

***Ripples of Empowerment?: Exploring the Role of Participatory  
Development Communication in the Biesje Poort Rock Art  
Recording Project***

By

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**Submitted in fulfilment of the Master of Social Science Degree,  
The Centre for Communication, Media and Society,  
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**November 2012**

# COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

## DECLARATION - PLAGIARISM

I, Miliswa Magongo, declare that

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2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.
3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.
4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
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Signed:

Supervisor:

## **Acknowledgements**

I will forever be grateful to Professor Keyan Tomaselli and his staff for giving me an opportunity to do my postgraduate studies at The Centre for Communications Media and Society (CCMS). I believe my degrees will propel me to greater heights. Thank you to the National Heritage Council (NHC) for funding the overall Biesje Poort (BP) project. Without their financial support this dissertation would not have been possible. A huge thank you to the entire BP team namely; Prof Keyan Tomaselli, Prof Roger Fisher, Dr David Morris, Dr Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, Mary Lange, Liana Müller, Shanade Barnabas, Koot Musawula, Isak Kruiper, Lys Kruiper, //Klankie Kruiper, Belinda Org, and Oeliset Org. Thank you all for sharing your valuable time and knowledge in the field and beyond. It has truly been a joy working with you.

Many thanks to Mary for being the force behind the BP project your hard work and dedication is appreciated. Thank you for inviting me to be a part of the project. To my supervisor Lauren Dyll-Myklebust thank you for your support, guidance, and invaluable assistance all the time. Thank you ladies for believing in me, your guidance and mentorship, has been valuable. You are my inspiration. Thank you to CCMS staff and post graduate students for peer reviewing and critiquing my work.

A huge shout out to all my friends for always being there for me, you're awesome. I'm grateful to every single member of my extended family for their constant love, prayers and support throughout my academic journey. Special thanks to my aunt and her family for making their home my home throughout my stay in Durban. Your generosity and gracious hospitality has made my postgraduate studies an enjoyable experience. Thanks to my life partner Nhlakanipho Mangeni for your endless love and support in everything I do. And for all the sugar and spice you've brought into my life.

To God be the glory for all the great things he has done for me. For “we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are called according to his purpose” Romans 8:28.

## **Dedication**

This MA is for my Gogo and Mkhulu for always going the extra mile for me. May God bless you with all the desires of your heart.

## **Abstract**

This research focuses on a rock art recording process as a possible social development project from a Communication for Participatory Development perspective. The study is part of and builds on the wider National Heritage Council-funded Biesje Poort: KhoiSan rock art recording project. The wider project's overall objective is "to alert and assist the local authority to the presence of a KhoiSan Heritage resource/s in their area of jurisdiction and assist in developing its educational and tourism potential" (NHC/Lange 2010, proposal). One of the project's secondary objectives is to transfer skills in the recording and representation of the rock engravings and broader cultural landscape via GPS mapping to members of a present day KhoiSan community in the Northern Cape, as well as to young researchers from a variety of educational institutions in South Africa. My research explores and documents the role of participatory communication in the project including its promotion of skills transference, empowerment, and the level of participation amongst all participants. In doing so, the research investigates the dialogue, power relations and research negotiation between members of the multicultural and multidisciplinary research team. Data is gathered via participant observation and face-to-face interviews that is then analysed against participatory development communication principles as outlined in models such as Communication for Participatory Development (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009), and strategies such as Participatory Action Research (PAR). Findings generated from this study reveal that in spite of all challenges encountered by participants the intended project objectives were met. This study further provides an insight into other possible research outcomes that could be achieved by implementing a participatory communication research with multicultural and multidisciplinary participants. Taking into account the possible influence that this research's contextual dynamics could have exerted on the outcomes, recommendations have been made that further research be undertaken on a broader scale to provide more definitive evidence of using this approach. Further recommendations are made that dialogue, and skills acquisition or transference, be at the heart of every participatory communication.

## List of Acronyms

ARROWSA	-	Art, Culture and Heritage for Peace (South Africa)
BP	-	Biesje Poort
CFPD	-	Communication for Participatory Development
CCMS	-	The Centre for Communication, Media and Society
DTEC	-	Department of Tourism, Environment and Conservation
GDP	-	Gross Domestic Product
GIS	-	Geographic Information Systems
HLP	-	Healthy Lifestyle Program
ICT	-	Information Communication Technology
IKS	-	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
MOU	-	Memorandum of Understanding
NHC	-	National Heritage Council
NHR	-	National Heritage Resources
PAR	-	Participatory Action Research
RFNC	-	Rumbalara Football Netball Club
SASI	-	South African San Institute
TEK	-	Traditional Ecological Knowledge
UCT	-	University of Cape Town
UKZN	-	University of KwaZulu-Natal
UP	-	University of Pretoria
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNISA	-	University of South Africa
VHW	-	Village Health Workers

### Symbols for the KhoiSan language clicks<sup>1</sup>

≠ this is an alveolar click.

// this is a lateral affricate.

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<sup>1</sup> These symbols are adapted from [www.sacred-texts.cpm/af/sbf/index.htm](http://www.sacred-texts.cpm/af/sbf/index.htm) and Barnard (1992:xix)

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## A map of South Africa showing Biesje Poort



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<sup>2</sup> A map of South Africa retrieved from [http://www.sa-venues.com/maps/atlas/southafrica\\_provinces.gif](http://www.sa-venues.com/maps/atlas/southafrica_provinces.gif)  
Accessed on 23 November 2012

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# CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

Development communication literature acknowledges the significance of using a participatory communication approach in development programmes (Bessette, 2004; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Servaes, 1996). This approach is ideal when used in multidisciplinary and multicultural projects as it “helps break the social and cultural barriers to acceptance of new ideas and practices at the same time preserving cultural identity. [And] that is important for meeting the goals of development” (Nair & White, 1994: 357). Proponents of the participatory approach advocate for development which actively includes people at grass roots level or the beneficiaries of development, respects participants’ cultural identities and knowledge and also encourages two-way dialogue between participants (cf. Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). Participatory development communication is the guiding theory or approach of this study while the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model is the overarching theoretical framework of this research. “By focusing on people’s active participation in the process, the model provides a framework to guide and improve applied communication research on development” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1326). The CFPD model guides my analysis of a rock art recording process with regard to its success or lack thereof.

This research focuses on a rock art recording process as a possible social development project from a communication for participatory development perspective. The study is part of and builds on the National Heritage Council (NHC)-funded Biesje Poort: KhoiSan rock art recording project. The NHC is a government institution whose mission is to transform, protect and promote South African heritage for sustainable development<sup>3</sup>. The BP project’s overall objective is “to alert and assist the local authority to the presence of a

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<sup>3</sup> Available at <http://www.nhc.org.za/page.php?page=359>, accessed on 28/10/ 2011].

KhoiSan<sup>4</sup> Heritage resource/s in their area of jurisdiction and assist in developing its educational and tourism potential” (NHC/Lange 2010, proposal). I was formally invited by the project leader, Mary Lange of the Non Profit Organisation (NPO), ARROWSA (Art, Culture and Heritage for Peace) to be a participant due to my interest in participatory development communication processes documented in my two honours research projects (Magongo, 2010a/b).

Rock art refers to images engraved, carved, drawn, or painted onto rock surfaces. Some archaeologists speak of petroglyphs and pictograms (Parkington, Morris & Rusch, 2008). Some of the images of rock engravings found in Biesje Poort can be seen in appendix A. It is believed that during the engraving process the dark, weathered outer skin (or patina) is removed to reveal the paler rock beneath. Three techniques were used to remove the rock patina: incision (lines cut with a sharp rock), pecking (hammering and chipping) and scraping. Over time the engraved surfaces weather and acquire the same dark tint as the original surface<sup>5</sup> (Morris, 1988). In this study the terms rock art and rock engravings will be used interchangeably.

### **Location, location, location**

There are two large rock engraving sites found in the Kakamas region of the Northern Cape, South Africa on a farm called Biesje Poort (cf. Lange, 2006). The eastern rock engraving site was recorded in German by Gerhard Fock and Dora Fock (1989) but the western site and scattered engravings between the two sites have not been formally recorded (NHC/Lange, 2010). NHC-funded Biesje Poort project recorded these engravings with a multicultural and multidisciplinary team. This research was conducted within the post-1994 recognition of the value of heritage research within South Africa as

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<sup>4</sup> I shall use KhoiSan when speaking of the traditional hunter-gatherer and herder people as one generalised entity. The use of Khoi/ Khoikhoi/ Khoekhoen/ and Khwekhwe is used interchangeably for herder groups as reflected in related research (cf. Lange, 2011: 189; Crawhall, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Information found on [http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/science/geography/rock%20art/aboutrockart/14759/rock\\_art\\_of\\_southern\\_africa.html](http://www.wits.ac.za/academic/science/geography/rock%20art/aboutrockart/14759/rock_art_of_southern_africa.html) accessed on 19/10/2012.

stipulated in the National Heritage Resources Act 25 (1999). The Act aims to “empower civil society to nurture and conserve their heritage resources so that they may be bequeathed to future generations” (NHC, 1999: 3)<sup>6</sup>.

The Biesje Poort farm is privately owned by Koos Meyer who gave his permission to record the rock art. Although it is generally assumed that the rock art was done by a KhoiSan group, Mary Lange (2006: 111) points out that it “is extremely difficult to identify specific cultural groups with the engravings”. The answers to the questions as to who owns the rock engravings and who owns the rights to the engravings are complex. There is critique of outsiders – whether geographical or cultural – researching and publishing on what the present day San consider heritage that they own (*Sunday Times*, 11 Oct 2009). In this newspaper article Collin Louw argues that “the rock art belongs to the San People... but we are not part of the whole rock art thing” (Ferreira, 2009: no page). However, from an archaeological perspective “they remain extremely difficult to assign” (Morris, interview, 29 March 2011). Legally it is also a complex issue because, as Roger Chennels the San Council lawyer states “if a painting was drawn 3000 years ago copyright expires after 50 years. There’s a thing called moral copyright, but it’s not very clear who the custodians are”. On the other hand, Ben Smith, director of the Rock Art Research Institute at the University of the Witwatersrand, argues that legally, “all heritage of all peoples on Southern Africa belongs to all its peoples” (Ferreira, 2009: no page). However, David Morris does acknowledge that the BP rock engravings “were made by the ancestors of people who are now known as the Khoisan...Quite unequivocally but when you try to define exactly who in the present day that becomes extremely difficult” (Morris, interview, 29 March 2011). Therefore the ≠Khomani from Witdraai are considered as local people in this research as they are the closest KhoiSan community to BP.

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<sup>6</sup> Available at [www.dac.gov.za/acts/a25-99.pdf](http://www.dac.gov.za/acts/a25-99.pdf), accessed 06/04/2011.

As a research team no one among us had a direct legal connection to the Biesje Poort farm. We were all there to record the rock art and to do a cultural mapping of the area<sup>7</sup>. The multicultural and multidisciplinary Biesje Poort team comprises of: co-ordinator and representative of an arts for peace non-profit organisation, ARROWSA (Mary Lange); CCMS researchers for qualitative research investigating the tourism potential of the site and evaluating the level of participation in the project, (Keyan Tomaselli, Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, Shanade Barnabas and Miliswa Magongo); landscape architects from the University of Cape Town (UCT) (Liana Müller) and University of Pretoria (Roger Fisher) to facilitate cultural mapping; an archaeological team from the McGregor Museum (David Morris and Koot Msawula) to facilitate recording methods, and KhoiSan crafters (Isak Kruiper, Lys Lydia Kruiper, //Klankie Dawid Kruiper from the ≠Khomani<sup>8</sup> community in Witdraai (Northern Cape), Belinda Org<sup>9</sup> and Oeliset Org a Nimini Bushman from Botswana to share local knowledge and stories of engravings and material culture found.

The project participants were a small group, working on private land therefore the conclusions that will be drawn from this dissertation must not be generalised. Contexts vary and so do results. It is also important to mention here that in this dissertation the concept of community is not defined by geographical and legal/governmental criteria but as a group of individuals who share the same interest but do not reside in the same location (cf. Kincaid *et al*, 2002; Voth, 2006). Furthermore, due to the varying definition and application of the participatory communication concept in the development communication literature various participatory communication descriptors will be used

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<sup>7</sup> The ≠Khomani and Mier land claims in the Northern Cape, finalised in 2002, have enabled the ≠Khomani and the Mier access to land, inside and outside the Kgalagadi Transfontier Park (Finlay, 2009). However, Biesje Poort is not part of the land claim.

<sup>8</sup> The ≠Khomani are a particular San community of the southern Kalahari (Crawhall, 2001: 5). The Nama and Afrikaans-speaking ≠Khomani (meaning 'large group'), whose original language was N/u, have a long lineage and live in a variety of scattered settlements in the Northern Cape of South Africa (Tomaselli 2005: 3).

<sup>9</sup> First married to the late ≠Khomani artist Vetkat Kruiper but is now married to Oeliset Org (cf. Bregin and Kruiper, 2004).

interchangeably, including ‘participatory communication development’, ‘communication for participatory development’, ‘participatory development communication’.

### **To each his own**

This section briefly discusses the capacity and role of each of the project participants. Although the research team is made up of individuals from diverse cultures and disciplines it is important to note that they were all working together towards a common goal.

The Biesje Poort project links with The Centre for Communication, Media and Society’s (CCMS) Rethinking Indigeneity project<sup>10</sup> led by Professor Tomaselli since 1995. Rethinking Indigeneity research offers analysis on: cultural/heritage tourism and development (Finlay, 2009; Dyll, 2004, Dyll-Myklebust, 2012); the politics of representation (Barnabas, 2009; Simões, 2001); tourist/host and researcher/researched relations (Mhiripiri, 2008; Sehume, 1999; Tomaselli *et al*, 2008); as well as development communication (Dyll, 2009a/b; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011, Tomaselli, 1999; 2002; 2003; 2005). Its objective is to debunk the assumption that indigeneity necessarily entails marginalised communities reverting to a ‘traditional’ self-representation or lifestyles in ‘resistance’ to influences of the globalised world. Research is therefore set within a participatory framework whereby participant community members can discursively engage and negotiate the perceptions, expectations and at times, myths, that the media, researchers, lodge operators and tourists may impose (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

The Biesje Poort project was led by Mary Lange, the chairperson of ARROWSA. One of ARROWSA’s mandates is to promote the transference of knowledge of culture, heritage and creative artistic skills. In addition it promotes local, national, regional and international collaborative projects between different educational institutions

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<sup>10</sup> See [http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=735&Itemid=90](http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=735&Itemid=90), accessed on 29/04/2011.

(ARROWSA constitution, 2010). It is on this basis that Lange organised a multidisciplinary and multicultural team to record the rock art. Having worked with rock art research for a number of years<sup>11</sup> Lange believes that “rock art is part of such a broad aspect of our cultural heritage past and present that representatives reflecting that broad spectrum would need to be included to achieve as holistic a study as possible” (Lange, email, 30 September 2011).

Contradictory views have been documented on the proper term when referring to the indigenous people of the Northern Cape. Nigel Crawhall (2001: 20) points out that “politically correct agendas on terminology are useful in some contexts but can be oppressive to community people”. For instance the term ‘Bushman’ or ‘Boesman’ is considered pejorative by some (Crawhall, 2001). Yet, the different researchers in the Rethinking Indigeneity project use “Bushman” as it is the preferred term in the Northern Cape (Barnabas, 2009; Dyll, 2004; Finlay, 2009; Mhiripiri, 2008). The Biesje Poort proposal to the NHC uses the term KhoiSan therefore I will use the same term throughout this research. However, due to the fact that there are three Kruipers and two Orgs (as seen under the *location location location* heading above) I will henceforth refer to individuals by their first name so as not to confuse the reader.

KhoiSan descendants were included throughout the process of recording the rock engravings, their responses to the site and rock engravings. The KhoiSan descendants that were invited to be a part of the Biesje Poort project earn their income through selling art and crafts. It is for this reason that I will also refer to them as the Kalahari crafters in this research. This aspect of the project builds on the previous collaboration between KhoiSan descendants and CCMS, UKZN in art exhibitions (Lange, 2006a) and the representation of oral narratives recorded in the research area as part of museum educational programmes (Lange, 2007). The project also builds on previous arts based intercultural

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<sup>11</sup> Lange (2001; 2007) has worked in collaboration with KhoiSan people and descendants for the past fourteen years. Her Masters dissertation explored oral narratives from the research area of this project and their links to rock engravings. She is currently a rock art lecturer at UKZN.

meetings and cultural exchange organised by ARROWSA, CCMS (UKZN) between youth from various parts of South Africa and educational institutions and present KhoiSan descendants<sup>12</sup>.

Cultural heritage is more than the monuments and objects that have been preserved over time. The cultural heritage of humanity also includes the living expressions and traditions that countless communities and groups in every part of the world receive from their ancestors and pass on to their descendants<sup>13</sup>. Tangible cultural heritage is defined as one that can be stored and physically touched, such as temples and public buildings. Intangible cultural heritage on the other hand is that which exists intellectually in the culture, such as myths and beliefs (Crawhall, 2001; National Heritage Resources Act of 1999). The Biesje Poort engravings are worthy of recognition and formal protection with Provincial Heritage Site status (NHC/Lange, 2010). This is significant because, “[f]or the previously marginalised black majority, heritage is presumed to signal empowerment: the valorisation and preservation of their cultural beliefs and values” (Marschall, 2009: 1). Yet,

[f]or the state heritage is arguably an opportunistic means to fulfil the social needs of the electorate while simultaneously fostering the political goals nation building, reconciliation and unity, as well promoting the economic imperatives of development, employment creation and income generation, mostly through tourism (*Ibid*, 2009: 1).

Therefore, the head of archaeology at McGregor Museum, David Morris, not only supervised the recording of the rock art but “in terms of the requirements of the NHR Act 25 of 1999 [will] alert the local authority to the presence of a KhoiSan Heritage resource/s in their area of jurisdiction so as to assist them in developing its educational and tourism potential” (NHC/Lange, 2010). Ultimately, a motivation will be submitted to

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<sup>12</sup> See <http://194.80.168.131/arrow/index.php?mod=blogs&file=blog&v=266>, accessed on 21/09/ 2011.

<sup>13</sup> UNESCO-EIIHCAP Regional Meeting, Hué, Viet Nam 11-13 December 2007

Ngwao Bošwa ya Kapa Bokone (the Provincial Heritage Resources Authority). Especially because the site falls within the region of the ≠Khomani Heartland which is on South Africa's Tentative List for World Heritage inscription (NHC/Lange, 2010).

When it comes to preserving tangible and intangible heritage cultural mapping has been recognised by UNESCO as a crucial tool and technique. It encompasses a wide range of techniques and activities from community-based participatory data collection and management to sophisticated mapping using Geographic Information Systems (GIS)<sup>14</sup>. The inclusion of the landscape architects in the Biesje Poort project was to facilitate cultural mapping. They helped to “document the relationship of the living cultural landscape to the KhoiSan artefactual residue at Biesje Poort” (NHC/Lange, 2010). This method of gathering data and preserving heritage is beneficial in a participatory project as it encourages different interpretations and perspectives on certain issues and encourages intercultural dialogue among participants.

### **Issues to be investigated and Rationale for the Study**

One of the NHC-Biesje Poort project's secondary objectives is to transfer skills in the recording and representation of the rock engravings and broader cultural landscape via GPS mapping to members of a present day KhoiSan community, as well as to young researchers from a variety of educational institutions in South Africa (NHC/Lange, 2010). Using the CFPD model my research evaluates the role of participatory communication in the project including its approach (dialogue, knowledge sharing) and possible outcomes (skills transference, empowerment).

In building up a multidisciplinary and multicultural study, this research also explores the ways in which the present day Kalahari crafters as well as other participants of the

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<sup>14</sup> Available at <http://www.culturalmapping.com.au/about-cultural-mapping/what-is-cultural-mapping.html> accessed on 20/09/2011

research team view the Biesje Poort rock engravings. This seeks to address Joe Kincheloe and Shirley Steinberg's (2008: 150) call for a more open minded form of research in exploring "multiple ways of seeing and making sense of the world" therefore refusing to accept without question the Western canon as universal, "as the only body of knowledge worth knowing".

Conducting this research from a cultural studies and interpretive paradigm means that rather than relying on scientific theoretical conclusions to make sense of the research I also draw on 'lived experience'. "Interpretive researchers insist that all social knowledge is co-produced out of the multiple encounters, conversations and arguments they have with the people they are studying" (Deacon *et al*, 2007 :6). These research foci will be explored within an applied social science paradigm and particularly framed within a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach. PAR allows researchers from different disciplines to work together in a joint project. This is because in PAR the community under research must actively participate with the researcher throughout the research process from the initial design to the final presentation of results and discussion of their action implications (Whyte *et al.*, 1991). Due to the qualitative nature of this research I employ ethnographic methods of data collection such as participant observation and semi-structured interviews (See Chapter Two for an in depth methodology discussion).

This research aims to function as a blueprint for future researchers and practitioners on the significance of employing the participatory approach in either implementing or evaluating their development programmes. "Little is known about the value of intercultural collaboration and interaction in participatory development projects" (Crabtree, 1998: 203). Therefore, by exploring the role of participatory communication in empowering multicultural and multidisciplinary participants I aim to contribute to development communication literature.

This research project will contribute to the growing body of knowledge dealing with rock art as a cultural heritage and will hopefully result in public awareness of the need to respect heritage issues, projects, strategies and policies. Texts dealing with rock art have

been, and continue to “function, as major sources of information for a public which has very little direct contact with the art itself, and none with the people who made the art in the first place” (Solomon, 1995: 125).

In conclusion, it is important to note that participation is present in this research in three ways. Firstly, the wider BP project calls for participatory objectives (empowerment and skills transference). Secondly, my objective is to use the CFPD model to evaluate the nature of participatory communication in the BP project. Finally, I am informed by a PAR approach in conducting my research or data collection and evidence of a PAR approach within the wider BP project will be a finding of my research from my participant observation.

### **Structure of the Study**

This dissertation is comprised of seven chapters. *Chapter One* introduces the research study by describing the research community and research environment. It also highlights the aims and objectives of the study. *Chapter Two* discusses the methodological approach undertaken in order to answer the study’s research questions. *Chapter Three* reviews past participatory communication and heritage literature relevant to this study in terms of how the findings of each study are applicable to this current research. It also discusses how this study aims to contribute further to participatory communication and heritage development literature. *Chapter Four* discusses the evolution of development paradigms and how they inform this study. *Chapter Five* presents the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model as the overarching theoretical framework of this study. *Chapter Six* using the CFPD model as a guideline this chapter presents the findings and analysis of this study. The dissertation is concluded by *Chapter Seven*.

## **CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY**

### **Introduction**

This chapter describes in detail the research methods I employed to collect and analyse my research data. Multiple qualitative methods were used not only to gather data but to also make an in-depth understanding of the Biesje Poort rock art recording process. I first discuss both qualitative and interpretive research techniques: their advantages and disadvantages and how they inform my study. Although I have adopted a number of ethnographic techniques in the research process, such as participant observation, my study cannot be classified as classic ethnography. This section explains in detail why it cannot be classified so and why it is instead classified as applied cultural studies (Tomaselli, 2005). I further discuss the type of sampling procedure that was used to choose the Biesje Poort research participants. The participatory nature of the Biesje Poort rock art recording project promoted the participatory ways of gathering data discussed in this chapter. They include participant observation, semi-structured interviews and Participatory Action Research (PAR). Finally, using the CFPD model as a guide I discuss how I have analysed the data generated from my research. Limitations of this study and ethical considerations undertaken in this study are also discussed in this chapter.

### **Qualitative and Interpretive research**

This study is informed by qualitative research and techniques within the interpretive research paradigm. “Qualitative methodologies refer to research procedures which produce descriptive data: people’s own written or spoken words and observable behaviour” (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975: 4). This means that qualitative research involves an interpretive, naturalistic approach to the world, as researchers interpret or make sense of people’s experiences in terms of the meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). Qualitative and interpretive techniques allow researchers to explore concepts whose essence is lost in other more positivist research approaches. For instance, Babbie Earl and Rubbin Allen point out that “rather than convey statistical probabilities

for particular causal processes over a large number of people, interpretive researchers attempt to help readers of their reports sense what it is like to walk in the shoes of the small number of people they study” (2001: 50-51).

However, “(s)ome critics charge that qualitative researchers elicit unrepresentative data by virtue of their presence among subjects” (Bogdan and Taylor, 1975: 12). In conducting my research, I attempted to minimise the effects of presence by using different qualitative methods of gathering data such as participant observation, semi-structured interviews, tape recording and note taking. During the rock art recording process I was not only a researcher but I was also a research participant. I camped with all the research participants and took part in the recording of the rock art. This gave me an opportunity to observe and understand the participants’ group dynamics and how they affected the overall participation (or lack thereof) in the project. In this way this research also falls within PAR that will be discussed below.

Ethnographic research is conducted with the goal “to obtain a holistic picture of the subject of study with emphasis on portraying the everyday experiences of individuals by observing and interviewing them” (Creswell, 2007: 195). Ethnography “leads to an empathic understanding of a social scene. It is said to exclude, over time, the preconceptions that researchers may have and exposes them to a new social milieu which demands their engagement” (Bryman, 1988: 136). Classic ethnography studies involve a researcher’s presence in the field for long periods of time. However, my study cannot be accurately described as ethnographic as I did not spend a long period of time in the field. I collected my primary data during the first BP rock art recording field trip which took place from the 26<sup>th</sup> of March to the 04<sup>th</sup> of April 2011. I also took part in a follow up heritage recording trip in Witdraai, Kalahari with some of the BP participants from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> of June 2011. This project, dubbed Beyond Biesje Poort, is discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

This study adopts a reflexive approach (Ruby, 1977) in “that it aims to facilitate a form of inquiry, a way of knowing, which *includes* rather than excludes the researcher(s)”

(Tomaselli *et al*, 2008:368). Reflexivity allows me to triangulate<sup>15</sup> “via the reporting of different researchers on the same observations/encounters” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 356). It also allows me to document the “feelings, emotions, and the lived experience, largely ignored in positivist approaches” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 347).

Since I drew on all research team members’ perspectives and not only necessarily mine as a researcher in a researcher/researched relationship this study can be classified as applied cultural studies (Tomaselli, 2005). This means that the typical scenario of having the academics or researchers being expected to be knowledge bearers or experts and the researched being the informant was non-existent in BP as all participants were treated as ‘experts’ in the knowledge they possessed. This study includes discussions of the “political economy of the culture, the actual setting, the actual people involved and some of the participant observation which is then highlighted by personal experience” (Tomaselli, 2005: 39). These are characteristics of applied cultural studies. They also qualify this type of research as interpretive research. I also predominantly refer to myself in first person (I) in this study. Including myself as a researcher in this study can also be linked to PAR which is discussed below. The qualitative and ethnographic data collection methods adopted in this study are also elaborated on below.

