

Cultural landscapes values in former homelands, Eastern Cape, South Africa



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SUMMARY

In South Africa the *amaXhosa* rural communities are living in close relationship with their environment. These communities do not only depend on the natural environment to fulfill daily subsistence needs in respect to energy and selected food and medicinal products, but also to perform and fulfill their cultural needs. Several cultural practices are focused on either specific spaces or involve specific species. They reflect the specific lifestyle of a community and their way of interacting with the natural environment. At present increased attention is given to better understand this intimate interaction between cultural practices and biological diversity, often referred to as bio-cultural diversity, as a means to better comprehend the intimate interaction between the natural environment and the social and ecological processes, and to find new ways towards biodiversity and heritage conservation.

Studies investigating this interaction have used the concept of cultural landscape to better understand this link between culture and the environment. A community shapes a landscape by means of social and cultural activities, and simultaneously the community is being shaped by the landscapes by means of constraints and opportunities offered by these landscapes. Several studies have tried to value the landscapes. Some of these studies focused on valuing landscapes in monetary terms, but this approach has been criticized for not considering issues such as strong spiritual or other emotional veneration that local communities may attach to certain sites. This study aimed to assess the cultural importance of landscapes by assessing emotional landscape values of an *amaXhosa* community. It investigated the cultural and spiritual attachment of local people towards specific places for their cultural activities.

The concept of culture has a wide range of definitions and has been conceptualized from a variety of perspectives. A culture influences how a community perceives themselves and how they experience the world around them, by a system of values, beliefs and ideas in a mutually meaningful way. The role of cultural values can be distinguished into different dimensions. This study focuses on the cultural values as an expression of specific livelihoods which shape a dominant interaction of people with their environment, as well as on the cultural values expressing symbolic and spiritual significance of landscapes. Within a village territory different landscape zones can be present in which specific livelihood and cultural practices are carried out. To explore the symbolic and spiritual significance of landscapes the concept of cultural landscape significance can be operationalized as involving six categories of specific values: i.e. material, historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic and spiritual values.

On the basis of these conceptual notions, the study focused on three research questions: a) What are the locally perceived village landscape zones and elements, b) What daily livelihood practices and cultural practices take place in the various landscape units, and c) What is the relative cultural value of the various landscape units for specific activities.

An explorative study was made to fulfill the research objectives. The rural village of Tharfield, located in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, was selected as the research location. This relative small rural village was selected because of their high dependence on and availability of natural resources gathered from their natural environment. Data were collected by

conducting unstructured and semi-structured interviews. In addition a Participatory Mapping (PM) workshop was organized to create a geographical framework and identify relevant landscapes of cultural importance, and the Pebble Distribution Method (PDM) was used to assess the comparative importance of the identified culturally-significant landscape units.

The respondents identified nine culturally significant landscape zones: in order of importance, cultivated fields, village, rivers, open fields, dense forest, ocean, open forest, mountain and caves. Some of the landscape zones include specific landscape elements which are perceived of cultural significance, such as the *ubuhlanti*, *igoqo*, burial grounds, homestead garden, sacred pools and *iboma*. Depending on a specific landscape zone, the different landscapes are perceived as important for the veneration of ancestors, gathering of cultural important materials for creating crafts or maintaining cultural artifacts, or carrying out of daily subsistence practices. Gender differentiation in cultural values is reflected in different perceptions of men and women about landscapes ranking.

Concerning the original differentiation between daily livelihood and cultural practices it appeared that no clear distinction could be made between these two. Four main categories of livelihood strategies were identified with their specific practices: (1) food gathering and production, including the activities of fishing, hunting, food collection and livestock herding; (2) well being, including the practices of fuel wood collection, gathering of crafts materials, collection of construction materials and *amayeza* collection; (3) income generation, including collection of marketable products; and (4) leisure, including the activities recreation, and tradition & ritual performance. For each of these practices the relative value of the different landscape zones for males and females was assessed. The landscapes zones with a high cultural value as expressed by a high diversity of practices were the river, ocean, open forest and dense forest. The males valued the open and dense forest as the two most important landscapes, whereas the females valued the ocean and the rivers as the two most important landscapes. The mountain and the caves were valued as least important by both genders and were only important for a few practices.

All nine identified landscape zones were of material importance, as they could be used for collection of plant and animals important for cultural activities. Regarding the historical importance only the cultivation field had no historical relevance. The rivers, ocean and forest were perceived as historical important due to specific rituals which have been performed there in the past. The mountains were important because in the past people went up the mountain to ask the ancestors for rain. All landscapes zones, except the caves, were perceived as having social value for performing socio-cultural activities such as rituals and social gatherings. The rivers, ocean, open and dense forest are of symbolic value as these landscapes symbolize the place where ancestors are living. The respondents had some difficulty relating to aesthetic value and only the village, river and ocean were perceived as being of scenic beauty. All landscapes, except the cultivation fields, were valued for their spiritual significance because of the performing of rituals in these landscape and the places where their ancestors can be found.

It is concluded that the different cultural landscapes identified by the respondents reflect the importance of these landscapes for their way of living as well as for providing specific spaces for social and spiritual activities. However, the distinction in different landscape zones is not strict. The boundaries between the different landscapes zones are not always clear, and

there are often interactions between the different zones. Overall, many landscape zones and specific landscape elements are perceived as being culturally significant. The villagers in Tharfield are of the opinion that the natural environment ensures communities health. The main reason for preserving the natural landscapes is to prevent misfortune from their ancestors, but also to ensure the future availability of cultural important species. These findings indicate the significance of including cultural values in biodiversity conservation programs.

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ACRONYMS

<i>Amagqirha</i>	Traditional healer or herbalist who uses a variety of herbs and plant species for medicinal and health reasons.
<i>Amayeza</i>	Plants based medicines which are used for health purposes and protection against evil spirits.
<i>Iboma</i>	An initiation hut which is built to house the boys who undergo the initiation.
<i>Igoqo</i>	A woodpile built in the homestead next to the house which is considered as the social and spiritual venue for women.
<i>Imifino</i>	Wild vegetables which are gathered as important natural resources to complement the nutritious value.
<i>Intanjane</i>	Initiation ceremony for girls.
<i>Ixhantih</i>	Erected pole in the middle at the centre of the <i>Ubuhlanti</i> which is an intensified place for spiritual diviners.
<i>Mkhanzi</i>	A spring located near the village which they used to gather water from.
<i>Nmazimba</i>	Special meal which is being prepared for the girls who are participating in the initiation ceremony for girls.
<i>Ntambalenga</i>	(EN = Mountain of the Sun), mountain of historical importance where they used to go and ask for rain during times of severe drought.
<i>Ntambasela</i>	(EN = Mountain of the Frog), place of historical importance and contains several caves.
<i>Sangoma</i>	Diviner who has dreams in which they are being told what to do. Because of the power that these diviners have they are able to interpret their dreams.
<i>Ubuhlanti</i>	Cattle enclosure, but also a cultural artifact which is the place where the male ancestors are housed and the place where most of the ritual slaughtering take place.
<i>Umkwaluka</i>	The moment the boy has finished his initiation period and is allowed to come back to the village.
<i>Umkwetha</i>	Initiation of the boys, where the boy is being circumcised and is becoming a man.
<i>Umqombothi</i>	Traditional beer which is essential for making contact with the ancestors.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. BACKGROUND

In South Africa rural people have been living in close relation with their natural environment for centuries and to this day they continue to partly depend on natural resources for their daily livelihoods (Dovie *et al.* 2005; Cocks & Wiersum, 2003). Studies have also shown that this use will continue into the future (Cocks, 2006a; Groenfeldt, 2003) as rural communities are not only dependent on these resources for daily subsistence purposes, but also to perform and fulfil certain cultural activities (Gustad *et al.* 2004) and promote a sense of personal well being (Cocks & Møller, 2002). Studies have shown that wealth and higher education will decrease subsistence use but not necessarily the cultural use of natural resources (Shackleton & Shackleton 2006; Lieshout, 2002).

Culture has been defined as consisting of system of values, beliefs and ideas and these determine the way in which different social groups experience the world (Groenfeldt, 2003) and is related to specific lifestyles and dominant ways of interaction with their natural environment (Cocks, 2006a). An intimate link between biodiversity and cultural diversity has been identified by several authors as it is increasingly recognised that many of the areas with a high biodiversity are inhabited by indigenous and traditional people (Posey 1999; Maffi, 2005). This link between biodiversity and cultural diversity is conceptualized by the term bio-cultural diversity (Posey, 1999; Loh & Harmon, 2005; Cocks, 2006a). Studies on bio-cultural diversity seek to comprehend the fundamental character of interactions between natural environment and indigenous people, specifically the interaction of social and ecological processes in particular places (Maffi, 2005). It is recognised that the well-being of indigenous people is closely related to the well-being of natural ecosystems (Kates *et al.* 2001) and that ecosystems are essential for human well-being through their provisioning, regulating, cultural, and supporting services (Alcamo *et al.* 2003).

For instance, in India many traditional societies value a large number of plant species from the wild for a variety of reasons, such as food, medicines and sacredness to particular species. Ramakrishnan (1996) studied the 'sacred landscape' as an approach to use landscapes as a conservation tool, showing an example of a rich tradition where there is a link between the cultural landscape of the Sikkim and the variety of historical monuments and sacred treasures located in the landscape. Attempts have been made to revive the cultivation of traditional medicinal plants by Buddhist monasteries in this region which has been done for more than 2,500 years. Even today conserving and protecting these sacred treasures plays an important role in the daily livelihoods and traditions of the people's welfare. Not merely for spiritual value, this medicinal cultivation has created possibilities for a sustainable way of survival for these local communities.

Although the cultural values and traditional knowledge is noted, it is often ignored in building support for conservation initiatives (Infield, 2001). Ramakrishnan (1996) has shown that the use of traditional knowledge can have a positive effect on both the livelihoods of local communities as well as a positive effect on the biodiversity in that specific area and it shows that the present landscapes are the results of products of human values and the dominant culture within that society. These socioeconomic and cultural activities do not only have an impact on the landscape but also on its biodiversity.

Not only indigenous people, but also rural communities have been depending on the natural resources and surrounding landscapes for subsistence livelihoods (Moyo, 2005) and cultural activities (Gustad *et al.* 2004). Consequently, Cocks (2006a) extended the concept of bio-cultural diversity to the resources harvested from natural areas and how these resources fulfil an important cultural value within the communities that utilize them. Through the socioeconomic activities of rural people, rural landscapes have been shaped by people, and people are being shaped by the landscapes as a response to these activities by means of constraints and opportunities resulting from these landscapes (Robertson & Richards, 2003). Resulting in the landscapes we perceive these days, which have been created by the impact of rural people over a long period of time and are constantly changing because of social and environmental dynamics (Batterbury, 2001; Dahlberg, 2000). In the bio-cultural diversity concept present thinking fails to acknowledge that despite the changes a community might experience in its social and material context, the resilience or persistence of certain dimensions of culture, and the implications this might have for bio-cultural diversity (Cocks 2006a).

Currently within South Africa, the predominate focus within the literature is on the utilitarian functions of biodiversity (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004; Dovie *et al.* 2002; Shackleton *et al.* 2000; Shackleton *et al.* 2002). The majority of these studies have provided an economic value of the resources used by rural communities (Winter *et al.* 2007; Dovie *et al.* 2007). Still little attention has been given to the cultural value of biodiversity and their relevance in respect to biodiversity conservation (Cocks, 2006a). The majority of these studies have focused on determining plant species which are commonly used for cultural practices (Shackleton *et al.* 2007b; de Lourdes Torres, 2007; Cocks & Møller, 2002).

Very little research has been done to determine the emotional value of the landscapes from where these resources/species are collected. Fox (2002) attempted to assess the cultural value three rural landscapes in monetary terms within the Katberg region of the Eastern Cape. Her study revealed that it is impossible to assign a reliable monetary value to local landscapes. This is because of the strong spiritual connection that local communities in the area attached to certain sites within their surrounding landscapes, like sacred pools, graves or the *ubuhlanti* (Fox, 2002). These areas house their ancestors and also provide them with means to communicate with their ancestors, which reflect a close relationship between the community and the environment (Fox, 2002; Ceperly, 2008). This study demonstrates that natural features hold strong aesthetic, symbolic and spiritual meaning and that emotional value cannot just be expressed in monetary terms (Kepe, 2008; Fox, 2002).

