	What do you know about the history behind the establishment of !Xaus Lodge? Everything I was taught at the lodge by the staff.	-	
13	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. Every lodge is unique.	-	
14	If you went tracking, what did you think of this activity? N/a	-	

15	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? <i>Excellent</i>	3e	Must have been to the cultural village and perhaps on a game walk.
16	What has been your favourite aspect of this cultural tourism? -	-	
17	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? <i>A lot – I am inquisitive.</i>	3b	So, the staff at the Lodge were informative.
18	What suggestions would you give to the Lodge itself? <i>Carry on the way you are!</i>	3b	Happy with the running of the Lodge and the activities offered.

Response 2

Name: Regine
Age: 54; partner 56

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? <i>We are from Germany.</i>	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? <i>We have recommend the !Xaus lodge from our agency in Aachentown.</i>	3c(pr)	
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? <i>We looked in internet home page and than we decided to book.</i>	3c(w)	
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge? <i>We intended to feel the kalahari and to learn and have some experience of life their and about bushmans.</i>	4c	This must have resulted from a talk with the German agency and looking at the website.
5	Please state whether you encountered any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? <i>During our accomodation in the !Xaus lodge we have got more and more very interesting Informations from the staff, books in the lounge, promotion materials in the room and the trips with guide. Most and best information for making a "thinking-picture" we have got from good talks.</i>	3b/ 3c(pr)	Promotional materials in the room must have been a pamphlet. “Good talks” must have been from the manager’s talk. Placing books in the lounge is an engaging way of informing people of the history and present circumstances of the ≠Khomani.
6	What aspects of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest? <i>The kind of living , I mean the knowledge; survival feeling in connection with natural conditions in kalahari ; the history of native peoples and the experience far from zivilisation and urban structures.</i>	3c(v)/ 3c(t)	
7	What did you think of the text? <i>The text is exact and in general good. I cannot realize from the text and pictures,</i>	3c(t)	It needed to include a more detailed description of the peace and quite at !Xaus.

	that there is such a place of rest and quiet for the soul; a mental place.		
8	What did you think of the visuals? The oicture are typical of commercial advertising.	3c(v)	Visuals were used as a selling point.
9	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? I have noticed the insecure of peoples there and have also noticed, that it is very difficult for the san to adapt to common zivilisation living conditions and our thinking.	3e/1e	
10	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. Not all, something i have written in 7. The cultural aspect is good, but the reality can be better.	4c	Cultural aspect needs to be worked on.
11	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? The description of a peculiar place of world, the aura in a semi arid area, the landscape with pan and s.o.	4c	Suggestions
12	What do you know about the history behind the establishment of !Xaus Lodge? Do you mean the connection between san community, tourism industry and government? I think, there is something in development. I hope, it will become a community spirit.		Not sure where she obtained this information.
13	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. The !Xaus lodge is very different from other lodges: The place, the originality, the distance from next infrastructure of civilisation, the quiet, the contact with staff and san and the immediate vicinity of nature, animals, weather..	3d	
14	If you went tracking, what did you think of this activity? It was very good and have opened the sight of the details of living.	3e	Enjoyed tracking.
15	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? It shows a lot of fine things, but the little village did not show, what is possible.	3e	Cultural villages needs to be worked on.
16	What has been your favourite aspect of this cultural tourism? It is difficult to answer, I will try: The kind of graphics, picture, textile patchworks, the native jewellery; the kind of art description and representation of the thoughts and living feeling.	3e	Favourite part of cultural tourism was arts and crafts.
17	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? The interaction was very fine and of course	3b	

	we have learnt anything.		
18	<p>What suggestions would you give to the Lodge itself?</p> <p>I would say: Thank you for the days in the lodge; they were especially of life.</p> <p>Please have respect of all living kinds which our earth united and did not bend down deep because of money. Otherwise you get not the tourists, which look for such a place of earth.</p>		

Response 3

Name: Dave

Age: 70

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	<p>In which country do you reside?</p> <p>South Africa</p>	2b	
2	<p>How did you hear about !Xaus?</p> <p>From Glynn O' Leary [CEO] who is a personal friend</p>	3c(pr)	
3	<p>Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge?</p> <p>Yes to both</p>	3c(b)/ 3c(w)	Assume he is meaning that he read the website and pamphlet as the brochure is not easily available.
4	<p>What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations?</p> <p>Mainly to give the ladies a bit of luxury after camping for 4 nights in winter. Having visited Machampane in 2006 I expected comfortable accommodation with dashes of luxury</p>	4c	Although he expected it to be comfortable, he does not sound as if he expects it to be totally luxurious.
5	<p>Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip?</p> <p>Yes I saw articles in Getaway, Wed, Wegbreek (I think) as well as a short clip in an SABC news report.</p>	3c (pr)	
6	<p>What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why?</p> <p>Visuals – gives a real feel for what you'll experience whereas text can be very deceptive</p>	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	This is contrary to what other respondents thought. They considered the pictures of animals to be deceptive as they did not see much wildlife.
7	<p>Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain</p> <p>The silence and clear night skies are difficult to describe properly and cannot match the "real thing".</p>	3c/4b	He doesn't think that promotional materials can reflect the 'reality' of the environment.
8	<p>What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any?</p> <p>Not my area of expertise.</p>		
9	<p>Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other</p>	4b	His explanation reflects the comfortable

	Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. Similar to Machampane in its reliance on the few dedicated staff and simple but wholesome food. No pretension of reflecting the old colonial days and unnecessarily luxurious décor.		simplicity of the Lodge.
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? Interesting but I felt it was a little “forced especially when we saw the “Bushman” group walking back dressed in worn out western clothing.	3e/1d	
11	What has been your favourite aspect of !Xaus’s cultural tourism? Why? The very different past of the Kgalgadi and its isolation.	3e/3d	He enjoyed the historical aspects (perhaps the manager’s talk about the history of the Bushmen?). Also enjoyed the physical isolation.
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Interesting but as per 10 above	3e	Although he saw the cultural village as forced he did say it was interesting.
13	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? Stimulating and provides a little more insight to the people of the area.	3e	Perhaps he now understands who the ≠Khomani and the Mier are?
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? The lack of game may be seen as a minus to many people although if they also stay in the river areas of the park they should get enough.	3a/ 3d	He does see the lack of game as a deterrent for the Lodge. However, he did not mention the animal pictures in the brochure.

Response 4

Name: Helen

Age: 43

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? South Africa	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? Internet	3c(w)	
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? Read website	3c(w)	
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations? Wanted to experience the Kalagadi	4c	She presumed that she would be able to experience the ‘true’ Kgalagadi environment at !Xaus.
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? Yes, a mention in a magazine.	3c(pr)	
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why?	3c(v)	Visual in the promotional material enticed her.