### **Participant Observation**

Participant observation is when “a researcher participates in the activities of the group being observed in the same manner as its members, with or without their knowing that they are being observed” (Kumar, 2011: 141). During the first meeting with research participants my study objectives and my role as a participant observer in the study was explained to them. Participants were also asked if they felt comfortable having a participant observer throughout the recording process to which they responded in the

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<sup>15</sup> Combining more than one research method is known as triangulation that assists in analytical enrichment by drawing on multiple methods for a more comprehensive data collection (Cobb, 2000; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Deacon *et al*, 2007).

affirmative. This made it easy for me, for instance, during interviews to ask a participant to explain in detail a particular observation I made in the field to ensure that my observation or assumptions corresponded with the research participants' experience.

Participant observation is ideal when undertaking communication for participatory development research as it is "least likely to lead to researchers imposing their own reality on the social world they seek to understand" (Bryman, 1988: 138). It gave me an opportunity to spend sufficient time with all the participants to not only hear their views via interviews but to also observe their actions on and off the field. Participant observers are thorough researchers who gain a deeper understanding of their subjects (Kumar, 2011). Spending time with the research community at Biesje Poort enhanced my understanding of them, for instance, how their different social, cultural or academic backgrounds influenced their interpretation of the rock art. To complement this method of research and edify my study I frequently took field notes.

One of the main challenges I encountered as a participant observer was that I did not always carry my note book and recorder fearing that "some people may find the tape recorder inhibiting" (May, 1997: 124). So sometimes when a participant said something which I found to be of interest for my research I relied on my memory when noting it after the event. An objective of this study is to assess the level of participation among the research participants. As a participant observer I was aware that my presence may have had unintentional influence on the behaviour of the observed (Deacon *et al*, 1999). I, therefore, made it a point to spend time with individual participants talking about life in general and not only the research project. This assisted in establishing a trust-based relationship between me and the other team members (Deacon *et al*, 1999).

## **Interviews**

Face-to-face semi-structured interviews were conducted with all the project's participants (refer to Chapter One for the research participants details). Interviewing the participants enlightened me in instances when I did not automatically understand what I was

observing. The small size of the research sample and the fact that we were all camping in one place (Khamkirri campsite about 30km away from Biesje Poort) gave me enough time to conduct in-depth interviews with all research participants. Being a part of the recording team afforded me an opportunity to create a bond with the other participants which made it easy for them to open up and talk freely during interviews. I used a digital recorder to record all interviews, all of which have been translated and transcribed. The transcription process is an important stage of data analysis and it recognised as “an interpretative act, where meanings are created, rather than simply a mechanical act of putting spoken sounds on paper” (Braun & Clarke 2006: 87-88).

English and Afrikaans were the two main languages spoken in Biesje Poort. The Kalahari crafters speak Nama<sup>16</sup> and Afrikaans and I do not speak or understand Afrikaans or Nama. In addition they understand very little English. As a result, whenever English was used to address the group a bilingual team member either translated into Afrikaans and vice versa. Even when conducting one-on-one interviews with the Kalahari crafters I relied on fellow colleagues for translation. This language barrier presented a field research challenge and a small degree of team tension in one instance that will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six.

The participant’s own words have been used in presenting my findings and analysis of these findings has been informed by the theories or models in the theoretical framework and literature. The findings and analysis are discussed in detail in Chapter Six. I conducted three sets of interviews with all the participants; pre-site, during and post-site. The face-to-face interviews helped “yield rich insights into people’s experiences, opinions, aspirations, attitudes and feelings” (May, 1997: 102). Furthermore, using the semi-structured interviews, gave me “more latitude to probe beyond the answers and thus

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<sup>16</sup> Nama is the most widespread of the Khoisan languages, spoken over an enormous geographic area (Namibia, Botswana and South Africa) with low population densities. It is spoken by pockets of isolated speakers such as the ≠Khomani (Crawhall, 1999; 2001). Today Afrikaans is the *lingua franca* spoken in the Northern Cape.

enter into a dialogue with the interviewee...allow[ing] people to answer more on their own terms than the standardised interview permits, but still provide a greater structure for comparability over that of the focused interview” (May, 1997: 111).

Every night during supper at Khamkirri we sat as a group and discussed the day’s events. These discussions gave me an opportunity to interview participants as a group and to observe group norms and dynamics. The value in group interviews is that they “can provide a valuable insight into both social relations in general and the examination of processes and social dynamics in particular” (May, 1997: 114). The group interviews gave the participants latitude to discuss any issues that they felt like discussing. Gathering information from that kind of environment gave the interviews a participatory aspect as they were not constrained to specific issues as is usual with focus group interviews. Group interviews are “very useful for exploring the diversity in opinions on different issues (Kumar, 2011: 128). However, it requires a facilitator with good leadership skills since “if the discussion is not carefully directed it may reflect the opinion of those who have a tendency to dominate a group” (Kumar, 2011: 128).

I am aware of the Self and Other<sup>17</sup> dichotomy that may be inferred by involving an indigenous group with a group of academics as some researchers working with the KhoiSan have been “sometimes accused of being exploiters of knowledge” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 351). The Biesje Poort research project recognises the value of including indigenous knowledge<sup>18</sup> in a scientific research project. It is anticipated that documenting

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<sup>17</sup> This concept entails historical misconceptions and misrepresentations of indigenous African people as the backward ‘Other’ shaped by Western ‘Same’ perceptions (Tomaselli, 1996; Mhiripiri, 2009). These are the misconceptions the Rethinking Indigeneity and Biesje Poort projects aim to debunk.

<sup>18</sup> This project’s non-essentialist understanding of indigenous knowledge is as local tangible and intangible “knowledges produced in a specific social context and employed by lay people in their everyday lives” (George, 1999). Such knowledge exists within the durational present but relates to the past whether through oral narratives or practices (Morris, 2005).

the research process with participants that hold indigenous knowledge (Kalahari crafters) and from multidisciplinary backgrounds (academics) will “explicitly expose the contradictions of academic discourse and knowledge production” (Tomaselli *et al*, 2008: 352).

### **Participatory Action Research (PAR)**

Furthermore, this research is informed by a Participatory Action Research (PAR) approach. PAR is defined as “a qualitative research paradigm in which the researcher’s function is to serve as a resource to those being studied...as an opportunity for them to act effectively in their own interest” (Babbie & Rubin, 2011: 626). Thus, research that adopts PAR methods aims to have use value.

In PAR the community under research must actively participate with the researcher throughout the research process from the initial planning to implementation of a project (Whyte *et al.*, 1991). It also allows researchers from different disciplines such as the BP participants to work together in a joint project. This allows for participants to be a part of a learning process as they each share their knowledge and expertise. Hence, PAR is arguably the most compatible approach to the study of participatory communication (Einsiedel, 1999; Escobar, 1999; Jacobson, 1994; White, 1999).

In PAR “all members of the community under research are required to be actively engaged in the quest for information and ideas to guide their future actions” (Whyte *et al*, 1991: 20). PAR “enable[s] the oppressed groups and classes to acquire sufficient creative and transforming leverage as expressed in specific projects, acts and struggles” (Fals-Borda, 1991: 4). The BP project’s objective to empower the Kalahari crafters and other project participants via working together in the rock art recording process where each member is considered an ‘expert’ can be linked to PAR as it aims “to give power back to marginalised groups by generating local knowledge informed by those being developed” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 342-343). Active participation of community members in their development makes it possible to address higher level needs, such as self-esteem

and belonging (Maslow, 1998). Based on my literature study of PAR, this dissertation will compare and explore the ways in which PAR is operationalised in the Biesje Poort project and whether, or how, participatory communication is maintained throughout the recording process.

## **Sampling**

The sampling techniques used in this study were influenced by the BP research leader's choice of participants in the project. This is discussed in detail under the limitations section below. Sampling was also informed by the research study's objectives and research questions.

Research participants were chosen purposively (du Plooy, 2009) by the wider project's research leader. This was to ensure that relevant people participated not only in the research, but also received skills transference and training for possible future rock engraving recording in the area (NHC/Lange, 2010). Purposive sampling entails deliberately selecting participants whom the researcher thinks would be appropriate for the study (Kumar, 2011).

The possible reason why the BP participants participated fully and freely engaged in dialogue may be that the people Mary invited to work in the project were people with whom she already had good relations. Purposively choosing participants she knew would have an interest in the project and particular skills to share with other participants helped minimise the project's risk to fail. This is because of the already established mutual trust, respect and concern of each other. Reaffirming the assertion that "development of social trust precedes development of task trust" (Nair and White 1994: 357).

The participants for the Biesje Poort rock art recording project were selected using a purposive and snowball method. David Morris, Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, I, Roger Fisher, Belinda Org, Isak and Lys Kruiper were purposively chosen. The reason they were invited to be part of the project was generally because the coordinator, Lange, had worked with them before and had a good knowledge of their interests and expertise.

There were also legislative and ethical reasons. The ethical reason was to include people who had worked with and supported Lange's research in the area over a number of years as well as some who lived in the geographical area and therefore shared an interest and possible ancestral link with the Biesje Poort site.

From a legislative point of view Morris was also included because he is the head of the McGregor Museum, Kimberley, archaeological department that has jurisdiction over the Northern Cape area. Dyll-Myklebust was chosen because of her academic skill as a researcher/lecturer/supervisor and her prior Kalahari research experience and relationship with some of the Kalahari participants. Dyll-Myklebust and Lange had not only travelled to the Kalahari together previously on CCMS research tours but they had worked together with the late Kalahari artist Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper and his wife Belinda on art exhibitions in Durban, development of his art and the publication of their art and poetry. I was invited to participate in the project as Lange had supervised me for my honour's modules. I had also been to the Kalahari on a CCMS field trip and was familiar with the Kalahari community.

Fisher, of the University of Pretoria (UP), had similarly to Dyll-Myklebust, worked with Lange (and CCMS) assisting the late Vetkat Regopstaan Kruiper in the marketing and sales of his work and facilitated his first exhibition that was held at UP. As such he too had a long relationship with the Kalahari artists but specifically Vetkat and Belinda. Fisher too had a history of lecturing, supervising and research publication and had shown a particular interest in a multi-dimensional capturing of the cultural landscape. He had also introduced Lange, his sister, to the subject of rock art in 1996, and acted as a mentor starting in her initial studies of archaeology through University of South Africa (UNISA).

Belinda and Lange with other team members mentioned previously had worked together since 1999 towards the development, marketing and sale of her late husband and Kalahari crafters work. Of these crafters were Isak and his wife Lys whose work had also been exhibited and sold at Bergtheil Museum, Westville, exhibitions in Durban. Lange had also interacted with Isak and Lys independently on CCMS field trips and ARROWSA

and Durban University of Technology intercultural arts and heritage exchange trips. From this interaction Lange knew of the Kalahari crafters' interest in heritage and their enthusiasm to participate in joint ventures.

Other participants were included through a snowball method. Snowball sampling is when chosen participants recruit other participants to take part in the research (Kumar, 2011). These were Liana Müller, Shanade Barnabas, //Klankie Dawid Kruiper, Koot Msawula and Oeliset Org. Fisher suggested that Müller, of University of Cape Town (UCT), be invited as he had been her lecturer and therefore knew of her academic abilities as well as her empathy for indigenous peoples and ability to record the landscape and built environment from a multi-dimensional perspective. Barnabas was suggested by Tomaselli as she was already researching a rock art site in the Northern Cape namely, Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre in Kimberley. //Klankie was suggested by Belinda and Isak due to his artistic interest<sup>19</sup>, dedication shown in work situations, his interest in KhoiSan heritage. Müller, Barnabas, //Klankie and I added an additional youth and representative element to the project. Msawula was identified by Morris as a participant due to their history of working on archaeological recording and Msawula's interest and enthusiasm for history and prehistory. Oeliset was included as he was Belinda's partner and reflected an in-depth indigenous knowledge of the Kalahari and interest in its heritage.

Tomaselli was essential to the project as the funding request to NHC went through his department, CCMS, UKZN. Further than this is the crucial academic, research and supportive role that he had played over the years linked to all the people and projects mentioned above.

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<sup>19</sup> //Klankie's art work has previously been exhibited and sold at the Bergtheil Museum.

## **Analysis**

The CFPD model guides my analysis as to whether the Biesje Poort rock-art recording process was successful or unsuccessful in achieving its participatory development objectives, such as its promotion of skills transference, empowerment, and the level of participation amongst all participants (to be discussed in Chapter Six). The CFPD model provides indicators under community dialogue and collective action with which to measure the process of participatory communication community (Figueroa *et al*, 2002). In Chapter Five of this study, each step of the CFPD model is laid out and discussed in detail in relation to the BP project.

## **Ethical Considerations**

Before the research interviews were conducted certain ethical obligations were observed to not only show respect to the research participants but to also increase the credibility of the findings. Firstly, all research participants voluntarily accepted the invitation to be a part of the recording process, they were not forced. All participants signed informed consent forms which were written in English and then translated into Afrikaans to accommodate everyone. A copy of the consent form is attached as appendix B. It is basically a request for participants' written consent for the use of any information that was may be acquired during the research. Among other issues the form states the aims of the research project, its time period and what it would entail, what was expected from research participants, and an option to remain anonymous if they so wished. Research participants were also given the choice of being referred to by their real name or a pseudonym and they chose to be referred to by their real names.

The interview transcripts are in safe-keeping by the researcher for use in documenting this study and any further related research. The research supervisor (Lauren Dyll-Myklebust) will store the research data securely for a period of five years after completion of the dissertation. As a researcher I understand that "sharing information

about a respondent with others for the purposes other than research is unethical” (Kumar, 2011: 246).

Giving participants’ compensation for participating in a development project may be considered unethical by some researchers. Yet some say “rewarding participants for the work they have done shows the value placed on their contribution” (Smart and Titterton, 2008: 60). It is, therefore, worth mentioning that the Kalahari participants in the BP project were given money after the project as a token of appreciation for their time. Ranjit Kumar (2011) clarifies that, paying participants before data collection is unethical whereas paying them after data collection is ethical. He further argues that people do not participate in a research project because they are driven by incentives but because they find the study important for their lives.

Since ethical requirements are “not only limited to the treatment of people but apply to the entire process of data collection” (du Plooy, 2009: 398). I have attempted to eliminate bias and increase reliability and validity of this study by applying triangulation as discussed in this chapter.

## **Limitations**

The semantic complexity that surrounds the concept of ‘project’ in participatory ‘project’ has limiting characteristics which influence participation in development initiatives. This is because ‘project’ as a concept is considered contradictory by some (Clever, 1999; Gumucio-Dagron, 2008). “[A] project is, by definition, a clearly defined set of activities, concerned with quantifiable costs and benefits, with time-limited activities and budgets. The project imperative emphasizes meeting practical rather than strategic needs, instrumentality [*sic*] rather than empowerment” (Clever, 1999: 598). This means that these factors act as the overarching framework of the project and all participatory activities done must comply or be incorporated within this frame. For instance, the NHC as the principal funder of the BP project had some terms and conditions which affected the participatory nature of the project. These included a fixed deadline for the project which

meant that participants had to work within the specified time limits in order to meet the funder's deadline and not as and when they wanted as discussed under *external constraints and support* in Chapter Five.

As already mentioned earlier Afrikaans was the *lingua franca* during the BP recording process. A language which I cannot speak or understand therefore I relied on Lange to help me with transcribing all of the interviews conducted in Afrikaans. Having someone who was part of the recording process transcribing for me was an advantage as she understood the context under which some things were said so could interpret them as they were meant to be said. For instance the recording of the Colin Louw meeting started in the middle of the meeting. But because we both attended the meeting it was easy for us to recall and remind each other how it started. The problem however with relying on a third person for transcription is that he or she might use her discretion to decide which conversation needed to be transcribed word for word and which ones to just summarise. Oversimplifying data as is usually the case in translation can lead to loss of meaning.

Regardless of all these limitations, in Chapter Five this study demonstrates that the success of a communication for participatory development project is informed by dialogue plus collective action towards a common goal.

## **Conclusion**

Mixing Cultural Studies, Social Science and ethnographic methods might seem peculiar to some; however, judging from the trends in academia it is inevitable. "Cultural Studies and the social sciences in general offer an interdisciplinary space where a range of existing disciplines are merging in practice" (Mhiripiri, 2008: 100). Combining the various methods of gathering data in this research was done intentionally to add depth and validity to it.

To establish the theoretical background of this study this chapter is followed by the literature review. It explores past academic literature and case studies on development participatory communication. It also situates this research study in South Africa's

participatory heritage discourse. Reviewing literature will help in bringing focus to my research problem and essentially contextualising my findings.

## CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

*Analyzing the politics of development communication is playing with fire (Alfonso Gumucio-Dagron, 2009:453).*

### Introduction

Facilitating sustained participation for development requires multiple strategies (Chitnis, 2005; Servaes, 2000). There are key questions and a framework of guiding principles to lead practitioners and stakeholders in a participatory development communication approach. Thomas Tufte and Paolo Mefalopulos (2009) outline that as a starting point it is necessary that: i) the catalyst or change agent be understood by both the practitioners and the participant beneficiary, ii) the development problem, such as lack of skills, lack of resources or social inequality, be identified and iii) the aim of the change, such as individual behaviours, social norms, power relations, and social or economic structures, be clear. This literature review discusses past global and local studies in communication for participatory development according to themes and concepts that guide and inform participatory communication. The case studies discussed do not constitute an exhaustive collection of all projects that apply to participatory development communication strategies but only a few that are relevant to this study. The recurring themes in this study that highlight the existing theoretical participatory concepts include; the catalyst of the development project, empowerment and other intended or unintended outcomes, the nature and process of participation, and methodologies used such as participatory action research (PAR).

The Biesje Poort (BP) project may be classified as a heritage project since “all rock paintings and engravings done by indigenous people in South Africa are protected by the National Heritage Resources Act 25 of 1999”<sup>20</sup>. It is also funded by the National Heritage Council (NHC). As a result the literature review section is concluded with a brief review

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<sup>20</sup> Information found on <http://www.sahra.org.za/rockart.htm> [retrieved on 07/08/2012]

of the South African heritage discourse and some case studies that reflect rock art heritage. Primarily focusing on the participatory aspect of heritage conservation and management the case studies are reviewed in order to position the BP study within local South African heritage discourse.

### **The catalyst: Change Agents and Communities**

The general consensus in the participatory development theory is that participatory communication is, ideally, a bottom-up process (Boeren, 1994; Waisbord, 2000). The underlying assumption is that a participatory development project must be planned and implemented by the local community. Though evidently normative, there are a few successful cases where the local community identified a need then worked together towards achieving it. For instance, a cultural heritage preservation project in the village of Kontea/Turkmenköy in Cyprus was identified and successfully implemented by local community members. Though initiated by the local community members it was supported by an external organisation, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). With the cooperation of former and current village residents they restored buildings in the village such as the church, mosque, aqueducts, peace-park and central plaza. The success of the project is attributed to the involvement of the beneficiaries from the beginning of the project until the end. It is reported that working together as the project beneficiaries from the decision making phase to the implementation phase encouraged the residents to take full ownership of the project.<sup>21</sup> The fact that the project became known as the Kondea project instead of the Cultural Heritage Circle Preservation Project, as was its formal name, attests to the sense of community ownership in the project.

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<sup>21</sup> Information on the Future Together project in Cyprus was found on <http://www.futuretogether.net/index.php/component/content/article?layout=edit&id=30> [Accessed on 8 April 2012].

Although participatory approaches, in their normative sense, are supposedly defined and driven by beneficiary communities often on-the-ground challenges (such as financial, infrastructural and transport resources, as well as a lack of education, and /or business training) create a need for facilitators or ‘change agents’ (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). Due to such circumstances the involvement of external agents as catalysts and facilitators is widely acceptable. The use of change agents as information diffusers to change participants’ behaviour can be linked to Everett Rogers’ (1962) diffusion of innovations model. This model emphasises persuading participants to adopt new exogenously conceived innovations. It traces the process by which a new idea or practice is communicated through certain channels over time. The diffusion of innovations model proposes that the mass media are responsible in creating widespread awareness and interest in an innovation from aid agencies. Change agents in the field then decide what innovations are best for the beneficiary community, followed by campaigns to convince them of their choice. Change agents would then furnish the “early adopters” (such as doctors and midwives) with skills and information necessary to make adoption feasible (Rogers, 1962).

However, the change agents used in participatory communication have shifted their focus. They are now more concerned with *exchanging* information with participants instead of imposing new knowledge on them. “One is no longer attempting to create a need for the information one is disseminating, but one is rather disseminating information for which there is a need” (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005: 101).

For instance, in an attempt to understand how communication can facilitate participatory development to improve poor people’s lives Ketan Chitnis (2005) used the Comprehensive Rural Health Project (CRHP) in Jamkhed, India as a case study. The CRHP employed a Mobile Health Team (MHT) to become a principal link between the villages, the training centre and hospital in Jamkhed (Chitnis, 2005). The team, as the change agent, introduced new ideas and information to community members (Chitnis, 2005). Team members were responsible for establishing trust and building relationships with community members and disseminating information needed to change unhealthy

behaviours. Weekly or bi-monthly visits of the MHT to communities helped establish trust and rapport with the community members. This continuous contact between change agents and the communities, highlighted by Chitnis, is important to bring about participation (Servaes, 2001). Chitnis (2005:164) supports the use of change agents in the project as “people are more likely to listen and change their behaviours when new information comes from people they know and trust. Thus, the MHT members are information diffusers, linkers and facilitators who train the community members in becoming self-reliant”. The training of community members in this participatory research context does not mean that the information is imposed on the community members. Instead it underpins significant participatory principles; transference of skills and empowerment. However, the research method used and amount of involvement by external change agents may determine how effective the process is and how sustainable the project is after they have left (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

External support in participatory communication projects is also encouraged as it brings in the technical expertise that may improve the people’s way of life and possibly unite them (Bessette, 2004). Outside facilitators who are not part of the community and not limited by relationships with the community members can create a positive environment for disadvantaged groups to partake in development initiatives. One of the organisations that managed to create a favourable environment for women to participate in a development project is the Social Action for Rural and Tribal Inhabitants of India (SARTHI) (Sarin, 1993). In India’s wastelands “women [were] unlikely to benefit from land rehabilitation efforts in any lasting way, unless these development projects empower women to gain greater control over the use and management of local resources” (Weekes-Vagliani, 1994:14). Trained SARTHI field staff helped the women use biomass efficiently and ecologically:

SARTHI's work with group formation gave the women a power base to challenge the gender division of labour at home and in society. Husbands started taking on some household chores to free the women for work on the

wastelands. These women's groups were models of democratic participation and fairness (Weekes-Vagliani, 1994:16).

What can be learnt from the SARTHI study is that the women had the knowledge and resources but with external support in skills development they were able to successfully work together and become a positive influence in their community (Weekes-Vagliani, 1994).

Development projects catalysts are not only external agents such as practitioners and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) but in a “neighborhood environment a sense of community can be both a cause and effect of local action” (Chavisa & Wandersman, 1990:73). There are three important components that influence an individual’s participation in voluntary neighbourhood organisations and that sense of community plays a catalytic role in mobilising the three components. The three components are “the perception of the environment, one’s social relations, and one’s perceived control and empowerment within the community” (Chavisa & Wandersman, 1990:56). This means that people are more likely to attend and participate in an association meeting when they are neighbours who communicate regularly.

Suggesting community as a possible catalyst for social change, Chavisa and Wandersman, (1990:57) argue that “the relationship between a sense of community and community competence (its problem-solving ability) through collective effort is reciprocal”. The community members will be empowered both as individuals and as a group as they collectively work together towards a common goal. It is necessary, however, that development initiatives should be developed that “foster membership, increase influence, meet needs, and develop a shared emotional connection among community members” (Chavisa & Wandersman, 1990:74). Suggestions are, however, not offered on what researchers should do when dealing with fragmented communities that refuse to work together. Nor do Chavisa and Wandersman (1990) discuss how a researcher/practitioner should deal with conflicts that may arise in the middle of the project. This study will therefore investigate who the catalysts of the BP rock art

recording are as well as their role in the project. It also documents any conflict or misunderstanding that may arise in the BP project and how these are negotiated.

### **Intended and unintended outcomes**

Development communication literature reveals that there is “no best, single approach or strategy for empowering people and implementing participatory development” (Hermann, 2007:17; Servaes, 2001). Empowerment is “context specific” as discussed in Chapter Four (Chavisa & Wandersman, 1990:75). For instance in Jamkhed India empowering women from the lowest socio-economic stratum at individual and community level was achieved through conducting health promotion workshops (Chitnis, 2005) that taught women to become village health workers thus empowering them to reach the community at large.

The objective of social change without understanding local community norms may result in inaccurate analysis and unintended outcomes. There is a common misconception that individual (verbal) contributions in public meetings denote meaningful participation (Cleaver, 1999). For instance, Frances Cleaver and Bwire Kaare (1998) observed that in Tanzania during public village meetings more men spoke than women. They later learnt that in their culture when men spoke, they only represented themselves as an individual male yet women represented other women. Women chose a spokesperson based on her knowledge of the issue and ability to speak and then expressed whatever they wanted to share in the meeting via the woman spokesperson (Cleaver, 1999; cf. Cleaver & Kaare, 1998). This example shows that from an uninformed outsider’s point of view, the women may have looked as if they were not actively participating in the meeting yet they were.

Aspects of communication strategies can also be used to facilitate empowerment in local communities. These include; transferring knowledge and skills; allowing local people to participate in the project from inception to completion and allowing all participants to voice their views. A study that used these strategies to illustrate the potential of participatory research in empowering people from disadvantaged communities was

conducted by Mike Titterton and Helen Smart (2008). They evaluated the Be Well community project based in an underprivileged area in the City of Edinburgh. Be Well's primary mandate is to work with the local people to identify and meet their health needs and make these needs known at strategic policy and planning levels. The researchers were therefore interested in finding out whether the organisation met its objectives and whether the organisation was making an impact in the community. Reflecting on the research results they state that the research participants were empowered through dialogue and the transference of knowledge and skills. They employed community members to conduct interviews with their fellow community members. The participants were involved at all stages of the research, from designing research questions to the evaluation stage thus gaining a sense of involvement and inclusion in the project. Involvement in the process developed the participants' interpersonal communication and interviewing skills. Through group discussions participants got an opportunity to learn about and contribute to the health provision and promotion agenda (Titterton & Smart, 2008). Finally, the project was implemented without difficulty since it was initiated by the local community (Titterton & Smart, 2008).

Furthermore, Robbin Crabtree (1998:183) illustrates "how participatory development when grounded in the theme of social justice, intercultural communication and service learning provide the conditions for mutual empowerment". Using two case studies of intercultural participatory development and service learning projects in El Salvador and in Nicaragua, Crabtree (1998) discusses the application of above mentioned theories. The project was informed by participatory development models that were incorporated with local grassroots community development initiatives. Both projects also:

emphasized intercultural communication as the vehicle for producing both mutual understanding and personal transformation. Finally, within a university program of service learning, both projects merged academic study and critical reflection with the enterprise of social action (Crabtree, 1998:189).

Crabtree's (1998) research shares similarities with the BP rock art recording project that is also based on intercultural communication. The BP project aims to involve local Kalahari crafters with academics from different disciplines and cultures to work together to record the rock art. Through this collaboration and in line with a participatory communication approach the project aims to empower participants with new skills, as well as to foster knowledge exchange between the Kalahari crafters and academics (NHC/Lange, 2010).