1.2. PROBLEM STATEMENT

For many rural people in South Africa their surrounding landscape is perceived as important for the gathering of natural resources for both subsistence purposes (Dovie *et al.* 2005; Cocks & Wiersum, 2003) and for cultural and spiritual activities. In several studies cultural uses of natural resources have been described, e.g. grass brooms which are used as traditional wedding gift, protective talisman against lightning and it is used to apply protective medicines in and around the homestead (Cocks & Dold, 2004), wild plant species which are being used for *ubuhlanti*, a sacred space made by man which is used to communicate with the ancestors, and *igoqo*, which represents a sacred venue for woman (Cocks *et al.* 2008) and *amayeza* (traditional medicines) purposes to fulfil cultural needs (Cocks & Bangay, *subm.*). Recent research has shown that this use and access to these resources is important to both poor and wealthy rural households (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2006, Cocks *et al.* 2003) An appreciation and knowledge surrounding the use of these areas is therefore important for implementing community based conservation practices which aim to preserve biological diversity (Cocks *et al.* 2006).

It is therefore necessary to not only determine which natural resources species are been utilised from the landscapes, but to also determine the cultural and spiritual values attached to these areas (Probst, 2002). For example, sacred pools, where historical events have occurred, are considered sites with specific rules regarding what one can and cannot do (Ceperley, 2008). Also in forests, ancient trees and specific places within the forests mark sites for ceremonies and are considered sacred and are therefore of considerable importance for the people (Hakim, 2006; Infield, 2001). Within South Africa the sacred pools are seen, by the *amaXhosa*, as the homes of the ancestors and are thus important sites for worshipping and apologizing to the ancestors and ensuring individual and community health (Fox 2002).

Because of these activities the landscapes and landscape elements represents a high value for the people of specific relevance are the cultural activities which are taking place in the landscape. People not only perceive the landscape as a physical terrain but see the landscape as environments filled with ideological and symbolic significance and landscapes should therefore be considered as cultural constructions (Gunner, 2005). Within South Africa many rural people are depending on natural landscapes for their cultural activities. By studying the local landscape values as a representation of people-environment interaction, in a better understanding of this relationship can be obtained. This understanding is expected to contribute to improve the relevance and effectiveness of conservation efforts.

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES & QUESTIONS

This chapter will introduce the research objectives in paragraph 2.1., which have been formulated from the problem statement mentioned in the previous chapter; to better understand the relationship between the rural people's value attachment towards specific landscapes and how this understanding could contribute to effective conservation efforts. To operationalize the research objectives, research questions have formulated and divided into three categories, (1) landscapes, (2) livelihood and cultural practices, and (3) local landscapes values, which will be dealt with in paragraph 2.2.

2.1. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

In South Africa rural people are depending on the landscapes for cultural and spiritual activities. To better understand how local people value this nature, this study will investigate people's perception towards nature and how the rural people themselves value different landscapes (Lewis & Sheppard, 2005). The perception of the rural people is of significant importance, considering conservation efforts, as the local perception is often neglected while it should rather be encouraged to involve rural people and needs to become part of conservation projects (Infield, 2001).

The starting point of this study is to focus on the inventory of more general cultural and spiritual activities within a rural community which are linked to specific landscape niches. In addition this investigation will attempt to determine the local perceived value that rural people attach to their surrounding landscapes, with specific attention towards practices taking place in those landscapes.

Based on the presented problem statement the main objective of the research is to explore *the importance of the landscape for rural people and the cultural valuation of these specific landscapes and/or landscape elements*. Within this main objective are the following sub-objectives:

1. To identify, as perceived by local people, the landscape zones and landscape elements where specific cultural practices are taking place and/or depending on.
2. To identify the specific cultural practices and the locally perceived valuation of the specific cultural landscapes zones.

2.2. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To operationalize the objective mentioned above the main research question is as follows: “What is the locally perceived value of the landscapes units which are of importance to the cultural activities of a rural community?”

To address this research question on the basis of the conceptual framework to be presented in chapter 3, the following aspects will be explored:

Landscapes

1. Which village landscapes zones and landscape elements are identified by the local people?
2. Which cultural landscape elements are located in specific village landscapes zones?

Livelihood and cultural practices

3. Which daily livelihood practices and cultural practices are related towards specific landscape zones?
4. What is the local perception on the relative value/importance of the different landscapes zones for specific livelihood practices and cultural practices?

Local landscape values

5. Which local cultural values do people attach towards local identified landscape units?

A literature survey will be carried out to determine which cultural practices, relating to the use of specific landscape units, have to date been recorded. This will be followed by collecting primary data in a rural community to explore the following: a) current use of specific landscape units; b) perceived local value of these units.

3. THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Culture is an important aspect in understanding the perception of people, and the relation people have with their environment and vice versa. Mainly using concepts from ecological anthropology, a review will be given about the concept of culture. Finally a review will be presented on how different landscape elements can be valued and classified to be able to explain their cultural significance and all is presented in a conceptual framework.

3.1. CONCEPT OF CULTURE

Culture has received a wide range of definitions which has its origin in the research field of social science and anthropology and has been debated and adapted for a long time (Maners & Kaplan, 1968) and conceptualised from a variety of perspectives (Hughes *et al.* 1993). For understanding the essence of culture Hughes *et al.* (1993) refers to the description in Kluckhohn's (1949) *Mirror for Man*:

"A culture is created and transmitted by people but still one can never see a culture as such, what one sees are the regularities in the behaviour or artefacts of a group that has adhered to a common tradition"

In the research field of anthropology culture is defined as the customs, ideas and social behaviour of particular people or group of people (Soanes & Stevenson, 2004). Another definition of culture is the integrated system of socially acquired values, beliefs, and rules of conduct which delimit the range of accepted behaviours in any given society (Hakim, 2006). In the UNESCO Universal Declaration on Cultural Diversity, culture is defined as followed: "In its widest sense, culture may now be said to be the whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual and emotional features that characterise a society or social group. It includes not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and beliefs." (UNESCO, 2001).

Most conceptualizations of the concept culture, include external referents such as customs, artefacts and social institutions in which a group or society participate; and internal referents such as ideologies, belief systems, attitudes, expectations and epistemologies (Hughes *et al.* 1993). Bodley (1994) identifies three components of culture, it involves what people think, what people do and the material products which they produce. But in addition to the behaviour and material products culture is also characterized in several interactive properties, a culture is shared, learned, symbolic, transmitted from one generation to the next, adaptive and integrated (Bodley, 1994).

The concept of culture is also a basic concept in the scientific discipline of ecological anthropology. In this discipline, the environment in which a society or particular group of

people live is included in the definition of culture. A culture is conceived as a human-environmental relationship in which the culture is seen as a particular response to an environment and, within that environment, a social construction to which people respond (Strang, 1997). Through this process of socialization people are adaptive to the demands of the local environment (Hughes *et al.* 1993). This adaptation reflects the dynamics of a culture, as cultural based norms and values are transmitted from one generation to the next. The concept of culture is considered multi-dimensional in which it can be related to specific lifestyles and the dominant modes of interaction with the natural environment, and to specific aspects of behaviour such as the veneration of specific places (Cocks, 2006b), such as e.g. historical monuments (Ramakrishnan, 1996) and sacred pools (Fox, 2002).

Although the two approaches have a somewhat different focus, they concur that a culture influences how a community perceives themselves and is encapsulated in patterns and social regularities among a society as well as between people (Hughes *et al.* 1993), and how they experience the world around them by a system of values, beliefs and ideas in a mutually meaningful way (Berkes *et al.* 2000). This interaction with the world surrounding them, results in practices and activities which are specific for a certain culture and exist due to traditional beliefs and practices.

A culture is also dynamic and adaptive towards a changing (natural) environment in such a way that a traditional culture can be affected and influenced by the modern. This adaptation due to changes in their daily life does not have to exclude the traditional worldview and could therefore still be maintained (Groenfeldt, 2003). This however can result in a subtle interaction between traditional and modern cultural orientations and experiences. For instance in South Africa rural people are depending on urban-based jobs or welfare grants while the traditional cultural artefacts still play an important role (Cocks *et al.* 2006).

3.2. CULTURAL LANDSCAPES

While defining culture it already becomes clear that a culture is responding to the environment and vice versa. From this perception the landscape is being shaped by a culture and essentially all landscapes are subjected to cultural influences (Bridgewater, 2002) creating culturally and ecologically unique mosaics (Pfeiffer & Voeks, 2008). These mosaics can be described as living landscapes of biological and cultural evolution, which can change over time and are dynamic. There are four principles to be able to understand the dynamics of cultural landscapes (Nassauer, 1995):

1. Human landscape perception, cognition and values directly affect the landscape and are affected by the landscape;
2. Cultural conventions powerfully influence landscape pattern in both inhabited and apparently natural landscapes;

3. Cultural concepts of nature are different from scientific concepts of ecological function;
4. The appearance of landscapes communicates cultural values.

To show how the landscape is being affected by a culture, La Mantia *et al.* (2007) gives an example of a changing cultural landscape in Sicily. Where the traditional harvesting practices of *Erica arborea* was being utilized for economic and cultural reasons. Currently the majority of *Erica arborea* is found on state owned lands and the traditional harvesting is being discouraged. A decrease in cultural cultivation has led to higher stands which are more susceptible to fires and an increase of wildfires. Another example from the United States shows an Indian community which historically used the hills for cattle grazing and logging. These cultural activities have made their mark on the historic landscape as it is seen today (Tallbull *et al.* 1996).

Apart from the physical landscape the spiritual landscape can be just as important for a culture. Although the spiritual landscape cannot be perceived directly, it is still connected with the physical. For instance, the *Kanak* in New Caledonia have to be given permission by the ancestors to be able to cultivate the land. If this is not done they could upset their ancestors and will risk spiritual punishments such as illness, insanity and misfortune (Horowitz, 2001). Another example of Sudanese refugees emphasizes the strong spiritual connection between the spiritual and the physical landscape. In their homeland, Sudan, the people buried their family members on the family compound, while maintaining a shrine to their family ancestors nearby. This was not possible in the refugee camps, but some exceptional cases were noted where, because of the spiritual significance of deceased individuals, great efforts have been made to transport the body back to Sudan. Where the burial could take place on homeland and where shrines are expected to be maintained (Kaiser, 2008). These examples emphasize the spiritual importance which people attach to specific landscapes.

Also specific cultural landscape elements or cultural objects can be of symbolic, spiritual or social importance. For instance in the *Bagisu* communities an ancient tree marks the site for circumcision ceremonies (Infield, 2001). The *Baduy* in Indonesia have a sacred structure, a terraced hill with a statue in the centre, located deep in the forbidden forest. This sacred structure creates a strong spiritual link between the religious activities and the forest, especially the forbidden forest surrounding the sacred structure. In *Xhosa* belief sacred pools are seen as the homes of ancestors and it is believed that ancestors have houses under water. Therefore pools are important areas for worshipping and apologizing to the ancestors for ensuring individual and community health (Fox, 2002). All over the world mountains are seen as sacred expressions of some deeper reality, and are associated with the deepest and highest values and aspiration of cultures and traditions (Bernbaum, 2006).

3.3. CULTURAL LANDSCAPE VALUATION

Bosshard (2000) provides a methodology for an effective assessment concept for sustainable use. His starting point gives rise to different steps which have to be considered for a sound valuation procedure. The attention is given to indicators which are being used for criteria which cannot be measured directly. Here the cultural values are mentioned as a main criteria group. Cultural landscape values are such nonmaterial values which cannot be measured directly but are of importance as these values are of particular importance for rural livelihoods and also the public concern on cultural landscape values is growing.

The concept of valuation can be interpreted in two ways, economical and emotional. The term valuation has been used in many different disciplines and a definition of value is regarded that something is held to deserve, importance or worth, which can be material or monetary worth (Soanes & Stevenson, 2004). In this research the emphasis is on the emotional perception of local people towards cultural significance of landscapes. Therefore it might be more useful to use the term 'importance' of landscape, as value is perceived as being related towards economic value, expressed in monetary units. By using the term importance it implies a value judgement of the superior worth or influence of something or someone towards something else (Sheil *et al.* 2002). This can result into views of people perceiving a specific landscape as being more important compared to another without putting any monetary value on it.