	Visuals of the area in general - not really the Lodge.		
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. Yes. It was as it appeared in the brochure.	4c/ 3c(b)	She thought the promotional materials were very realistic.
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? -		
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. Similar to other lodges apart from shared supper tables, I did not like this aspect.	4b	She did not enjoy sharing tables with unknown people.
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? Bushmen were away at a funeral during our stay so we did not get to meet them.	3e	Not available
11	What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why? -		
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? -		
13	How have you found your interaction with the "host communities" at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? -	2c/2d	She did not seem to think that the Mier were part of the host communities.
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? Our trip was very short so we did not have a chance to visit the village or interact with the Bushmen - which was a shame. On the whole the trip was excellent.		

Response 5

Name: Kate

Age: 73

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? SOUTH AFRICA	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? WHEN READING ABOUT KALAGHADI TRANSFRONTIER PARK		Am not sure where she read about it?
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? SOURCED WEBSITE. Definitely had influence on my decision to go and write an article and mention it in my live radio talkshow.	3c(w)	After reading about the Lodge she sourced the website.
4	What was your reason for visiting the	4b/3d	Fact that it was a private Lodge and

	Lodge/what were your prior expectations? I was attracted by its location (the remoteness) and also because it was the first private lodge in the park.		remote.
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? Yes, I saw the leaflets.	3c(p)	
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why? Same as above – the remoteness of the lodge was well reflected and also the idea of visiting the San/Bushmen	1b/ 3c(t)/ 3c(v)	The visuals of the environment and the “idea” (therefore relating to text) of visiting the Bushmen enticed her.
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain Yes. Well portrayed.	4c	
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? I don’t have it still to hand so can’t comment.		
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. As a travel writer I visit dozens of lodges all over sub-Saharan Africa. I think the buildings at !Xaus are unique, as is its location. Otherwise offerings are the same. Good to see local community as staff.	3d	The buildings and location are unique. Local community as staff throws a positive light on the business. She talks about local staff, but not of ownerships.
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? Still in its infancy (compared, say, to visits to the Masai in Kenya, for example). But what there is – the village – is interesting.	3e	It needs to be worked on.
11	What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus’s cultural tourism? Why? Well, there is only the village. The accompanied walk where local plants and medicinal plants and cures were pointed out was very interesting.	3e	She also enjoyed the tracking.
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Needs more development...	3e	
13	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? Yes, that there are opportunities for the local people. And that they are willing to learn and become part of this project. As I’ve said, I learned a lot on the walk. Also learned that there are deep-rooted divisions within the local communities and use of dagga and alcohol. (not at the lodge).	1d/3b	She now understands that there are two separate identities between the two local communities.
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? San stories in the boma round the fire with a	3e	She gives many suggestions. Some may be considered by the Lodge to be contrived, but others may be useful.

	translator. (This is done at some camps in Botswana.) Teaching visitors on the walk how to make fire, bird traps. Ending walk with a dance demonstration. Digging up pre-buried ostrich eggs filled with water. Allowing the San to put on traditional clothing for the activities. (All these things also done at a few other lodges outside SA.)		
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Response 6

Name: Simon

Age: 49

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? South Africa	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? Getaway magazine	3c(pr)	
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? No	3c	He did not read the website, brochure or pamphlet.
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations? Quick immersion into bushman culture, upmarket luxury lodge, interested to see how they would integrate	1b/ 4c/4b	Learning about Bushmen culture. Luxury Lodge.
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? No		
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why? N/a		
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. I think they were quite fair	Na	He said that he did not read the promotional material.
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? Wouldn't change the material but would try to deepen the cultural experience - include elements of the veld walk by bushmen on their farm near Ganzi in Botswana	3e	Improve tracking.
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. Yes, less game, not so much in your face shallow, conspicuous consumption luxury but trying to share some deeper meaning particularly regard the Mier and !khumani san tribes – could have made more of this on the first evening drive when one sits on	3a/ 3d/ 4b/3e	Less game Not commercialized luxury Engaging with the identity of the 'other' makes the Lodge unique.

	the opposite side of the pan from the lodge.		
10	<p>How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? Difficult to say how to improve but should share a bit more of original material culture – how the people lived, ate, foraged, made things, etc. then could also go into some of the anthropological aspects of the past 100 years. There were a couple of good books in the library that could have been employed here. May also want to go and have a look at Bushmanskloof and see what they are doing there – (haven't been there for a while)</p>	3e	<p>He thinks the cultural aspect should be more historical i.e. showing how things were done. This could take place in the village and on the walk.</p> <p>He talks about Bushmans Kloof but this retreat has rock art excursions which are not possible here. Perhaps he means the information given on these tours is very good.</p>
11	<p>What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why? Nice sitting in the village and seeing the guys make things, also Peter's discussion on the complexity of the issues very good although difficult.</p>	3e	<p>He enjoyed seeing the making of crafts as well as the manager's talk.</p>
12	<p>What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? One the one hand it feels like it should have been more museum like so as to share the structure and principles of it, on the other hand this would have made it more of an objectified artefact rather than a contemporary happening. I think the proposed village, that probably wont be open to the public, where it is intended to teach the youth some of their material cultural history, will probably be a lot more interesting.</p>	3e/1d	<p>He thinks that cultural tourism should not be museum like. The community project where traditional culture will be taught he thinks will be more interesting. However, how will one be able to visit this if the general public are not allowed?</p>
13	<p>How have you found your interaction with the "host communities" at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? Quite superficial but this is probably appropriate in terms of how do you contextualise meaningfully the meeting of wealthy middle and upper class tourists with a materially poor community distractedly attempting to restore some of its roots.</p>	3b	<p>What he learnt was "superficial".</p>
14	<p>Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? I think improvements at the lodge can be drawn out of the responses I have made above. I am also very aware that the lodge has to be a financial proposition not withstanding that it appears that most of the infrastructure was already in place – it would have still needed substantial refurb.</p> <p>At a resource sustainability level I am really surprised that there was no solar water heating, rainwater harvesting or PV electricity generation. Energy and fresh water is a huge and expensive issue, particularly with the oil price through the roof.</p>	3a/3d	<p>Suggestions are of a technical and environmental manner.</p>