The empowerment of a community to work together is sometimes not enough to bring about success in development initiatives. A lack of material resources can lead to a disempowered community. Yet, "development practitioners excel in perpetuating the myth that communities are capable of anything, that all that is required is sufficient mobilization" (Cleaver, 1999: 604). Titterton & Smart (2008: 55) warn that "raising expectations of improved services and greater participation...can be a disempowering experience if nothing happens". Project implementers have a mandate to engage the local community in a dialogue at the beginning of the research process. During this dialogue they should discuss among other issues, the project objectives and its specific time frame.

To prove that sometimes empowerment is not enough to solve one's problems, Cleaver (1999), shares his field experience. A motivated and dynamic Zimbabwean community built their own school and established a number of income-generating clubs. To deal with the drought in their area, that was giving them low agricultural income, they created a community fund from household contributions to buy a windmill. However, due to their remote location, they were unable to get financial assistance from the government and NGOs. For many years they remained without water and had to travel 10 kilometres to another village to collect water. For sustainable development, empowerment must be complemented by access to resources and a stable political climate.

Involvement of the Kalahari crafters, most of whom are ≠Khomani, in the Biesje Poort research project is significant as they come from an under privileged background. Generally, within broader society, they are:

treated as inferior, by succeeding peoples and governments, and have been excluded from meaningful participation in society, initially informally, then by formal policies. Such treatment, long term, has resulted in the disempowerment of many ≠Khomani, and continues to have a direct impact on the community today (Grant, 2011:172).

This study aims to explore if and how participating in the BP project empower the ≠Khomani in any way. The way in which development organisations implement skills and the way in which they are received by the participants have an influence on the outcome of development initiatives. There are a few NGOs in the Kalahari that are involved in projects that aim to empower the ≠Khomani. These include, South African San Institute (SASI) that works on land and human rights issues, intellectual property rights pertaining to research and visual material, culture, heritage and language management issues among other issues (cf. Dyll, 2004; Finlay, 2009; Grant, 2011); FARM-Africa SA, worked with the community to develop sustainable farming practices (Alastair, 2007<sup>22</sup>; cf. Grant, 2011). As a privately-operated but community owned development venture !Xaus Lodge empowers community members by employing them and providing skills training and knowledge of the hospitality industry. The lodge also provides them a platform to sell their craftwork (Dyll, 2004; Dyll-Myklebust, 2012; Finlay, 2009; Grant, 2011). Although these projects have played a role in empowering the ≠Khomani there are methodological differences in how they were implemented. This study will investigate whether the strategies which the BP project employs empower the participants and if so in what manner. One of the strategies which the BP project has employed to increase knowledge sharing in the project is the incorporation of Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS) discussed below.

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<sup>22</sup> This is no.6 Farm-Africa working paper. Information see <http://www.farmafrica.org.uk/resources/WP%206%20Land%20Restitution%20and%20Livelihoods%20The%20Khomani%20San.pdf> accessed 12 July 2012.

## **Indigenous Knowledge Systems (IKS)**

Including indigenous knowledge in development projects is one of the principles which set the participatory development concept apart from other development communication paradigms discussed in Chapter Four. In its simplest terms, indigenous knowledge can be equated with local knowledge that is unique to a given culture or society. It is important to recognise that indigenous knowledge is dynamic as it is “produced in a specific social context and employed by laypeople in their everyday lives” (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 2008: 150). It embodies “the cosmologies, values, cultural beliefs and webs of relationship that exist within specific indigenous communities” (Denzin & Lincoln, 2008a: xiv).

Indigenous knowledge contrasts with the international knowledge system [scientific knowledge] generated by universities, research institutions and private firms (Mundy, 1993; Rao & Ramana, 2007; Warren, 1991). Some of the more obvious differences between the two forms of knowledge are that:

Science is open, systematic, objective and analytical, indigenous knowledge is closed, non-systematic and without any concepts. Indigenous knowledge systems are embedded in social and cultural milieu of their particular community and scientific knowledge seeks to distinguish very clearly between these different dimensions (Rao & Ramana, 2007:129).

The disparities between the two knowledge systems are what enrich a project that embraces both of them. Though seemingly contradictory they each provide the other with knowledge that the other is lacking. Therefore, it is important for development practitioners to include both forms of knowledge in their development initiatives.

Although indigenous people may be considered by some people as illiterate and out of touch with the modern way of life, some case studies demonstrate that with the indigenous knowledge they possess, indigenous people can play an active role in mobilising policy changes (Crawhall, 2008; Ndlovu, 2011; Stevenson, 1996). In these

instances indigenous knowledge is valorised as a resource for development, and not as an impediment, as was the case within the dominant modernisation paradigm (See discussion in Chapter Four).

Mobilising indigenous knowledge in a social change project was undertaken with Aka villagers from Mongoumba district in South West Central African Republic. They worked with UNESCO researchers in a participatory mapping exercise. They represented their oral and intangible traditional ecological knowledge such as dance, music, the culture of forest spirits, as well as traditional knowledge of biodiversity, medicine and sustainable exploitation of non-timber forest resources. They made recommendations on how to connect the communities with UNESCO's Education for Sustainable Development (Crawhall, 2008). An evaluation of this project revealed the benefits of combining both indigenous knowledge and scientific knowledge which in this case takes the form of information communications technology:

Central Africa Republic (CAR) suggest that in contrast to current formal education in Africa, informal / non-formal learning in combination with participatory applications of information communication technology (ICT) promise new avenues for indigenous peoples and local communities to participate more explicitly in inter-generational and inter-cultural transmission of knowledge, values and practices married to important policy transformation in favour of conservation of nature, management of ecosystem resources and coping with the impacts of climate change (Crawhall, 2008: no page number)<sup>23</sup>.

This supports that including indigenous knowledge in a development initiative plays a key role in helping the local community members preserve their valuable skills and knowledge and further introduces them to new problem solving strategies.

However, working with indigenous groups to inform policy changes is still a work in progress for many African countries. Although indigenous knowledge is highly valued in

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<sup>23</sup> Information found on [www.unesco.org/.../cultural-mapping/](http://www.unesco.org/.../cultural-mapping/) [accessed 31 May 2012]

many African countries: “African states remain cautious or even suspicious of ethnically-specific solutions, local governance capacity or the ability of illiterate/low literacy communities to actively shape and inform policy” (Crawhall, 2008)<sup>24</sup>. This contempt for local knowledge is worsened by the economic and social gap between rural people and urban people.

One of the contentious arguments raised about including indigenous knowledge in development programmes is that “[w]estern science is incapable of appreciating traditional cultures and their knowledge systems and practices...as it does not recognize the spiritual elements of IK” (World bank, 1998:13). This argument may have been brought about by the fact that most development initiatives are implemented using western technologies. This use of western technologies may overshadow the indigenous knowledge contributed by the local community. The validity of this hypothesis in relation to the BP rock art recording project will be discussed in detail in Chapter Six. This will include a discussion of if and how the Kalahari crafters’ local or indigenous knowledge was included within the project’s processes. This includes an investigation as to, whether decision making and the adoption of the indigenous knowledge was conducted in a participatory manner. Including indigenous knowledge must not be the only goal but it must extend to sharing that knowledge as it is elaborated under knowledge sharing below.

## **Knowledge Sharing**

On the surface, using information and communication technology (ICT) for social change can be linked more to the dominant paradigm than to participatory development communication (See discussion on Chapter Four). The fact that ICTs are external scientific knowledge, usually brought in to a local community within many development programmes, may be viewed as knowledge imposition. In addition, “knowledge systems and the creation of knowledge has traditionally been the domain of the academic and

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<sup>24</sup> Information found on [www.unesco.org/.../cultural-mapping/](http://www.unesco.org/.../cultural-mapping/) [accessed 31 May 2012]

well-educated” (White, 1994: 26). However, if the ICT knowledge and skills are acquired by the local community through dialogue, participation, sharing of their indigenous knowledge then that process initiates knowledge sharing (White, 1994). Based on the afore mentioned knowledge sharing is one of the fundamental principles of the concept of participatory development as it implies mutual respect of all knowledge brought in by all the stakeholders involved.

Collaborative partnerships between local knowledge and experts can be mutually beneficial. In Jamkhed, India the Comprehensive Rural Health Project implementers listened to the local people and promoted their health management principles, such as the use of herbal medicines and praying for patients. They also used the opportunity to challenge local harmful health management practices such as under-nourishing pregnant women so that the child is small and hence easy to deliver (Chitnis, 2005). Sharing knowledge with the locals helped in empowering them to know the difference between good and harmful practices (Chitnis, 2005).

The potential danger of involving technical or scientific experts to work together with people who are not formally educated is that the level of education between the two groups may create a communication gap. Without a mediator, good leader or “champion” to ensure a continuous flow of communication between the two groups the discussion may become too technical and intimidating to the other group thus causing tension (cf. Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). “An important practice is co-creating knowledge and demystifying technical and complex information so that community members can understand it, use it and spread it” (Chitnis, 2005: 202). Creating this environment that strives to allow all participants involved to share their knowledge is imperative in ensuring the success of a participatory development project. In order to do so, power relations need to be considered.

## **Power Relations**

Participatory research as a concept emphasises knowledge sharing among all participants involved. It maintains that all participants are experts and as such have a right to participate in a project from inception to completion. This essentially, “removes the researcher’s position of power as expert” but allows all participants from the educated to the illiterate to share power and contribute their own knowledge and expertise (Bourke, 2009: 459). However, the reality is that community power dynamics are a sensitive and complex matter in development. Therefore, power relations are a crucial factor to consider when implementing a communication for participatory development project (Besette, 2004; Herman, 2007; Yoon, 1996). In most instances the way in which local people’s will to participate in a development project is influenced by the way in which they are governed. It is therefore advisable that participatory projects be adapted “to the context-specific power structure” (Herman, 2007:26). Whether people participate in a project or not is in most instances determined by their social, economic and political standing in the community.

To illustrate how power dynamics ensue in a community Alfonso Gumucio-Dagron shares this analogy:

Imagine a rural community where some external aid agency is willing to drill a borehole and install a water pump. This is a simple mini-project from the perspective of the donor, but can be a lifesaving project for the rural community. But then, where should the borehole be drilled and the water pump be installed? The chief of the village may want it close to his house, or sometimes even inside his compound; he may argue that otherwise his authority is undermined, or that he is the only one that can guarantee fair use of the water resource. The school teacher may reason that it should be located in the school, because all children would benefit and they can take water to their homes after school hours. The nurse at the health centre, if any, may state that safe water is essential to keep everyone healthy and that, to guarantee the good use and maintenance of the pump, it should be located at the health facility. Other

people may advance other interesting and valid arguments to contribute to the decision-making process on where to drill the borehole, including the technical staff, government, or NGO officials involved in development plans. The location of the borehole and water pump has an impact on the social dynamics of the community: it may promote its cohesion and internal democracy, or may disrupt the social fabric and contribute to further inequalities Gumucio-Dagron (2009: 456).

This example shows how a simple intervention aimed at improving the way of life of a community may have an impact on its social and political status quo. If handled well by engaging in dialogue with all the community members it can promote unity. It can also be an empowering process as disadvantaged community members are given an opportunity to change their lives for the better. However, “by clarifying the meanings, values, and real interests of each party... dialogue also may lead to divergence and conflict” (Kincaid and Figueroa 2009:1314). If not handled well it has the potential to divide the community members and contribute to further inequalities by giving more power to already empowered individuals or community groups.

A participatory project aimed at evaluating the Rumbalara Football Netball Club’s (RFNC) Healthy Lifestyle Program (HLP) at the Goulburn Valley, Australia illustrates that although stakeholders may agree to participate together in a project dealing with the issue of power relations remains complex. The aboriginal group which owned the RFNC requested university researchers to evaluate the HLP. In a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) signed between the two organisations it was agreed that aboriginal leaders would oversee the research process and the community would not only participate in data collection and analysis but would also own the data. Joint research position was shared by an Aboriginal and non-Indigenous academic who were also members and players in the club (Bourke, 2009).

The outcomes of the project were considered successful as the indigenous community was empowered by the evaluation process. They participated and controlled the research. They were also able to use the findings to improve services and seek funding (Bourke,

2009). However, there were some power dynamics that are worth highlighting. For instance, “the researcher held power through her knowledge of research (giving status but also in how participants were informed about research prior to decision-making) and her drafting documents (that tended to shape their final structure and content)” (Bourke, 2009:468). The participants also did not share equal amount of power. The indigenous leaders decided who should be interviewed, and by whom. The club members also decided that the junior teams should be interviewed as a group and not as individuals (Bourke, 2009).

From the above study one can ascertain that sometimes knowing who holds the power is not enough as one’s motivation affects how power is deployed (Eversole, 2003). Motivations are informed by individuals or an organisation’s values (Eversole, 2003). In some cases you may find that what motivates an organisation to fund a particular initiative is different from the reason why the community members are participating in the initiatives. During one of the meetings held to discuss a draft report a certain number of the club officials demanded that a portion of the findings be omitted. Their ownership rights, they felt, gave them the liberty to decide what went into the report and what was to be omitted. Although they asked for the evaluation of the HLP they still wanted to control the outcome and make it favourable. While on the other hand the researcher felt that to preserve her integrity as a researcher and that of the research process she would not omit any findings. Using her power as a ‘gatekeeper’ she decided not to give individuals an opportunity to control the outcome of the research process (Bourke, 2009).

The issue of working within a particular timeframe imposed by funders speaks volumes about the amount of power they hold over funded projects. Gumucio-Dagron (2009) criticises the way in which donors and NGOs have a tendency to pressurise communities to complete projects within a set timeframe without considering the people’s way of life. For instance working with the KhoiSan you find that their concept of time is different from that of people living in a western influenced environment (Tomaselli, 2011). Chapter Six will discuss how this dynamic influenced the Kalahari crafter’s participation in the BP project. Gumucio-Dagron (2009:457) further argues that in “communication for

social change...the pace of development should be driven by the communities involved, not by the donor agencies or the agencies that provide technical assistance". Having said that, keeping time schedules stipulated by donors can be beneficial to community members as it helps in ensuring that a project is implemented effectively and efficiently thus avoiding disappointing a community. It also helps avoid poor monitoring and evaluation reports for the NGOs who are accountable to funders for how funds are spent. However, to maintain the participatory aspect in the project time logistics must not be imposed but they need to be discussed and negotiated with the community.

People's culture and traditions are responsible for creating community structures which give community members uneven power (Hermann, 2007). This hierarchical leadership style creates social norms and relations which prevent horizontal communication and may influence the level of participation in projects. Insisting on the idea of power sharing may inadvertently undermine the local community's cultural values (Waisbord, 2000). It is said that in Burundi,

boys are taught the effective and appropriate verbal responses for 'speaking well', as well as voice modulation and tone. Girls are taught 'artful silence'. Speaking in public is considered unseemly for women and they speak when spoken to but otherwise remain silent in public (Boeren, 1994:94, cf. also Koons, 1987:30).

In a context such as this one it is clear that it would be challenging to launch a participatory project. It is highly likely that there would be no equal power sharing and participation in the project. It is imperative, therefore, to understand a people's way of life before proposing a participatory development initiative for them.

The common conclusion reached by researchers on how to deal with power relations in development is dialogue. A researchers' ability to negotiate and be challenged throughout the process is key to dealing with community power dynamics (Bourke, 2009; Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). In addition, a detailed acknowledgement of the complex social landscapes in which change is conceived, implemented, and resisted is

required (Eversole, 2003). Gumucio-Dagron (2009: 459) states that, “working with communities through respectful dialogue allows communicators and external facilitators to be more specific about their needs, about internal power struggles, about the processes that inter mingle the traditions with the external cultural inputs”. Thus, funders, practitioners and researchers need to treat each community as unique, adapt their strategy and work closely with those in the community.

It is evident that power is at the core of participatory development initiatives; whether it is in trying to control the community resources or in influencing beliefs and attitudes. Therefore, when working with communities, development practitioners must always remain vigilant and careful that they do not only empower individuals or community groups that are already empowered. They must include the marginalised in the project activities. When initiating a project it is easy to work with individuals or a group that is enthusiastic about the project and ignore those that seem not to be interested or opposed to the project. A comprehensive participatory project must be inclusive and attempt to distribute power equally to all participants. Giving everyone the opportunity to express themselves and participate may be a recipe for a rich, rewarding and successful project (cf. Cornwall, 2008).

As a participant in the BP project I observed the ways in which the multidisciplinary and multicultural nature of the project impacted on the group’s power dynamics. As much as the participants were united by the single goal of recording the rock art they also had specific interests in the project as discussed in Chapter One. Chapter Six explores the implications of these different research interests and the level of recognition each interest was awarded.

## **Participatory Action Research**

A popular methodology used to implement communication for participatory development projects is Participatory Action Research (PAR) defined as “a form of action research that involves practitioners as both subjects and co researchers” (Argyris & Schon,

1991:86). The value of local knowledge and a commitment to non-violent social change are two of the major principles of this approach (Chitnis, 2005; UNDP/CSOPP, 1997). In addition, ownership of the research lies with the community involved; there is commitment to action by the researcher in partnership with the community based on learning that occurs. Participants are to be included at every stage of the research and special effort should be made to include groups not usually included (Moller *et al.*, 2009).

Research methods are selected based on their appropriateness to the situation and should be taught to local participants so that they can continue the inquiry process independently of the researcher (Albertyn *et al.*, 2007). “Working with local partners, participants are involved in the research process through an action learning model that uses a process of action and reflection on action, to generate new learning and insights, and then a commitment by community actors to plan new action” (Yarde, 2010:24). This study will investigate if and how this process is engendered in the Biesje Poort project. Using the PAR approach the researcher will participate in the study and also collect and analyse data. As action and reflection to engender new action via further research and by providing a form of reporting on the BP project that may encourage further phases of the wider project.

There has been reported success in some previous multicultural and multidisciplinary research that employed PAR. A case study of learning through partnership between science and Traditional Ecological Knowledge (TEK) was documented by Henrik Moller *et al.* (2009) from 1994 to 2009. Maori elders, titi harvesters (birders), members of the Rakiura Titi Islands administering body, and scientific researchers worked together to determine the sustainability of titi (sooty shearwater, *Puffinus griseus*) harvests by Rakiura Maori in southern New Zealand. “Respect for local participants and their knowledge, coupled with transfer of power to the community to control the research, was...an essential component of the project acceptance and ownership by the community” (Moller *et al.*, 2009:292). This means that trust and respect between participants is fundamental for the success of a multidisciplinary and intercultural PAR study.

PAR can be used to negotiate possible conflicts which may be caused by unequal power relations. Allowing community members from previously disadvantaged groups to participate in development initiatives allows a platform for community members to not only share their knowledge but to be more in control of their lives. Moller *et al* (2009) report that when the scientists and researchers first arrived in the community the local birders treated them with suspicion. They were afraid that they might take over the project and do as they pleased. In order to deal with this suspicion and other justice and equity issues, the researchers gave the local kaitiaki [indigenous people] every possible opportunity to contribute as they acknowledged that “equitable sharing of resources to facilitate active participation in the research process by the community is essential” (Moller *et al*, 2009:232). The inclusive nature of PAR in this case provides all participants a sense of ownership of the project. This also demonstrates that the way in which a development initiative is started and implemented play an important role in informing the participatory nature of the project. Research at the Biesje Poort site entailed observation and interview questions geared towards understanding these dynamics and how equity issues were handled.

### **In the field, time does tick**

The use of PAR seems to be an effective strategy to empower participants. However, Ruth Albertyn *et al* (2007:14) warn that “since application of PAR focuses on the individual within the community and ensures that ownership is placed within the target group. Problems may arise due to varying needs of individuals, which could provide challenges in the process of conducting research, especially within a restricted time frame”. This problem can be avoided by always communicating and negotiating with all participants throughout the research process. Firstly, the researcher must clearly explain the goals and objectives of the project in the beginning of the project. Secondly, by discussing the time frame of the project taking into consideration, the economic, political and social factors affecting the community (cf. Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009, Dyll-Myklebust, 2012).

The issue of time seems to be contentious in the participatory development literature. This is because most development initiatives are donor funded. Their administration structure requires that projects be finished within a set time frame and give feedback on how the money donated was spent. This puts researchers under pressure to finish projects within the stipulated time. Unfortunately, this sense of urgency sometimes compromises the participatory quality of research. Yet, long-term multidisciplinary, multicultural participatory research is needed for all sustainability problems (Moller *et al*, 2009).

When working with multidisciplinary and multicultural groups within a limited budget it is important to find the right speed or pace to work in. This may vary from one community to the next so it is crucial to first understand community dynamics before implementing a project. In their experience working with indigenous people Moller *et al*, (2009:228) state that: “going too fast can precipitate fear and mistrust within the [group], and the feeling that the researchers rather than the community are leading the project. However, Kaitiaki can become frustrated if progress is too slow because there are many other demands on their time and resources”.

In Chapter Six this research therefore explores how the BP project’s time frame and the participant’s individual concepts of time affect the effectiveness or lack thereof of PAR in the project. Time constraints do not just affect donor organisations but they also affect academics and the quality of work they have to deliver.

## **Evaluation**

One issue that has not been exhaustively discussed in the participatory literature is the correct timeframe to evaluate a development project (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009). Some scholars state that evaluating a project immediately after it has been completed could either understate or exaggerate its effects (cf. Gumucio-Dagron, 2009). It could understate its effects because new ideas and behaviours may take time to diffuse through the research community. On the other hand, it could be overstated by showing an increase in desirable behaviour prompted by the intervention.

Whether project evaluations immediately after an intervention give a clear picture or simply a snapshot remains at the discretion of the researcher. For instance in Cyprus<sup>25</sup>, the consultants state that they did not have a formal evaluation of their project. Instead they relied on constant feedback by the project beneficiaries and informal meetings, which they used to explain the project to the people. When, evaluating the Rumbalara Football Netball Club's (RFNC) Healthy Lifestyle Program (HLP) the club officials wanted regular feedback. Therefore, "there was ongoing discussion of the results...and the club was able to address issues as they arose...[S]o that issues raised early in the evaluation had been addressed by the conclusion of the evaluation (Bourke, 2009:463). However, Bourke (2009) complains that constantly changing the HLP as it was being evaluated made presenting a formal evaluation difficult. Due to time and budget constraints this research study will not be able to evaluate or discuss the long term effects of the BP project. It will only evaluate short term effects, during and immediately after the recording project, including its role as a catalyst for a second project phase known as Beyond Biesje Poort.

To evaluate their projects, researchers employ various qualitative methods. These include participant observation, focus group interviews, and community meetings (Boeren, 1994; Bourke, 2009; Chitnis, 2005; Crabtree, 1998; Moller *et al.*, 2009; Weekes-Vagliani, 1994). These methods facilitate an in-depth investigation of their research studies. For instance, in the Comprehensive Rural Health Project in Jamkhed, the researcher used participant observation to observe firsthand how training was conducted, how group interactions were facilitated and the nature of communication between Village Health Workers (VHW)'s and the trainers. "This information could not be elicited through interviews or secondary data but required the researchers to participate in training sessions" (Chitnis, 2005: 137).

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<sup>25</sup> Information on the Future Together project in Cyprus was found on <http://www.futuretogether.net/index.php/component/content/article?layout=edit&id=30> [Accessed on 8 April 2012].

Although using qualitative methods has become a norm in participatory studies, facilitating researchers should first educate participants on the different research designs. So that participating community members may then make an informed decision with regards to which design is best for them (Bourke, 2009).

## **Empowerment and evaluation**

The literature highlights that the primary objective for most interventions is transferring skills and empowering the local community members (Bourke, 2009; Chitnis, 2005; Crabtree, 1998; Moller *et al.*, 2009). When evaluating these project objectives it is usually easy to recognise whether certain skills have been imparted to the participants or not. Whereas measuring whether participants have been empowered in other ways besides skills acquirement is less obvious. What is still missing in development literature is a generalised universal instrument to use when measuring empowerment outcomes. This instrument could be used to complement interviews and participant observation made in the field especially in short term projects. However, the inductive nature of participatory projects, in that they seek to understand outcomes without predetermined expectations or benchmarks, may be the reason why the idea of “universal approaches” to development is frowned upon in participatory projects (Clayton *et al* 1997; Servaes, 1999).

Empowerment, as a concept, does not have a distinct definition as will be discussed in Chapter Four. Different researchers and practitioners use different outcome indicators to measure empowerment as informed by their context and studies. For example in the BP study empowerment outcome indicators are similar to what Robbin Crabtree, (1998:194) outlines including; “feelings of efficacy, perceptions of one’s knowledge and skills,[...] as well as actual participatory and communicative behaviours that illustrate mutual empowerment”. However, Crabtree (1998) warns that, these examples may not "prove" that empowerment was achieved but they demonstrate the potential for mutual empowerment in cross-cultural participatory development.

As noted in the literature to achieve empowerment, as a participatory communication outcome, future research projects should consider integrating certain strategies. These include: dialogue, allowing local community members to define their needs, knowledge sharing, skills transference, collective decision making and participation of in all phases of the project, from planning to implementation to evaluation of the project (Bourke, 2009; Chitnis, 2005; Crabtree, 1998).

What sets the BP research study apart from other studies mentioned in the literature is that the research community referred to does not reside in the research area but was only present to take part in the rock art research. Yet most research communities referred to in the literature were based in their everyday living geographical locations. This research explores whether or not being bound by a geographical location and not having to deal with politics of the place has an effect on the project outcomes. Using the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) this study evaluates the BP rock art recording project, in order to determine whether the project met its primary goals of skills transference and empowerment in Chapter Six.

The BP project as a heritage project is framed within other local participatory heritage project outlined below.

### **Participatory Communication in Cultural Heritage Projects**

This section of the chapter briefly highlights the South African heritage discourse. It discusses some of the advantages of using participatory approaches in heritage conservation and management and the challenges researchers and practitioners face when trying to implement heritage projects. The overall BP project can be classified as a cultural heritage project. Firstly this is because it was funded by the National Heritage Council (NHC) whose mandate is to “make grants to any person, organisation or

institution in order to promote and develop national heritage activities and resources”<sup>26</sup>. Secondly, the project ultimately deals with the recording and preserving of a KhoiSan heritage resource (rock art) for future generations. As mentioned in Chapter One and Two, the rock art was recorded and documented through the use of cultural mapping, sharing of local and indigenous stories and archaeological methods. “Heritage discourse has emerged as one of the principal sites for negotiating issues of culture, identity and citizenship, suggesting what is authentic, what constitutes the deep roots of cultural identity and the essence of a sense of nationality (Shepherd, 2008:124)”. Culture, identity and citizenship are also focus areas within participatory communication approaches making it relevant for this study to be framed within other heritage projects. Framing the BP project within the heritage discourse essentially highlights the need for the BP project in South African heritage literature.