Regarding cultural values, there are different dimensions which may be distinguished. Focussing on the perception of the local people the roles of cultural activities can be divided into three categories (Wiersum, 2007):

1. Cultural value as an expression of specific livelihoods which shape dominant interactions of people with their landscapes. Landscapes are valued on the basis of the environment which is utilised by hunters, gatherers and cultivators (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003).
2. Cultural value as an expression of socially accepted norms for resource use. Landscapes are valued as expressed through the access rules to land, (e.g. state owned, communal village land or private land) based on gender differences and labour division (Anthony & Bellinger, 2007).
3. Cultural value as an expression of symbolic significance. Landscapes are valued based on symbolic and spiritual significance (Ceperley, 2008).

In this research the focus is on (1) the cultural value as an expression of specific livelihoods which shape a dominant interaction with their landscapes, and (3) the cultural values as an expression of symbolic and spiritual significance. Due to limitations of available time no attention will be given towards (2) the value of landscapes as expressed through the access rules to land (for more information about access rules, see: de Lourdes Torres, 2007).

3.3.1. SPECIFIC LIVELIHOOD SIGNIFICANCE

There is a consensus that livelihood is about the ways and means of making a living. Ellis (2000) explains the concept of livelihood as a way to convey the non-economic attributes of survival, as the social relationships and institutions that mediate people's access to different assets and income streams. For example the arrangements that determine the use of environmental resources such as grazing, fuel wood, and water. Rural landscapes supply diverse sources of important natural resources from which local people benefit for their livelihoods (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003; Dovie *et al.* 2002). As a result, the daily usage of these natural resources is a significant, yet underestimated component of livelihoods (Dovie *et al.* 2007). Studying the livelihood significance will not only give more insight in the local value given towards nature by local people but also it gives insight in the importance of which factors contribute to the value of landscapes. The value of different landscapes will be perceived differently by individuals, which is depending on the different backgrounds of individuals and their personal interaction with the environment. E.g. hunters prefer hunting grounds and gatherers prefer forest, depending on their specific livelihood strategy.

Also the values people give towards landscapes are dynamic because of ecological change, e.g. due to loss of biodiversity or land degradation, as well as changes within the social structure, e.g. due to wealth increase and change in religion (Kepe, 2008; Matthews & Selman, 2006; Probst, 2002). These dynamics can result in uncertainties, together with emerging opportunities, which influences how material and social resources are managed and used, and affect the choices people are making.

3.3.2. SYMBOLIC AND SPIRITUAL SIGNIFICANCE

The attention towards valuation of cultural and spiritual activities related towards landscapes is also increasing in science, as rural communities are relying on them and this is shown to have a positive effect on the contribution towards the conservation of biological diversity (Ramakrishnan, 1996). The focus of Ceperley (2008) is on symbolic and spiritual significance of landscapes and showed that landscapes can have a strong spiritual meaning which reflects a strong relationship between a community and the environment. Hakim (2006) explored the cultural and spiritual values of forest in the Indonesia. He focussed on a classification of values important for the different cultural activities within a certain culture. He classified the cultural activities related to different values as follows: material values, historical values, social values, symbolic values, aesthetic values and spiritual values.

On the basis of this classification the following categories and indicators were identified and can be used to classify the specific cultural landscape values which are important for a community (see table 3.1)

Table 3.1. The classification and indicators of cultural landscape values

Classification	Explanation	Indicator
Material values	Places for gathering plants/trees or animals as supporting material in cultural practices.	Places used for gathering of plants or plant product or animals used for cultural events. Perception of material values of landscapes.
Historical values	Places which have a special relationship with the past; a concept resting on particular viewpoints of history.	Location representing cultural heritage, such as artefacts, stones, etc. Perception of historical value of landscapes.
Social values	Places that tend to make connection between people and to reinforce a sense of unity and identity; value that relates to life in groups and society.	Location for social activities; dancing, singing, etc. Perception of social values of landscapes.
Symbolic values	Places that have repositories of meaning.	Symbolic landscape features. Perception of symbolic value of landscapes.
Aesthetic values	Places that have scenic beauty and/or able to embrace artistic feeling.	Aesthetic landscape. Recreational features. Perception of aesthetic values of landscapes.
Spiritual values	Aspects of the religious, the numinous and the sublime; those places that inspire humans to relate with reference to the sacredness of nature.	Sacred sites and features. Location for ritual/religious activities/ceremonies. Perception of spiritual value of landscapes.

3.4. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework (see figure 3.1.) will be used to explain how the different concepts are related towards each other and is useful to get a full picture and relations on the total overview of this study.

- 1). Culture perception on local village landscapes by means of daily livelihood practices and specific cultural practices.
- 2). The cultural landscapes (elements) are valued for their material, historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic and spiritual importance and are influenced by the culture of a society.

It has to kept in mind, that although the daily livelihood practices and cultural practices are displayed as two separate boxes in the conceptual framework, there is some overlap between the two and it is sometimes hard to distinguish between them.

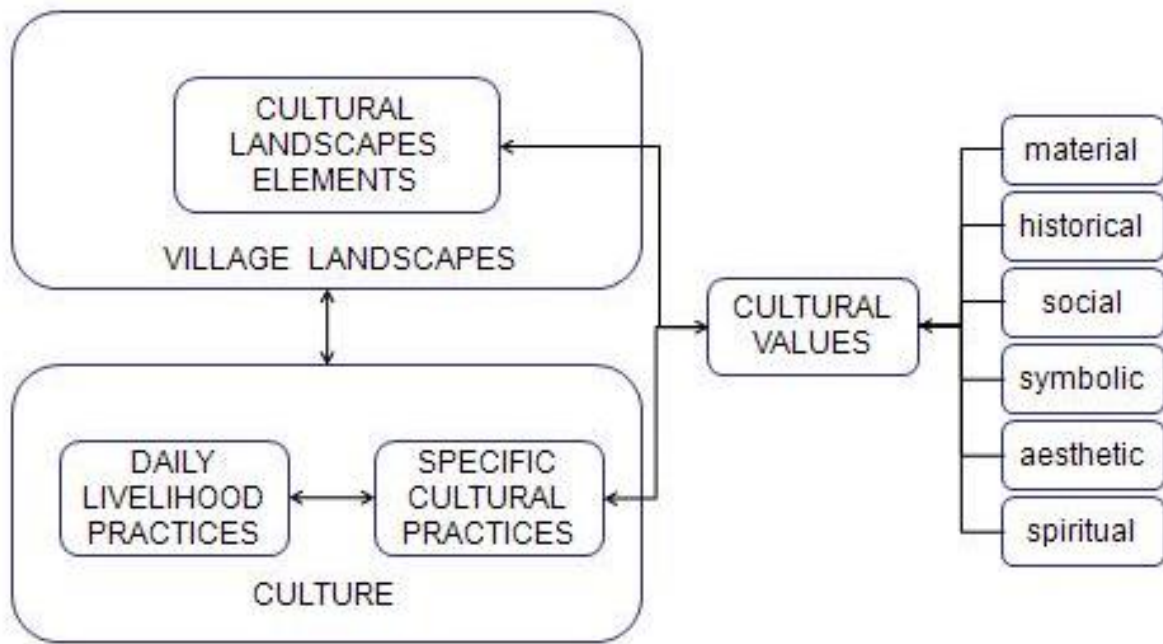


Figure 3.1. Conceptual Framework

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1. RESEARCH DESIGN

This research is an exploratory study, aiming to get more insight into the cultural landscape value as perceived by rural people in South Africa. The research was a single case study including the village of Tharfield, the surrounding landscapes and its inhabitants where the primary source of data.

The data was collected by conducting fieldwork by visiting the study area multiple times. Four visits have been made consisting out of a periods ranging from 3 till 14 days, including the weekends. Gathering data during the weekends was important for two reasons, because during the weekends rituals are being performed and secondly the presence of villagers who are working in urban areas during the week. The presence of an interpreter was necessary as most of the population of Tharfield were unable to speak English but *Xhosa*. The interpreter was not from Tharfield, which made him neutral during the fieldwork.

Empirical data was collected by applying qualitative and quantitative research methods in order to compare, interpret and generalize the results. The methods used were unstructured, semi-structured interviews with individuals and small groups. As well as workshops with small groups to obtain information on the local perception towards different landscapes and landscape elements. Observation where conducted to assess the difference between what people said, and what people actually do.

4.2. SELECTION OF RESEARCH LOCATION

The selection of the research location was done together with Michelle Cocks, the supervisor from Rhodes University, and Tony Dold, due to minimal personal experience and knowledge about a suitable research location. Cocks and Dold have conducted previous research in similar rural villages and I was, before starting this research, inexperienced with the *Xhosa* culture, language and customs.

A small rural village, called Tharfield, in the former Ciskei, nowadays Eastern Cape of South Africa has been selected and investigated (see figure 4.1). This village was selected because previous studies been recorded in this village together with good experiences and willingness to participate of the villagers in earlier studies. Also Tharfield is surrounded by a diverse range of landscapes and is highly depended on the natural resources as has been recorded in previous studies (Shackleton *et al.* 2007a). Finally the research location was also selected on its relative closeness to Grahamstown.

Tharfield is a relative young village but its inhabitants have had a tumultuous history. In 1948 the Nationalist Government instituted apartheid, the racial separation, which resulted in the so-called homelands for the African population. This resulted in the forced removal of the black population who were resettled to unproductive lands. The intention was to keep the black population away from the white areas. In the 1970's the area fell under control of the Ciskei government, resulting in self governing ethnic enclaves, which resulted in the relocation of large numbers of Africans (Lieshout, 2002). The white farmers for whom they have worked left and shortly afterwards the former farms were designated by the Ciskei government to black families. These black families chased them away and they were no longer allowed to feed their animals on the grazing lands and where forced to leave. After being forced to leave they moved land inwards and build this new settlement over here. A fence around the former farm lands is still preventing their cattle to move on these lands. After the apartheid regime had fallen in the beginning of the 1990's the former homelands of Ciskei, Transkei and Cape Province reincorporated in what now is called Eastern Cape.

Halfway the nineties about 6-7 families who all came to the same place started building the village. Most of the older people living in the village of Tharfield used to work for the white farmers, located close to the ocean, about 5-10 km from their present village. They worked on the plantations of the white farmers, who grew a wide range of different crops, e.g. pineapples, corn, and maize. Later on they were growing monoculture of pineapples. When settings up the pineapple plantation, large areas of forest have been cut down to build these cultivation fields resulting in the current scenery. They selected this area, more land inward, because it was used for the pineapple plantation and therefore seemed to be fertile lands which could be useful to grow their crops and suitable lands for their cattle to graze on. The village slowly grew bigger and people migrated from other areas and joined the village.

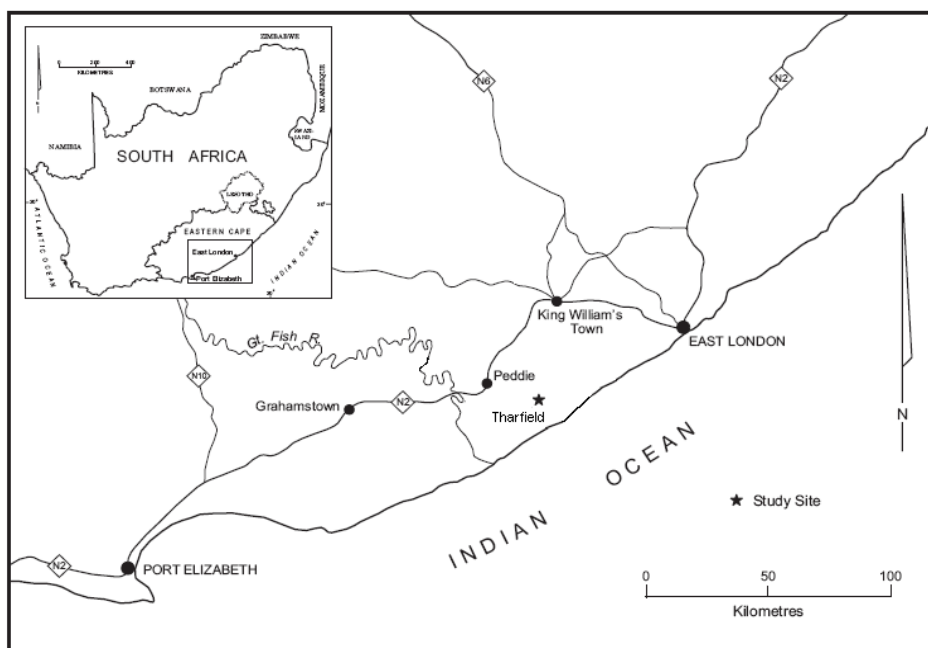


Figure 4.1. Research location – Tharfield

The local people have a diverse range of livelihood strategies, including migrant labour to nearby and regional urban centres, arable and livestock agriculture and the collection of natural resources from the adjacent forest and other landscapes. Households also rely on state grants such as old-age pensions, welfare, child-care and disability grants. The majority of the households have cash incomes well below the national poverty line. There is a primary school and a clinic in the village as well as piped water and electricity. The villagers have community meeting regularly to set out rules regarding community life and natural resource gathering.