	regarding their past or present culture, beliefs, lifestyles etc.		
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? The suggestion in the brochure that there is a lot of wildlife around the lodge is misleading. Rather than change the information regarding cultural activities, I would change the activities to make sure they matched the information.	3a/ 3c(v)/ 3(t)	Perhaps less photographs of animals and/or explain that animals are scare in the area. Improve the Bushmen activities so that the text does not create false hope.
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. Yes !Xaus is similar – although service levels and the quality of the food are not up to par.	4b	
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? -		
11	What has been you favourite aspect !Xaus’s cultural tourism? Why? I couldn’t say any aspect of it was my ‘favourite’ – it was disappointing, both in regards to the Bushmen and the Mier people.	3e	
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Disappointing - I hate the term ‘cultural village’, sounds like something I would expect in Thailand or Victoria Falls – I don’t want to go into the ‘heart of the Kalahari’ to visit a ‘cultural village’, it sounds dreadfully contrived.	3e	Disappointed with cultural tourism. Thinks text is contrived.
13	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? Disappointing (there’s that word again!) If I did learn anything from them I can’t remember it now so it couldn’t have been too remarkable.	3e	Did not learn anything from either local community.
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? The setting of the lodge is spectacular and the layout and rooms are wonderful. The quality of the food ranged from mediocre to dreadful, service levels ranged from acceptable to poor – as a simple example, early morning tea/coffee/rusks should have been delivered to the rooms. A great deal of work needs to be done with regards to the cultural aspects. I understand that working with the Bushmen is not easy but the present situation is really not great. Despite all of the above comments I really enjoyed my time at !Xaus and I would return to the lodge tomorrow! I thought the wilderness/isolation aspect of the lodge was incredible – it’s a pity the activities on offer	4b 4b 3e 3d	Lodge layout wonderful. Food not so good. Cultural tourism not good. Wilderness and isolation amazing.

	fell so short of our expectations.		
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Response 8

Name: Mr Snyman

Age: 84

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Republic of South Africa	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? My son's friend	3c	Unsure of how the son's friend heard about !Xaus
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? Did not read anything	4c	Had no expectations as he knew nothing about it.
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations? To see the Kalahari. No expectations	4c	To experience the environment.
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? Yes. In my chalet there was a small fold-out pamphlet but did not read it. The morning I left I opened it and noticed a map inside. This caught my attention,. I asked the Office if I may have the pamphlet. Yes. Took it home where I read it. I should have read it on arrival.	3c(b)	The map caught his attention.
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why? See 5 above		
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. Yes the information is good, factual., accurate	4c	He thinks that the information is "factual".
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? (Make it more eye-catching so it can be read on arrival)	3c(v)	
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. No knowledge of other Kalahari Lodges		
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? Excellent	3e	
11	What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why? Seeing the Kalahari for the first time. Walking on the dunes, watching the sunset from top of a dune, visiting the Bushmen Village – the highlight of my	3e/1b	He simply enjoyed meeting the ≠Khomani.

	tour. After living for 84 years in the Republic, I at last came face-to-face with real Bushmen.		
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Fascinating,!!	3e	
13	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? A) Interaction: Friendly, helpful B) I observed and learned a lot. Please refer to my notes given below	3b	Staff were friendly
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? I came to relax and enjoy. Which I did. The last thing on my mind was to critically evaluate the Lodge. Therefore no suggestions for improvements Just maintain your high standard		

NOTES

What I saw, heard and learned

That there are thousands of dunes. Not very high. Close to each other Orientation NW to SE

Red colour due to Iron Oxide

The House Museum. How it was possible for a man and his family to live in this arid land, with no roads, no water, no electricity, no telephone etc. Late 1800 Amazing

Riding along the Nossob River. A dry river that last saw water about ten years ago

Plenty of Gemsbok, Springbok. Living on dry vegetation, little water and looking fat

Seeing Gemsbok Cucumbers , Tasting a Tsamma

Trees with roots exposed looking dead yet living

(All the above info supplied by your excellent guides) (3e)

He seemed to enjoy the tour and learnt a lot.

Roads are maintained using a homebuilt grader

All the chalets are luxurious. Their architecture blends in with nature

I learned about the water, electricity , sanitation system. It worked without any problems. Ground water is brackish Made drinkable using Reverse Osmosis

The sunset was beautiful .After sunset it became very cold. (3d).

He enjoyed the environment

Food was excellent, ample, tasteful. Eating in the Boma was enjoyable. (My son has a critical taste and observed that the Chicken

Potjiekos was perhaps slightly burnt). (4b).

He enjoyed the food. Although his son thought that the potjiekos may be burnt.

Dankie Pieter [manager of !Xaus] vir jou grappige verduideling waar en hoe Poetjiekos ontstaan het

I enjoyed the Bushmen cultural village. Interesting to observed how beads were made from bone, How Corné burnt designs on the beads using a wire heated over a small wood fire. Lot of patience required– no modern printing press. A woman drilled holes in beads using a primitive handheld drill-made from wood. (3e).

He enjoyed watching the making of the crafts.

Conversation was interesting
 My stay at the village was far-far too short

Sorry for politics but my view is that the ANC believes that all land belongs to the Blacks. Whites have no rights to land, they stole it from the Blacks. Coloureds are not considered. The ANC ignores the fact that the Bushmen are the original occupiers of the land and that they have the first right to land. So my wish is that the Bushman will eventually be given more right to land ownership. And perhaps that the Republic of South Africa will be re-named SAN-AFRICA (*Name change suggested by my son*) (1b).

He believes that the Bushmen's first people status should automatically award them land.

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I stayed at the Lodge for three days, two nights. Far too short to experience all the wonderful things offered by the Lodge.

When (note "when" not "if") I win the Lotto I would like to visit !Xaus Lodge again. For at least two weeks to see Lion, Cheetah, and others. (3a/3d).

He obviously did not see lion and cheetah the first time.

Do bird watching. Get to know the Bushmen better, Read the books kept in the Lodge Lounge and much more.

Mr Pieter Retief is an excellent Manager as well as Host. His lady assistant also an excellent Hostess. Mr Retief offered a lot of information.

Response 9

Name: Mike

Age: 61; partner 59

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? RSA	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? Internet	3c(w)	
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? Checked the Internet site for details before booking direct. Always check facilities at any site before booking.	3c(w)	
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations? Used it as a last day "chill-out" after 5 days in the park at SANParks accommodation.	4c/4b	
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? No.		
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why? We liked the idea of a "wilderness camp" where we could relax after chasing birds and animals and do something different like star gazing and a	4c/ 3c(t)/ 3c(v)	The text and visuals of star gazing and tracking encouraged him to book.

	walk with a local ranger.		
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. Good brochure with sufficient details for people to make up their minds.	4c	He thought it was informative.
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? None other than anyone wanting to stay there must have a 4x4 to drive the dunes.	3c(t)	Include in text that one needs a 4X4 to get there.
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. Very different. All our other lodges in Botswana and Namibia (bar 1) have been centred around game activities, bird watching etc. !Xaus is for peace and quiet.	3d	!Xaus Lodge is uniquely different as it offered peace and quite. He did not seem concerned about not seeing much game.
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? Limited to a morning walk with a local guide which we found extremely interesting and educational.	3e	Enjoyed the tracking.
11	What has been your favourite aspect of !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why? Morning walk as above.	3e	Only 'cultural' aspect they were involved in.
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Never got to visit the village.		
13	How have you found your interaction with the "host communities" at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? Very nice people and we learnt a lot of new things about the flora and fauna and stars.	3b	Good running of the Lodge.
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? None really. It was very comfortable, great food, nice people. It needs to remain a "wilderness lodge" and not get caught up in the rush to be a game viewing centre.	4b/3d	Good food. Must remain a "wilderness lodge" and not game viewing haven.