On the policy and legislative front South Africa’s cultural heritage and conservation legislation dates back to the Bushman Relics Act of 1911. It focused on the protection of archaeological sites and indigenous rock art (Marschall, 2009). However, the problem with pre-independence legislation was that “the role of the community was almost non-existent, especially the oppressed African community; and colonial heritage was given priority to the exclusion of African linked heritage” (Ndlovu, 2011: 38). Community involvement was not made a priority until, the White Paper on Arts, Culture and Heritage (1996) proposed the establishment of a new statutory body, which was to transform heritage in accordance with the principles of access, redress and *participation*” (Sibayi, 2009: 55). This eventually led to the formation of the National Heritage Council Act, No 11 of 1999. This Act is significant as it marked a paradigm shift from a top-down approach to a bottom-up approach and emphasised the importance of involving local communities in heritage projects (Deacon, 2007). It also established the NHC; a government institution, which falls under the South African National Department of Arts and Culture. The NHC has overlapping functions with the South African Heritage

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<sup>26</sup> Information available at <http://www.nhc.org.za/page.php?page=359> accessed on 27 May 2012

Resources Agency (SAHRA). Advocate Sonwabile Mancotywa argues that SAHRA focuses more on the management of tangible heritage resources while the NHC is mainly concerned with promotion and development of heritage as a strategic resource to nation building and national identity<sup>27</sup>.

The NHC has made an effort to include the empowerment of communities on their agenda. In 2011 it released a position paper which emphasised a holistic approach in South African heritage management and conservation. The paper makes it clear that “[h]eritage conversation should not only be considered in terms of economic and physical development. [It should also consider] human development and creating a cultural environment that informs development strategies” (*Heritage Today*, 2011: 4). Yet, in developing countries such as South Africa the notion of heritage conservation is relatively new and the general public opinions about heritage are based on its perceived economic value, more than its aesthetic, or perceived social benefits (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). This may be because “in the hierarchy of needs, most South Africans will state that food, shelter, personal safety and security will rank higher than charm, memories and the aesthetic qualities of an area” (Goolam Ballim Standard Bank Group, *Heritage Today*, 2011: 2). This means that there is still a need for more information to enlighten the South African community of the social benefits which can be gained from heritage conservation and management. The BP rock art recording project’s aims to transfer skills and empower its participants are one of the social benefits which can be gained from conserving a community’s heritage.

Heritage and economic development seemingly remain intertwined yet the NHC insist that it is vital to actively involve local people in heritage development processes as it

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<sup>27</sup>Speech by Advocate Sonwabile Mancotywa the National Heritage Council Chief Executive Officer titled National Heritage Council and its role, achievements and commitment to promoting cultural diversity museums in South Africa presented at the Inclusive Museums Conference held at Wits University, Johannesburg, South Africa 1 July 2011.

empowers them. Advocate Sonwabile Macotywa<sup>28</sup> argues that the empirical value of heritage on social and economic development is social cohesion for communities. Heritage keeps communities together therefore they should own it. He further states that as institutions, they cannot just dish out heritage where they see fit (*Heritage Today*, 2011). Through their policy framework the NHC encourages the active involvement of local people in heritage development initiatives. It also strives to create an environment which allows all South Africans to have access to heritage resources and whereby all people are treated with dignity and respect. For example, heritage projects such as the BP project that brought together a diverse group of people from various parts of the country and cultures to work together would not have been feasible without the NHC funding.

In some heritage literature, the participatory term is not overtly used yet participatory approaches are evident in their implementation. For instance the way in which the Wildebeest Kuil Rock Art Centre, in Kimberley, Northern Cape Province<sup>29</sup>, South Africa was developed and is managed. From inception the project was managed by a steering committee comprising key stakeholders from local civil society and relevant public institutions including the McGregor Museum. The Wildebeest Kuil site is on land owned by the !Xun and the Khwe San communities, who contribute to the site's management plan. The involvement of the relevant stakeholders from inception to maintenance of the Centre speaks volumes about the participatory nature of this project. Since opening, the site has been managed by the Northern Cape Rock Art Trust, formed for this purpose and for developing further such sites. The trust represents KhoiSan organisations, academic expertise, and heritage and tourism organisations in the Northern Cape (Morris, 2003). This inclusion of the local community in management positions empowers them as it puts them in a position of ownership. They learn to take responsibility for the choices they make whether wrong or right.

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<sup>29</sup> For more information on the Wildebeest Kuil see <http://www.wildebeestkuil.itgo.com/>

At Wildebeest Kuil the tour guides share, with tourists, their own interpretations of the rock art, drawing on their life experiences as !Xun or Khwe persons and their academic knowledge from the training they receive (Morris, 2003; Laue *et al.*, 2002).

The existence of different media and genres by which the site is interpreted - the displays, the introductory film, the audio commentary, in addition to the insights (and sometimes divergent views) of the guides - makes for a many faceted and in some senses open - ended experience in which multiple voices will be heard (Morris, 2003: 204).

The 'multi-vocal' nature of heritage sites in significance and meaning is acknowledged as multiple voices in interpreting heritage sites and objects are encouraged (Deacon, 2006; Morris, 2003). Wildebeest Kuil can also be looked at as a "unifying centre, generating collective expressions of cultural pride amongst a diverse range of people from the !Xun and Khwe communities" (Laue *et al.*, 2002:7). Allowing the !Xun or Khwe tour guides to share their own interpretations of the rock art is an empowering exercise. It provides them a platform to share their cultural beliefs and traditions, honour their ancestors and establish a sense of ownership in their cultural heritage. It also enriches the rock art tourist experience as "people with an intimate knowledge of the culture that created the art [are] also involved in its presentation and interpretation" (Deacon, 2006:387). Furthermore, as indigenous people the !Xun and Khwe give ethnographic information in certain key areas that may assist in the understanding and interpretation of the meaning and motivation of the art a feature that is missing in many other regions of the world (Deacon, 2006).

Here we can observe that although the participatory process is not explicitly mentioned and documented in these projects, nevertheless the projects highlight significant characteristics which according to Kincaid and Figueroa (2009) the CFPD model<sup>30</sup> may lead to participatory outcomes such as empowerment. These characteristics are

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<sup>30</sup> The CFPD model is discussed in detail in Chapter Five.

collaboration and collective action of all relevant stakeholders and dialogue between all stakeholders involved.

In order to ensure sustainability, collaboration between heritage experts and local people in heritage management and conservation is important. When local people feel that they own a project then it is easy for them to maintain and preserve it (Ndlovu, 2001).

## **Research Challenges**

Heritage discourse has gained momentum post-1994 in South Africa with both government and public sector participating in various debates and publishing numerous articles (Deacon, 2006; *Heritage Today*, 2011; Marschall, 2009; Morris, 2003; Ouzman, 2005). However, the involvement of local people in heritage development is seemingly still fraught with numerous challenges. The rules and legislations governing heritage management in the country in certain instances does not serve the interest of some local people who are directly or spiritually connected to the heritage resource. Traditional leaders and indigenous people have been ‘prevented’ from accessing ‘their’ sacred rock art sites to conduct their rituals. This does not only infringe on their right to freedom of religion and belief<sup>31</sup> but it also destroys the ‘spirituality’ and significance of the site to them as anybody else is allowed access to it (cf. Deacon, 2006; Ndlovu, 2003; Ndlovu, 2011). This signifies a top-down approach to development as those who are in power impose their rules on the local people instead of involving them in the decision making. Understanding the local people’s socio-economic needs first before trying to develop or conserve their heritage site will help in ensuring that they not only connect with the site but they also preserve it.

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<sup>31</sup> These rights are stipulated in Sections 15 and 31 of the Bill of Rights of the constitution (section 15 — freedom of religion, belief and opinion, and 31 — cultural, religious and linguistic communities) ([www.info.gov.za/./constitution/](http://www.info.gov.za/./constitution/); cf. Ndlovu 2011).

Respecting local people by consulting them before preserving their heritage shows a researcher's recognition of ethical issues. When conducting research with indigenous communities, ethical considerations should be at the core of the working relationship. "[I]t is vital to consult descendant communities even if the direct connection between these individuals and the rock art is vague" (Deacon, 2006: 397). Communication and discussion about issues such as how their intellectual property will be protected by the researcher should be clearly stated.

It can be argued that there is a general lack of holistic management as each public or private sector focuses primarily on its own interests. Some agencies and organisations rarely communicate or coordinate their plans. This can result in inadequate cooperation, neglected sites, some sites being overused, or caught in legal battles (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009). For instance, it has been reported that in two rock art sites at uKhahlamba Drakensberg Park the rock art was vandalised and defaced. The people responsible were known as they wrote their names on the defaced rock art. However, lack of interest and poor investigation led to the offenders not being prosecuted (Ndlovu, 2011). This, according to Ndlovu (2011: 48), highlights "the fact that on paper we have a good legislation and can stand the test and the challenge of the courts, but that it is threatened by uncoordinated efforts to proactively ensure that heritage resources are protected". Therefore legislation alone is not enough to protect and conserve heritage resources such as rock art. Though difficult to achieve at times intersectoral coordination and collaboration between stakeholders is key in ensuring social change and heritage conservation. Open communication channels and working cooperatively as a group or community are key participatory features that can be used to achieve the desired results.

## **Conclusion**

Reviewing past literature and studying how participatory communication is accomplished within certain development projects can help researchers, practitioners, participating communities, government (for policy) understand how participation as a general strategy could be used in other communication projects (Chitnis, 2005). Case studies profiled in

this chapter highlight some of the recurring themes in communication for participatory development literature. These case studies are relevant to this study as they: i) provide insight into how a participatory project can be planned and successfully implemented, ii) demonstrate positive outcomes based on particular participatory methodologies and iii) highlight certain challenging field experiences when using the participatory approach. Findings of the BP rock art recording project are analysed in Chapter Six against the background of these studies.

“Many residents of less developed regions view preservation with suspicion and ignorance. They equate preservation and conservation with backwardness and see it as antithetical to modernity” (Timothy and Nyaupane, 2009: 31). This lack of community interest and involvement in cultural heritage also makes it difficult for cultural legislation to be effectively implemented (Ndlovu, 2011). In light of such challenges that still face heritage management and conservation in South Africa there is a need for research premised on holistic ways of understanding and preserving cultural heritage. Documenting the participatory aspect of the BP project will add to this developing body of heritage knowledge.

## **CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL CONTEXT**

### **Development Communication Paradigms**

*The idea that there are facts which we can gather on the social world is also highly questionable, for it is theory which meditates our interpretations (May, 1997: 137).*

### **Introduction**

This chapter outlines the theories which ultimately guide my research and frame the discussion of my data analysis and literature review. Since participatory communication is embedded in the development communication paradigm the chapter begins with a brief discussion of the evolution of development communication as a discipline with a primary focus on participatory communication. This is followed by a discussion on participatory communication and the concepts that inform it. The participatory communication discourse is significant in this study as it informs the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model which is the overarching framework of this research. It also helps to problematise the CFPD model in the analysis chapter (see Chapter Six).

### **The evolution of development communication paradigms**

The role of communication has evolved over time within the different development communication paradigms, namely modernisation, dependency/dissociation, development support communication (DSC), and participatory communication. Each of these paradigms advocates a different role for communication within development, as will be discussed in this chapter. As a discipline, development communication commonly refers to:

the application of communication strategies and principles in the developing world. It is derived from theories of development and social change that identified the main problems of the post-war world in terms of a lack of development or progress equivalent to Western countries (Waisbord, 2003: 1).

## **The modernisation paradigm**

Post World War II in the late 1940s up until the 1960s marked the beginning of development aid from First World countries to the Third World<sup>32</sup>. Subsequent to the success of the humanitarian assistance or Marshall Plan, as the program is commonly known, granted to Europe by the United States (US), the US under President Harry Truman launched a Point Four Program “which was to be the Third World version of the Marshall Plan” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 51). One of the four points in the Four Point Program was to “embark on a new program of modernization and capital investment” (Truman 1949; Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 51). The Four Point Programme was not as successful in the Third World as the Marshall Plan was in Europe due to the different socio-economic and cultural context of the two continents. However, this mission gave birth to the modernisation or dominant paradigm which “guided intellectual thinking and practice from the 1940s through the 1960s, and was influential in development communication theory and practice as well” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 72).

The modernisation theory claimed that for Third World countries and communities to be modernised and developed they had to adopt western values and practices. This claim is articulated well by Everett Rogers’ (1969: 48) call for behaviour change in order to ‘modernise’: “individuals change from traditional way of life to a more complex, technologically advanced, and rapidly changing style of life”. The technologically advanced style of life Rogers refers to is the Western one. Modernisation lacked traditional and cultural sensitivity since “culture was viewed as the ‘bottleneck’ that prevented the adoption of modern attitudes and behaviour” (Waisbord, 2003: 3).

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<sup>32</sup> I am aware that today the terms Global North and Global South are preferred and are more representative of the world’s socio-economic situation, but in this study I will use First and Third world as this is what have been the terms of reference in much of the scholarly work I draw on.

Development projects implemented in the Third World did not take the local people's culture lifestyles and traditions into consideration thus contributing to conflict.

Development or modernisation was measured in terms of economic growth or via a nation's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and the average per capita income. These quantitative indicators "were considered objective and straightforward to measure, especially when compared with alternative concepts such as freedom, justice and human rights" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 73).

Furthermore, modernisation practitioners believed that accelerated media exposure could convince people in the underdeveloped countries to turn their backs on their traditional life. The bullet theory (Schramm, 1964) or hypodermic needle theory espoused that the media was like a needle that injected ideas into the veins of passive audiences. It was assumed that these individuals were defenceless against the powerful media messages that could manipulate their attitudes and thus behaviour.

### **The dependency paradigm**

Dependency theories became popular in the global South in the mid-1960s propounding that First World countries exploited and actively underdeveloped Third World countries (Graaff & Venter, 2001). The original version of the dependency theory was proposed by Paul Baran (1967) and popularised by Gunder Frank (1967), who believed that "core" or First World countries actively under developed "peripheral" or Third World countries by creating a dependency on First World-funded aid.

It was mainly a critique of the modernisation paradigm. Dependency theorists criticised modernisation programmes for creating external structures which made it difficult for developing countries to grow as they promoted uneven terms of trade between the First World and the Third World countries (Graaff & Venter, 2001). For instance, "the peripheral [Third World] countries at a particular stage in their development exported cheaper (often unprocessed primary) goods, and bought more expensive (often manufactured) goods" (Graaff & Venter, 2001: 82).

From a systems theory<sup>33</sup> perspective many theorists argued that the different parts that made up the world system were interconnected and interdependent. Therefore, changes in one part necessarily ripple through to influence other parts. These parts also have powerful areas that dominate the areas around them. This made it possible for the First World to exploit the Third World countries (Graaff & Venter, 2001). They therefore argued that, it was “necessary for a peripheral country to dissociate itself from the world market and strive for self-reliance” (Servaes, 1996: 84). A huge emphasis was put on the need for free trade between the developed and developing countries (Frank, 1969).

However, the dependency paradigm was also seen as “static in that it is unable to explain and account for changes in underdeveloped economies overtime” (Servaes, 2006: 288). Some criticised both the modernisation and dependency paradigm for being unable to address “the paucity of information to overcome a lack of knowledge and skills about innovations among potential adopters” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 66).

### **Development Support Communication (DSC)**

DSC grew out of dissatisfaction by communication scholars with the lack of attention which modernisation and dependency theorists gave to the communication aspect of development programmes. In an effort to bridge the communication gap between the developed and the underdeveloped countries communication scholars conceptualised “communication as a dynamic support to projects and activities, termed *development support communication* (DSC) (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 66). A DSC specialist’s main role is to bridge the communication gap between a technical expert and the illiterate or under developed communities (Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

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<sup>33</sup> Systems theory is closely associated with the dependency theory. It is a theory proposed by Immanuel Wallerstein in 1974 “which traces the various relationships between parts and wholes” (Graaff & Venter, 2001:78).

DSC introduced a paradigm shift in the way in which development specialists communicated with people from underprivileged backgrounds. It embodies the notion of two way communication which was lacking in the modernisation and dependency paradigm. In DSC communication was no longer “viewed as an input toward greater economic growth” but rather viewed “communication more holistically and as a support for people’s self-determination, especially those at the grassroots” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 349). However, the role of DSC experts was highly criticised by some as “persuasion in the service of the project rather than dialogue with the people” (Servaes and Arnst, 1993: 46). Stephen Sonderling (2006: 550) goes further by stating that “the position of the DSC expert within the organisational structure of international development...demands that the institutional policy be promoted, and it is doubtful whether such an expert could mediate between all parties impartially”.

Although DSC has been effective in bringing innovations to beneficiary communities, it tends to obscure the donor agendas (Tomaselli & Shepperson, 2005). For instance, in some cases the “availability of large funds means that the local people have limited, if any, control over spending and that their views on planning are mediated through ‘local organisation’ in the form of an institutional representative structure set up by the developpee’s national government” (Sonderling, 2006: 552). This may bring about power relation issues in development programmes as stakeholders may compete on decision making based on who has more economic or political power or influence than the other. Since the Biesje Poort project is NHC-funded it bears a resemblance to the DSC (donor-funder) approach. In Chapter Six an in-depth analysis on whether the NHC’s objectives as set out in the proposal were met and how, if indeed any were ‘obscured’ or challenged in the project’s implementation phase is discussed.

“The chronological approach has a certain bias in creating the impression that later theoretical innovations replace earlier ones. However, “in the social sciences paradigms tend to accumulate rather than to replace each other” (Servaes, 2006: 284). As a result the participatory communication paradigm, as discussed below, has characteristics of all the development communication paradigms.

## **Communication for Participatory Development**

*Still today, English language doesn't clearly differentiate information (one way) from communication (multiple ways), let alone communications (the technology) from communication (the human factor). This is very annoying considering most of the literature on communications is written in English (Gumucio-Dagron 2008: 70)*

The remainder of the chapter discusses the participatory communication approach and the concepts that inform it. Participatory communication is the core component of the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009), and it forms part of this study's theoretical framework.

### **Participatory Communication as a concept**

Participatory development communication as a concept means different things for different people under different circumstances. For the World Bank's Learning Group it is "a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decisions and resources which affect them" (World Bank, 1996: xi). Sadanandan Nair and Shirley White (1994: 37) refer to it "as a two-way, dynamic interaction, between 'grass roots' receivers and the 'information' source, mediated by development communicators, which facilitates participation of the 'target group' in the process of development". Randy Arnst (1996: 110) emphasises that participatory communication "is not simply bodily presence at community meetings", but as Juan Diaz-Bordenave (1989: 15) points out, it is "a human right and not a set of methodological procedures geared to more efficiency and productivity". Primary emphasis is on the notion of empowerment. In providing these differing definitions of participatory communication, it is evident that the concept is extensive and varied. However, for the purpose of this research participatory development communication is defined as:

a planned activity, based on the one hand on participatory processes, and on the other hand on media and interpersonal communication, which facilitates a

dialogue among different stakeholders, around a common development problem or goal, with the objective of developing and implementing a set of activities to contribute to its solution, or its realization and which supports and accompanies this initiative (Bessette, 2004: 9).

This definition highlights most of the fundamental elements that inform the notion of participatory communication such as dialogue, mutual knowledge sharing and involvement of all stakeholders in a development project. Understanding how to integrate all these elements in a participatory development project can contribute significantly to its success.

The debate surrounding the definition of the participatory communication has been ongoing since the 1950s and 1960s. According to Thomas Tufte and Paolo Mefalopulos (2009: 4) “no consensus exists around a common definition of participation: it varies depending on the perspective applied....Stakeholders often have very different visions and definitions of participation in development”. The problem associated with participation as an approach to social development is its lack of a theoretical and consistent definition (Lubombo, 2011). A number of theorists and researchers have documented that this has led to inconsistent methods of application by organisations claiming to use this concept (cf. Jacobson & Storey, 2004; Melkote, 2006). Guy Bessette (2004) also warns that as a result of being used in many ways to cover diverse projects, the concept of participation is sometimes used as a legitimisation of non-participatory approaches. He argues that “we cannot refer to a participatory approach when researchers and development practitioners use participatory techniques in a context where they use the information generated for the purpose of the research or development project itself, rather than for the purpose of a community owned initiative” (Bessette, 2004: 18).

Participatory approaches have been criticised by some scholars as being “utopian” (Huesca, 2008: 187), “fragile and often contradictory” (Gumucio-Dagron, 2008: 71) and “impractical as they do not offer specific, practical guidelines for the different contexts or communities where they can be applied” (Waisbord, 2001: 22). However, participatory

research is becoming increasingly popular in social development (Titterton & Smart, 2006). Furthermore, Shirley White (1994) suggests that there is genuine and pseudo participation. *Genuine participation* occurs when development practitioners, researchers and the local beneficiaries work cooperatively throughout the decision making process. In addition the local beneficiaries must be empowered to control the action to be taken. Whereas *pseudo participation* transpires when the control of the project and decision-making power rests with the project coordinators and the local elites. The local beneficiaries are only there to listen to what is being planned for them and what would be done unto them (White, 1994). The distinction between genuine and pseudo-participation is meaningful as it points to the necessity of an in-depth analysis of just how the concept of participation can be transformed into action in the development process (White, 1994). David Deshler and Donald Sock (1985: 7) echo White's notion when they state that "development planners...might do well to adopt policies and operations that encourage *genuine* dialogue and participation in creation of development plans, if empowerment is to be more than rhetoric".

Participation in development projects and programmes is either seen as-a-means approach or as-an-end approach. Although some theorists and development agencies give credibility to both, some endorse one or the other aspect of participation (Melkote & Steeves, 2009: 337). Participation-as-a-means approach is a process that is usually driven by external agents who mobilise people and communities to work together in development programs without necessarily asking them to participate in identifying the problem or designing a development program (Melkote & Steeves, 2009). Whereas, participation-as-an-end is seen as the *empowerment* of individuals and communities in terms of acquiring skills, knowledge and experience, thus making them self-sufficient and able to take important steps towards their own development (Clayton *et al.*, 1997). Here, participants should ideally participate actively and fully in the development programs, from inception to completion. In this dissertation more emphasis will be placed on the participation-as-an-end approach as it espouses participation as a process of empowerment and "not merely a means to a measurable development goal" (Melkote &

Steeves, 2009: 365). Empowerment is also a goal that has been set out in the NHC funding proposal for the BP project (NHC/Lange, 2010).

However, Robert Huesca (2008: 188) points out that “regardless of the subtle distinction characterising the ends of this continuum, scholars have noted that most theory development of participation has not been predominately means or end, teaching or organising, pseudo or genuine, but some version that resides between the poles”. In view of all the critique and various approaches to participatory communication research discussed above participation as a normative approach will be problematised through my observation and analysis of the level of communication and participation among all stakeholders involved throughout the rock art recording process. Although the definitions and applications of participatory development may vary, what remains constant is that as an ideal concept it supports development that allows for two way communications among stakeholders and active participation by all people involved in the project.

The remainder of this chapter will highlight a few concepts that are an integral part of participatory communication and in extension influence the role participatory communication plays in the recording of tangible and intangible heritage. Participatory communication approach, unlike other approaches such as the modernisation approach, sees culture as integral to sustainable development. The main concepts that are discussed include: *conscientisation and dialogue, shared knowledge, context, power relations, and empowerment*. If these concepts are championed by development practitioners in working with community partners genuine participation (White, 1994) is more likely to be achieved. These concepts frame my investigation into the role of participation within the BP project.

## **Conscientisation and dialogue**

Principles of the participatory development communication approach are founded in Paulo Freire’s (1972) critical pedagogy. Freirean pedagogy is referred to “as being participatory, situated within beneficiaries’ contexts, critical, democratic, dialogic,

leading to de socialization, multicultural, research-oriented, activist and affective” (Shor, 1993: 33-34). Although Freire’s ideas and methodologies were originally applied in Latin American society in relation to adult education, Dominique Nduhura (2004) suggests that the participatory strategies embedded in the pedagogy are well suited to any society, particularly to African contexts. This is because issues such as oppression, empowerment, conscientisation and genuine participation of all stakeholders involved are still a universal concern.

“The central concept in Freire’s educational theory is the concept of conscientization” (Elias, 1994: 122). Conscientisation entails a critical awareness of one’s abilities and shortcomings and the conviction to change through action or participation. Conscientisation is also defined as “the process in which men, not as recipients, but as knowing subjects achieve a deepening awareness both of the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives, and of their capacity to transform that reality through action upon it” (Freire, 1972: 27). Moreover, Pradip Thomas (2005: 51) cautions that, “it is not merely awareness, or the act of knowing or nominal involvement that is important, but its relationship to a project of social transformation, whereby consciousness and action on consciousness are dialectically related”. Thomas’ warning highlights what John Elias (1994:128) refers to as a “serious weakness in Freire’s concept of conscientization”. He argues that knowledge alone is not enough to spur positive development as there is a likelihood that “people involved in conscientization might become even more entrenched in their thinking once they see the full impact of oppression in their lives” (Elias, 1994: 128).

Another Freirean concept that can be linked to participatory communication is *dialogue* or two-way communication in knowledge sharing. “[I]f there is only one thing that we can all learn from participatory communication experiences and their mixed results, it is that dialogue is the key for development” (Gumucio-Dagron, 2008: 81). After all conscientisation is achieved through critical thinking which is usually triggered by dialogue (Gerace & Lázaro, 2006). In addition, “dialogue is promoted as an ethical communication choice within the development context [or within participatory

communication]” (Huesca, 2008: 183). This means that every participant in a development project has a right to talk or communicate.

However, a community being involved in dialogue does not necessarily mean that the community’s problems will automatically be solved. “Often opinions differ as to the nature and extent of the problem and a lively public and political debate is generated” (Schoen, 1996: 252). Diverse views by community members on particular issues may lead to conflicts and power struggles in which, if not properly managed, may bring a proposed project to a halt. This is acknowledged by Kincaid & Figueroa (2009) who illustrate in the convergence and divergence model of communication that conflict may be a possible outcome of dialogue. Communication, as defined in the convergence model, “does not mean consensus [but only] specifies the direction of movement when dialogue is effective” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1313). “Yet in the case of divergence, the build-up phase ends without agreement (resolution) and the process enters into a climax phase” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1314). This means there are instances where mutual agreement is not reached by stakeholders.

This emphasis on dialogue or two-way communication when working on a development project is also a foundation not only for the participatory communication field in general but also for the CFPD model. “[O]nly dialogue which requires critical thinking is also capable of generating critical thinking. Without dialogue there is no communication, and without communication, there cannot be true education” (Freire, 2006: 47). Freire’s model and the CFPD model proposes a human centred approach that values the importance of interpersonal channels of communication in decision making processes at the community level (Waisbord, 2008 : 19).

## **Shared knowledge**

Development communication literature highlights that the advent of participatory communication ushered with it research and practice which acknowledges that development must include the people at grass roots level or the beneficiaries of

development (Srampickal, 2006; Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Participatory communication “stresses the importance of cultural identity of local communities and of democratization and participation at all levels - international, national, local and individual -” (Servaes, 1996: 15). Acknowledging people at the grass roots level means that more and more development practitioners are finding it important to bring about development which is not only participatory and context specific but also recognises the value of indigenous knowledge and local solutions (Nair & White, 1994; Quarry & Ramirez, 2009). “Participatory research innovators began using Gramsci’s<sup>34</sup> term ‘indigenous intellectual,’ which gave recognised status and value to the grass roots person” (White, 1994: 27).