4.3. SELECTION OF RESPONDENTS

Before going into the field three researchers from Rhodes University were selected to get a first impression about rural life, identify specific cultural activities and related important cultural species. Semi-structured open, ended interviews were conducted with the researchers who have conducted research in rural villages and have experience in Xhosa culture and bio-cultural diversity.

Before going into the field an approach has been set up to select respondents for interviews and workshops. During the fieldwork in the village it was more useful to select knowledgeable informants together with my interpreter, mainly due to his experience with the *Xhosa* culture. During a community meeting the purpose and methods of the current study were explained and permission was given to visit each household. During household visits we were given a warm welcome each time. From the beginning onwards the people accepted me and were willing to participate in the interviews, exercises and workshops. This has resulted in valuable data and only occasionally did people not want to participate.

For this case study all individuals living in the village were of interest, but in respect to the available time a selection had to be made. Randomly selected households have been visited with the intention to interview the head of the household, if available. At the end of each interview the interviewee was asked if they could mention three people who could be of interest considering the research topics. This resulted into knowledgeable key informants by means of snowball or chain sampling technique. Key informants were selected on the basis of the following: position within the community, knowledge of the topic and reputation. Key informants within the community like head of the community, diviners, elders, etc. have been interviewed. Excursions have been undertaken, with hunters, gatherers of fuel wood, and gatherers of natural resources, thereby visiting and observing various identified landscapes and provide more insight into specific cultural practices.

4.4. METHODS FOR DATA COLLECTION

In order to obtain information to answer the proposed research questions primary and secondary data has been gathered and combined. Three aspects were of interest for this study: a) cultural important landscapes, b) livelihood and cultural practices, and c) local

landscape values. In order to obtain information about the cultural important landscapes and their related livelihood and cultural practices qualitative research methods are used. Qualitative and quantitative exploratory methods are used to get an understanding of the people's perceptions towards cultural landscapes and local landscape values.

The primary data is collected by conducting observations, interviews with individuals, small groups and key informants. For the Participatory Mapping (PM) exercise and the Pebble Distribution Method (PDM) workshops were set up with small groups of informants, including key informants. To verify the collected data, observations were made and field notes were made. A diary is updated daily to be able to reflect on events which have happened during the day. The interviews were recorded by using a voice recorder and written down as a backup. Recordings were worked out as soon as possible.

Secondary data is collected from publications and documentation. Secondary data about both current and past cultural values and landscapes is collected from publications, books and documentation from Rhodes University and Wageningen University and other sources. These different ways of gathering information will make it possible to cross check the information and triangulate the results.

4.4.1. INTERVIEWS

A variety of interview techniques have been applied to gather sound and valid data, such as unstructured and semi-structured interviews with individual (key) informants and small groups of informants. Unstructured interviews with local informants have been conducted to get acquainted with the villagers, rural life and identify sensitive topics. After having established myself and being familiar to the community members, key informants were selected on the basis of their position within the community, their knowledge of the topic, their reputation and willingness to participate. These interviews were semi-structured covering topics about specific cultural practices and the identification of cultural important landscapes and were conducted with individuals and small groups of informants, depending on the situation and availability. The semi-structured interview approach has multiple advantages; first the informant can express himself in his own terms. Secondly, the interviewer is able to follow up on any leads that arise during an interview and finally, the data of the interview is comparable because the same topics will be covered with each informant (Southwold, 2002).

4.4.2. PARTICIPATORY MAPPING

Those respondents who are considered knowledgeable and were willing to participate took part in the PM-workshop. The PM involved identifying key areas of importance and helped to create a geographical framework from which it was possible to identify the different (cultural) important landscapes (Lynam *et al.* 2007; Sheil *et al.* 2002) which have also been recorded

in the semi-structured interviews. The map also helped to identify the different spatial relationships between the landscapes as perceived by the community members.

For the PM-workshop a group consisting out 4 participants (both males and females) were given a big piece of blank paper. The exercise was explained and the participants were asked to start off by drawing their village in the centre of the paper. Next they were asked to draw landscapes and characteristic areas which are considered important for the community. The exercise needed little explanation or clarification and the participants were eager and had discussions about which area was located where and explained why specific areas were considered important for the community. After drawing the village, they started drawing the rivers and main roads. In their minds they walked along the roads and rivers and put all the areas of interest on paper. Food and drinks were giving to them during a break halfway the workshop, but the eagerness of the participants made them continue, while eating their food and drinking the drinks.

A PM-workshop with children (12 – 16 years) has been conducted to investigate their perception about the village and their view on the importance of village landscapes on a smaller scale. The focus was primarily on the village and adjacent areas. This was done together with Jamie Alexander, a student researcher from Rhodes University, who assisted me with this exercise. This created a good reference on the perception of children towards the landscapes and cultural important plant species. It became clear that the children had a perception comparable to the adults' perception about the adjacent areas but on a smaller scale and less detailed. In the data analysis the map which has been drawn by the adults has been used in this study.

4.4.3. PEBBLE DISTRIBUTION METHOD

The map from the PM-workshop, together with the results from the interviews provided reference material which has been used to select specific cultural landscape units for the PDM-workshop. The PDM makes it possible to value the different landscapes (items) and encourages further examination of the underlying reasons for these values (Lynam *et al.* 2007). The PDM also ensures a way of valuation in the form of ranking without valuating landscape items in monetary terms, and finally creates possibilities to be able to compare different landscape values and their relative importance for specific cultural practices (Sheil *et al.* 2002).

In the PDM-workshop three different groups participated: male adults, female adults and girls (< 16 years). Due to the unavailability of boys there no PDM was conducted with this specific research group. The PDM created ways to examine the degree of importance of landscapes units for specific cultural activities. First the overall landscape importance was investigated by ranking the different landscapes units. Secondly the different landscapes units were valued for specific practices, by distributing the pebbles. And finally the overall landscape importance was investigated by valuating the different landscapes by means of distribution of pebbles. The overall importance by the ranking method and the pebble distribution method could later be compared with each other.

For this workshop handmade cards were created, reflecting the different landscapes and cultural practices which were identified during the surveys and PM-workshop (examples see: Appendix I.). The cards consisted out of a picture/drawing of a specific landscape or cultural practice, and also a description in *Xhosa* was written down on these cards. Within the village there were a number of illiterate people, mostly older people, so to ensure of good understanding the cards were explained regular. The drawings on the cards and a regular explanation during the workshop ensured a good understanding of the different cards. The participants were given 100 pebbles, which they could used to signify the importance. For example 10 pebbles on the river and 20 pebbles on the forest would represent the forest as being twice as important compared to the river. At least three examples were given before each exercise and as soon as the cards were clear to all the participants did the exercise start. When all the pebbles had been distributed over the cards, the participants were asked if they all agreed upon this division. If there was a disagreement, they were allowed to make changes until all of the participants agreed. If all the participants agreed on the division they were asked to explain the distribution of the pebbles.

4.5. DATA ANALYSIS

The semi-structured interviews with the research experts from Rhodes University have been worked out and analysed directly afterwards and resulted in the identification of cultural practices and preliminary knowledge about rural life and *amaXhosa* culture.

The unstructured and semi-structured interviews with village respondents are worked out the same day if possible or as soon as possible. Interviews which have been recorded on the voice recorder are worked out later and compared with the written field notes. The interviews are compared and a first analysis was made in the field, to get a preliminary view regarding the research question and was necessary to identify landscapes and practices for the PDM. A detailed comparison of the interviews and final analysis is done back in Holland.

The field observations are worked out every evening in a diary to record impressions of rural life, their cultural practices, landscape perception, and about the social structure within the community. The diary with field observations is also used to compare with the other methods of data gathering and the collected secondary data.

The notes made during the PM are worked out after the workshop and additional explanation is given the next day. Further analysis is done in Holland by combining the map from the PM-workshop with Google Earth. The PDM results are recorded systematically and worked out in MS Excel and analyzed back in Holland.

This study will be explorative and descriptive to obtain information about specific cultural activities and the cultural landscape valuation from village people's perspective.

5. VILLAGE LANDSCAPES

5.1. VILLAGE LANDSCAPE COMPONENTS

The Participatory Mapping workshop together with the surveys has resulted in the identification of the different village landscapes and cultural landscape elements, which are considered to reflect the overall cultural identity. The spatial distribution of the village landscapes, as identified by local people in the Participatory Mapping exercise, is presented in a schematic overview (see figure 5.1). This chapter will give a description as to how the villagers identified and perceive the different landscape components. A distinction is made between village landscape zones and specific landscape elements. The landscape components are ordered as the most important landscape first and the least important landscape as last.

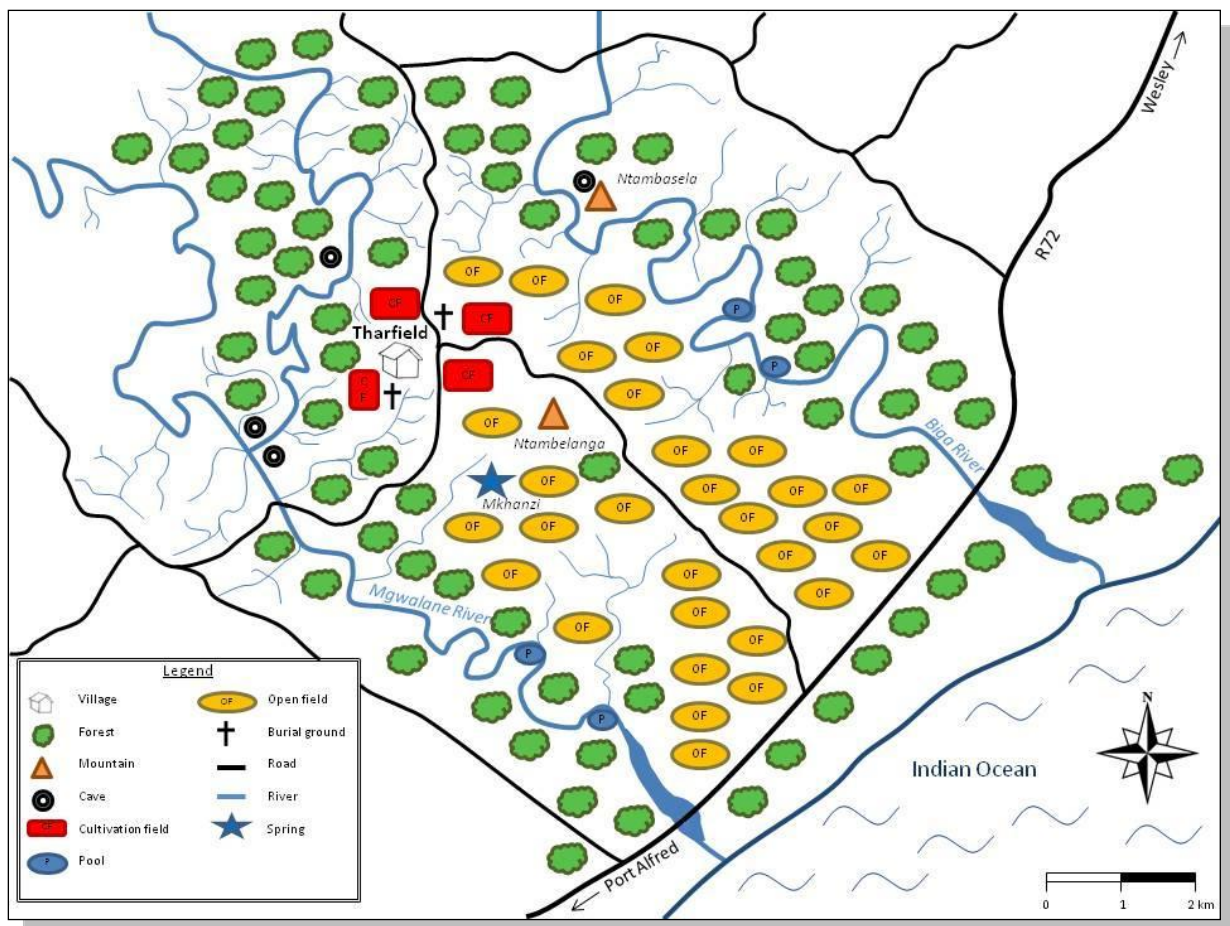


Figure 5.1. Schematic view of Tharfield with the identified village landscapes zones and elements

5.1.1. CULTIVATION FIELD

The most important identified landscape zone is the cultivation field. There are four communal cultivation fields, which the villagers refer to as projects, which have been set up for community purpose. On the cultivation fields a variety of crop is planted, such as cabbage, carrots, corn, etc. It is important, especially for the older people, to be able to grow their own crops and be self-sufficient. The villagers are working together on these communal cultivation fields to increase the crop production. Next to the communal cultivation fields many of the households have smaller cultivation fields in their homestead or located next to their homestead for their own food production. But references to cultivation fields in this report are related to the communal cultivation fields unless mentioned otherwise.