Response 10

Name: Andrew

Age: 58

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? UK	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? Through a friend	3c	Not sure how the friend came to find out about !Xaus.
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge?	3c(w)	

	Website – thought it was an interesting location		
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations? On route of journey from SA-Botswana-Namibia-SA	3d	Good location
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? No		
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why? Visuals – unusual location	3c(v)	Usual environment
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. Accommodation yes, wilderness less so. Cultural aspect of location was unimpressive and I don't think it should be over-sold.	4c	
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? I'd strengthen the topography and wilderness. It's an excellent place just to relax as part of a longer journey or just as a destination. Star gazing v good.	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	Excellent place to relax – sell that.
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. Similar accommodation facilities to other lodges, but unique location.	3d	Unique location
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? If by culture you are referring to the local tribes people and visit to close by dwelling, I thought this was a little weak – it didn't come across a particularly authentic.	3e	Cultural village - inauthentic
11	What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why? The quiet, unique, relaxing location. Great star gazing.	3d	Did not enjoy cultural tourism as such, but did enjoy relaxing, star gazing and location.
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Poor – 10 above.		
13	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? The people working at the lodge were great and a pleasure to be with.	3b	
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? My view would be to promote its remote location, peacefulness and relaxation qualities.	3(v)/ 3(t)	

Response 11

Name: Greg

Age: 53

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Australian	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? SANPARKS web site for Kgalagadi	3c(w)/ 4a	Link from SANParks website.
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? Yes, only at twee rivieren	3c	
4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations? Looking for a remote location, upmarket. value for money and with a cultural twist. expectations not fully satisfied.	4b/4c	Promotional materials lead them to believe lodge was upmarket as well as cultural.
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? A small info board at twee rivieren and material at the lodge itself	3c(b)/ 3c(pr)	
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why? The unique architecture of the lodge itself the pan ,wildlife??? bushmen	1b/ 3c(v)/ 3c(t)	
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. Yes, except we saw no kalahari lions; we thought we would see much more game and have a more expansive cultural interaction	3a/4c	Did not see lion (on brochure cover) and cultural interaction was poor.
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? Perhaps a celestial picture of the night sky and take the lion photo out	3c(v)	
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how. !Xaus staff are more personal but the food is better in kruger camps the level of professional guiding is greater in kruger comfort security excellent at !xaus	3b/4b	!Xaus Lodge staff are personable. Comfort at !Xaus is good. However, food is better at Kruger Park as well as the professional guiding trails.
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? The operation lacks one special passionate unique guide to spark the other guides and give guests a memorable experience	3e	Needs a passionate ≠Khomani guide.
11	What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why? Bow and arrow shooting at the cultural	3e	He enjoyed the 'contrived' aspect of the cultural village.

	village		
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? The bushmen in the cultural village wearing up market fashionable clothing we expected something more primitive and some seats to sit on or mats to calmly sit and chat even though they spoke only a little english ..language is an issue	3e	Inauthentic clothes were strange. Lack of English skills was problematic.
13	How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? We wanted more interaction as the quantity and quality of game in the immediate area was poor	4a/ 4c/3e	As game viewing was poor they wanted a better cultural experience.
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? Train the guides more the then to kruger for a week let them experience a number of guides at up market camps to set a benchmark.. the guides need to know how to weave a story and create atmosphere they are !XAUS lodge greatest asset 14b make a handicraft workshop at the cultural village get the clients involved making jewellery and beading get some mats sit down slow down and take all this in 14c after kruger now take the guides to the bushmen in botswana ...okavango14d improve the quality and quantity of the food 14e market the lodge at international travel shows 14f offer for guests to sleep in a traditional grass hut ie spend an evening down at the village	3e 4b	Train the guides to “weave a story”. Create a craft making workshops at the village. Spend an evening down at the village (even sleep there). Improve quality and quantity of food.

Response 12

Name: Mark Nielsen

Age: 36

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	<i>In which country do you reside?</i> Australia	2b	
2	<i>How did you hear about !Xaus?</i> Work colleagues (I guess this is the best description)	3c	
3	<i>Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge?</i> My decision to go to !Xaus was a last minute one and hence I had few expectations – and I had not seen any promotional material at all prior to going.	4c	No expectations
4	<i>What was your reason for visiting the Lodge /what were your prior expectations?</i> I was visiting the lodge along with work colleagues who were studying the lodge and its visitors. As noted, I had few expectations, though	4c	Although he had not seen promotional material he thought that there would be further interaction with the ≠Khomani.

	<p>did think the Lodge would be more basic. I thought the lodgings would be along the lines of large tents and the facilities to be not dissimilar from what one would expect at a campsite. I also expected an almost constant presence of Bushman people.</p>		
5	<p><i>Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip?</i> I have seen the pamphlet promoting the Lodge.</p>	3c(b)	This respondent means that he had seen the brochure (see below)
6	<p><i>What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why?</i> The lion on the front cover is particularly eye-catching. Overall the pamphlet is positive and both text and photos make the Lodge highly attractive.</p>	3c(b)	Thinks that the lion is eye-catching. Pamphlet is attractive.
7	<p><i>Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain.</i> The text describing the Lodge itself is accurate (including the chalets, etc). Things break down when the pamphlet touches on the possibility of seeing game. Technically, it doesn't say that game will be seen from the Lodge, though this seems implied. Had I read this before arriving I would have anticipated seeing leopard, lion and giraffe without having to venture far from the Lodge. Our trek through the desert was led by a member of the Mier people, not Bushman – so the pamphlet is misleading in this regard. I also do not recall hearing the Bushmen engage in any story-telling.</p>	3a/ 3c(t)/ 3c(v)/ 4c	Text is accurate Implied sightings of game may lead to disappointment. The tracking was disappointing as it was lead by a member of the Mier community and not a Bushman as stated in the pamphlet. Also text says, “listen to the Bushmen’s story-telling”, which did not occur.
8	<p><i>What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any?</i> It needs to be honest. The sections I outlined in 8 as misleading would have left me feeling cheated. Those are the things I would have gone to the Lodge for (game, tracking with Bushmen, hearing their stories). That the chalets provide “the modern traveller with all of today’s tourist comforts” is nice, but that can be found anywhere. I think the pamphlet as it stands risks leading to disappointment.</p>	4c	Be honest.
9	<p><i>Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how.</i> Much to my great regret and bitter disappointment, !Xaus is the only lodge I have stayed in.</p>		
10	<p><i>How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge?</i> In need of improvement. Interaction with the Bushmen is limited to a visit to the cultural village where one is left feeling more like an observer than a participant. Buying crafts is nice, but the experience would be richer if visitors could be taught to make – and actually make – their own. Sitting around the Boma was nice, and Pieter [the manager] was a wonderful and informed host: but the stories he told of the Bushmen would have been better received had they actually come from a Bushman.</p>	3e	One feels like an observer not a participant. Could make own craft. Also story-telling would be great if it was told by a Bushman.