In the participatory communication field, research collaborations between scientists and indigenous communities are encouraged. Through engaging in dialogue participants from diverse cultures and disciplines are able to share knowledge and critical understanding. “A partnership between scientist and people at the grass roots provided a stronger case for knowledge generation and application via useful and contextual research and practice” (White, 1994: 27). As White (1994: 27) eloquently phrased it, the “important outcome of knowledge sharing and joint discovery was the feeling of worth and equality which grew out of interpersonal interaction...Simultaneously, the scientist or agent learned from the people, gaining a new respect for both the person and for his/her ideas and insights”.

## **Context**

Context remains one of the most influential aspects of participatory communication. “Dialogue and collective action...are affected by contextual factors in the environment

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<sup>34</sup> Antonio Gramsci (1971) defines an organic intellectual as ‘the capitalist entrepreneur’, who creates, ‘alongside himself, the industrial technician, the specialist in political economy, the organizer of a new culture, of a new legal system, etc.’ Found on [http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user\\_upload/archive/publications/ThinkersPdf/gramsci.pdf](http://www.ibe.unesco.org/fileadmin/user_upload/archive/publications/ThinkersPdf/gramsci.pdf) ., accessed on 14/09/2011.

that constrain or support the progress of a community toward its envisioned goals” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319). Context is defined by Wendy Quarry and Ricardo Ramirez (2009) as among other things, the people we work with, their culture, the geography and funding rules.

Recognising and understanding all the dimensions that make up a community’s context will help ensure a successful participatory communication project. Hence “the environment for participatory development communication is expected to be supportive, creative, consensual, and facilitative leading to sharing of ideas through dialogue” (Nair & White, 1994: 347). When doing research or implementing development projects with illiterate people project leaders must never forget that, “people usually know what is best for them. [Their role therefore] is to believe that and be open to the possibility for dialogue, listening and discussion” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 17).

## **Power relations**

Participatory communication places a huge emphasis on equal sharing of power which unfortunately often contrasts sharply with the reality on the ground. Although some scholars believe “it is naive to assume that modern society can function without some people submitting their will to others” (Lozare, 1994: 228) the distribution of power and structural changes often decreases the advantage of certain groups (Servaes, 2006). As a result conflict and power struggles are a common feature in any development project where different stakeholders with different interests are involved.

Conflict is almost inevitable between different stakeholders with conflicting interests in a development project (cf. Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009); what therefore matters is *how* this conflict is dealt with [*my emphasis*]. Conflict resolution can be achieved through mobilising the ideas of collective dialogue and good leaders referred to as ‘champions’ by Quarry & Ramirez (2009). Good leaders who “understand the dynamics of power relationships and to manage conflict in such a way that these elements contribute positively to the development process” (Lozare, 1994: 230).

When it comes to dealing with power relations, participatory communication is seen as necessary by those who believe development is a social process of transformation (Nair, 1994; Chitnis, 2005: 31). Yet some scholars believe that participatory communication, on its own, is incapable of dealing with power relations within a development project. For instance, Huesca (2008: 190) explains that, participatory communication is “...necessary but not sufficient for engaging and altering power relationships”. Instead it is capable of reproducing in-egalitarian power structures, especially in regard to gender relations (Huesca, 2008; Wilkins, 2000).

## **Empowerment**

As part of participatory communication’s normative outlook, empowerment is achieved through conscientisation and through participation people are empowered (White, 1994; Tufté & Mefalopulos, 2009). “Empowerment means different things to different people” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 36; cf. Rowlands, 1998; cf. Rozario, 1997). The primary objective of the Biesje Poort recording process project is linked to individual skills acquisition and self-awareness as a producer of knowledge together with collective empowerment. Collective empowerment can be defined as collective action at the local and higher level to bring about social change (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). Empowerment is a process where organisations, individuals and communities obtain control over their socio-economic conditions through democratically inclined participation (Melkote & Steeves, 2001).

However, the very notion of empowerment can bring about challenges in the recording of tangible and intangible heritage. “[T]here is a problem of researchers exciting a community’s interest and raising expectations of improved services and greater participation. It can be a disempowering experience if nothing happens” (Titterton & Smart, 2006: 56). They warn researchers and practitioners that they must be open and honest with research participants at all times and avoid creating unnecessary expectations among participants.

The intended outcomes of a multicultural project are seemingly positive and empowering. Crabtree (1998: 200) elaborates that “cross-cultural interaction can be expected to produce transformational and empowering outcomes for participants; the differential power relationship between the interactants’ cultures is constantly present and reproduced in interaction”. However, Henrik Moller *et al.* (2009: 234) warn that “many local communities struggle with “external interference” in managing local resources and science is often seen as trumping local knowledge to inform decision making about what should and should not happen in local neighbourhoods”. Therefore, researchers and practitioners who intend to apply participatory communication in their development project must critically be on the lookout for not only the intended outcomes but also the unintended outcomes that an intercultural and multidisciplinary project such as the one conducted at BP can have on the participants and how the different forms of knowledge (scientific/western and local/indigenous) are acknowledged and mobilised.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter has highlighted different concepts and research approaches that inform participatory communication and the CFPD model. From the evolution of development paradigms which established how much the participatory communication as an approach differs from other development paradigms. For instance unlike the modernisation and dependency paradigms, which are interested in informing beneficiaries in a top down dialogical approach participatory communication emphasises dialogue and two way communication approach. This chapter also highlighted a few concepts that influence the role participatory communication can play in recording tangible and intangible heritage such as the rock engravings in BP. These concepts include shared knowledge, dialogue and conscientisation, context, power relations, and empowerment that inform the CFPD model discussed below.

## **CHAPTER 5: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

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

#### **Introduction**

Acting as the overarching framework of this research, the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model will act as both a descriptive model and explanatory model. This means it will be used as a descriptive model to describe a development project/process that has already occurred and as an explanatory model to explain why it was or was not successful. The model “takes no position on how groups reach decisions it rather offers a menu of potential ways” (Kincaid, email, 2010).

The relevance of the CFPD model to my study is that it acknowledges the importance of a project’s processes and collective action:

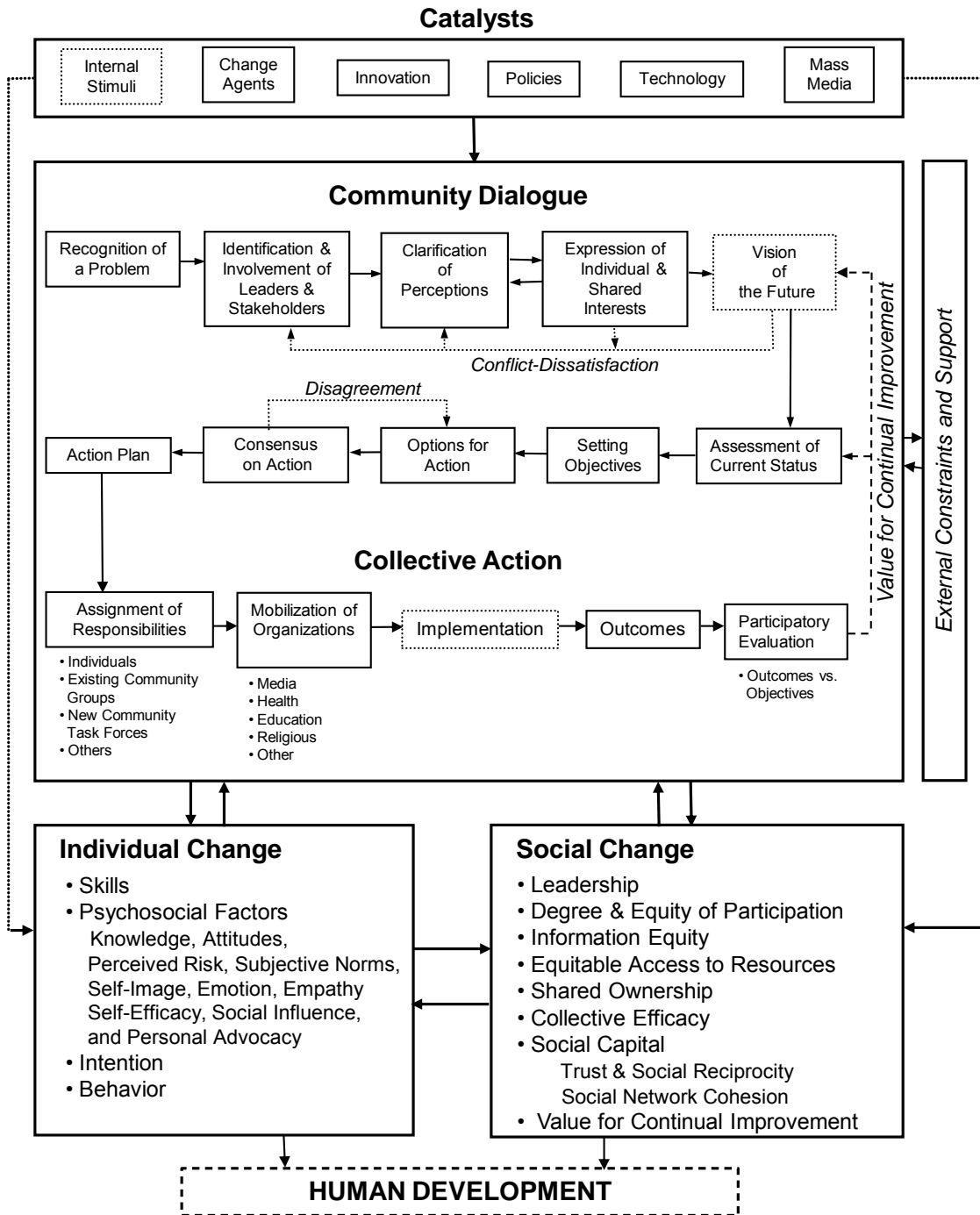
In the literature and in practice, participation usually is treated in a simplistic manner ascertaining how many people attended various meetings, perhaps with some indication of gender, age, socioeconomic status, and other characteristics. To understand participation more fully, researchers need to observe the interaction among participants and between leaders and followers to determine how many and to what degree they are engaged in each step of the CFPD process: proposing new problems, sharing power in the decision-making process, recommending solution, assuming responsibility for implementation and assessment of outcomes and so forth. Measurement of these dimensions of participation then can be correlated with participations’ perceived level of ownership and motivation (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1325).

The use of a theoretical model to guide a research or intervention perspective is criticised by Jan Servaes (2009: 247) who argues that theoretical models “provide a prefabricated and bounded way of thinking”. He further states that they are either linear, circular or

spiral in construction. Though he concedes that this structure might be helpful he also insists that it blocks creativity for researchers.

However, the CFPD model is different from other models. Although there are different stages illustrated in the schematic model 1 and the different boxes may seem sequential, Kincaid & Figueroa (2009) acknowledge that, in the field they do not necessarily follow the laid out sequence. For instance, “within the dialogue process *recognition of a problem* may occur simultaneously with *clarification of perceptions* (identification of the root causes and the potential solutions to the problem) and with the *expression of individual and shared interests* (conflict and opposition)” (Kincaid *et al.*, 2002:16).

*Schematic Model 1: Communication For Participatory Development (CFPD) Model*



Source: Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009

The CFPD model describes a sequence of steps that explain how individual and social change can be achieved during a communication for participatory development project. The CFPD process starts with a catalyst which can either be internal or external to the community. The catalyst sparks a community dialogue which should lead to collective action which, when successful, leads to individual and social change. The steps in the CFPD model are elaborated on below.

### **Catalyst**

The model postulates that for a community dialogue to commence there must be an external or internal catalyst to initiate the dialogue. Declaring that the catalyst is part of an individual and social change in a community sets the CFPD model apart. “Most literature on development communication is not clear on how change begins it is usually assumed or hoped that communities spontaneously initiate dialogue about an issue and take action” (Kincaid and Figueroa, 2009: 1316). The model points out six catalysts that can possibly bring about change in a community. They are: internal stimuli, change agent, innovation, policies, technology and mass media.

There is a significant difference between the catalyst in the CFPD model from the catalyst mentioned in Everett Rogers’ (1962) diffusion of innovations model. In the diffusion of innovations the catalyst for change were change agents, opinion leaders and mass media outlets that influenced the adoption of innovations in a direction that they felt was desirable for them (Rogers, 1962). This means that the communication approach used was persuasive, one way and top down. The problem with this approach is that it “held that peasants were rational enough to see the value of adopting innovations selected for them but incapable of making rational choices from among an array of alternatives put before them” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 56).

The catalyst in the CFPD model, however, stimulates a dialogue within a community, allowing community members to consider and discuss a problem before finding a

common solution (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009; Freire, 1972; Tufte & Mefapulus, 2009). The communication approach used is more dialogical, two-way and participatory.

The use of external agents as catalysts for development was initially criticised by participatory communication scholars as a one way flow of communication which deprived community members active participation in their development. However, some scholars believe that even in participatory projects community involvement is mostly conceived and directed by external development agents (Diaz-Bordenave, 1980; Melkote, 2006). While the involvement of external agents in development is seemingly inevitable it is important that the objective of the external agents is to achieve mutual understanding with the community members and not to control and manipulate them. Instead, participatory communication between external agents and local community members must be co-equal knowledge sharing and non-linear (Melkote, 2006). White (1994) suggests that external catalysts must genuinely believe that the local people are intellectually capable of organising their own lives. So that they (catalysts) can be prepared to take a step back and let the people continue working on the project when the time comes.

### **Community Dialogue**

After the catalyst has initiated the community dialogue, there are ten steps which may or may not happen in the community as the dialogue unfolds.

#### **1. Recognition of a problem**

Community members usually recognise that they have a problem after the catalyst has engaged with them in dialogue. Engaging people in dialogue is thought to lead to critical thinking or conscientisation (Freire, 1972; Gerace & Lazaro, 2006). Therefore, dialogue is crucial during a participatory communication project; “it is the key for development” (Gumucio-Dagron, 2008: 81). Kincaid & Figueroa (2009: 1316) promote that “dialogue alone can produce considerable individual change in terms of knowledge, emotional

involvement and aspiration, as well as social change in terms of shared ownership, collective efficacy, and the emergence of new leaders”.

However, being involved in the community dialogue does not mean that the community’s problems will automatically be solved. Rutger-Jan Schoen (1996: 252) notes that, “[o]ften opinions differ as to the nature and extent of the problem and a lively public and political debate is generated”. Diverse views by community members on particular issues may lead to conflicts and power struggle which, if not properly managed, may bring a proposed project to a halt. External catalysts, when coming into a community should “apply their knowledge in the context and to the benefit of those locals” (Servaes, 1996: 24). They should be aware that “interaction between development organisations and rural people is indeed ‘cross-cultural’ communication...language differences go beyond words to the way words are used and the resultant logical structures employed” (Servaes, 1996: 24). Good leadership is needed in order to ensure that conflicts should they occur are dealt with amicably by all community members.

## **2. Identification and Involvement of Leaders and Stakeholders**

After the problem has been identified the community is likely to come together to try and solve it. Depending on the hierarchical power structures of the community local or external leaders are appointed to try and solve the problem. Kincaid & Figueroa (2009) point out that identifying a leader is not easy and yet crucial as it may determine the ultimate success of CFPD. The community’s political situation, cultural norms and tradition with regard to leadership style informs the style of leadership that will be adopted for the project. It also determines how participants for the project are chosen. For instance, “some leadership styles are more participatory and lead to greater sharing of information and other resources, whereas other styles may reinforce an existing inequitable power structure in the community” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1316). At this stage conflicts caused by unequal power relations among community members are likely to start, but here again how dialogue is used by all concerned will determine the continuation or success of the project.

### **3. Clarification of Perceptions**

Community members are highly likely to have different perceptions on the cause of problems facing them. For instance, in a rural community where there is a TB outbreak. Some community members may think that certain members of the community are bewitching them hence the illness (cf. Smith, 2008). Yet some may say it is caused by overcrowding and poor socio-economic conditions. Dialogue can be used to clarify participants' perceptions and to help them reach a consensus on what could be the real problem facing the community. Reaching an agreement as a collective on the nature of the problem affecting them will enable them to move forward with more focus as they will now work on how to solve that particular problem.

### **4. Expression of Individual and Shared Needs**

In a participatory development project it is important that needs of all participants regardless of class, age and academic background are considered. "For people to participate, they must become conscious of their own dignity. This in turn means that they must express themselves and be given the opportunity to have their say, based on the individual reality that infuses each person's life" (Gerace & Lazaro, 2006: 63). Freire (1983: 76) advocates that "[the right to talk] is not a privilege of some few men, but the right of every man".

However, since community members are hardly ever a homogenous group conflicts and disagreements are bound to happen as different people are given an opportunity to express their different needs. To overcome conflicts and other obstacles in the project good leadership and two-way dialogue are important. Kincaid *et al* (2002: 8) advise that "[i]f any conflict or dissatisfaction arises, then community leaders have to resolve the conflict before much progress can be made with the problem. To resolve the conflict, more clarification may be needed".

## **5. Vision of the Future**

The vision of the future refers to the common vision which the community participants have of the project. If the project is truly participatory then the vision of the project outcomes must be a shared vision among all participants and stakeholders and not an exclusive vision which will benefit only the elite. It entails the tangible and intangible benefits which the project will bring to the community.

## **6. Assessment of current status**

In order to gauge the progress of the project it must be continuously assessed. Qualitative and quantitative measures can be taken to assess the project. Assessing the project is important because “unless a clear measure of the problem is established it will be difficult to set goals for action, and then determine if any progress is being made later” (Kincaid *et al*, 2002: 9).

## **7. Setting Objectives**

It is imperative that as a group, participants set realistic goals and objectives. For instance Kincaid & Figueroa (2009) state that setting very low goals that are reached without hard work and commitment can lead to low motivation. They therefore advise that participants must set moderate achievable goals that will motivate the group to work together towards achieving them.

## **8. Options for Action**

After community participants have agreed on the objectives they want to achieve they may have different views on how they want those objectives to be achieved. Benjamin Lozare (1994: 236) points out that, “[i]t is possible that people may find themselves in conflict because they assess situations differently, vary in their objectives and/or prefer different courses of actions”. Conflicting ideas by participants on which course of action to take may delay or inhibit the implementation of the project. It is therefore crucial that

through dialogue community leaders help participants reach a consensus on which action they want to take in order to achieve their objectives. Kincaid *et al* (2002: 9) advise that “if a sufficient consensus cannot be reached, then the objectives and/or the courses of action may have to be discussed all over again”.

### **9. Consensus on Action**

“Community consensus for a chosen course of action is important later for obtaining resources and for getting people to volunteer or accept various assignments to implement a plan of action” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318). It is easy for community members to be committed and fully participate in a project in which they share ownership. “Likewise, the more a community is “involved and committed” the higher the empowerment and sense of collective self-efficacy that the community will develop” (Kincaid *et al* 2002: 9).

### **10. Action Plan**

After the project objectives have been set and consensus for action reached an action plan should be drawn up. An action plan is “a specific timetable for when each activity has to be accomplished [to] help the community have clear deadlines for effectively moving toward the solution of the problem” (Kincaid *et al.*, 2002: 9). There may be cases where the different stakeholders involved in a project will have different concepts of time management. Dialogue and good leadership will play a vital role in ensuring that a consensus is reached on the most suitable action plan for all stakeholders.

### **Collective Action**

During the collective action phase, project participants work together to implement the project objectives. Local communities may rely on internal or external organisations for the implementation of their objectives. Organisations such as local media, church, health centres and educational institutions may be available to help the community. During this phase participatory outcomes are evaluated against the project’s objectives. There are five

main steps identified by Kincaid & Figueroa (2009) to constitute the collective action phase:

- i) Assignment of Responsibilities
- ii) Mobilization of Organizations
- iii) Implementation
- iv) Outcomes
- v) Participatory Evaluation

What is important to note about this phase is that everyone involved in the project must take responsibility and work hard towards achieving the set goals or objectives within the set timeframe. The CFPD model puts emphasis on working together as a group, from leadership to the broader community members (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). It is also important for all the participants to take part in the project's evaluation process. Having discussion as a group about what worked and what did not and how they as a group can improve will no doubt reinforce a sense of collective efficacy and empowerment among participants.

### **External Constraints and Support**

External constraints and support refers to “any factor outside the control of community members that can either inhibit or enhance dialogue and collective action” (Kincaid *et al*, 2002: 10). These can range from political, socio-economic to geographical factors. This simply means that “participation is contextual” (White, 1994: 16) and development projects need to be planned and implemented to fit the local context. “Context matters... [w]ithout an understanding of context communication initiatives will fall short of their objectives” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 15). In the schematic model 1 of the CFPD model there are two-way arrows from community dialogue and collective action to external constraints which according to Kincaid *et al* (2002: 10) imply that “*over the long run* community action itself can be taken to remove external constraints and to obtain external support”.

## **Outcomes**

As illustrated in the schematic model 1, a community involved in dialogue and collective action is highly likely to achieve both individual and social change. “Many of the individual and social change outcomes are related and can affect one another” (Kincaid *et al*, 2002: 11). It is also important to note that as illustrated by the arrows from the catalyst straight to individual and social outcomes sometimes catalyst(s) can lead directly to individual and social outcomes. This dissertation does not provide a detailed discussion of all the individual and social outcomes as outlined in the CFPD model. The primary focus of the BP rock art recording project is individual outcomes such as the transference of skills and participant empowerment which is thus the primary interest of this research. The social outcomes, though significant, will be discussed as the ‘ripples’ (or multiplier effects) of the project’s primary outcomes.

### **Individual outcomes as illustrated in the CFPD model include:**

- i) Skills improvement
- ii) Ideational factors such as knowledge, beliefs, values, perceived risk, subjective norms, self-image, emotion, self-efficacy, social influence, and personal advocacy
- iii) Intention
- iv) Behaviour

Individual outcomes entail a wide range of benefits which participants may or may not attain during a participatory project. Skills improvement may refer to improved interpersonal and intrapersonal skills.

Involvement in a dialogic conversation means that one takes into account the other person’s point of view whether you agree with it or not. Thinking and analysing rather than feeling and reacting helps participants realise that to make positive change in their lives they need to engage the problem and find solutions rather than hoping someone else might determine and enforce a resolution. This relates to Albert Bandura’s (1995) concept of self-efficacy that emphasises the importance of self-belief in attaining the

skills to implement positive change in one's life. Self-efficacy refers to "a person's belief in his or personal ability to effect change, which determines what course of action that person will choose, how long it will be sustained in the face of resistance" (Melkote & Steeves, 2009: 133). A link between skills improvement and behaviour is thus acknowledged in the CFPD model.

Working in an environment that enables participants to analyse their situation and to think through options available to them can be empowering to individuals. Genuine participation in a project by participants implies an increased information flow between participants which can decrease the knowledge gap between participants from different cultures and disciplines, as will be discussed in Chapter Six in relation to the Biesje Poort project.

**Social outcomes can include:**

i.) Leadership

Leadership as a positive CFPD outcome means that the project leader(s) were able to successfully guide the project's participants towards achieving their set objective. The CFPD model assumes that "engaging and inclusive leadership is more likely than other forms of leadership to enhance other social change outcomes, such as information equity, shared ownership of the project, and social cohesion" (Kincaid Figueroa, 2009: 1320).

ii.) Degree and Equity of Participation

Development projects must include diverse participants such as young people, women, and people from minority ethnic groups and under privileged backgrounds. "Inclusion of these groups in the dialogue and action phases guarantees that conflicting or restrictive issues get to be known and negotiated, if not resolved, so that a legitimate shared vision can emerge for the community" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1321).

The degree of participation is influenced by, and affects, other social outcomes of CFPD, such as network cohesion, trust, and collective efficacy. Kincaid and Figueroa (2009: 1321).

### iii) Information Equity

One of the key positive outcomes of a participatory development project is that there should be an equal flow of information and knowledge among all participants – information equity-

### iv.) Collective Efficacy

Collective efficacy refers to a community's shared belief that if they work together as a collective then they can achieve their goals and accomplish their desired tasks (Bandura, 1986). "It is expected that a community's collective efficacy influences the group's goal setting, dialogue, collective effort, and especially, its persistence when barriers arise" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1323). There are three main dimensions of collective efficacy. First, *perceived efficacy to take action as a group* refers to the confidence of community members to work together as a group to solve a common problem. This dimension may be affected by contextual factors in the form of community's past experiences, such as a history of factionalism or other conflicts in the community. Second, *perceived capability of other community members* refers to community members' perceptions of other members' talents and abilities to accomplish their work. Third, *perceived efficacy to solve problems as a group* refers to members' perceived confidence to solve a specific problem or address a particular issue at the community level by working together (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1323).

### v.) Sense of Ownership

In order for a development project to bring about social change among participants it is important that participants perceive themselves as owners of the project. There are at least six dimensions to shared ownership: a) importance of an issue or program to

participants; b) sense of responsibility for the program; c) contribution to the program; d) extent to which benefits from the project are shared; e) personal identification with the program; and f) personal accountability (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1322). Tangible resources gained from the development projects must be equally shared among all participants. Increasing access to resources, such as education, employment and income, which often are beyond the reach of certain societal groups or classes, not only changes the dynamics of social interaction but also leads to improvements in the quality of life, in general (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1322).

## **Conclusion**

What remains constant throughout the chapter is that engaging in dialogue and actively participating in development projects as a community can lead to a positive change in a community. Although the CFPD model states that engaging in dialogue does not automatically lead to positive change nevertheless fully implementing the CFPD model is recommended for positive change in the community. It remains to be seen in a practical situation how different stakeholders' expectations and needs are negotiated especially in cases where the catalyst is a donor from outside the community. An in-depth discussion of all these dynamics with regard to the BP rock art recording process is dealt with in Chapter Six below.

## **CHAPTER 6: DATA ANALYSIS**

*Human communication is not linear and the interpretation of meaning should not be linear either (Henning, 2004: 105).*

### **Introduction**

This chapter presents and analyses the data gathered during the Biesje Poort (BP) rock art recording project. As Tim May (1997: 30) explains, “in the process of research, we embark on empirical work and collect data which initiates, refutes or organizes our theories and then enables us to understand or explain our observations”. The primary data as discussed in Chapter Two was gathered during face-to face interviews, group meetings, casual conversations with participants and participant observation.

Using the Communication for Participatory Development (CFPD) model as a guide this chapter evaluates the success of the BP rock art recording process in achieving its participatory development objectives, of skills transference and empowerment. The data is analysed and presented using the different levels and concepts inherent in the CFPD model.

The chapter concludes with a summary of the research findings and the successful and unsuccessful aspects of the BP project in terms of participation in answering the research questions that focus on: i) what evidence there is that participatory communication played a role in helping the BP project team achieve its objectives of skills transference and empowerment, and ii) the ways in which Kalahari artists and crafters, as well as other participants of the research team, view the BP rock engravings.

### **CFPD MODEL**

The CFPD model has been used as a “descriptive model that explains why community projects are successful or unsuccessful” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1316). It is significant to mention here that although the steps in the CFPD model are presented

sequentially, in practice they may happen simultaneously. As a result, in my analysis, some of the outlined steps in the CFPD are skipped or mentioned simultaneously.