Figure 5.2. Cultivation field

5.1.2. VILLAGE

The village is identified as the next important landscape zone and should be perceived as a settlement unit, where a social group is carrying out activities at a specific site. The village was identified as important because it is the place where the people feel safe and secure, and is a place where numerous cultural activities are taking place. Currently the village of Tharfield contains approximately 95 households (Shackleton *et al.* 2007a). The village is located about 10 km from the Indian Ocean and located in between the *Mgwalane River* in the south and *Biga River* to the north. Approximately 5 km to the east is the Bathurst State Forest, which is a coastal forest on the dunes parallel to the Indian Ocean. Located to the west are patches of dense forest. Within the village is located a medical clinic and a primary school. The community has set up their own cress for the young children and have built a Christian Zionist church. Within the village there are some specific cultural landscape elements identified, such as the *ubuhlanti*, the *igoqo*, the burial grounds and the homestead gardens.



Figure 5.3. Village

a) UBUHLANTI

The *ubuhlanti* is not only used as a practical artifact in which it is being used as a livestock enclosure. The *ubuhlanti* is also considered as essential for performance of cultural practices. The *ubuhlanti* is considered as the place where their ancestors are housed and is the place where the communication with the ancestral spirits occurs. For protection and blessings ritual slaughtering is being performed in the *ubuhlanti* by sacrificing a goat or cow. In the middle of the *ubuhlanti* is a pole erected (*isiXhosa = Ixhantihi*) which serves as the contact point with the ancestors and is an intensified place for spiritual diviners. The *ubuhlanti* is the first place the diviner (*isiXhosa = Sangoma*) goes to when he wants to make contact with the ancestors. When a diviner enters the *ubuhlanti* he puts his hand on the *ixhanti* and introduces himself, and informs the ancestors about his personal background and the reason why he has made contact with the ancestors. Access to the *ubuhlanti* is only allowed by males and is dedicated as a taboo for females, although the daughters of a family are allowed to enter the *ubuhlanti*, and during certain rituals female *Sangomas* are also allowed to enter the *ubuhlanti*.



Figure 5.4. *Ubuhlanti*

b) IGOQO

The *igoqo* is a woodpile built in the homestead next to the house and is maintained by the females. Although the *igoqo* was long considered as a pile of fuel wood and representing only utilitarian value it later appeared to have cultural significance and is considered as a social venue for women and provides the women of the household with dignity, because it signifies their status within the community (Cocks & Wiersum, 2003).



Figure 5.5. *Igoqo*

The *igoqo* is important for their culture as the *igoqo* is the place where the gender of a newborn child is being announced (Cocks *et al.* 2006) and the *igoqo* is also of spiritual importance as it is considered as the place where the feminine ancestors are housed. When a ritual slaughtering is taking place in the *ubuhlanti* the women gather at the *igoqo* and they will be served and eat the meat which given to them by the men near the *igoqo*.

c) BURIAL GROUND

Within the village there are two burial grounds which are identified as important cultural landscape elements. At the burial ground they have buried their family members who have passed away, and it is an important sacred site. They rarely go to the burial ground to visit the graves of family members who have passed away. They only visit the burial grounds when someone has died and needs to be buried or when the graves need to be



Figure 5.6. Burial Ground

cleaned. To prevent the wild animals and cattle from walking over the graves branches of the Sweet Thorn (*Acacia karroo*) are placed on the graves. If someone dies, all the men go to the burial ground to dig the grave and females are not allowed during the digging.

There are a few households where the male head of the household is not buried at the burial ground but next to the *ubuhlanti*. However nowadays this is not happening that often anymore. It is quite accepted that also the male head of the household is buried at the burial grounds.

Before living in this village many of the elder residents moved away from, either the place where they worked for the white farmers or from other villages or cities. Because they were forced to move they had to leave the burial grounds of their ancestors behind, which they still regret. Located close to the ocean is a burial site which has historical and spiritual importance for the older people in the village. In the past when they worked for the white farmers they were allowed to bury their people over there. This means that some of the older villagers still have their ancestral burial grounds over there. Unfortunately it is impossible for them to go there because this area is now private owned property.

d) HOMESTEAD GARDEN

Within the village there are households who have a garden in their homestead where they grow a variety of wild species which they have gathered from the forest. Some of the species which they grow are also being used as traditional medicines, so called *amayeza*, which can increase a persons' health and can give protection against bad spirits. Some species are copping better than other species in the homestead gardens, but cultivation of *amayeza* is said not to influence their healing power. There has been no detailed investigation on the homestead garden and the species they grow there (for more information about cultivation of *amayeza* in home gardens see: Husselman & Postma, 2003), but mention is made because in these homestead gardens specific plants are being grown which are used in cultural activities, such as e.g. traditional tobacco

5.1.3. RIVER

The village is located in between two large rivers which originate far inland and flow into the Indian Ocean. These rivers are *Mgwalane River* and *Biga River*. These rivers spread into different streams which find their way far into the village. These rivers are very important for watering their crops and suitable drinking places for their livestock. The rivers are also of cultural significance for the villagers because their ancestors believed to have houses in the rivers and are considered to live in the water. In the past they used to collect drinking water from the rivers, but nowadays they get drinking water from the water-tap which was installed in the village.

The rivers are also being used for fishing to generate additional nutrition or sell the fish which has been caught. They should consider where they will go for fishing as not to disturb the ancestors living in the water. A variety of plant species is growing the river shore which are collected and utilized for different purposes such as construction, *amayeza* and ritual performance.



Figure 5.7. River

Villagers from neighbouring villages also come over to collect some of these cultural important plant species, because they are no longer available in the vicinity of their own village. During community meetings the community have set out rules, that neighbouring villagers need to be given permission before they are allowed to take cultural important species to ensure their subsistence in the future. During the community meetings the villagers also discuss which species should no longer be gathered to minimize the harm done to the environment or specific species which are become scarce. Within the rivers a specific cultural landscapes elements can be found, the sacred pool.

a) SACRED POOLS

During long period of drought, parts of the *Mgwalane River* and *Biga River* run dry, but there are certain areas along the river which will never run dry, which the respondent refer to as sacred pools. These pools are treated with respect and considered as cultural important. According to *Xhosa* belief these sacred pools are seen as the homes of their ancestors, where it is believed that the ancestors have houses under water. The sacred pools are important places for worshipping and apologizing to their ancestors and if disrespect is show it could result into individual or community misfortune.

5.1.4. OPEN FIELD

The open fields surrounding the village are relative large and this area used to be forest, but the white farmers have chopped down all the trees and transformed the forest into cultivation fields. Nowadays, the cultivation fields have disappeared and what exists today are open grass fields with some individual trees. The open fields are mainly used by the livestock for grazing lands. In the open fields there are some trees, predominantly Sweet Thorn, which is collected by the villagers and used as fuel wood. An important cultural landscape element which can be located in the open field is the initiation hut (isiXhosa = *iboma*). The *iboma* is being built when the boys are old enough to undergo the initiation in the open field or in the forest.



Figure 5.8. Open field

a) IBOMA

An important cultural event is the initiation of the boys (isiXhosa = *Umkwetha*). An initiation hut (isiXhosa = *iboma*) is build in the forest or the open field as far away from the village, so that the boy is unable to see the village and the villagers are unable to see them. The *iboma* used to be built from natural materials gathered from the open field and the forest. But nowadays also sink-plates are being used to construct the *iboma*. The initiates stay, either alone or in small groups in the *iboma* for a period ranging from 1 till 3 months, in the past even as long as 6 months. During that time the initiates are not allowed to enter the village. The first week of the initiation, the boy is being circumcised and he is not allowed to eat or drink, except for water and food which they collect from the forest or open field. After the first week younger boys from the village will come over and bring food regularly. It is strictly forbidden for females to come close to the *iboma* and the boys undergoing the initiation. During his initiation period the initiate is not allowed to have any possession and he is not allowed to wear any clothes, except a blanket. He is covered in white clay, to show that he is still a boy. After his initiation period the boy is allowed come back from the bush (isiXhosa = *Umkwaluka*), but the initiate first needs to wash away all the white clay, which symbolizes his time as a boy. To wash himself, he leaves the *iboma* and runs to the river without wearing any clothes. When he returns back to the *iboma*, a new blanket is given to him to cover his entire body, from his head until his toes, so that the women in the village can't see him when he returns.

“The Umkwetha is important for our culture, because you are being made a man and afterwards you are allowed to get married. You can’t get married if you are still a boy.”

While the initiate returns back to the village the *iboma* is burned, symbolizing the end of his time as a boy. While walking back to the village the men are singing celebration songs and are fighting playfully with knob-sticks. When the initiate arrives back at the village the women are welcoming the boy by singing songs.

5.1.5. FOREST

The village is surrounded by forest on all sides. A distinction was made by the villagers between the dense forest and the open forest. The dense forest was perceived as an area with closed tree vegetation which is almost impenetrable and makes it hard or even unable to move through. The open forest is perceived as an area filled with trees, but less close and is accessible and easy to walk through. In the PM-workshop it was not possible for the participants to differentiate between the open forest and the dense forest on the map (see figure 5.1). The open forest was said to be more frequently utilized, e.g. for gathering of *amayeza*, hunting, gathering of fuel wood and construction materials. Located to the north and west are patches of dense forest. Along the ocean is the Bathurst State Forest, which is a coastal forest on the dunes parallel to the Indian Ocean. Along the rivers, which flow into different small streams, patches of open forest are growing, containing a wide range of different tree species. According to their belief the ancestors are located in the forest and therefore they should take care of the forest to ensure a good and natural forest as well as good relationship with their ancestors. There are certain cultural practices taking place in the forest, e.g. ritual slaughtering, the initiation of the boys, for which an initiation hut needs to be built to house the initiates (see also previous paragraph).



Figure 5.9. Forest

5.1.6. OCEAN

The Indian Ocean is located about 10 km to the south-east of the village and all the rivers flow into the ocean. In the past, when they were still working for the white farmers, they lived much closer to the ocean and it was therefore much easier for the villagers to reach. Nowadays it takes the villagers about 2 hours to walk to the ocean, because most of them do not own any transportation. The ocean is being used for fishing and collection of other seafood, such as prones and shellfish. The shells are also being collected from the ocean shores and are being sold to generate additional income. The seafood is either used for own consumption or being sold. In the coastal forest, at the dunes along the ocean, is the cultural important plant species, Cape Reed (*Ischyrolepis eleocharis*) growing. The Cape Reed is being used to make the traditional brooms, which is identified as being of cultural significance.



Figure 5.10. Ocean

5.1.7. MOUNTAIN

There are two important mountains identified located near to Tharfield. The first one is the Mountain of the Sun (*Ntambalenga*), located to the east of the village. In the past they used to go to the mountain *Ntambalenga* to ask the ancestors for rain during periods of severe drought. Mostly older people went there to talk to the ancestors, but there have been occasions that the whole village went up the mountain to ask for rain. Even while they were working for the white farmers and there were period that it had been really dry. They were asked by the white farmers to go to *Ntambalenga* and ask their ancestors for rain. It has been quite some time since the last time they have visited *Ntambalenga* to ask for rain.