11	<p><i>What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why?</i></p> <p>The most enjoyable aspect of the visit was sitting in the cultural village watching the crafts being made. I found it quite calming. But this experience was only afforded me as a function of my colleague's work. I assume this is not something regular visitors would be able to experience. If I place myself in the shoes of a regular tourist I'm not sure I would have come away from the Lodge with much.</p>	3e	Cultural tourism aspect is lacking.
12	<p><i>What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge?</i></p> <p>Knowing that the Bushmen do not live there, and indeed are there only because of the Lodge, made it feel a little like a museum piece. If I were a regular tourist I think I would have found there to be too little interaction with the Bushman. As a tourist I think I would have preferred to see more activity.</p>	3e	More activity.
13	<p><i>How have you found your interaction with the "host communities" at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge?</i></p> <p>All of those involved with the Lodge were friendly, considerate and well informed. There was much to learn, though unfortunately for me, much of it has been buried in a month's worth of new information and experiences.</p>	3b	Staff friendly and well informed.
14	<p><i>Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?</i></p> <p>This really depends on what market the Lodge wishes to pitch for. If they are going for animal watchers my experience is that most visitors of this kind would be disappointed. Obviously, there is not much that can be done to ensure animal availability. Rather, I think the Lodge's survival will depend on capturing the attention of those interested in Bushman culture. In this regard far more needs to be done to integrate Bushmen into the Lodge. The chalets could be filled with more artefacts. The meals could comprise at least some Bushman foods. Even the soap and shampoo could have some Bushman aspect to it. As it stands, the Bushman experience is too limited where it should be pervasive.</p>	3d	Needs to cater for a more Bushman experience as game is lacking. More artefacts, Bushman food, soap etc. could have plants associated with the Bushmen in it etc.

Response 13

Name: Peet

Age: 61

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	<p><i>In which country do you reside?</i></p> <p>South Africa (Cape Town).</p>	2b	
2	<p><i>How did you hear about !Xaus?</i></p> <p>Via the internet.</p>	3c(w)	

3	<p><i>Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge?</i></p> <p>Yes, our decision to visit the lodge was based on the specific promotion of being able to walk with the San people and to learn about their tracking capabilities as well as their knowledge of the plant and animal life.</p>	1g/ 3c(w)/ 4c	
4	<p><i>What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/ what were your prior expectations?</i></p> <p>Unfortunately, the information to interact with the San people was, in fact, false. We did not have any interaction with them.</p>	4c	Expectations were not met.
5	<p><i>Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip?</i></p> <p>No.</p>		
6	<p><i>What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why?</i></p> <p>The interaction with the San people.</p>	3c	This respondent was drawn in by the Bushman representation in the promotional material.
7	<p><i>Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain.</i></p> <p>No, it gave a false impression of interaction with the San people and also of the presence of wildlife. In fact we saw very little wildlife in the area of !Xaus Lodge.</p>	3a/4c	No interaction with ≠Khomani and very little wildlife – false impression created by promotional material.
8	<p><i>What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any?</i></p> <p>The false impression that you are going to have interaction with the San people in terms of tracking and their knowledge of plant, wildlife and stars.</p>	4c	False impression created about whole ≠Khomani experience: tracking, knowledge of plant and wildlife and stars.
9	<p><i>Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? Please explain how.</i></p> <p>!Xaus Lodge is different in the sense of its remoteness and the complete silence.</p>	4c	Did live up to expectations of remoteness created in promotional material (even if this respondent r did not pick up on this in the material itself).
10	<p><i>How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge?</i></p> <p>I do not agree with the exposure of a few San people on display in their shelters and rotating them every 2 weeks.</p>	1e	It seems as if this respondent wants to protect the ≠Khomani from the ‘tourist gaze.’
11	<p><i>What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus’s cultural tourism? Why?</i></p> <p>My favourite aspect is the early morning walks and explanation of the different tracks and dune life on the top of the sand dunes.</p>	3e	He did enjoy the tracking but was just misled by the fact that he thought it would be ‘Bushman’ lead.
12	<p><i>What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge?</i></p> <p>I disagree with the exhibition of a few San people in the cultural village.</p>	3e	He thinks the cultural village is like a museum exhibit.
13	<p><i>How have you found your interaction with the “host communities” at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the</i></p>	3e	There needs to be more interaction between staff and guests.

	<i>Lodge?</i> No.		
14	<p><i>Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?</i></p> <p>The emphasis should be on employing San people for tracking and explaining the different plants and their medicinal value. Far more can be done with regards to the so called star watching at night, which was non-existent. !Xaus Lodge cannot be promoted for its wildlife and game driving. The strongest point of !Xaus Lodge would be its remoteness and interaction with the San people, especially in terms of tracking and their knowledge of the veld. Overseas visitors feel very uncomfortable that the guides carry no rifles, in spite of the lack of any real danger.</p>	1g/ 3b/ 3e/3d	<p>Bushmen should be involved in things like tracking – not only on show.</p> <p>Must not market the wildlife aspect and guides must carry guns on walk.</p>

Comments below all relate to 4c:

Please see attached promotion on the website:

“Accompany the Bushmen, legendary hunter-gatherers and learn their secrets of survival as they track through the desert.” **Not true !**

“Listen to the Bushmen’s story-telling of their legends and their interpretation of the stars and learn about their health secrets handed down over centuries. “ **Not True!**

“ Gain an appreciation of the sacred artworks of Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper and his fellow Bushmen.

“*This ancient African land seen through the eyes of the Bushmen is mystical, magical and spiritual.*”

Laurens van der Post” **Not true!**

“Game drives provide the opportunity to find the leopard, lion, cheetah, hyena, bat-eared fox, giraffe, springbok, wildebeest and jackal to whom the Kgalagadi is home. An abundance of birdlife including two-thirds of the raptor species found in southern Africa, as well as rodents, caracal and the honeybadger are but just a handful of the resident wildlife.” **Not true !**

Response 14

Name: Alberto Coco

Age: 38

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Italy	2b	
2	How did you hear about !Xaus? In Upington’s hotel Le Must River	3c(pr)	
3	Did you read the leaflet, brochure, website or any other form of promotional material before going to !Xaus, and did this have any influence on your decision to visit the Lodge? No		