### **Catalyst**

The CFPD model acknowledges that development initiatives do not just magically start but are initiated by a catalyst. The catalyst may be an internal member of the community or an external change agent. “The catalyst in the model represents the particular trigger that initiates the community dialogue about a specific issue of concern or interest to the community” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1312). In the BP rock art project the catalyst was Mary Lange, Chairperson of the non-profit organisation, ARROWSA: Art, Culture and Heritage for Peace (Reg 058-088 NPO) organisation.

While conducting research for her book<sup>35</sup> Lange learnt about the Biesje Poort rock engravings via the Upington Museum and local 1960s newspaper *Die Gemsbok*. When she visited the farm in 1999 with conservationist Michael Fisher and Biesje Poort farm worker Dawid Padmaker they discovered that there were a number of unrecorded rock art images at the Biesje Poort site. Curious to find out whether the rock engravings were connected to water stories related by Upington women she started her quest to record the rock engravings. With funding support from the National Heritage Council (NHC) the BP recording project commenced on 28 March 2011.

On the one hand Lange can be considered as an external change agent as she is the one who initially identified ‘the problem’, or rather the presence of the rock art and the importance of recording it, and then made the other participants aware of it. She initiated the project as a result of her own personal interest that was later developed in her MA research. On the other hand she can be identified as an internal change agent as she also had a personal interest in the rock art recording and was a project participant from

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<sup>35</sup> Lange, M.E. (2011). *Water Stories and rock engravings: Eiland women at the Kalahari edge*. Amsterdam: SAVUSA Series Rozenberg.

inception to completion. In addition, Lange can be referred to as a communication champion (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009), as part of her objective is to ensure that the presence of this national heritage is made known to the local and academic community and that rock art recording skills are imparted. Champions are defined as “individuals or organizations with a sincere respect for the views of the people with whom they work...have a sincere belief in helping people discover their own potential” (Quarry & Ramirez, 2009: 62).

### **Community Dialogue**

The main role of the catalyst is to trigger the development process using dialogue by either highlighting an issue or problem or introducing a technology or service. The CFPD model prescribes ten steps which Kincaid and Figueroa (2009:1316) argue that if they are “successfully completed could lead to effective community action”. These steps are: 1. Recognition of a Problem; 2. Identification and Involvement of Leaders and Stakeholders; 3. Clarification of Perceptions. 4. Expression of Individual and Shared Needs; 5. Vision of the Future; 6. Assessment of Current Status; 7. Setting Objectives; 8. Options for Action; 9. Consensus on Action; 10. Action Plan (See the CFPD schematic model in Chapter Five).

The community dialogue and collective action sections illustrate “a sequence of steps that take place within a community, sometimes simultaneously, that leads to solving a common problem” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1316). In relation to the BP project some of the steps highlighted in the CFPD model happened simultaneously. When Lange, as the catalyst to the BP project, recognised ‘the problem’ (*recognition of a problem*) of the presence of unrecorded rock art at the BP site, she identified the stakeholders she wanted to be involved in the project (*identification and involvement of leaders and stakeholders*). During this stage communication was mainly done via emails and phone calls with individual stakeholders mainly to clarify questions (*clarification of perceptions*) they may have had with regards to their involvement in the project (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

BP is a remote private farm with only the farm owner and his family as residents. Lange assembled a multidisciplinary and multicultural team to record the rock engravings (as discussed in Chapter One and Two). The importance of a multicultural and multidisciplinary team was clarified in an interview with Lange: “from a personal point of view I knew from working on my Masters (that included Biesje Poort) that rock art is part of such a broad aspect of our cultural heritage past and present that representatives reflecting that broad spectrum would need to be included to achieve as holistic a study as possible” (Lange, email, 30 September 2011). Information gathered from participants via interviews and casual conversations reveal that no one was forced to be a part of the recording project but were each invited and they accepted. This voluntary willingness to participate is in line with participatory ethos in that “the way communication is established and nurtured will affect how involved people will feel about the issues raised and how they will participate – or not – in a research or development initiative” (Bessette, 2004: 9).

The power held by Lange to select the participants that she wanted to be a part of the project can be viewed as non-participatory. Instead of making explicit efforts to include interested candidates through an open call for participation, she purposively chose BP participants (see Chapter Two). However, it is reported that, “most participatory processes do not and literally cannot involve ‘everyone’. In practice, explicit or implicit choices are usually made as to who might take part. These may be inherent in the choice of methodology” (Cornwall, 2008: 276-277).

Furthermore, participants were given an option to choose *how* they wanted to be involved in the project [*my emphasis*]. For example, when I was invited to be a part of the project I was given possible research areas to choose from if indeed I wanted to be involved in the project. These possible research areas were just a guide as the below quote from an email I received demonstrates:

Below are the Possible Research Areas, the students can base their project / MA dissertation on. The research areas are not limited to these (just a few ideas):

- 1) Present the Khoi-San descendants' interaction, interpretation and/ or representation of rock engravings - with an emphasis on recording the living heritage.
- 2) Parallels and contrasts in research teams' interpretation of rock engravings – engravings as text.
- 3) The role of participatory communication in the project.
- 4) Parallels and contrasts between the Khoi-San past engravings and the present visual representation in arts/crafts in the research area.
- 5) Challenges to the sustainability of the site and tourism.
- 6) A visual record of the recording process (photographic or video essay) (Dyll-Myklebust, email, 15 November 2010).

Responding to an email I had sent that voiced my concerns on basing my MA dissertation on the rock art recording project, Lauren Dyll-Myklebust emphasised that “IF you were to decide to join the Biesje Poort team the research you do, does NOT necessarily HAVE TO BE the research site for your MA, in other words you do not have to base your MA topic on the Bieje Poort research” (Dyll-Myklebust, email, 24 November 2010). After much thought and personal research on development communication paradigms I agreed to join the BP research team and focus my MA research on the participatory aspect of the project (cf. Magongo, 2011: 11).

Dyll-Myklebust wrote the email in her capacity as a CCMS, UKZN supervisor. She had already accepted Lange's invitation to be a part of the BP project in the role of supervisor for students from CCMS who would be part of the project. As my and Shanade Barnabas' research supervisor Dyll-Myklebust could be considered as a *leader*. As a lecturer at CCMS with previous experience in multidisciplinary and multicultural group research Lange asked her to supervise the students. This choice supports the idea that “[t]he nature of the problem may lend itself to a particular type of leadership, generated from within

the group that initiates the process, [...] or from the pre-existing leadership structure of the community (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1316)”. Although the hierarchical structure of the BP research community was not explicitly stated each group included someone that I classify as a leader. These leaders are the team members who helped Lange to bring together all the BP participants (see Chapter Two). For instance, in the archaeological group Lange invited David Morris who then invited Koot Msawula his assistant. When Roger Fisher was invited to be a part of the project he in turn asked Liana Müller to join the team. To communicate with the Kalahari crafters Lange was assisted by Belinda Org.

The leadership style adopted in a development project is informed by that particular community’s contextual factors (see discussion *on Identification and Involvement of Leaders and Stakeholders* in Chapter Five). I would classify the leadership structure adopted during the BP project as participatory because once all the participants had agreed to participate in the project Lange communicated with all of us as a group before making any decisions. As Jan Servaes clearly states:

Participation does not imply that there is no longer a role for development specialists, planners, and institutional leaders. It only means that the viewpoint of the local public groups is considered before the resources for development projects are allocated and distributed and that suggestions for changes in the policy are taken into consideration (Servaes, 1999:157).

Lange did not make decisions without identified leaders only nor the other group members. All the BP participants’ voices were considered in decision making. For instance the emails that she sent were copied to all the BP participants demonstrating her inclusive approach. In order to include the Kalahari crafters, who do not have email access, in the decision making, Lange would phone them or Belinda Org their facilitator to ascertain their opinions on different matters.

Through facilitating the dialogue among the BP participants the catalyst was able to help organise and coordinate the team’s action plan or recording itinerary. Having, “a specific timetable for each activity that has to be accomplished creates realistic deadlines for

moving effectively toward the solution of the problem” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318). Table 1 below is an example of the BP team’s recording itinerary which helped the participants plan their activities. It is important to note that on the itinerary there is no detailed discussion on the daily activities while in the field (Tuesday 29<sup>th</sup> March to and including Thursday 31<sup>st</sup> March). This is because the daily schedule was to be determined daily after a group meeting. Every night after a day of recording the BP group met and reflected on the day’s work and discussed plans for the next day a strategy characteristic of participatory communication values. Focusing on critical thinking and stressing process is what makes the participatory communication at variance with the modernisation paradigm which stresses focus on specific outcomes (Waisbord, 2001) (see discussion on Chapter Four). This understanding of communication is central to Paulo Freire’s (1970) writings which have been influential in participatory communication literature. Freire argues that “the process of action and reflection constitutes the process of *conscientization*” (Servaes, 1996: 78) (see Chapter Four).

**NHC Biesje Poort Project: Khoi-San rock art recording itinerary**

<b>Date</b>	<b>Activity, Location and People involved</b>
Saturday <b>26th March</b>	Durban CCMS, UKZN team leave Durban - sleep at <b>Hadida Kimberley</b> (5 people: Prof Keyan Tomaselli, Mary Lange, Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, Miliswa Magongo and Shanade Barnabas)
Sunday <b>27th March</b>	Durban and Kimberley (Mc Gregor Museum-David Morris and assistant) leave Kimberley - meet Pretoria team (UP Prof Fisher and UCT Liana Muller) and Kalahari team (Belinda Org, Oeliset Org, Isak and Lys Kruiper and //Klankie

	Kruiper) in Upington - pre recording meeting - sleep at <b>Upington River City Inn</b> (12 people - Mary and Roger to stay with Mr Bill Fisher - )
Monday <b>28th March</b>	Some go early shopping for rations in Upington, some conduct pre site visit interviews - drive to Khamkirri and set up camp (after 1) - afternoon site visit - all walk site to identify what to record - division of labour planned
Tuesday <b>29th March</b> to and including Thursday <b>31st March</b>	Camping at Khamkirri (14 people) - daily recording of rock art and cultural/built environment at Biesje Poort - interviews - Thursday eve - post recording discussion and reflection.
Friday <b>1st April</b>	leave Khamkirri by 10 o'clock: If necessary a team goes to complete recording at Biesje Poort whilst others return to Upington, Liana leaves for CT - post recording meeting - sleep at <b>Upington River City Inn</b> (12 people - Mary and Roger to stay with Mr Bill Fisher)
Saturday <b>2nd April</b>	Teams return to their home towns - Durban team via <b>Bishops Court Kimberley</b> (5 people)
Sunday <b>3rd April</b>	Durban team arrives home.

**Table 1:** (Lange, email, 29 March 2011)

Dyll-Myklebust (2012), however, critiques this recommendation of drawing up a specific timetable when working with indigenous communities, calling it “too simplistic when

working with indigenous communities that do not typically structure their time so formally” (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 182). The merits of her argument will be discussed further in the chapter under the time frame subheading. Though convenient, the issue of creating set times for specific activities may be complex at times as experienced during the BP recording project.

Through communication via emails and phone calls prior to the BP team visiting the BP site, every participant knew about each and every participant who was going to be a part of the project and what their involvement was going to be. Yet on the first day (28 March 2012) at Khamkirri Lodge<sup>36</sup> we had an official group meeting to introduce ourselves and share our expectations of the trip, what we hoped to learn or share, our knowledge or experience or lack of, of rock art, cyber tracking or use of Global Positioning System (GPS). Some participants hoped that their participation would leave a legacy for future generations. For instance Isak Kruiper said, “I would very much like that whatever happens in the project shouldn’t just be left there but should go forward for the future – looking towards the future. I am getting older and the children are getting younger so that something can be left for them. Thank you” (group interview, 28 March 2012).

In relation to the CFPD model the BP project undertook steps four to ten simultaneously. To avoid making communication a guise for manipulation by implementing the interests of one community group over another, it is important that the different community members are identified and given an opportunity to express their viewpoint (Bessette, 2004).

During all group meetings, including the first one at Khamkirri, we sat in a circle to allow for good visibility and contact with each other (see appendix C). From a participatory communication perspective this physical arrangement is symbolic as it encourages

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<sup>36</sup> Khamkirri Lodge is a tented camp and was our accommodation during the trip. It is approximately a 40-minute drive away from Biesje Poort. Each morning we drove to Biesje Poort and drove back to the lodge in the evenings.

dialogue by breaking down hierarchies (cf. Reddy, 2009). This first meeting also acted as a first step in blurring the researcher/researched line between participants as everyone shared why they were a part of the BP project (see Chapter Two). It helped establish that although there were formal ‘researchers’ from academic institutions in the group there were no specific ‘informants *per se* as all team members were ‘research informants’. Everyone was there to learn and share his or her knowledge of the rock art and material culture found. As Keyan Tomaselli<sup>37</sup> pointed out at the end of the BP project: “in all the years that we’ve been working with the ≠Khomani we never really worked *with* [my emphasis] them. Now we were working *with* them in the same site and it’s a kind of magic” (group meeting, 31March, 2011).

The BP group completed this community dialogue phase with the pronouncement of their onsite shared short term vision or objective. Which was “to record a number of sites right down to the micro level of actual engraved images as well as artefacts” (Morris, 29 March 2011, group meeting). Having this meeting is also significant because “community consensus for a chosen course of action is important [...] for getting people to [...] accept various assignments to implement a plan of action” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009:1318).

## **Collective Action**

- 1. Assignment of responsibilities,*
- 2. Mobilization of organizations*
- 3. Implementation,*
- 4. Outcomes*
- 5. Participatory evaluation*

The above steps are listed in the CFPD model discussed on Chapter Five they are expected to happen in a community when a community takes collective action (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). The collective action phase entails the actual implementation of the project by the participants or stakeholders. A catalyst may, through dialogue, initiate a

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<sup>37</sup> Professor Keyan Tomaselli has been working with the ≠Khomani (descendents of the KhoiSan) for more than 15 years and leading the Rethinking Indigeneity project, which is discussed in Chapter one.

community development project, however, that does not guarantee that community members will participate in the project. As Andrea Cornwall (2008: 275) aptly highlights:

While opening spaces for dialogue through invitation is necessary, it is by no means sufficient to ensure effective participation. Much depends on how people take up and make use of what is on offer, as well as on supportive processes that can help build capacity, nurture voice and enable people to empower themselves.

This ‘challenge’ to participation was evident during the BP trip. The first day on the site started at a slow pace as we spent the better part of the morning being taught, by Morris, the archaeological aspects of recording the rock art. He discussed in detail how a site is marked and how a GPS works. He shared with us the challenges of determining what a recording site is. The first site we recorded was site number 10<sup>38</sup> and next to it we recorded sites number 11 and 12. One way in which participation was achieved in BP was through inclusive naming of the sites. “This strategy assumes that knowledge is generated inter-subjectively and does not *a priori* privilege one form of knowledge as more complete or essentially more appropriate” (Mohan, 2001: 165). In the Site Record Form<sup>39</sup> which we used to record every site there is a provision for a literal name and a local name. The Kalahari crafters were given an opportunity to give the sites the local name which they felt was of significance to them and the site. For instance site 10 was recorded as BP 10 (literal name) the 10 is a national site number that is assigned by the museum and ‘AM ’Xaus (local name) meaning water snake, was the local name attributed to the site by the crafters. From a participatory communication perspective this is

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<sup>38</sup> David Morris named the first site we recorded site number 10 because there are a few sites that had already been recorded there by Fock and Fock (1989).

<sup>39</sup> The Site Record Form belongs to the McGregor Museum and is a national estate of South Africa.

significant as it highlights knowledge creation and sharing between scientists and indigenous communities as discussed in Chapter Three and Chapter Four.

Knowledge sharing was not only limited to the naming of sites but everyone was given an opportunity to engage with the different sites and rock engravings. In one instance the participants discussed and debated the reasoning behind the location of the rock art. Giving an insight on what the discussion was about Liana Müller shared (interview, 31 March 2011),

To me it was important to note exactly where these rock art were located. And it's always close to water and it's always either in a high place. Close to a place where people would have stayed for a little while. So they were moving through the landscape and that's also when I started noticing that it would be places like the poort is a through way to a different point. So these would be places where people would settle for a while. Maybe eat, hunt for a little while then do the rock engravings as well. David also talked about the fact that there is a spiritual dynamic to this and that maybe only people, specifically shamans, would do the paintings but Isak and Oeliset started talking about it, it could be the whole community which did the rock engravings and the children who contributed. So it's still up in the air and everyone has their own hypothesis.

Having diverse interpretations of the rock art and surrounding artefacts<sup>40</sup> as evidenced by what Müller was saying above was one of the expected outcomes of the recording project. The above quote identifies the multivocality of interpretation which was at work within the BP project.

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<sup>40</sup> Artefacts found in BP 10 for instance include “a few flaked stone tools, several brass cartridges (darkly patinated); an upper grindstone; a single postage stamp size clay potsherd; a glass marble (of the type from a circa 100-year-old mineral water bottle); and a variety of metal items, brown with age, including short bits of wire, steel loops (resembling either part of a broken padlock or cut chain links), nails (both flat and round-any wooden objects they once fastened long since having disintegrated), and a belt buckle with snake-motif clasp” (Morris, 2011: 16).

However, during an interview with Morris the night before the rock art recording begun he acknowledged the short comings of attempting to interpret the rock art:

I think quite often we'll undoubtedly be hearing interpretations of particular images over the coming days. And they might well be completely wrong whether that interpretation comes from them or from me because we simply cannot go back into the past. We cannot ask the makers of the images. We know that human culture is so very dynamic, constantly changing. It's actually impossible to arrive at the final answer. I don't think there is a final answer. As I said this process of engagement can greatly enrich one's ability to think through the possible interpretations and meanings (Morris, interview, 28 March 2011).

Having different perspectives on the rock art and artefact interpretations can be looked at as a futile exercise from a "scientific accuracy" perspective since the artists are no longer alive to confirm which hypothesis is right or wrong. However, writing from a cultural studies perspective (see Chapter Two) this study is not overly concerned with accuracy in this sense but rather how people make meaning. "Whether these stories were scientifically validated or historically correct was not important. Rather, what was important is that our team shared their knowledge (whether past or contemporary) with each other" (Tomaselli, Dyll-Myklebust & van Grootheest, forthcoming). It exposed the subjective nature of the recording process. We each used our individual points of references to make sense of the landscape (See BP landscape in appendix D). On the other hand, it can also be looked at positively as allowing "for a broader enrichment of all people that are engaged" (Fisher, interview, 31 March 2011). Writing an article about his involvement in the BP project Morris (2011: 17) concluded, "while speculating, our debates made us aware of the multivocality of things and of places and the assumptions and preconceptions we bring to our acts of characterisation and narration"

#### ***4. Outcomes 5. Participatory evaluation***

Discussions and debates around the rock art and the BP landscape did not end on site but continued at the campsite. Every night during supper the BP participants sat and reflected on the day's activities, evaluating what we achieved and setting objectives for the next day. By collectively discussing what we knew, what we did not understand, and how we felt about particular issues and events during the recording, we collectively created and shared knowledge. The significance of the "assessment of the current situation tells a community where it is now and how far it has to go to realize its vision of the future" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1317). For instance one of the main issues that had to be reviewed after day one in the field was the time issue (see "Time Frame" subheading below). The Kalahari crafters suggested that recording be scheduled to start early in the morning so that the BP team could get more done before the sun got unbearably hot. The rest of the group members agreed and so the working hours were rescheduled. Without "an adequate assessment of what a community accomplishes and fails to accomplish, motivation for continual improvement will decline and members will lose confidence in their leaders" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318).

This means that evaluation of the BP project was done during and after the recording process. During the recording process it was done at the end of each day as already stated. After completing the recording process the team had a final group meeting where everyone spoke about what they achieved, what they had not achieved and recommendations for a way forward. Instead of getting an external agent to evaluate the project the participants evaluated it themselves. For instance, Msawula advised that, "the children must be exposed to what we have been involved with here as part of their education process" (group interview, 31 March 2011). While Morris commended the multidisciplinary and multicultural approach of the BP project, "I just like to say thank you to everyone I think it's been an amazing experience having people coming from a whole lot of different contexts from different parts of the country; the Northern Cape and all over. All coming together to engage with a particular environment, a particular landscape and all the material traces in it and the intangible traces in it. And I think we

have all learnt a great deal from this experience (group interview, 31 March 2011)". On the other hand, Müller was optimistic about the impact the BP approach might have in academia, "[t]his is a special special project and I do believe that this is going to change paradigms in the future of how we deal with heritage. I'm grateful to be a part of this" (group interview, 31 March 2011). Sharing similar sentiments was Dyll-Myklebust who said "I really didn't have my own research agenda coming here because I'm here as an advisor. But something that I'm interested in is trying to see how the western world uses certain methods of research and indigenous people sometimes use different methods and the books say that often these methods clash, but what I found happening here is that somehow I think this project has found a middle ground in some way. And I enjoyed watching the dynamics, seeing how that worked out" (group interview, 31 March 2011).

This is in line with participatory communication as "no one is in a better position to evaluate social change than those that are the subjects of it. Have their lives changed? How? They can tell it through their own stories and their own voices" (Gumucio-Dagron 2009: 462). Furthermore, "when community members do the evaluation themselves, it also contributes to the community's reinforcement of, motivation for, and capacity for further development" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1318).

The National Heritage Council as the BP project's funder requested a BP team final report towards project evaluation. This formal evaluation required that in the NHC report the BP team stipulate the project outcomes using certain indicators such as 'skills transferred'. The report also had to be submitted to the NHC within a set time period and with monetary penalties if not adhered to. These provisions by the funder highlight some of the challenges faced by researchers or development practitioners when implementing the participatory approach in projects (see discussion on limitations in Chapter Two). The first challenge was, as in the modernisation or dominant paradigm, that if "the objective is to bring about a beneficial change, the locus of control rests with...organizations outside the [research] community" (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 364). This in some instances results in organisations being out of touch with the community's needs and

realities. Secondly, using indicators to measure development is synonymous with the dominant paradigm (Herman, 2007) (see discussion in Chapter Four).

### **External constraints and support**

In the CFPD model there are two-way arrows between *dialogue/collective action and external constraints and support*. They signal that during the *dialogue/collective action phase* the community participants may either receive external support for their development initiative and or experience external constraints which might bring to a halt their initiative. This means that, “dialogue and collective action also are affected by contextual factors in the environment that constrain or support the progress of a community toward its envisioned goals” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1319).

The first external constraint the BP team faced was in Upington (27 March 2011) during our first group meeting. During the meeting we were joined by Colin Louw the secretary general of the SAN council. Since Louw had heard that a research team was working with members of the KhoiSan community he was there to find out; what the role of the SAN council was in the project and to ascertain whether a Memorandum Of Understanding (MOU) had been signed by the KhoiSan. When told that the KhoiSan signed informed consent forms and not an MOU Louw expressed his unhappiness and insisted that an MOU needed to be signed to protect the KhoiSan and the research team. Louw argued that as a council they had experience with similar projects where the KhoiSan had been made promises that were not met at the end. He stated that this is what he was trying to prevent.

A debate then ensued. According to Lange the problem was the manner in which Louw expressed himself. Lange felt that Louw implied that the KhoiSan would be exploited in the BP project, even after he had been told that all the participants had signed informed consent forms agreeing to be a part of the project (See Appendix B for the consent form). Lange argued that after working with the KhoiSan for years and seeking their consent to participate in the BP project she found it frustrating that Louw was making it sound as if

measures had not been taken to protect the KhoiSan. Tomaselli also added that he has been working with the ≠Khomani and SASI for years and that there has never been a problem. In addition, Belinda said among other things that she knows that some people in the Kalahari think that they do not need it and said, “I don’t need the San Council I am my own boss” (group meeting, 27 March 2011). The argument continued until, Fisher promised Louw that an MOU would be signed and copies sent to the San Council to which Louw agreed (interview notes, 27 March 2011).

I consider this incident an external constraint since it is a debate that was started by someone who was not part of the BP recording team. The incident caused conflict in the group and disrupted the flow of the meeting. It could be pointed out that this meeting that Louw disrupted had been planned to promote face-to-face verbal dialogue in the team as up to that point planning and discussions had been via email and telephone. This confrontation or encounter also opened up other power dynamics involved when conducting research with an indigenous community. With the contemporary politicised nature of community-based development this incident underscores the significance of identifying and acknowledging all possible community gatekeepers before implementing a participatory communication project (Dyll-Mykebust, 2011). This is to avoid having “powerful interest groups or gatekeepers within the community turn well-meaning efforts on the part of community development workers to their own ends” (Cornwall, 2008: 274).

During an individual face to face interview with Louw, he revealed that the San council wanted more than just to be informed about the involvement of KhoiSan in the project but they also wanted to play a part in the project. “We will nominate one person [from the San Council] to be a part of this project. The person will get everything that these people are getting. He will not get something separate because they are San council... you know. If they decide that one person will be paid R100 then that guy will be the same thing” (Louw, interview, 27 March 2011). I further, questioned;

**Me:** What will this person from the San council be doing exactly?

**Louw:** He is a San. He is operating as the San people are operating. Do what they did. Giving information, and at the same time give feedback. And when there are some questions from media and these kinds of things then there is someone who has that information and then corrects the media statements. [...]

**Me:** But since we already have San in this group how about you nominate one of them to be one of your representatives?

**Louw:** No you see what we did is different from the community, that's why we are there for the communities. We on a national level where we negotiate on behalf of the San people when it comes to housing everything, service delivery, when there is problems in the communities we are there to go in municipalities and sitting with the government departments.

The above interview transcript encapsulates one of the fundamental hindrances in community involvement in participatory development initiatives. That is, power dynamics. It demonstrates 'traditional' or 'political' power players assuming control and not trusting in local people's ability to represent themselves.

What I observed is that while Louw was speaking on behalf of the KhoiSan the KhoiSan did not participate in the meeting but sat and did not engage in the debate. Since "participatory initiatives tend to be premised on the idea that everyone would want to participate if only they could" (Cornwall, 2008: 278) the KhoiSan's decision not to participate in the meeting may be viewed by some as a lack of knowledge of the political or development discourse and that therefore they had nothing to contribute (Cornwall, 2008), or it could be interpreted as resistance.

However, during an interview with one of the Kalahari crafters he volunteered his thoughts on the San Council. "If the San Council was something worth it to us and gave us feedback on things that they were doing we could have believed that he really is working for us" (Kalahari crafter, interview, 30 March 2011). He further said "it was the first time I was seeing him [Louw] so how must I believe. I can listen and believe but it does not necessarily mean I am going to do what he says. If an elected San council comes

into this project, it is not going to be one member. What happens at the end of the day? There are so many San councils who is going to come on board now? What is going to happen? Everybody will want to share in this programme. Automatically everybody is out and the San council is in. This has been done all the time up to now” (Kalahari crafter, interview, 30 March 2011). The Kalahari crafter’s candid discussion of the Louw meeting may explain what Cornwall meant when he wrote about how in participatory communication “the active choice *not* to participate is barely recognized” (Cornwall 2008: 278). The Kalahari crafters’ decision not to participate in the meeting is discussed later in the chapter under the *project outcomes*.