Figure 5.11. Mountain (*Ntambasela*)

The second important mountain is the Mountain of the Frog (*Ntambasela*). This mountain is located to the north-west of the village. This mountain top is much harder to reach due to its steepness and dense vegetation. This mountain contains several caves which were used to hide in by the *Xhosa* during the Frontier Wars. Both of the mountains also are protecting the village during heavy weather and severe storms.

5.1.8. CAVE

Although most of the villagers are aware that there are multiple caves located close to the village, still there are not many of them who know where the caves can be found. During an excursion with the villagers some of the caves were visited and it appeared that some of the caves were collapsed due to following rocks or have been degraded and hidden behind the growing vegetation. The caves are considered to be important for certain animals, such as snakes and deer, which stay in the caves and go there for hiding from predators.



Figure 5.12. Cave

A *Songoma* in the village mentioned that the caves can also have cultural significance as there are rituals being performed near the caves. The literature has made mention of caves in South Africa which have been used to express their ideologies and practices by means of rock art in caves (Jolly, 1996; Morris, 1988). In the village no mention was made of the awareness of rock art in the caves surrounding the village and during excursions to the caves no rock art has been observed.

5.2. VILLAGE LANDSCAPE PERCEPTION

After the different village landscapes zones and elements were identified a selection of landscapes units was made as to which landscape units would be used for the Pebble Distribution Method (PDM). As some landscape zones included certain landscape elements, e.g. the burial ground and homestead gardens, were identified as being part of the village landscape zone. The landscape units which were used in the PDM are: cultivation field, village, river, open field, open forest, dense forest, ocean, mountain and caves.

The PDM was used to express the overall importance of the most important village landscapes. The respondents were first asked to rank the different identified village landscapes. The most important landscape was ranked as 1 and the least important 9. To check if the results from the PDM-workshop would represent the village perspective, a number of households ($n = 6$) were randomly selected and asked to also rank the different village landscapes.

Secondly, by using the PDM the relative perceived significance of the different village landscape was investigated. The landscapes with the highest percentage (= most pebbles) was considered to be most important and the landscape with the lowest percentage (= least

amount of pebbles) was considered to be least important. This was done with three groups: males, females and girls (< 16 years). The data of the girls is combined with the females. Due to the unavailability of boys (< 16 years), no data was collected on this group.

To investigate if there is a different perception of men and women towards the overall landscape ranking, the data from the PDM-workshop are combined with the randomly selected households as there was little difference between the data from the PDM-workshop data and the randomly selected households and this would better represent the village perspective.

5.2.1. COMPARISON PDM AND RANKING METHOD

When comparing the average ranking of the PDM-workshop with the ranking method with the randomly selected villagers, all landscapes are ranked in the same order (see table 5.1). There are some landscapes which have the same average ranking. The cultivation fields and the village are ranked equal during the PDM workshop as well as the mountain and the caves. The ocean and the open forest are ranked equal by the ranking method. In these results the men and the women are combined to look at the village perspective. The most three most important landscapes are the cultivation field, followed by the village and the river.

Table 5.1. Comparing overall landscape value by PDM and ranking method

Landscape	PDM	Ranking
Cultivation Field	1.7	1.7
Village	1.7	2.7
River	3.0	2.8
Open Field	4.3	4.7
Dense Forest	5.3	5.5
Ocean	6.3	6.3
Open Forest	6.7	6.3
Mountain	8.0	6.7
Caves	8.0	8.3

Table 5.2 shows the results of the ranking method and the relative importance in percentages of the various landscapes as identified by the villagers. In these ranking results only the data from the PDM workshop are used, but as is shown in table 5.1 the ranking order is almost similar to the ranking done by the villagers. No distinction is made between genders again to look at the overall village perspective.

Table 5.2. Comparing overall landscape ranking and percentage by PDM method

Landscape	Ranks	Percentage
Village	1.7	29.0
Cultivation Fields	1.7	18.0
River	3.0	11.7
Open Field	4.3	5.0
Dense Forest	5.3	7.7
Ocean	6.3	8.7
Open Forest	6.7	8.0
Caves	8.0	6.3
Mountain	8.0	5.7

In both results the village was perceived as being the most important followed by the cultivation fields and the river, which are considered as the three most important landscapes. The village and the cultivation field, however, are ranked equally important. While the open field is ranked fourth it is was given the least amount of pebbles, expressing it as the least important landscape. The dense forest was ranked more important than the open forest while the open forest was given more pebbles than the dense forest; the difference (0.3 %) is however very little. The mountain (5.7%) was also perceived as being less important than the caves (6.3%) looking at the pebbles distribution, while they were ranked equally important.

These results show that the two different rating approaches show some differences in outcomes. However the low ranking, signifying high importance, does confirm with a high number of pebbles in the first three landscapes, village, cultivation fields and river (together = 58.7%). The remaining landscapes are almost equally important with only minimal differences when looking at the number of pebbles distributed between these landscapes (between 5.0 – 8.7%).

5.2.2. GENDER DIFFERENCES

In table 5.3 the average landscape ranking of males and females is presented. Overall there is quite some difference between the rankings when comparing the male perception with the female perception towards the landscape importance. But apart from the differences there are also similarities in the ranking order, which will be explained below.

Table 5.3. Comparing overall landscape ranking by gender

Landscape	Males	Females
Cultivation Field	1.3	2.0
Village	3.0	1.8
River	3.5	2.4
Open Field	3.5	5.4
Dense Forest	6.0	5.0
Open Forest	6.0	6.8
Mountain	6.5	7.6
Ocean	7.0	5.8
Caves	8.3	8.2

The men ranked the cultivation fields as being most important followed by the village, while the women ranked the village as being most important followed by the cultivation fields. Both genders ranked the river as third. The males ranked the open fields as fourth, while the females ranked the dense forest as fourth, followed by the open field. The average ranking for the dense and the open forest is the equal for the males, while the females ranked the open forest as being less important compared to the dense forest. The mountain is considered more important than the ocean according to the males while the females ranked the ocean as being more important compared to the mountain. Both genders ranked the caves as being the least important.

5.3. CONCLUSION

As described in chapter 5.1 nine landscape zones and their elements were identified, which are summarized in table 5.4. These landscapes zones were identified by the villagers themselves and the identified landscape zones thus reflect their perception. These perceptions are cultural based, as is illustrated by the gender differences in landscape valuation as well as the identification of cultural significant locations and elements. It has to be kept in mind however, that there is some overlap between the different landscape zones and individual perceptions can differ as well.

The identified landscape zones, village, open forest, dense forest, river and ocean, are highly valued due to the veneration of their ancestors and contain several cultural important landscape elements. The landscape zones, river and ocean are valued for the gathering of specific cultural important plant materials which are being used for the crafting of specific cultural items. The open field, mountain, open forest and dense forest are valued for the collection and gathering of fuel wood and other natural resources.

Table 5.4. Overview of cultural landscape zones and elements

Landscape Zone	Landscapes Element
Cultivation Field	-
Village	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Ubuhlanti</i> • <i>Igoqo</i> • Burial ground • Home stead garden
River	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sacred pool
Open Field	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Iboma</i>
Dense Forest	-
Ocean	-
Open Forest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Iboma</i>
Mountain	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Caves
Caves	-

From the PDM ranking method and the ranking with the randomly selected households is seen that that all the landscapes were ranked in the same order. The PDM exercise could therefore be seen as representing the village perspective. From the village perspective, in order of importance, the landscapes are ranked as follows: the cultivation field, village, river, open field, dense forest, ocean, open forest, caves and finally mountain.

Focusing at the difference in perception between men and women towards the overall importance of the landscapes there are some differences identified. Some of the landscapes are being used for gender specific activities explaining the gender differences in landscape valuation. Although the primary focus of this study was not intended to investigate gender differences, but as these are so apparent, in the following results the results of men and women will be presented separately.

6. CULTURAL LANDSCAPE VALUATION

The identified landscape units in the previous chapter were identified and valued by the villagers and thus reflect their perception and are considered to be important for their culture. The previous chapter has investigated the overall importance of the different identified landscape zones. But the villagers have also indicated specific practices which are taking place in these landscapes which are reflected their cultural identity. This chapter will continue to investigate the importance of the identified landscape zones for these specific identified practices which are taking place over there.

As indicated in the research framework, (see figure 3.1) livelihood and cultural practices can be considered as a major features of culture. However a clear distinction between these two practices appeared impossible to make. Therefore the identified practices are divided into four categories which still reflect the cultural identity. The practices are categorized into (1) gathering and production of food, (2) well being, (3) income generation and (4) leisure.

From the previous chapter it has already become clear that men and women have different perspectives regarding the value they attach to specific landscapes and will therefore be presented separately in this chapter. The primary focus of this research is on the landscape values but when considered relevant, the most important plant or animal species are also listed.

6.1. FOOD GATHERING AND PRODUCTION

For food gathering and production four practices have been identified and investigated. The relative value of the different landscape zones for each of these practices will be presented below. The identified practices are: fishing, hunting, livestock herding and food gathering.

6.1.1. FISHING

The ocean (males 60%, females 74%) and the rivers (males 40%, females 26%) are being used for fishing (see figure 6.1). The ocean is considered as more important compared to the rivers because it is much larger and contains far more and also bigger fish than the fishes which can be caught in the rivers. No mention has been made about specific fish species which are being caught.

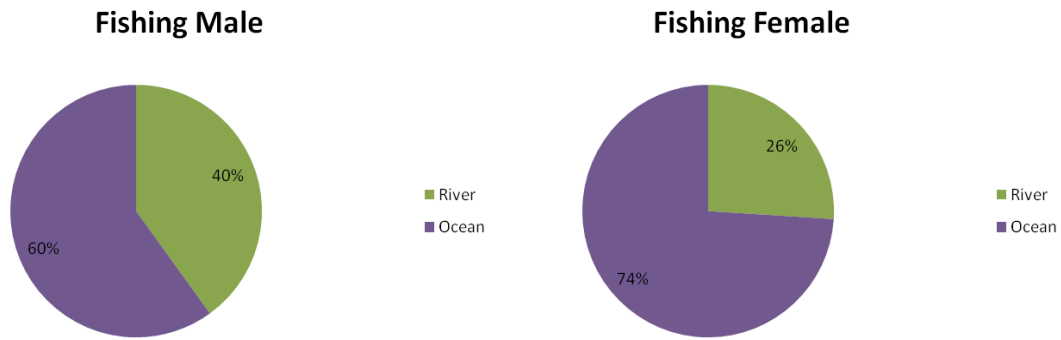


Figure 6.1. Landscape importance for fishing (males and females)

Fishing is only done by men and they use fishing-rods or nets to catch the fish. According official regulation they need a permit from the government to catch fish from the rivers and the ocean. Most of the villagers go fishing without a permit, because the permit is too expensive for them to afford and they will need to travel to King Williams Town to acquire the permit. The fish they catch is being used as food and is shared with the family or is being sold.

6.1.2. HUNTING

The relative importance of the different landscape for hunting is presented in figure 6.2. The villagers valued the dense forest (males 35%, females 29%) as most important landscape for hunting. The dense forest is a good place for the prey to hide but it is tough to catch the animals in the dense forest and the dogs have difficulties to chase the animals. The open forest (male 20%, female 19%) is more suitable to go for hunting, but there are fewer animals encounter over there and the prey can notice the hunters coming. The open field (males 15%, females 16%) makes it even harder for the hunters to stay unseen but this landscape is also used for hunting. The animals use the caves (10%) to hide and it is a suitable place to hunt specific species, such as the Rock hyrax (*Procavia capensis*).

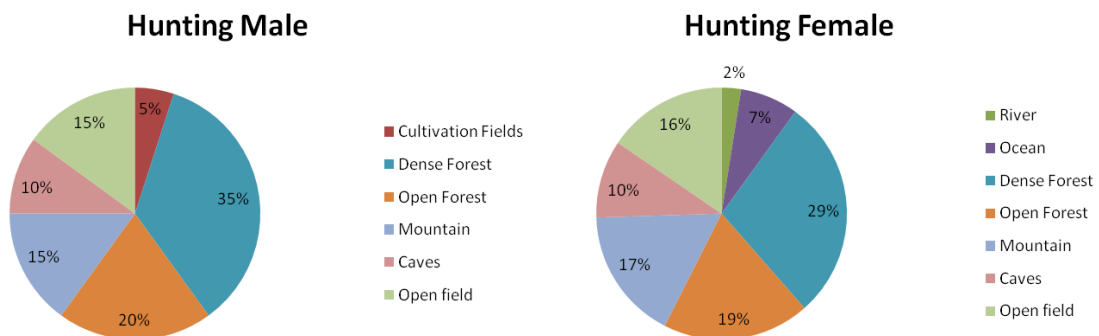


Figure 6.2. Landscape importance for hunting (males and females)

The males mentioned that certain animals go to the cultivation field (5%) to eat their crops and these animals, such as birds and bush pigs (*Potamochoerus larvatus*) during the night, are being hunted or chased away when this happens. The females mentioned that animals go to the rivers (2%) to drink and they can be hunted over there. Also some animals are found close to the ocean (7%).