4	What was your reason for visiting the Lodge/what were your prior expectations? Rest camps were all busy. Our prior expectation was to find animals, especially lions with black mane.	3c(pr)	
5	Did you encounter any other promotional materials relating to !Xaus during or after your trip? No	3c(pr)	
6	What aspect of any/all of the promotional materials caught your interest (text/visuals etc.)? Why? -		
7	Do you think that the promotional materials reflected the realities of the Lodge in relation to cultural, accommodation and wilderness aspects? Please explain. -		
8	What aspects of the promotional material would you change, if any? -		
9	Is !Xaus Lodge different or similar to other Lodges that you have visited? It is more beautiful than other places in national parks. The beds were excellent and the host community was very kind	3b/4b	
10	How would you describe the cultural tourism on offer at !Xaus Lodge? Good	3e	
11	What has been your favourite aspect !Xaus's cultural tourism? Why? The walks and safari	3e	
12	What did you think of the cultural village at the Lodge? Very good	3e	
13	How have you found your interaction with the "host communities" at !Xaus – have you learnt anything new from the people working at the Lodge? Yes, we learnt a lot about animals behaviour	3e	
14	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? The only negative aspect is that it is a little isolated from the main roads and we did not find a lot of animals. Maybe the road might be improved.	3a/3d	

Appendix 14: !Xaus Lodge Questionnaires 2009

Response 1

Name: Tim

Age: 60; partner 53

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside?	2b	

	South Africa		
2	<p>What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)?</p> <p>We thoroughly enjoyed our visit and found everything to be pristine with regard to the accommodation and huge pride shown by the folk responsible for its upkeep and maintenance. The food was homely, tasty and well presented and being South Africans we were able to identify with the traditional cuisine.</p>	4b	
3	<p>Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?</p> <p>The only thing we would have liked would have been “on tap” tea and coffee. We appreciate the restraints on electricity but a smart pot would work well here and while it is lovely to be able to request the beverages, we did not always feel comfortable pulling someone away from their work to “wait” on us.</p>	4b	
4	<p>What is your general impression of the booklet?</p> <p>You have done a great job on the booklet – it is certainly very informative.</p>	3c(i)/ 3c(t)	
5	<p>Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain.</p> <p>Very much so. All of the activities etc were offered to us – except the longer game drive along the River but we were only there for 2 nights which we had booked in advance and then another spur of the moment when the accommodation we were given at Mata Mata proved unfit for human habitation! Thankfully the lodge could take us for an extra night!</p>	4c	
6	<p>What do you think of the booklet’s aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)?</p> <p>I found it very pleasing, easy to read, fitting for the ambiance and feel of the lodge.</p>	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	They found it an easy read (not too much information).
7	<p>What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any?</p> <p>I think it is great as it is.</p>		

Response 2

Name: Morena

Age: 41

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Italy	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? I stayed at the Lodge with other 3 friends and all of us were enthusiastic of the Lodge, the place and the people. We had great time during our stay. Everything was perfect and the staff has high professional standard.	4b/3b	
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? No		
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? The booklet is well done, clear and gives a lot of information.	3c(i)/ 3c(t)	
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. The booklet explains exactly how the lodge is (accommodation, staff, water, power, etc); moreover, it gives the possibility to better understand the story of the lodge and of the two communities.	4c	Importantly, it explains who the owning communities are.
6	What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? I like it very much and especially the pictures.	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? No change		

Response 3

Name: Judith

Age: ?

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Canada	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? I was favourably impressed by the accommodation, food, staff and management.	4b	
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?		

	<p>look like an omission?</p> <p>I see there is mention of the owl nests and the morning ravens. That's good, but you might want to explain that the owl nests are in the thatched roof of the cottages. All the guests that were at the lodge when we were there spent their first night terrified that a predator of some sort was trying to get into their building!!! Can you find a way, euphemistic if necessary, to indicate that the owl nests may provide resident guests with the experience of wild life sounds at night...or something. From the stomping to the screeching to the stalking of prey all night: it's a bit daunting if you don't know what it is.</p>	3(t)	<p>Also her point about Pieter and Arne not being part of either community is a valid one.</p> <p>A textual explanation about the "screeching" owls is needed.</p>
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Response 4

Name: Anna

Age: 51

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	<p>In which country do you reside?</p> <p>Italy</p>	2a	
2	<p>What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)?</p> <p>Breathtaking view</p> <p>Accommodation: good, very clean with a fantastic view</p> <p>Food: good and good variety</p> <p>Cultural tourism: interesting walk with the bushmen. Good introduction to the bushmen way of life in the past and now made by Peter.</p> <p>Interaction with the staff: quite shy but lovely people.</p>	4b/3e/ 3b/1b	<p>3b relates to the running of the Lodge – that the staff are “lovely people”.</p> <p>1b – Pieter’s talk makes it clear that the Bushman past is different from the present.</p>
3	<p>Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?</p> <p>Seeing the stars with the help of someone from the staff using the telescope should be a must.</p> <p>Videos or dvd about bushmen in the past and nowadays could be a good source of information for tourists.</p>	3e	
4	<p>What is your general impression of the booklet?</p> <p>Good graphics and detailed explanations.</p>	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	
5	<p>Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain.</p> <p>I am writing these few lines to express my feeling about my experience at Xaus August with my husband and a couple of friends.</p>	1b	1b – “contact with the ultimate Bushmen”.