Within the BP group there were other power dynamics observed. The two males Oeliset and Isak were seemingly more outspoken compared to Lys and //Klankie (gender power dynamics). It could be that they are introverts by nature or they were being respectful. For instance during a group interview with Isak, Lys and //Klankie; Isak would interrupt //Klankie while speaking to explain or emphasise a particular point then //Klankie would keep quiet and wait for him to finish before proceeding to show him respect. For instance in site 12 the BP team discovered a smooth stone which Lys explained was a grinding stone. She went on to demonstrate how they use it to grind *tsamma* melon<sup>41</sup> kernels among other things. As soon as Lys finished speaking, Oeliset also reiterated the exact same information but with more bravado.

Conflicts and power relations must be expected when working with a group of individuals from different cultures and disciplines.

We need to remember that communities are complex social bodies, made up of individuals that may have diverging interests – and in some cases, opposing

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<sup>41</sup> Also known as a wild water melon it is an important food resource for the KhoiSan. The skin of the *tsamma* melon can be used to wash oneself using them with the husks of the pips as a scrubber. The kernels of the pips are ground into a meal and used for porridge by mixing in the juice of the *tsamma* melon (see SUBtext Autumn 2011 edition on <http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/images/Subtext/subtext%20autumn%202011.pdf> accessed on 12 November 2012).

interests. Communities are not pure or untouched, as too often seems to be the implication in academic texts. In synthesis, communities only reproduce what the larger society is (Gumucio-Dagron, 2009:458).

Language barriers caused a minor conflict in one instance. From the CFPD perspective conflict can be described as divergence (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). English and Afrikaans were the two main languages used. The participants from the Kalahari speak Afrikaans as well as Nama<sup>42</sup>, an indigenous language. English had to be translated for them to understand, and I do not speak or understand Afrikaans. Whenever it was spoken I relied on other participants to translate to English for me. At some point while in the field some members felt that the simultaneous translation diminished their record in some way and so the information given should be summarised after a conversation was finished. They were more interested in scientific archival information and wanted a ‘purer’ transcription whereas, I conducted my research from a development communications and cultural studies paradigm. My research focus was on the whole project’s research process and seeks to understand how meaning is generated, disseminated and received. Others felt it was necessary for people to understand what was being discussed as people were speaking. Given that it was a multicultural and participatory project, all the different voices reflected had to be recorded as they reflected the reality of the nature of the project (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). However, through dialogue facilitated by different members of the BP team the researchers came to understand that since they were coming from different disciplines that they therefore had different research approaches and methods of gathering data. In this instance dialogue led to convergence, meaning that participants reached mutual understanding and intellectual growth (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

All these instances of conflict during the project underline that communities such as the BP research community are not homogenous, they are complex and their needs vary from

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<sup>42</sup> Nama is the most widespread of the Khoisan languages, spoken over an enormous geographic area (Namibia, Botswana and South Africa) with low population densities. It is spoken by pockets of isolated speakers such as the #Khomani (cf Crawhall, 2001; Dyll-Myklebust, 2011; Mhiripiri, 2008).

one context to another. For that reason, consistent communication between all participants is important as it helps clarify each other's needs at all times. "An appropriate model of CFPD therefore should be based on dialogue, information sharing, mutual understanding and agreement, and collective action (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1313). Such a model needs to account for conflict and its management, as well as for cooperation". The collected data illustrates that in the BP project, dialogue created an enabling environment for participants to be able to effectively deal with the different conflicts they encountered. Dialogue and collective action guarantees that conflicting or restrictive issues are voiced and negotiated, if not resolved, so that a legitimate shared vision can emerge for the community.

### **Time frame**

Conducting research with a diverse group of participants from both modern institutions and indigenous cultural background poses a chance of a cultural clash over working timeframes. To avoid dealing with conflicts it is important for leaders to understand the community dynamics and find the right speed or pace to work in. However, in most cases the issue of setting the right time frame to suit all participants is beyond the project leaders' control "the problem-specific nature of funding often means that external change agents impose development goals on communities" (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1311). As Gumucio-Dagron (2009: 457) explains in detail the operational structures of funding organisations and the implication it has on development projects:

Aid and development agencies are systematically imposing their agendas and deadlines: 'this is a two-year project' or 'this is a six-month information campaign'. The pressures on communities, NGOs, and national governments to 'deliver' the goods in the terms and timeframe imposed by donors or aid agencies are enormous. Cultural considerations about the timeframe of the 'beneficiaries' are usually absent: they are not consulted. They are not asked if what they are meant to do can be done in six months or one year, or more. This is particularly relevant to communication for social change as the opposite of social-marketing campaigns: the pace of development should be driven by the

communities involved, not by the donor agencies or the agencies that provide technical assistance.

At BP the team was also faced with a timeframe predicament. During a private meeting between Tomaselli, Lange and the Kalahari crafters<sup>43</sup> the Kalahari crafters expressed their unhappiness with the idea of working eight hours. They stated that they were not consulted instead they were told about the eight hour 'rule'. Lange explained that the eight hour 'rule' came about when she was working out the project's budget. To work out a budget for labour, she had to be guided by the labour laws that stipulate you cannot work more than eight hours and that labourers must have a tea break and a lunch break. It was to protect all participants while in the field and make sure that they were not exploited. It was not to restrict their movements or to ensure that they worked. This was clarified and Isak said he understood as at !Xaus lodge, where he sometimes works, they also had a maximum eight hour rule.

In what I view as a participatory approach the hours were slightly adjusted to suit their preference of starting work early in the morning. As one BP team member observed "it made sense...don't work in the sun!!! This was a rational decision on the part of the Kalahari crafters who are more accustomed to the dangers of Kalahari sun and rest of team saw sense in this despite their desire to fulfil the obligations of completing recording rock art within short time period in order to report back to NHC" (Dyll-Myklebust, email, 15 November 2012). This incident demonstrates "differences in stakeholder ontologies specifically with regards to the nature of work, as well as highlights the tension between structure and agency in projects with indigenous people" (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012: 179). Through dialogue by participants they were able to negotiate a way forward by adjusting the structure (time frame) to accommodate agency (Kalahari crafters's decision making on work time). It also shows that opening lines of

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<sup>43</sup> The meeting was called by Isak on behalf of the Kalahari crafters. The reason why the meeting was called will be discussed later on in the chapter, under outcomes. Since I was not invited to be a part of the meeting I interviewed Mary as soon she got back from the meeting to find out what transpired..

communication among participants can help in encouraging participants to be specific about their needs and expectations. Moreover, the fact that project facilitators need to be flexible, and adapt to the community members' needs and requests is underscored by this incident.

However, this incident also highlights the incongruency between participation as theory and realities in the field when projects are funded by external donors with their own agenda. The NHC as the funder set out the structure of the project so the BP participants as the 'beneficiaries' or 'receivers' of this money had to find a way to work efficiently under the structure. Although the BP project leader integrated participatory approaches, "the traditional top-down paradigm still remain[ed] in their theoretical and practical implications of everyday operations" (Hermann 2007: 29). As it is within the DSC (donor-funder) approach (see Chapter Four) the survival of the project was dependent on the BP participants' accepting the donor's structures and finding a way to work within them (Sonderling, 2006).

Though it evidently poses challenges of creating an environment which allows people to freely participate nevertheless some participatory communication literature reveals that participating within donor's structures is not a peculiar thing to the field. The most common type of participation in the development communication field is "functional participation" (Cornwall, 2008). This type of participation means that "people participate to meet project objectives more effectively and to reduce costs, after the main decisions have been made by external agents" (Cornwall, 2008: 271).

## **Outcomes**

The CFPD model stipulates certain expected individual and social change outcomes that should result if dialogue and collective action are effectively implemented in a project (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) (see italicised outcomes below). The outcomes achieved in the BP project that are linked to the indicators outlined in the CFPD model are discussed below.

## Individual change

*Skills, Psychosocial factors; (knowledge, attitudes, perceived risk, subjective norms, self image, emotion, empathy, self-efficacy, social influence and personal advocacy); intention and behaviour<sup>44</sup> (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).*

### Skills

As already stated in Chapter Two and Four; the use of technology when working with indigenous community members in participatory projects is encouraged. The use of technology is effective in creating an information society but it needs to be appropriately used in an integrated fashion, according to the needs and constraints of the local context (Servaes & Malikhaio, 2006). In relation to the BP project and the usage of ICTs it is worth noting that //Klankie viewed his acquisition of rock art recording skills through the use of GPS and a camera as empowering (see //Klankie using a GPS on appendix E). He explains: “It was for me a great privilege and I feel very inspired. It is my first time, I have only previously heard of rock art that was engraved. It is the first time I have seen it” (//Klankie, interview, 2 April 2011). Some would argue that his newly acquired skills are of little value since he does not own the equipment (cf. Dockney, 2011). However, Liana Müller reassured //Klankie and the team that she would contact him again and continue the learning experience (Müller, interview, 31 March 2011). She further assured the team that the way in which she taught //Klankie will ensure that he is able to use any GPS in future without any problem:

I taught //Klankie how to use the GPS to put a point or to document a specific point, take a photograph of that site and geo spatially reference it. It’s to say that on any map anywhere in the world on google earth or any Geospatial Information Systems (GIS). David had a quick lecture about the how the earth is referenced with the latitudes and longitudes. I taught //Klankie how to geo

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<sup>44</sup> See CFPD model on Chapter 5

reference archaeological sites through means of GPS technology. So I taught him exactly how it works, how to go through the motions of actually digitising that point. Various GPS devices are different. The technology changes all the time so I'm sure in two years' time he would be dealing with another device. But I tried to teach him the thinking behind it so that he is not only learning say a cellphone and how to work it but he knows *why* he is doing it[...]So I'm teaching him why and then also the technology, the how to. So I believe that in any project now in the future he would be able to take it further because he wasn't only taught how to use an instrument he was taught the why behind it (Müller, interview, 31 March 2011).

Müller's approach in teaching //Klankie the 'why' is the point of departure of the participatory approach from the modernisation paradigm (see Chapter Four). True knowledge is more than information but it is the sense or meaning that people make of information (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005). Müller's communication approach demonstrates a paradigm shift from the top-down approach that places emphasis on persuasion and mainly flowed one way from the sender (expert) to the passive receiver (Melkote & Steeves, 2001). In the participatory field the emphasis is now "more on the process of communication (that is the exchange of meaning) and on the significance of this process [meaning that] the focus has moved from a 'communicator' to a more 'receiver-centric' orientation, with the resultant emphasis on meaning sought and ascribed rather than information transmitted" (Servaes & Malikhao, 2005: 100-101).

All BP participants gained rock art recording skills. Using tracing paper and marking pens participants learnt how to trace and record the different rock engravings (see appendix F). Speaking about his experience working in the field, Isak said "I enjoyed it because I liked working at the same level with the students. I listened to the students and the students themselves would not know what to do. For instance they would say now to use the green pen or the red pen. It brought people together. There would be laughter. I'm glad that I didn't just walk around. I learnt something new" (Interview, 2 April 2011). This demonstrates that Isak not only gained recording skills but also found it empowering

to share his knowledge with other participants. Knowledge sharing is at the heart of any participatory process as discussed below.

Looking at it from a broader context Morris (interview, 29 March 2011) related how the sharing of culture and heritage knowledge could be potentially useful in possible future tour guiding:

The other part of the context is this whole thing about the world heritage. The South Africa's tentative list does include the /Xam ≠Khomani heartland and this site [Biesje Poort] falls within that. I think it's important that we do consider in what ways this might form part of a formal declaration. And I think as a step towards that we need to consider to what extent Biesje Poort should actually become at least a provincial heritage site actually declared if not a national heritage site. I think those are important aspects. In order to move those kinds of processes forward we need people on the ground who know about it and who have vested interest in this kind of heritage.

From this perspective Morris felt that should the above plans come to pass then having someone from the community knowledgeable about their heritage then might put him/her at an advantage (imparting knowledge and gaining income). People's desire to transform their lives is known as value for *continual improvement* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) a positive indicator of participating in a participatory development project.

***Psychosocial factors; (knowledge, attitudes, perceived risk, subjective norms, self image, emotion, empathy, self-efficacy, social influence and personal advocacy)<sup>45</sup> (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).***

The BP team also gained *knowledge* and understanding of some of the dynamics behind heritage preservation. For instance, we learnt that the individual rock engravings and material culture found in the site have their meaning in relation to where they are and as

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<sup>45</sup> See CFPD model in Chapter Five.

soon as you remove it from that place you lose part of the history and meaning (Morris & Venter, 2010). In one of the sites a debate ensued over whether a grinding stone could be taken home or not. We found a lower grinding stone at one of the sites a short distance from where we had found an upper grinder the previous day. One of the Kalahari crafters, who is also a traditional healer, wanted to remove the stone and take it home to continue its traditional use as he was connecting with the energy of the stone. However, Morris said that it might not be looked upon favourably by the authorities. The emphasis on the significance of place assisted in the crafter agreeing to leave the stone on site (field notes, March 2011). So we left the stone in its original place.

The divergent interests of the BP participants and different perceptions of their world realities highlights the challenges with which one can be faced when implementing a participatory approach in heritage development. Although the NHC Act, No 11 of 1999 emphasises the importance of involving local communities in heritage projects (Deacon, 2007) and the preserving of intangible heritage. However, this incident highlights that it is still not enough to allow community members to freely engage with their heritage. There are still law enforced structures which determine one's position in communities. Morris's role can be deemed a professional who influences innovative decisions in a direction deemed desirable by the government as articulated in Development Support Communication (DSC) (Sonderling, 2006).

Furthermore, working in an environment where all participants were given an opportunity to share their interpretation of the rock art gave participants *knowledge* [my emphasis] in the multidimensional nature of not only the BP landscape but cultural landscapes in general. As Fisher mentioned "what I feel for the place is not necessarily what you feel but if we share it then it makes it become a richer landscape" (interview, 31 March 2011). The rock art was also not viewed in isolation but in relation to its landscape. "The landscape informs the engravings" (Müller, interview, 31 March 2011). This dissertation, however, does not focus on how the rock engravings at BP relate to the broader living cultural landscape (cf. Müller, forthcoming) but is rather interested in the process of the

BP project from the participants perspectives, and in terms of the levels of participation that were present.

### **Social change**

*Leadership, degree and equity of participation; information equity; equitable access to resources; shared ownership; collective efficacy; Social Capital (trust and social reciprocity; Social network cohesion); value for continual improvement*<sup>46</sup>

Inspired by what they felt was the success of the BP project the Kalahari participants demonstrated a high sense of *collective efficacy* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) by proposing that they be allowed to start their own heritage group. *Collective efficacy* is a key indicator of social change within the CFPD model (2009). The Kalahari participants asked Lange and Tomaselli to meet with them in private on 31 March 2011. During the meeting Isak first opened the meeting and said that from what had transpired in the week they would like that the five of them form a heritage group representing the ≠Khomani in their own area of Andriesvale and Witdraai.

The Kalahari participants proposed that they convey to the San Council that their representative was not needed as it represented too broad a group of San people (for example, including the !Xun and the Khwe). The inclusion of an outside representative in the project, for example from the !Xun and the Khwe, would not benefit the project. It was further proposed that Belinda would write a letter to the San Council that noted that they appreciated the input of the San Council, and interest shown, but that they would take responsibility themselves for their participation in the BP project and future heritage projects. They also expressed that they would like any future heritage projects that took place in their area, including from the San council, channelled through them (as narrated to me in an interview with Lange, 31 March 2011). This highlights that the group are

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<sup>46</sup> A list of expected social change outcomes as stipulated on the CFPD model in Chapter Five (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009).

confident that they have gained enough interest and skills in how to record their heritage. These include the completion of Site Record Forms, relevant participant interviews and GPS records. It means that participating in the BP project gave the participants *self and collective efficacy*. Efficacy beliefs are influenced by outcome of expectancies; that is people act on their beliefs about what they can do as well as on their belief about the value and likely outcomes of their performance (Bandura, 1995). People “anticipate likely outcomes of prospective actions. They set goals for themselves and plan courses of action designed to realize valued futures. They mobilize the resources of their command and the level of effort needed to succeed” (Bandura, 1995:6).

The meeting called by the Kalahari crafters demonstrates a sense of *collective efficacy* (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009) attained by the participants. In this section the meeting is used to illustrate the project’s social change outcomes. It also demonstrates the impact that the participatory communication approach can have in a community. “[P]articipatory interventions may result in effects that were never envisaged at the outset. The most instrumental variants of participation can provide the spark, in some contexts, that can lead to popular engagement around particular issues or to changes in attitude among [participants] ” (Cornwall, 2008: 274). The meeting alone highlights many of the different characteristics named by Kincaid & Figueroa (2009) which demonstrate the attainment of social change in a particular community. I believe Lange’s democratic *leadership* style was a catalyst in giving the Kalahari crafters the conviction that they could also start their own heritage group. According to the CFPD model “engaging and inclusive leadership is more likely than other forms of leadership to enhance other social change outcomes, such as information equity, shared ownership of the project, and social cohesion” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1320). Working in an environment where a free flow of communication was encouraged among participants may have increased *information equity* in the BP research community as discussed under the “Beyond Biesje Poort” subheading below.

High levels of knowledge sharing in a community project increases the likelihood of all project participants to feel included and relevant. The BP participants freely shared

knowledge in their areas of expertise (from technical knowledge of a GPS, communication strategies or storytelling) that led to each participant feeling a sense of ownership to the project. For instance the Kalahari participants were aware of the relevance of their role in the BP team. Oeliset (interview, 30 March 2011) explained: “While there is five of us from the Kalahari, the five of us can help protect the rock art together with the company that’s with us now then it can work”. This personal identification with the BP project shows that the participants had a sense of responsibility for the projects’ failures and success. That is the epitome of *shared ownership* which is defined as “an increase in community members’ belief that a joint project belongs to them rather than to outsiders or a small subgroup within the community” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1322). Shared ownership is one of the indicators of a successful participatory project.

The Kalahari participants’ decision to work together as a group and form a heritage group to continue recording their heritage in Andriesvale and Witdraai illustrates *collective efficacy*. “It is partly on the basis of efficacy beliefs that people choose what challenges to undertake, how much effort to expend in the endeavour” (Bandura, 2001:10). Bandura’s (2001) *collective efficacy* refers to a group’s perceived efficacy to take action as a group, perceived capability of other community members and perceived efficacy to solve problems as a group. Although the BP team was working in a harsh landscape with the hot sun bearing down upon them they responded positively to the experience. They worked diligently together until the last day (See BP landscape in appendix D). Shanade Barnabas supports this observation as she explained that she “found the rock engraving process enthralling enough to temporarily forget about the sun. The group recording worked together, helping each other wherever possible. A hearty atmosphere of diligence and productivity ensued” (Lange, NHC BP 2<sup>nd</sup> phase report, 23 March 2011). *Collective efficacy* can also be illustrated by the way certain participants offered specific resources to ensure that the project was a success. The limited NHC budget led to cuts in food purchases. Fisher purchased some of the food that was eaten throughout the recording project; Fisher, Müller and Morris also paid their own transport expenses to and from BP.

*Collective efficacy* may lead to an increase in a community's *social capital*. In this study the *social capital* is measured by the level of social trust the participants had towards each other. *Social trust* is defined as “the general confidence that one has in the integrity, ability, and good character of the other people in the community” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1323). Data generated from the field reveals that participants worked well together because they trusted that the other participant was knowledgeable enough in their respective fields to contribute towards the success of the community. In an interview Oeliset revealed that, “[e]ven before I saw Prof I had heard about Prof from Nelia<sup>47</sup>. What type of person Prof is and the type of work he is doing. And what I heard I can see. So what more do I need from Prof. His attitude and natural love for people. What can you say? We just got to work together and live together” (Olieset, interview, 30 March 2011).

Lange also purposively selected the people she trusted would work well with her in the project (see Chapter Two). After the project she reflected, “the wonderful thing was I knew that I didn't even need to come with. That was the amazing thing about this project that I knew that if I was sick everybody else could still come and that it would still carry on. And that was the most amazing feeling” (Lange, group meeting, 31 March 2011).

In relation to the private meeting called by the Kalahari crafters it is interesting to note that instead of sharing their plans with the whole BP team during our normal evening meetings they chose to only meet with Lange and Tomaselli. I asked myself: could it be that they did not trust the other members of the research community? On the other hand I understand that they called Lange and Tomaselli to discuss with them their proposed plans since they had been working with them for years in other projects. They had thus already established a stronger trust-based bond with Lange and Tomaselli, compared with the rest of the group. A relationship based on trust makes it easier for participants to work together in a development project as “development of social trust precedes development of task trust” (Nair & White 1994: 357). *Social trust* is not to be underestimated when

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<sup>47</sup> Nelia Oets is a Rethinking Indigeneity research affiliate and friend to many ≠Khomani.

seeking cooperation and collective action from participants. The “honesty, trust, and commitment from the higher-ups bring honesty, trust, and commitment for the grassroots as well. This brings about true participation. And true participation brings about appropriate policies and planning for a developing community within its cultural and environmental framework” (Servaes & Malikhao, 2008: 170).

After learning an innovative way of recording their heritage the Kalahari participants had acquired enough *agency* to want to continue with the recording project in their own area. This means that participating in the BP recording project gave them individual and collective efficacy which made them *gain value for continual improvement*. Value for continual improvement, is “the transformation of a community into a learning organization that continuously seeks ways to advance” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1320). The Kalahari crafters asked Lange and Tomaselli to help them request long term funding for the project to go further. They explained that they did not want a once off project but a long term one so that they can work on it on a full time basis and get paid monthly. They asked for two GPSs, Blackberry phone and a car that they then take responsibility for. They also wanted to learn how to do proposals so that in the end they can actually take over the project and completely own it themselves. The ambitious requests essentially highlight that the Kalahari crafters were transformed by their BP experience as they were seeking ways to advance themselves and the project. Tomaselli, Morris, Lange, and Fisher agreed to support this proposed second phase of the project the best way they could although money to finance the phase could not be guaranteed as they were yet to apply for funding.

Although funding for the requested project could not be guaranteed what is interesting to note is that the participants had a voice and an influence in the project. In participatory approach, “voice is a key theoretical construct as it offers an opening for the possibilities of change” (Dutta, 2011: 170). The challenge for participatory communication development initiatives “is to be able to both enable [participants] to exercise voice and influence, and help provide whatever support is needed - material, moral and political - ” (Cornwall, 2008: 282). In the BP project translating voice into influence required more

than simply listening to what the Kalahari crafters were saying but it involved efforts made by other participants involved to implement the Beyond BP project briefly discussed below (Cornwall, 2008).

## **Beyond Biesje Poort**

“Beyond Biesje Poort” is a title that we used for the ≠Khomani heritage recording phase in Witdraai and Andriesvale area. The first field trip for this extension of the Biesje Poort project took place from the 16<sup>th</sup> to the 26<sup>th</sup> June 2011. In this chapter I have also used the name of this phase as a subheading for all the other outcomes of the initial BP recording project. The BP project has been a catalyst for a number of mini projects and activities around the country which have in so many ways extended the ‘life span’ of the BP project. Following the PAR tradition of action research the BP project created more ‘action’ for various participants. A successful PAR effort means that “the social change process will move forward without the presence of the external agent” (Melkote & Steeves, 2001: 344). This is demonstrated by some of the projects and activities discussed in Table 2 below which happened without being orchestrated by the BP project leader. PAR as an approach helps “to produce knowledge and action directly useful to a community and to empower people through the process of constructing and using their own knowledge” (Swanepoel, 1997: 153).

The BP participants further collaborated in a number of projects which not only aided in disseminating information and creating awareness about the BP project and heritage preservation but to also underscore the participatory nature of the project. One of the main projects undertaken by some BP participants was the recording of the ≠Khomani heritage in Witdraai. As has already been mentioned earlier, the Kalahari crafters requested the BP team to assist them in recording their own heritage in their area. Due to space limitations this dissertation does not discuss the Witdraai “Beyond Biesje Poort” project in depth, but only highlights aspects of it that are pertinent to this dissertation’s focus on participatory communication.

**Table 2** below highlights the different projects and activities that have been undertaken as a result of the BP project. It outlines specific outcomes of the Beyond BP project (*type of outcome/benefit*) in relation to the BP project (*example related to Biesje Poort BP*) and contextualises them in terms of the CFPD model or and participatory communication concepts (*link to CFPD model and or participatory communication concepts*). The outcomes are individual and social change indicators of the CFPD model and participatory communication development<sup>48</sup>.

### BEYOND BIESJE POORT OUTCOMES

Type of Outcome/Benefit	Example related to Biesje Poort (BP)	Link to CFPD model and or participatory communication concepts
Publishing	(a) All BP participants wrote articles for the autumn edition of Subtext <sup>49</sup> a quarterly magazine housed at CCMS, UKZN.	(a) <i>Degree and equity of participation</i> is defined as “an increase in the number and diversity of community members who participate in a development process” (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1321). Encouraging all BP participants to write articles for <i>SubText</i> increased

<sup>48</sup> This table is inspired by Dyll-Myklebust’s (2011) presentation of findings of her study on !Xaus Lodge that are mobilised with examples and relate to the CFPD model. Documenting the Beyond BP outcomes in a table format gives a comprehensive summary of the ‘ripples of empowerment’ the BP project has had.

<sup>48</sup> See SUBtext Autumn 2011 edition on <http://ccms.ukzn.ac.za/images/Subtext/subtext%20autumn%202011.pdf> accessed on 12 November 2012.