Just like fishing, the hunting is only being practiced by men. The men in the village like to go hunting and the meat they catch is used for additional nutrition and is divided between the hunters, who share it with their families. When the men go hunting they leave the village with a pack of dogs and bring hunting tools along like, knob-sticks, axes, catapult and a gun if they possess one. The catapults are used to chase animals from the trees, like monkeys. The knob-sticks and axes are used to defend themselves against large animals and to kill the hunted animals. The smaller animals are mostly killed by the dogs. They prefer to go hunting after it has rained; this makes it easier for them and the dogs to spot the tracks of the animals. They primarily hunt for the large male animals but it can happen that they catch a female or a young animal.

Two groups of hunters have been interviewed to identify the different animals which can be encountered during a hunt. In table 6.1 an overview of the animals which are being hunted and the difficulty to encounter them.

Table 6.1. The animals which are being hunted and difficulty to encounter the animal (each + indicates a group of hunters)

English	Name of the wildlife		Encounter		
	IsiXhosa	Scientific	Very easy	Easy	Hard
Bushbuck	<i>Imbabala</i>	<i>Tragelaphus scriptus</i>			++
Porcupine	<i>Ingcanda</i>	<i>Hystrix africaeaustralis</i>	+	+	
Bush Pig	<i>Ingulube</i>	<i>Potamochoerus larvatus</i>		+	+
Scrub hare	<i>Umvudla</i>	<i>Lepus saxatilis</i>	+	+	
Antbear	<i>Inodi</i>	<i>Orycteropus afer</i>			++
Rock hyrax	<i>Imbila</i>	<i>Procavia capensis</i>	++		
Grysbok	<i>Ingxungxu</i>	<i>Raphicerus melanotis</i>		++	
Blue Duiker	<i>Iphuthi</i>	<i>Philantomba monticola</i>			++
Brown Hyena	<i>Inchaze</i>	<i>Hyaena brunnea</i>			++
Small Spotted Genet	<i>Inyhnwangi</i>	<i>Genetta genetta</i>		++	
Chacma Baboon	<i>Ijene</i>	<i>Papio ursinus</i>			++
Springhare	<i>Ingqumeya</i>	<i>Pedetes capensis</i>	+		+
Vervet Monkey	<i>Inkhawu</i>	<i>Cercopithecus aethiops</i>			++
Greater Cane Rat	<i>Indwele</i>	<i>Thryonomys swinderianus</i>	++		
Warthog	<i>Inxankwe</i>	<i>Phacochoerus africanus</i>	+	+	
Caracal	<i>Ingqawa</i>	<i>Caracal caracal</i>	+	+	

6.1.3. LIVESTOCK HERDING

In figure 6.3 an overview is given about the landscapes values for herding livestock. The males indicated that the village (21%) and the river (19%) are valued highest for the livestock. The village is important for looking after the health of the livestock by keeping them free from ticks and in the village they are protected from predators. The livestock uses the rivers to drink water. The males indicated that the dense forest, open forest, mountain and open field (all 15%) were equally important for the livestock to find food there.

The females identified the river (32%) as being most important because the river is necessary for the livestock to drink water. The open forest (25%) and open field (24%) were considered as important feeding grounds for the livestock. The dense forest (11%) was valued less important for the herding livestock because the livestock could get lost in the dense forest and is more susceptible to predators over there.

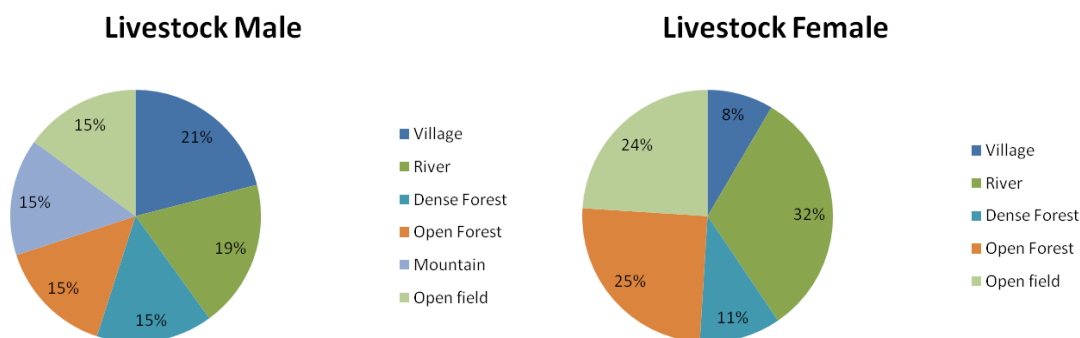


Figure 6.3. Landscape importance for livestock herding (males and females)

The livestock enters the forest to look for food and use the open fields for grazing. The goats prefer the forest, where they eat the leaves while cows prefer grazing in the open fields. The animals are wandering free around the village and some animals are being herded by men or younger boys outside the village. Incidentally the livestock are being attacked and killed by predators roaming around the village.

Many wealthier villagers own livestock, such as cows, goats and sheep. They goats and cows are cultural important animals and are slaughtered during rituals. Goats are mainly used for the smaller rituals and for bigger events they will slaughter a cow. There is quite some difference between the numbers of livestock a household owns. There are households who own many livestock, one household as much as 71 goats and 21 cows, while some households do not own a single goat. If the poorer villagers want to perform a ritual they need to buy a goat from someone else. In the literature mention is made about a specific cattle breed called *Nguni* (Bester *et al.* 2001; Spickett *et al.* 1989). *Nguni* cattle are a hardy breed uniquely adapted to the South African environment. No mention has been made about the *Nguni* cattle in the research village however.

6.1.4. FOOD GATHERING

Figure 6.4 gives an overview of the landscapes which are considered important for gathering food. Both genders showed that the cultivation fields are considered most important for their food supply (males 30%, females 29%). The growing of their own crops has been a tradition for the people for as long as they can remember. There are communal cultivation fields for communal purposes (see also figure 5.1) and villagers own private cultivation fields and homestead gardens. The people in the village, especially the older villagers, emphasize that they want to be self sufficient and do not want to rely on products from the stores. The stores charge high prices and the distance is too far and it takes too long to travel towards stores in the cities. Maize is one of the important cultural crops which is grown on the cultivation fields and is an important ingredient for preparing the traditional beer which they serve during most of the ritual ceremonies. On the cultivation fields the villagers grow many other vegetables like spinach, carrots, cabbages, etc. They grow these crops to either feed themselves or to sell the vegetables to other villagers who do not have the means of growing their own crops. Within the village households have planted wild species from the forest to grow in their own homestead garden and the village is therefore valued as important (male 18%, female 11%).

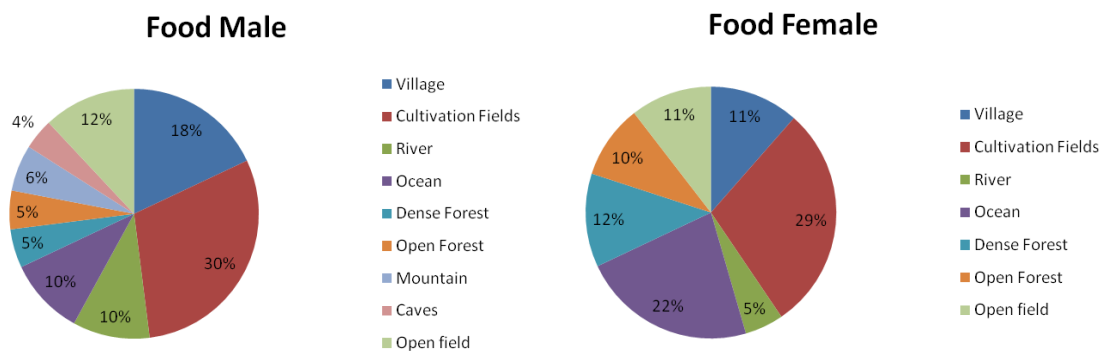


Figure 6.4. Landscape importance for food gathering (males and females)

The ocean (males 10%, females 22%) and the rivers (males 10%, females 5%) are important for catching fish and other sea foods. The males valued the two landscape zones equally important while the females valued the ocean as being more important than the river for gathering food.

The gathering of natural food resources is done to complement the nutritious value of food. Here the respondents made a distinction between the gathering of wild vegetables and fruits. Firstly, the villagers collect wild vegetables (isiXhosa = *Imifino*) which were primarily gathered from the open field (males 12%, females 11%) and the open forest (males 5%, females 10%). Secondly, the villagers collected a variety of fruits species. Some of the fruit species are seasonal while other species can be found all year round in the open and the dense forest (males 5%, females 12%).

In the open field and the forest animals are also being hunted (see also 6.1.1 Hunting), which is another way of gathering food. The males mentioned the caves (4%) and the mountain (6%) as suitable landscapes for gathering food by means of hunting, while the females did not see any importance in these landscapes at all for food supply and were not valued for gathering of food.

6.2. WELL BEING

6.2.1. FUEL WOOD COLLECTION

The males only identified the dense forest (60%) and open forest (40%) as important landscape for gathering fuel wood (see figure 6.5). While the females, next to the dense forest (37%) and open forest (31%), also identified the mountain (9%) and the open field (8%) as important landscapes for gathering fuel wood. The dense forest is considered most important, by both men and women, because of the abundance of trees over there and they could not imagine that the dense forest would ever disappear. There are trees growing in close proximity of the village (15%) which are being used for fuel wood and the village is where they store the collected fuel wood and is therefore considered important.

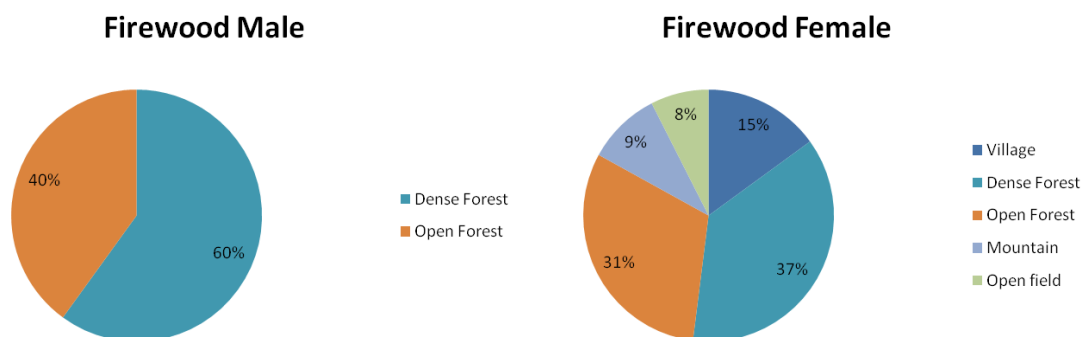


Figure 6.5. Landscape importance for collection of fuel wood (males and females)

The people collect fuel wood to create a fire to prepare their meals and the meat during the rituals. The coals from the fire are put into the house to keep them warm during cold nights. They go to the forest to collect the fuel wood by foot, with a donkey, or tractor. Collection of fuel wood by foot is mainly done by females and children, whereas the males use donkeys and tractors to collect fuel wood. They only collect the dead wood and never chop down any tree which is still green and alive. The species they use for fuel wood is the Sweet Thorn (*Acacia Karroo*, isiXhosa = *Umga*), because it is abundant and there are no governmental restrictions for gathering Sweet Thorn. Even the youth is aware of the tree species which are allowed to be gathered and they are being taken along by the older villagers to distinguish

between the different tree species. Taking certain trees, e.g. *Lathile (Hippobromus pauciflorus)*, from the landscape could upset the ancestors and could create conflicts within the family and therefore the children are being thought which trees they should not harm to prevent misfortune.

Modern households have a paraffin burner which is used for boiling water to make tea or to prepare meals. But most of the people prefer to use firewood to prepare their meals, reasons are because fuel wood is abundant and cheap.