<p>We had been dreaming to see Kalagadi National Park for many years. Names like Nossob and Auab rivers have been for a long time only points on a map and documentaries of wildlife along the 2 rivers and on the dunes have always attracted our attention .</p> <p>At last ,this year, we had the chance to see all that with our own eyes!</p> <p>We began surfing the net to get information about the park and I even spoke to a San Park representative in Milan, during the international tourism fair. He suggested Xaus as an experience, because it could offer what we were looking for, especially because we didn't have a a 4x4, highly recommended for the bad conditions of the park roads.</p> <p>We read Xaus website and we found something that appealed us very much: 4x4 trails to look for wildlife and especially predators: But the website offered a lot more: a contact with the ultimate bushmen.</p> <p>I must say that our expectations about these very points were a bit disappointing mainly because I think, your web site is not enough detailed about what you offer.</p> <p>Particularly, I think that your website should be clearer about the following:</p> <p>-That the lodge is an hour, an hour and a quarter, drive from Roibrak, and so that it is impossible to reach Nossob in one day from Xaus.</p> <p>-It should also point out that in case guests want to go to Mata Mata, they must be back at 4.30 pm because you need the vehicle for the sundown tour around the lodge . (which means that guests cannot be driven along the river during the times that are usually the best to view animals)</p> <p>-In addition the website should also be very clear about the fact that you offer 4x4 drive to explore the river with an extra charge.</p> <p>The position of Xaus is undoubtedly fantastic and I liked it very much but if I was previously informed about all the things above, I would have planned my visit in a different way, trying to stay, for example at; Twee Riviereen at least one day so to have the chance to go to Mata Mata and Nossob and then stay at Xaus to relax . Maybe this has been and will be our only chance to see the Kalagady and we feel we have lost</p>	<p>3e/ 4c</p> <p>3a</p>	<p>The reader took issue with lack of clarification regarding travelling time to Nossob.</p> <p>Off the beaten track by a long way.</p>
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<p>something.</p> <p>But what was more disappointing was the matter about Bushmen: I knew, always from the website about the project trying to keep their memories alive".</p> <p>It was really sad to see those guys in the "village "next to Xaus, a little drunk and also the woman was not a good experience .</p> <p>Your telling us about what the white people, and not only they, made to the Bushmen, your stories about the hardness of their life then and today , their being part of the land they lived in , their complete integration and knowledge of the surrounding environment, the great difficulty to be part of our world so different from theirs was interesting but created expectations that were very different from what I saw.</p> <p>I felt a consumer attitude during my visit to the bushmen village "I didn't improve my little knowledge about them. It was like buying necklaces as in any other curio shop. I expected to see a few bushmen in their villages but proud of teaching us, simple tourists, who they were in the past: their tradition, how they hunted, what type of dances they used to perform, how they used the environment to survive, how their ancestors did rock paintings and carvings, how were their shelters built.</p> <p>To me it would have been different if were they to speak about themselves. I mean that if the aim of your project is to give them the possibility to regain self respect and to spread what they were , the word must be given to them and the approach should be different. Of course this is only my point of view.</p> <p>I would have liked to discuss directly with you about your choice to make tourists aware of the bushmen in such a way, but I didn't have the time to do it: in that you were right when we met first : we are always in a rush .</p> <p>I'd like to point out ,Peter , that mine are far from being criticisms, they are only my personal opinions which I hope may be of help to rethink the way Xaus lodge is marketed .</p> <p>Again I want to stress the wonderful and cosy atmosphere we were involved in at your lodge and I wish you a prosper winter business.</p>	<p>3e/ 4c</p>	<p>The reader feels that although the day to day reality of the ≠Khomani was explained to them by Pieter, that the ≠Khomani themselves were not in an empowering position. They are their craft were exhibited and they did not interact with the tourists.</p>
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6	What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? -		
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? -		

Response 5

Name: Carlo

Age: 56

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? <i>Italy</i>	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? <i>Very nice the accommodation and the food. Very beautiful the landscape. Not so interesting the bushman village. Few possibility to drive through Kalahari Desert because the lodge is very far from pools but really wonderful the street trough the reserve.</i>	4b/ 3e/3a	4b – enjoyed Lodge itself 3e – Bushman village was “not interesting”. 3a – Lodge situated far from natural water sources.
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? <i>Some more activities to see desert animals.</i>	3a	
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? <i>Is ok but should be clearer about the time to reach the lodge by car from the main road of desert.</i>	3c(t)	
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. <i>Yes expected the stars - studies in the evening that should be very interesting.</i>	4c	
6	What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? <i>Too many words and not so many pictures. Today people don't like to read too much!</i>	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? <i>I suggest to put more images with short descriptions.</i>	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	There is a short description in the brochure which is also available. One does not have to read this additional information. The information on the website would be bulleted and therefore not so lengthy.

Response 6

Name: Silvelyn

Age: 51

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Namibia	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? I really enjoyed our stay at the Lodge. I loved the silence of nature and the Bushmen traditions. What really matters is the personal touch at the Lodge. The kindness and friendliness of the people working there make you feel welcome.	3b/1b	
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? Nothing man made in this world can be perfect, but you are very close!		
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? It is very informative – very good.	3c(i)/ 3c(t)	
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. -		
6	What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? -		
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? -		

Response 7

Name: Eveline

Age: 59; partner 47

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Netherlands	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? Perfect, and as we said in our message in the guest book: don't change anything and especially, don't expand!!!	4b	Enjoyed the peacefulness.
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? No improvements necessary, especially no extra luxury and, as said before, no expanding. It should remain small-scale and very, very special. More involvement of the San would be interesting for us, but don't try to change their ways of life.	4b/3e	4b - Do not want any more luxury aspects. 3e – More involvement with the ≠Khomani.

4	<p>What is your general impression of the booklet?</p> <p>Interesting, but too long, too much text and sometimes the same kind of info twice.</p>	3c(i)/ 3c(t)	Text too long.
5	<p>Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain.</p> <p>Yes, it completely covers our experience (although we'd rather be there to enjoy the experience again).</p>	4c/ 3c(i)	He does admit that the information covers the !Xaus experience.
6	<p>What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)?</p> <p>The font for text is fine and very readable also in small print; I'm not fond of the fancy font for the headings, which I feel is too fancy for the simplicity of !Xaus surroundings in general and also clashes with the wonderfully simple San-based pictures. These pictures are wonderful; please no colour photographs; just these minimalistic pictures.</p>	3c(t)/ 3c(v)/ 1b	Doesn't like "fancy" headings. Likes simplistic pictures.
7	<p>What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any?</p> <p>p. 1: I'd just mention that !Xaus means heart and that the Lodge is San/Mier, not the reconciliation bit; that can come in section 8.</p> <p>p. 2: I'd call 'the lodge complex' 'practical information' and move section 6 under that heading</p> <p>I'd change the following sections: 'location' 2nd section; 'how !Xaus began' as 3rd</p> <p>I'd either leave out 'wildlife' section in 1st part or leave out fauna and flora in 3rd par, preferably the latter.</p> <p>p. 13: I wouldn't be too welcoming to small children, say between 2 and 10; most will be bored by the slow and careful moving walks and game drives and they are severely restricted in their movements. When we were there, there were 2 kids, approx. 4 and 6, who will probably have driven their parents to distraction in these restricted surroundings (no playing in the sand; no walking off etc.). The 'peaceful enjoyment of the other guests' was at any rate not respected at mealtimes and I wouldn't have wanted to be on a walk or drive with them. This is obviously a policy question rather than a matter for the booklet, but I think Western/European parents cannot easily imagine the situation at !Xaus.</p>	3c(t)	<p>Maybe the fact that the word "reconciliation" is slightly confusing in the strapline before it is explained.</p> <p>The suggestion that the 'wildlife' section and the fauna section is repetitive is valid in a way. Perhaps these should be combined. More people would then realise that there is not an abundance of game in the !Xaus vicinity.</p> <p>Rest of suggestions are personal opinions.</p>

Response 8

Name: Heinz
Age: 60; partner 58

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Switzerland	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? We appreciated our stay in !Xaus. The lodge is very well integrated on the edge of the pan, room and main buildings are nicely furnished and decorated, and the food was excellent. The staff is smiling, helpful and attentive to the needs of customers. The meeting with the San shows their manual skills and their knowledge of their environment and is always a great moment for us.	1b/ 4b/ 3b/3e	1b – Manual skills, knowledge of environment 4b – Lodge set-up 3b – staff 3e – ‘San’ meeting
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? Not really; the small problem we had (geyser did not work) was managed very professionally. However, we would had preferred to get the information on transfer and tyre pressure mentioned on page 15 before arriving in !Xaus. Travel agencies should be informed about this important fact and especially for people without knowledge of sandy roads.	3c(t)	
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? All necessary information for a good stay in !Xaus.	3c(i)/ 3c(t)	
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. The booklet describes correctly what we have experienced during our stay in !Xaus.	4c	
6	What do you think of the booklet’s aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? A good layout, and we love the San pictures. The font of the titles fits very well with these pictures, but long titles are not very easy to read.	1b/ 3c(t)/ 3c(v)	1b – “San pictures”
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? None.		