		<p>the level of participation and shared ownership of the project.</p>
Recognition awards	<p>(b) Some BP participants shared knowledge via email and cellphones. For instance, when conducting research for this study BP participants were readily available via email to offer answers to certain questions or critique the paper.</p> <p>(c) Mary Lange, Shanade Barnabas and Miliswa Magongo have co-authored a chapter titled <i>Biesje Poort rock engravings, Northern Cape: Past and Present</i> in a forthcoming book to be published in UCT. The chapter was adapted from a dialogical paper they presented at “The Courage of //Kabbo &amp; A Century of Specimens” 17-20 August 2011</p> <p>(a) During the National Heritage Council handover of the project ceremony the Kalahari crafters were presented with certificates of participation in the BP project. The certificates specified what their participation was, included a photo of themselves as well as different institutional logos. The specific</p>	<p>(b) <i>Information equity</i> “has two dimensions: (a) sufficient and accurate knowledge about a problem, and (b) the free flow of information within a community” (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009: 1321). In BP information equity was evident as there was a free flow of information among BP participants. A successful participatory project is “expected to reduce information inequity in a community” (Kincaid &amp; Figueroa, 2009: 1321).</p> <p>(a) Lys Kruiper shared that she was happy about the certificate “[b]ecause if someone can come and ask what can you show us about your</p>

Lectures	<p>logos included were ARROWSA, CCMS, McGregor museum and the University of Pretoria (See appendix G and H).</p> <p>(b) The BP project was nominated for the NHC Golden Shield heritage Award 2012 under the 'outstanding project category'. This nomination can be interpreted as the wider, heritage sector-based form of evaluation (Ashley &amp; Haysom, 2006).</p> <p>(a) (6 April 2011) Observations from the Biesje Poort site visit, particularly around i) participatory development communication and ii) culture/heritage as a local resource for development were included in a Development, Communication and Culture lecture at CCMS presented by lecturer and research advisor, Lauren Dyll-Myklebust.</p> <p>(b) (Second semester 2011) Certain elements of the NHC Biesje Poort project were included in the 3<sup>rd</sup> year Heritage and Tourism, UKZN rock art module by course lecturer Mary Lange.</p> <p>(c) (30 August 2011) Shanade Barnabas and Miliswa Magongo were invited to be guest lecturers for Cultural Heritage and Tourism students at UKZN. Using the BP project as a case study, Miliswa focused on the importance of community involvement in development projects. Barnabas spoke about cultural tourism in relation to the BP experience.</p> <p>(d) (13 September 2012) Lauren Dyll-Myklebust used the BP project as a case study in a lecture entitled <i>Critical Indigenous Qualitative</i></p>	<p>experiences. I have something to show" (interview, 23 June 2011). Such testaments reveal that the awarding of certificates increased the recipients' <i>self-efficacy</i> (Bandura, 1995) and positive attitude (See appendix H).</p> <p>The increase in knowledge distribution of the BP project helps in creating awareness of:</p> <p>(i) rock art heritage recording and preservation. The BP project also evoked living heritage via the stories and demonstrations of customs such the different uses of the grinding stone in the KhoiSan culture.</p> <p>(ii) dynamics and value of involving multicultural</p>
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	<p><i>Research 2: Biesje Poort Rock Art Project</i> in Sweden.</p> <p>(e) (05 October 2012) Miliswa Magongo lecturer for 3<sup>rd</sup> year Cultural Heritage and Tourism students at UKZN.</p>	<p>and multidisciplinary participants in development projects.</p> <p>(iii) the complex nature of the participatory development communication paradigm.</p> <p>(iv) Young people and indigenous community members engaged in a heritage development research.</p>
<p>Workshops and Conferences</p>	<p>(a) (11 March 2011) Mary Lange, Lauren Dyll-Myklebust and Miliswa Magongo, presented on the NHC Biesje Poort project at the weekly CCMS, UKZN postgraduate research seminar.</p> <p>(b) (13 May 2011) Miliswa Magongo presented her Masters Research proposal “at a CCMS Graduate Seminar.</p> <p>(c) (17 June 2011) Miliswa Magongo presented a paper <i>“Ripples of Empowerment?: Exploring the Role of Participatory Development Communication in the Biesje Poort Rock Art Recording Project”</i> at</p>	<p>As one of the BP participants who has been involved in disseminating information about the BP project the experience has contributed to personal growth and the acquiring of certain personal skills:</p> <p>(i) Presenting skills</p> <p>(ii) Self-efficacy/belief that in future I can do anything I put mind to. Self-efficacy refers to “beliefs in one’s</p>

	<p>McGregor museum, Kimberley. In a seminar on Tourism and Development in the Kalahari and Kimberley hosted by UKZN-CCMS, in partnership with the Department of Economic Development and Tourism, Northern Cape, McGregor Museum, South African San Institute (SASI).</p> <p>(d) (17-20 August 2011) Mary Lange, Shanade Barnabas and Miliswa Magongo presented the paper <i>“Storytelling and engravings, Past and Present: Biesje Poort, Northern Cape”</i> at The Courage of //Kabbo &amp; A Century of Specimens conference at the University of Cape Town</p> <p>(e) (09 September 2011) Mary Lange, Shanade Barnabas and Miliswa Magongo presented a dialogical paper titled <i>“The Biesje Poort Rock Art Recording Project: A Gaining and Sharing of knowledge”</i> at the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Science Graduate Conference, Howard College Campus, UKZN</p> <p>(f) (June and September 2011) Liana Müller attended a PhD workshop in Germany in June 2011, and another in Kenya in September 2011 where she included in her presentations the NHC Biesje Poort project.</p> <p>(g) (15 October 2012) Miliswa</p>	<p>capabilities to organize and execute the courses of action required managing prospective situations”. (Bandura, 1995:2).</p> <p>(iii) Shared ownership-the more I talk about my involvement in the project the more the feeling of partly owning the project increases. “In order to achieve sustainable development through a participatory development communication approach, the local communities must develop a sense of ownership of the initiative and give up the perspective of seeing themselves as beneficiaries” (Hermann, 2007:36).</p> <p>(iv) When Keyan Tomaselli was</p>
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Magongo presented a paper "*Ripples of Empowerment?: Exploring the Role of Participatory Development Communication in the Biesje Poort Rock Art Recording Project*" at the school of applied human sciences postgraduate conference at the University of KwaZulu-Natal Howard College Campus.

invited to be a part of the *The Courage of //Kabbo & A Century of Specimens* conference at the University of Cape Town he decided not to go but to give Mary Lange the opportunity to attend. Inspired by how well we worked as a team during the BP project Mary invited Shanade and Miliswa to present a dialogical paper with her at the conference. This highlights the belief that collective action can bring about success in a project (collective *efficacy*). This can also be linked to *Social Capital* which is "an increase in a community's capacity to cooperate for mutual

## **Conclusion**

Although the application of participatory communication in development projects is not clear-cut as contexts and people involved vary what remains constant as highlighted by evidence from this chapter is that,

participatory development leads to an increased pool of ideas and a new worldview, articulation of goals and a vision of the future, cohesive communication networks that allow access to resources previously unavailable, enhanced collective consciousness of community status, collective capacities for change, and enhanced self-confidence to act (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009: 1320).

Using the CFPD model as a guide this chapter analysed data gathered from the BP team. Participation as a normative approach has been problematised through my observation and analysis of the level of communication and participation among all stakeholders involved throughout the rock art recording process.

## **CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION**

### **Introduction**

This section serves to summarise the findings of this research, answer research questions and correlate it with the literature review and theoretical concepts informing this study.

Before the research questions are answered the following is a reiteration of what the different chapters entail. Chapter One of this study explores the background of the BP research project. It discusses the main aim of the study and introduces the reader to the different participants of the project and their main areas of focus. Chapter Two of this study outlines the methodological approach used in this research. It expounds and critiques the different qualitative methods used in this study to collect and analyse data.

In Chapter Three past studies in participatory communication are discussed. One of the issues discussed in Chapter Three and Chapter Six of this study is that of using external agents as catalysts for development projects. The type of methodology applied in a project and the level of involvement of the catalyst in the project are the key determining factors of whether the catalyst's role is participatory or not. It also helps determine whether the project is sustainable or not (Kincaid & Figueroa, 2009). The catalyst in the BP project initiated a Participatory Action Research (PAR) method which was adopted by the whole team. As a result she did not only coordinate the research project but she also took part in it. The results of this study reveal all participants involved invested their time and energy in recording the rock art increased their level of ownership of the project. The findings of this study reveal that PAR as a research method can be applied by other development projects elsewhere in the world.

Past literature (Bessette, 2004; Chavisa & Wandersman, 1990; Cleaver, 1999; Crabtree, 1998; Hermann, 2007) revealed that the belief that one owns a project also plays a role in empowering that individual. To achieve empowerment through participatory communication approach, participants must not see themselves as mere beneficiaries but

as equal stakeholders in the development initiative. For “without ownership, the effort will always be seen as “someone else’s” initiative (Bessette, 2004: 14). Personal field observations and interviews reveal that the involvement of all participants from project inception to completion was empowering for them. The inclusive nature of the project also ensured that everyone’s voice was included in decision making. Furthermore, reviewing some literature in heritage conservation (Ndlovu, 2011) reveals that there is a general lack of community interest and involvement in cultural heritage preservation. For instance Ndlovu argues that, “when one considers the challenges our country is facing, heritage issues do not take priority” (2011: 46). This research study therefore fills in this gap as it documents an alternative method which could be adopted by development practitioners or researchers if they want to involve the community in cultural heritage preservation.

Primarily focusing on participatory communication, Chapter Four of this study discusses the evolution of development communication as a discipline. In this section different themes that inform participatory communication are discussed as they are considered most pertinent to answering the research questions and informing the study. The CFPD model as the overarching theoretical framework of this study is discussed in detail in Chapter Five. Its role as a descriptive and explanatory model is elaborated on.

### **In summation**

The main aim of this research was to explore and document the role of participatory communication in the BP project including its promotion of skills transference, empowerment, and the level of participation amongst all participants. The main research questions addressed in this study are: i) to explore the role of participatory communication in the project in its promotion of skills transference, empowerment and to gauge the level of participation amongst all participants; and ii) how do present Kalahari artists and crafters as well as other participants of the research team view the Biesje Poort rock engravings?

The communication focus in the BP project was not on information dissemination by experts to non-experts. Rather it was on horizontal communication processes as it was more focused on knowledge sharing of both the western (academic and scientific form) and indigenous knowledge (storytelling form). The different participatory communication activities spurred discussions and engagements among participants. Participation in the project may be viewed as having been both participation-as-a-means and participation-as-an-end. Participation-as-a-means since participation was used as an instrument to achieve the envisioned goals. For instance, for the BP project to be a success all participants were expected to take part in its planning and implementation. Participation as-an-end as participants were involved in the decision-making process and were empowered in terms of acquiring skills, knowledge and experience (Huesca, 2002; Melkote & Steeves, 2001; Yoon, 1996). For instance, all participants gained rock art recording skills and all participants gained knowledge on the importance of preserving rock art heritage. The young academics also attained presentation skills as outlined in Table 2 in Chapter Six.

This study has generated evidence through field observations and interviews which reveal that the BP project objectives of skills transference and empowerment were achieved. For example, the BP project was initiated by Lange but the Kalahari participants' desire to continue recording their heritage in their home area demonstrates empowerment (see Chapter Six). From this perspective empowerment means "equipping individuals and groups with the knowledge, values and skills that encourage effective action for development" (Servaes & Malikhao, 2004: 24). Participating in the BP project gave the participants knowledge about the importance of preserving their heritage knowledge and enough confidence to want to take action and adapt a similar project to their community.

This study's focus on the research participant's view of the BP rock engravings has been addressed throughout the analysis chapter as it informs the first research question and the knowledge sharing aspect of participatory communication. The participants' view of the BP rock engravings was informed by their history, epistemology and ontology. This study therefore highlights the importance of cultural relativity in development projects

whereby possible differences in the stakeholders' history, epistemology and ontology should be taken into consideration in order to facilitate and develop programmes / models that are contextually and culturally sensitive (Dyll-Myklebust, 2012). This may explain the Kalahari crafters' ways of decision making. Their decision making was not influenced by the urgency of working within a set deadline. For instance their request for less structured working hours as discussed under Time Frame in Chapter Six. Another instance is, why the Kalahari crafters sometimes when asked to interpret something they responded by saying that they would explain the next day as the answer may come in a dream. For instance, Lange asked Isak about a specific rock engraving at which he was looking and he responded "I can't tell you now. I'll tell you when we come back again because the history can come out in a dream" (field notes, March 2011). Fisher noted that "the importance of having had the Bushmen with us is that it gave us a particular cultural perspective; a contemporary cultural perspective..." (interview, 31 March 2012).

The different participants evidenced different views of the rock engravings. For instance, Isak was inspired by them. He said "I feel like I'm 16 years old. I feel happy it was very good. I'm an artistic person. So the artistry that I saw at BP I combine it with own knowledge that is in my head. For instance the giraffe's I saw there I combined it with my own and look at the difference in between" (Isak, interview, 30 March 2011). Oeliset on the other hand viewed it as a source of heritage. He said "we did not understand the value of our knowledge and heritage. But now that we know we would like to protect it and we hope that working with David will help us reach the government and maybe the government can then help us protect our heritage" (interview, 24 June 2011).

David Morris's inclusion in the project was to help achieve the overall BP project objective of alerting local authorities to the presence of a KhoiSan heritage resource in the area of jurisdiction so as to assist them in developing its educational and tourism potential as discussed in Chapter One. The Durban team<sup>50</sup> did however also arrange to

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<sup>50</sup> Durban team here refers to the BP participants who are based in Durban namely; Keyan Tomaselli, Mary Lange, Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, Shanade Barnabas and Miliswa Magongo.

meet with Johann van Schalkwyk. Johann is the manager of Partnerships and Industry Development within the Northern Cape Department of Tourism, Environment and Conservation (DTEC). This meeting held in Kimberley on 2 April 2011 on the Durban team's way back to Durban was to brief the Northern Cape tourism authority about the BP project and to discuss possible steps which can be taken in order to take this project forward. Van Schalkwyk was excited about the BP project and said he would explore ways in which the project can be supported by the Northern Cape government (field notes, 02 April 2011). Alerting the provincial authority of the BP heritage is significant when considering the fact that BP falls within South Africa's tentative list of world heritage sites (Morris, interview, 29 March 2012).

This collective commitment by the BP participants to building alliances with various stakeholders and engaging in action that will lead to a beneficial solution to all the people involved can be linked to *collective efficacy* and PAR (see Chapter Six and Chapter Two respectively). Unless communities and collectives "believe in their ability to bring about change, they would not be activated to participate in processes of change" (Dutta, 2011: 232).

At the end of the BP project the Site Record Forms for 28 new localities (not only engraving sites but also material culture found) were completed and lodged with the Archaeological Data Recording Centre for the Northern Cape (at McGregor Museum). The Museum fulfills this database function for Ngwao Bošwa ya Kapa Bokone (the Northern Cape PHRA). In summary, the following major engraving sites were recorded in some detail.

BP 10: 5 copies (5 engravings/engraving clusters)

BP 17: 15 copies (32 engravings/engraving clusters)

BP 18: 11 copies (15 engravings/engraving clusters)

BP 35: 11 copies (22 engravings)

Several hundred photographs were taken by some of the BP participants (Barnabas, Dyll-Myklebust, Fisher, Lange, Müller, Morris and I).<sup>51</sup>

## **Recommendations**

Recommendations for future researchers or development practitioners interested in implementing participatory communication projects especially in heritage projects:

- Skills acquisition or transference must be at the core of participatory communication initiatives both as part of the project process and to be considered an indicator of effective participation.
- Understanding the context and the people before initiating a participatory communication initiative is vital. This will ensure that the researchers or development practitioners work in collaboration with community members to address key issues.
- The BP site needs both a heritage policy and heritage management plan to move it forward<sup>52</sup>.
- Participants must be engaged in all aspects of the project. Necessary steps must be taken to reduce barriers which may affect the level of participation among participants. For example, the language used in the research project must be understood by all participants; from documentation of informed consent forms to the language used in the field.
- Dialogue must be at the heart of every participatory communication development programme.

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<sup>51</sup> Information taken from schedule 2 NHC BP: KhoiSan rock art recording project phase 2-4 (Collapsed 2<sup>nd</sup> phase) report received from Mary Lange via email.

<sup>52</sup> Information taken from schedule 2 NHC BP: KhoiSan rock art recording project phase 2-4 (Collapsed 2<sup>nd</sup> phase) report received from Mary Lange via email.

- Participatory heritage projects must make an effort to include living or intangible cultural heritage to help sustain projects.
- Although done on a small scale this research study has provided insight into the possible research outcomes that could be generated by implementing a participatory communication research with multicultural and multidisciplinary participants. It is recommended that further research be undertaken on a broader scale to provide more definitive evidence of using this approach.
- Since this research was conducted in a private location further research might explore the impact that implementing a participatory communication research might have in a community where participants reside.

Finally, “participation is not a panacea or a magic wand” (Bessette, 2004: 12). It is not easy to achieve and the adoption of participatory practices does not automatically result in a successful project. It takes a lot of time and involvement because it entails the involvement of all stakeholders in dialogue and exchange of ideas (it is a two-way horizontal process). Unlike the top down approach promoted by the modernisation paradigm where beneficiaries are told what to do and not engaged in dialogue (see Chapter Four). It can also generate frustration. Sometimes it may not be possible to achieve due to factors such as lack of dialogue among participants, power relations and contextual factors, (see Chapter Four for a detailed discussion). Project developers must, therefore, be aware of those limitations, “knowing at the same time that sustainable development cannot happen without it” (Bessette, 2004: 15).

Studying how participatory communication is accomplished within a given development project can help us understand how participation as a general strategy could be used in other communication projects (Chitnis, 2005). Guy Bessette states “we can never evaluate everything that has been done from the beginning to the end. At all times we must be selective about what is essential [by identifying] from among all the possible evaluation questions, those where answers are required” (Bessette, 2004: 50). Due to this study’s focus this dissertation has not evaluated all aspects of the BP project, but only those relating to the nature of (participatory) communication within and resulting from

the project as it aims to contribute to the body of knowledge in not only participatory communication research but also heritage preservation research.

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## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX A:



**1A panel of rock engravings found in Biesje Poort.**  
**Source:** (Magongo, March 2011)



2 A giraffe rock engraving covered with a tracing paper in preparation for its recording.  
Source: (Magongo, March 2011)

## **APPENDIX B**

### Confirmation of Informed Consent<sup>53</sup>

### Bevestiging van ingeligte toestemming

Date:

**[Datum]:**

Title of Project: Biesje Poort: Khoi-San rock art recording

**[Projek tema]: [Biesje Poort: Rekord van Khoi-San rotskuns**

Dear Participant

---

<sup>53</sup> This is the general consent form which was used by Professor Keyan Tomaselli (head of the Biesje Poort Research team) to seek consent from all Biesje Poort research participants.

I, Prof Keyan Tomaselli, invite you to participate in our research on rock art at Biesje Poort, Northern Cape. I hereby request your written consent for the use of any information that may be acquired during this research project.

**[Geagte deelnemer**

**Ek, Prof Keyan Tomaselli, wil jou nooi om deel te neem aan ons rotskunsnavorsingsprojek op plaas Biesje Poort in die Noord Kaap. Ek vra hiermee jou skriftelike toestemming dat die inligting wat jy aan my gaan verskaf tydens die tydperk van die navorsing vir die doeleindes van die studie gebruik mag word.]**

Project description:

**[Projek beskrywing]:**

The aim of the project is to record the unrecorded Khoi-San rock engravings at Biesje Poort farm and to transfer skills as to how to record rock engravings. The project also aims to record present day Khoi-San descendants' perspectives on the rock engravings and the site in which they are situated. The project will also bring together South African people of different cultures and ages towards reconciliation and nation building.

The rock art recording research team will include: professionals from diverse backgrounds including an archaeologist, a built environment specialist, tourism specialists; students from CCMS, UKZN and Khoi-San descendants from the Northern Cape.

Your participation in this project will involve assistance in recording the rock engravings at Biesje Poort farm and participation in questionnaires, interviews or discussions on your impressions of the rock art and the surrounding areas. The interviews will be taped and or video recorded and the recording process will be photographed and video recordings will be made.

**[Die doel van die navorsing is om 'n rekord te maak van die Khoi-San rotsgravure op die plaas Biesje Poort en kundigheid in die opsig optebou en meetedeel. Die projek wil ook 'n rekord saamstel van huidige Khoi-San mense se insig oor die Biesje Poort rotskuns en**

omgewing. Die projek sal Suid Afrikaanse mense van verskillende kulture en ouderdomme saambring vir doeleindes van rekonsiliasie en die bou van ons nasie.

Deelnemers in die navorsingspan bestaan uit professionele mense soos: 'n argëoloog, 'n bou- omgewingspesialis, toerismespesialiste; CCMS studente van UKZN en Khoi-San nasate van die Noord Kaap.

Deel van jou betrokkenheid in die projek sal wees: om te help met die saamstel van rotskuns- rekords van die rotskuns op Biesje Poort. Verdere deelname sal insluit die voltooiing van vraelyste, onderhoude en/of besprekings oor jou siening van die rotsgravure en die omgewing. Onderhoude en/of besprekings mag op band of video gerekordeer word en die prosesse sal ook gefotografeer en/of op video vasgele word.]

Selection of research participants:

**[Seleksie van navorsingsdeelnemers]:**

You have been purposively selected to participate in this research study as you meet the required criteria namely: You are of Khoi-San descent; are an artist/crafter from the Northern Cape and have shown an interest and participated in previous research and the promotion of the Khoi-San heritage with and through our centre, CCMS, UKZN and ARROW SA.

**[Jy is doelbewus vir die studie gekies omdat jy aan die vereistes wat gestel is voldoen naamlik: jy is van die Khoi-San stam, is 'n kunstenaar van die Noord Kaap en het jou belangstelling bevestig om deel te neem, in navorsing en die bevordering van die Khoi-San se erfenis met en deur CCMS, UKZN en ARROW SA.]**

Procedures:

**[Prosedure]:**

A facilitator from north of the Orange River, Southern Kalahari area will communicate with CCMS, UKZN on your behalf and will inform you of the research project developments. You will

communicate via the facilitator or the research co-ordinator any needs or queries that you may have regarding the project.

The research project will take place over 7 days which will include 2 nights in Upington for pre and post site meetings and five days at Biesje Poort.

You will be required to work with researchers an 8 hour day for five days with a minimum of 2 x tea breaks of 15min and a one hour lunch break. The working day will take into account the weather conditions of the area and so will start early in the morning.

All participants of the research team are expected to contribute to the daily running and chores of the camp.

**[’n Fasiliteerder, van die suiderlike Kalahari noord van die Oranje Rivier, sal namens jou met CCMS, UKZN kommunikeer en jou inlig van enige projek ontwikkelings. Jy kan enige vrae of behoeftes oor die projek met CCMS, UKZN kommunikeer deur die fasiliteerder of die navorsings koördineerder.**

**Die navorsingsprojek sal sewe dae neem: twee nagte in Upington vir voor- en na-projek vergaderings en vyf dae by Biesje Poort.**

**Dit sal verwag word dat jy saam met die navorsers vir agt ure per dag vir vyf dae werk en jy sal ’n minimum van twee teetye van 15 minute kry en ’n een uur lange etenstyd per dag. Die werksdag sal vroeg in die oggend begin as gevolg van die weersomstandighede in die navorsingsarea.**

**Dit sal verwag word van die hele navorsingspan dat almal deelneem in die daaglikse bedryf en werk van die kampeerplek.]**

Possible benefits:

**[Moontlike voordele]:**

You will be trained in the recording of rock engravings. You will possibly be able to use these skills in similar rock engraving recording projects in the Northern Cape, Orange River area.

You will contribute to the research and record of your ancestral heritage.

**[Jy sal opgelei word in hoe om rekords van rotsgravure saam te stel. Moontlik sal jy die kundigheid kan gebruik in ander soortgelykte rotsgravure projekte in die Noord Kaap, Oranje Rivier omgewing.**

**Jy sal deel wees van navorsing en die saamstel van rekords van die efenis van jou voorvaders.]**

Financial considerations:

**[Finansiële aannemings]:**

Accommodation, food and water will be provided to the entire research team. In Upington the research team will stay in a bed and breakfast accommodation and at Biesje Poort they will camp.

For assistance in recording the rock engravings you will receive R50-00 per hour for 8 hours per day x 5 days. You will invoice the research project for this time.

**[Die verblyf, kos en water van die navorsingspan sal verskaf word. Die navorsingspan sal in 'n 'bed and breakfast' losies bly in Upington en die span sal kampeer op Biesje Poort.**

**Vir jou werk op die projek sal jy R50-00 per uur vir 8 ure per dag x 5 dae betaal word. Jy sal die navorsingsprojek voorsien van 'n faktuur vir die werk.]**

Confidentiality:

**[Vertroulikheid]:**

If you would prefer to stay anonymous in the writing up or representation of the research from this study then you may use a pseudonym (made-up-name).

**[Streng maatreëls om jou identiteit in die navorsingsprojek te beskerm kan toegepas word as jy dit verkies deur gebruik te maak van 'n skuilnaam.]**

Ownership and documentation of research data:

**[Navorsingsdata dokumentasie en besitting]:**

All data acquired (from questionnaires and interviews) will be used solely for the purpose of the above-mentioned research study. Research data will be filed safely throughout the duration of the project, and will subsequently be housed at CCMS, UKZN and at the McGregor Museum Kimberley.

Research findings will be documented and possibly published on the CCMS, or ARROW website and in other related publications. The researchers will not divulge in any forum or publication the names or personal circumstances of any of the research participants unless they indicate that they want to be named.

If you require further information about this research project or if you have any concerns please contact me, Prof Keyan Tomaselli or the research project coordinator, Mary Lange.

I appreciate greatly your input into this research project. The results of the research will be made available to you.

Contact tel no for queries: 0826527091

**[Alle navorsingsinligting (van vraelyste, onderhoude en besprekings) sal alleenlik gebruik word vir die doeleindes van die navorsings projek. Navorsingsinligting sal veilig gebêre word gedurende die projek en sal daarna gehuis word by CCMS, UKZN en McGregor Museum Kimberley.**

**Navorsingsuitslae sal neergeskryf word en moontlik op die CCMS of ARROW webwerf verskyn sowel as in verskei publikasies. Jou naam sal nie in enige van die voorgenoemde verskyn behalwe as jy so verkies nie.**

As jy nog informasie nodig het oor die navorsingsprojek of enige ander navrae, kontak asseblief vir myself, Prof Keyan Tomaselli of die navorsingsprojekoordineerder, Mary Lange.

Jou insette in hierde studie is vir my baie waardevol. Die resultate van die navorsing sal tot jou beskikking gestel word.

**Kontaktelefoonnommer vir enige navrae: 0826527091]**

#### DECLARATION

I..... hereby confirm that I understand the contents of this document and the nature of the research project, and I consent to participating in the research project.

I understand that my taking part in this project voluntarily. I also understand that I am free to refuse to answer any question and also free to withdraw from the project at any time, should I so desire, and that doing so will not have negative consequences for myself. I would / would not (draw a line through the one that is not true) like to remain anonymous in the publication of this research.

#### [DEKLARASIE

Ek.....bevestig hiermee dat ek die inhoud van die dokument verstaan en ek stem in om deel te neem aan die navorsingsprojek.

Ek verstaan dat deelname aan die projek vrywillig is. Ek verstaan ook dat ek op enige stadium myself aan die studie mag onttrek en dat daar geen negatiewe gevolge vir myself sal wees nie. Ek wil / wil nie (trek 'n streep deur dit wat nie waar is nie) anoniem bly in enige navorsingpublikasies in verband met die projek.]

#### SIGNATURE

**[HANDTEKENING]**

DATE

[DATUM]

## APPENDIX C



**3A typical group meeting at Khamkirri Lodge with team members sitting in a circular formation.**  
Source: (Magongo, March 2011)

## APPENDIX D



**4 Biesje Poort landscape**  
Source: (Magongo, March, 2011)



**5 Biesje Poort landscape**  
Source: (Magongo, March 2011)

## APPENDIX E



6//Klankie Kruiper and David Morris recording a site's GPS coordinates.  
Source: (Magongo, March 2011).

## APPENDIX F



7//Lauren Dyll-Myklebust, Shanade Barnabas and Keyan Tomaselli tracing the rock engravings.

Source: (Magongo, March, 2011)

## APPENDIX G



**8**Some of the BP participants after being awarded their certificates posing with Stella Ndhrazi (centre) NHC Funding Manager.

Source: (Magongo, March 2011)

## APPENDIX H



**9Lys Kruiper showing off her certificate.**