Response 9

Name: Gunther
Age: 64; partner 61

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
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1	In which country do you reside? South Africa	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? It has met all our expectations and we will visit Xaus in future again.		This statement is contradicted below.
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? The cultural village of the Bushmen does not reflect the real culture. Also, there is only one thing we know its not easy but... to attract more game to the saltpan below the Lodge? We were there in September; maybe other months are better?	3a	The reader feels that the cultural village creates a 'pseudo-event'. Reader doesn't say whether he expects a more 'traditional' or modern experience. Because of location of the Lodge there are no animals available.
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? Very good	3c(i)	
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. Yes, of course.		Another contradiction
6	What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? It's fine. Very good.	3c(t)/ 3c(v)	
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? No change!!		

Response 10

Name: Bruce

Age: 62

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? South Africa	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? Very good. The Managers knew their jobs and handled their guests and activities well. Accom is excellent and up to 4 star standards. Cultural tourism, particularly the talk on the Bushmen, was very good as far as it went. This could be further developed. We think you could add more about the modern history of Rietfontein, the origin of the Mier people, and some of the characters who lived in the "sand" in the 19/20th centuries. This was a fascinating passage of history in its own right. Eg. the stories of Grootkolk, the lost City of the Kalahari, Scotty Smith of Leitland's Pan and so on.	4b 3e 1d	4b – accommodation 3e – cultural tourism 1d – “modern history”
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge?	3a	3a – no solar system

	<p>It should be possible to run the entire operation on solar power and “showcase” this to the green fraternity amongst the guests. We presume the lodge has been built (in terms of the concession) on the basis that it can be removed completely, leaving no trace on expiry of the concession. Also, we suggest a “look and listen” experience, where guests go out of sight and earshot of the Lodge (with a guide) and sit quietly and simply watch and listen, and observe and learn what is happening in the environment around them. Early morning and late afternoon...</p>	3e	3e – cultural/environmental tourism
4	<p>What is your general impression of the booklet? Looks very good, with a balance between the nature conservation and practical aspects.</p>	3c(i)	
5	<p>Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. Yes</p>	4c	
6	<p>What do you think of the booklet’s aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? See below.</p>		
7	<p>What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? The text is very good, as far as it goes. It may be a good idea to publish the booklet as a CD, with photographs and video clips to go with each section of the text. This can serve as a guide for guests on arrival, a memento of their stay that they can take away with them, and an excellent advertising medium in all parts of the world. CDs are cheap to reproduce and a fraction of the time and effort of hardcopy. (We have just published a hardcopy book and aged in the process!) It can also be made multilingual, interactive – most guests take photographs – ask them to submit their favourite shots of their stay at !Xaus which can be included in a “gallery” and updated with successive versions of the CD, which will keep it fresh. As most guests will not see all the Kgalagadi wildlife, include pictures of these, per Peter Derichs’ excellent Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park (Peter’s Guide). SANParks also has some good material on their websites and in their published material.</p>	<p>3c(t) 3c(v)</p>	<p>3c(t) – Text is good. Also can be put on a cd. 3c(v) – Photographs can be put on cd.</p>

Response 11

Name: Peter

Age: 62

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Swedish. Working in Lesotho	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? I believe that !Xaus has hit it right. The isolation is a major positive factor (the 106 dunes transport in adds to this feeling) getting you away from other potential tourists/visitors. The accommodation is among the best we have been in - even taking into consideration the harsh climate. The Mier food was an interesting discovery. The concern over the bushmen and the perceptual difficulty a newcomer will have - was very ably explained and understood. The life has changed for ever and the lodge helps them to bridge the divide (just to hope that some lessons on alcohol misuse and hiv/aids dangers could be part of the lessons/experience to give them).	4b 3e 1b	4b – accommodation 3e – Mier food, cultural tourism 1b – Respondent sees Bushmen as a ‘modernising’ people.
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? No, it is perfect for us - and we don't need a heated pool!!	4b	
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? Positive. If understood it is to be placed in the rooms - and not for general outside promotion - it is fine. If it was for outside use, I would have included photos and maps. Why include other places to stay (p 19)?	3c(i)	He understood the use correctly.
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. Yes - we must have been well briefed (by Pieter/Arné)- as very little of the information in the brochure was new to us.	4c	
6	What do you think of the booklet’s aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? Difficult to answer. If you by pictures mean the bushman like drawings - then they are fine - even if in black and white (for cost reasons?). As to font - I find the main text easy to read while I do have a few problems with the headings. Yes they are artistic but they are also more difficult to read (i.e. the L in Location on p.8 or C in Communities on p 9). The choice is yours.	3c(v)/ 3c(t) 1b	1b – “Bushman like drawings”
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any?	3c(t)/ 1b	1b – a ‘modernising’ people.

	Very little - however on p. 5 you mention KTP acronym without explanation what it means - this is only given on p.7. But if I should want more - I would like to hear more about the difficulties the Bushmen face in the modern surrounding and how they cope (if they do - with our money)? This is on p.17. And also for the Mier - un unknown tribe to most - who was Captain Vilander and why did he move up there, numbers?		
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Response 12

Name: Sangaletti

Age: 63

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? Switzerland	2b	
2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? It is a unique place, with comfortable accommodation, excellent and friendly service. Pieter is not only a good guide, but as well a man with a big knowledge about history and culture.	4b 3b	4b – accommodation etc. 3b - Pieter
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? I hope, nobody will change anything, our stay was perfect.	3b	
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? It gives all information visitors need or like to know.	3c(i)	
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. Yes, it does, see answer above.		
6	What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? It corresponds to the lodge and its environment.	3c(v)	
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? Nothing.		

Response 13

Name: Roeland

Age: 50; partner 46

	Transcript	Code	Annotations
1	In which country do you reside? South Africa	2b	

2	What is your general impression of !Xaus Lodge (accommodation, cultural tourism etc.)? Very good	4b	
3	Do you have any suggestions for improvements at the Lodge? No		
4	What is your general impression of the booklet? Good	3c(i)	
5	Do you think that the information booklet squares with your experience of !Xaus Lodge? Please explain. Yes, you have covered everything I can think of.	4c	
6	What do you think of the booklet's aesthetics (e.g. pictures, font, text to picture ratio)? Original	3c(i)	
7	What aspects of the booklet would you change, if any? None	3c(i)	