“I like living in a village if for example I would run out of paraffin I could go to the forest and collect some wood to build a fire.”

6.2.2. GATHERING OF CRAFTS MATERIALS

A variety of crafts is being made from materials gathered from the forest (males: dense forest 20% and open forest 21%; females: dense forest 7% and open forest 11%). They collect wood from the forest for crafting sticks, furniture, smoking-pipes, catapults, etc. At specific places along the river (males 15%, females 29%) they collect natural materials to craft sedge mats, baskets and hats. From the ocean (males 16%, females 24%) they collect materials to make the traditional brooms. The sedge mats and brooms are only made by females and they value the landscapes where those materials are being gathered as more important compared to the males. While the males value the forests as more important as they are the ones who are crafting furniture, pipes and catapults. From the open fields (males 10%, females 19%) they could gather grass which they use to make baskets. According to the females the village (10%) is valued important because this is where the crafts are being made. The males mentioned collecting stones from the caves (3%) which can be used for sculpturing.

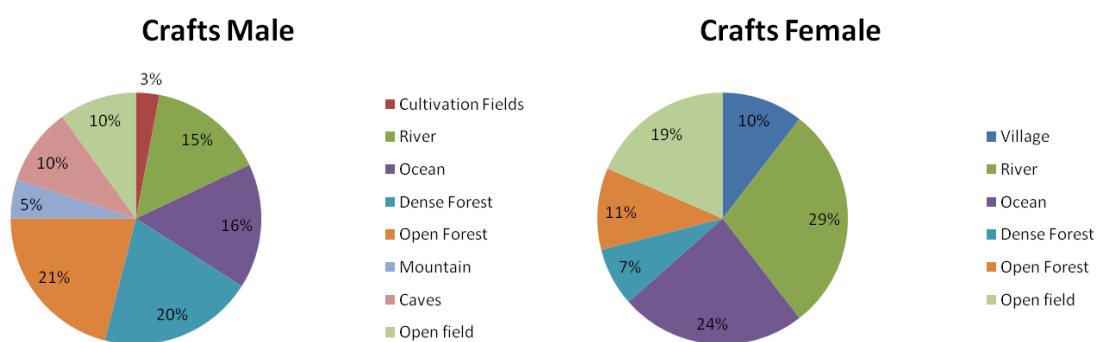


Figure 6.6. Landscape importance for gathering of crafts materials (males and females)

There are two cultural important crafts identified which are being fabricated within the village the traditional broom and the sedge mat. The traditional broom is being made by a number of women in the village. These traditional brooms are handcrafted and making the brooms

prevents them from paying for them. The material which is being used to make these brooms is only found in the coastal forest on the dunes near the ocean. The material which they use is Cape Reed (*Ischyrolepis eleocharis*, isiXhosa = *Umtshayelo*). But due to governmental restrictions and the surveying of the rangers in the area, they are no longer able to gather this plant species.

Women in the village make handcrafted sedge mats which they use during cultural rituals. The sedge mats are important for the villagers; they use them to sit on during various rituals and during the initiation ritual for women, called *Intanjane*, the women are hidden behind these mats inside the house. Just like the traditional broom, the sedge mats are also being hand crafted and sold to people from other villages which generates income. To make the sedge mats they collect Emezi grass (*Cyperus textilis*, isiXhosa = *Imizi*) from the shores at the river mouth where the river meets with the ocean, where the species is really abundant. In the past they also gathered Emezi grass more land inwards but this area is nowadays private owned and they are no longer allowed to enter this private owned property.

6.2.3. CONSTRUCTION MATERIALS COLLECTION

The forest is the most important area for collecting the construction materials as can be seen in figure 6.7. The males valued the forest as very important for collection of construction materials from the open forest (25%) and the dense forest (25%) for cultural important artifacts. The females also highly valued the dense forest (24%) and the open forest (13%) for gathering the construction materials. The mountain (15%) and the open field (15%) were valued equally important for the males. The mountain is important for gathering wood and from the open field they gather grass for roof thatching. The river (males 20%, female 23%) is important for gather mud for constructing the walls of houses. The females also mentioned the importance of the ocean (21%) for the gathering of thatching grass.

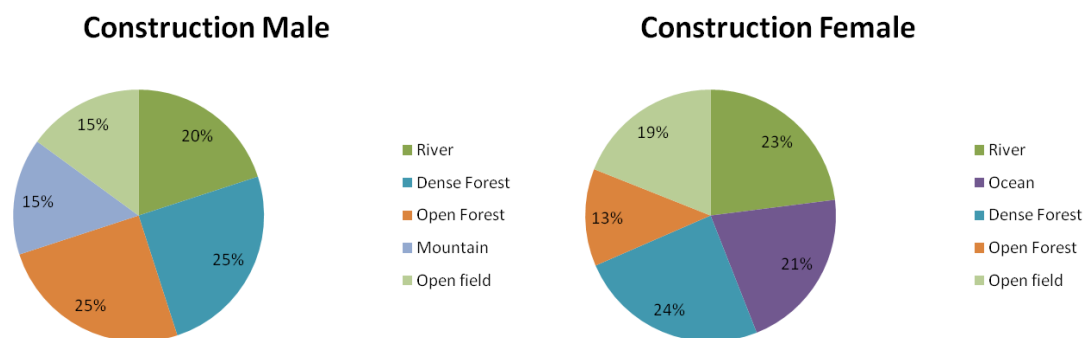


Figure 6.7. Landscape importance for collection of construction materials (males and females)

Building and taking care of the livestock enclosure (isiXhosa = *ubuhlanti*) is an important cultural practice for men. Not only is the *ubuhlanti* used as an enclosure to keep livestock but

it is also used to keep in contact with the ancestors and perform rituals. This importance is also shown by the following quote of an older men sitting next to the *ubuhlanti*:

"I like to sit close to the ubuhlanti; it makes me feel at ease."

The plant materials needed to build the *ubuhlanti* consist out of various wood species, within the middle a single erected wooden pole (isiXhosa = *ixhanthi*). The *ubuhlanti* is an enclosure made from vertical poles (49 species) with horizontal branches (48 species) between these poles (Cocks *et al.* 2006). There is quite some difference between the size and the state of the *ubuhlanti*, some are worn out and looked neglected while others are well looked after. Previous studies (Cocks *et al.* 2006) have shown that this difference can be explained by the wealth status of the households. Access to the *ubuhlanti* is only allowed by men and is dedicated as a taboo for women although the daughters of the family and female *Sangomas* are allowed to enter the *ubuhlanti*.

The construction and maintenance of an *igoqo* is an important cultural practice for married females, and is a sanctuary for married woman (Cocks *et al.* 2006). An *igoqo* is a pile of fuel wood standing in the homestead next to the houses, either vertically or horizontally, depending on the ethnic identity. Occasionally both of them, vertically and horizontally *igoqo*, are located on the same homestead. Cocks *et al.* (2006) has identified 49 species which are used to construct and maintain the *igoqo*. The *igoqo* is considered to reflect the social status of the housewife's position within the community. During rituals, which take place in the *ubuhlanti*, the women are positioned near the *igoqo* and the meat is being served to them by the men.

"The igoqo represent the feminine and when we get meat, during a ritual, we like to sit close to the igoqo when eating the meat."

Certain rituals which are not being performed in the village require the building of an *iboma*. The *iboma* is a temporary house which is build for the family members who participate in the ritual ceremony. For the construction of an *iboma* they require *Umtumba* and *Umbungisa* (*Diospyros lycoides*) which is collected from the forest and the mountain. From the open fields they collect the grass which is used to cover the *iboma*.

From the forest they also collect different tree species which they use for constructing their homes. The mud-houses have a frame consisting out of long poles put up vertically, in a hole in the ground, and tied together with poles placed horizontal. Smaller branches are weaved in between the frame which is eventually filled with mud gathered from the rivers.

6.2.4. MEDICINAL PLANTS COLLECTION

In figure 6.8 an overview is given about the landscapes which are valued for the gathering of medicinal plant species (isiXhosa = *Amayeza*). According to the males, the dense forest (31%) is the most important place for gathering medicinal plant species, followed by the mountain (15%) and the open forest (11%). The dense forest was considered more important because the density is higher and therefore more plant species are available which could be

gathered over there. The open field (10%), river (10%) and the ocean (8%) are also used for the gathering of *amayeza* but were considered less important than the previous mentioned landscapes.

For the females the most important landscapes for the gathering of medicinal plants are wet landscapes, like the rivers (20%) and the ocean (19%). But also the open forest (17%), dense forest (15%) and open field (15%) are landscapes which are valued for gathering *amayeza*. Certain species only grow along the rivers or close to the ocean and therefore these species can only be found there.

The village (males 5%, females 4%) is also considered important for collection of *amayeza* as there are villagers who have planted medicinal plants, gathered from the wild, in their homestead garden. Planting the *amayeza* in their home garden makes the species easier accessible and takes less time to collect the *amayeza*. Growing *amayeza* in the home gardens would not affect the healing or spiritual function.

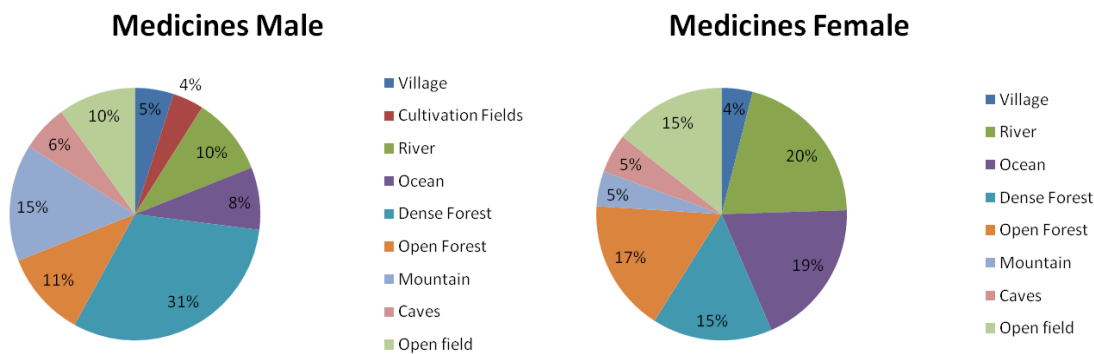


Figure 6.8. Landscape importance for medicinal plants collection (males and females)

The villagers mentioned that traditional healers and diviners are making use of medicinal plants for ritual and spiritual practices. The traditional healers or herbalists (isiXhosa = *Amagqirha*) are gathering and using a variety of herbs and plants species for medicinal and health reasons. Most of the healing knowledge they have acquired is passed on to them by relatives and by means of practical experiences.

The diviners (isiXhosa = *Sangomas*), have had a long and essential training process which can take up to 2-3 years. In their dreams the diviner is being trained and plants and areas of importance are shown in those dreams. The power of the diviners makes them able to interpret those dreams. In their dreams they are being spoken to by their ancestors who are showing them the path to take.

“The dreams which come to us should never be questioned; the dreams are important and should always be followed.”

The places they are being guided to by their dreams are mostly related to water, like the river and the ocean. When the diviners are going on a journey, which is shown in the dreams, they

take along relatives and other diviners on this journey. In the village there was a *Sangoma* who has had a dream in which a specific stone was shown to him.

“I will have to collect this stone from the forest and will use it to grind herbs and animal skins which I can use in my rituals. But before I can go on this journey I must first start a ceremony to please the ancestors who will guide me on this journey.”

The *Sangomas* use plants species for health and spiritual reasons. They gather the *amayeza* from different landscapes around the village or send other people to collect the species for them. Most of the plants species can be found all around the village but you will need to know where to look for them and certain plant species can only be found in specific landscapes. Apart from the gathering *amayeza* they can also buy them from markets. The variety of plant and animal species they use is quite diverse and can help for a wide range of illnesses, such as stomach aching, fever, spitting, etc.

6.3. INCOME GENERATION

6.3.1. MARKETABLE PRODUCTS

In figure 6.9 an overview is given about the different landscapes which are important for products which are being sold. On the cultivation field (males 20%, females 22%) the villagers grow their crops, which are being sold to people within or outside the village. From the river (males 20%, females 16%) and the ocean (males 20%, females 19%) they sell the fish they have caught. Wood from the open forest (males 15%, females 10%) and dense forest (males 15%, females 8%) is being sold to villages where trees are scarce.

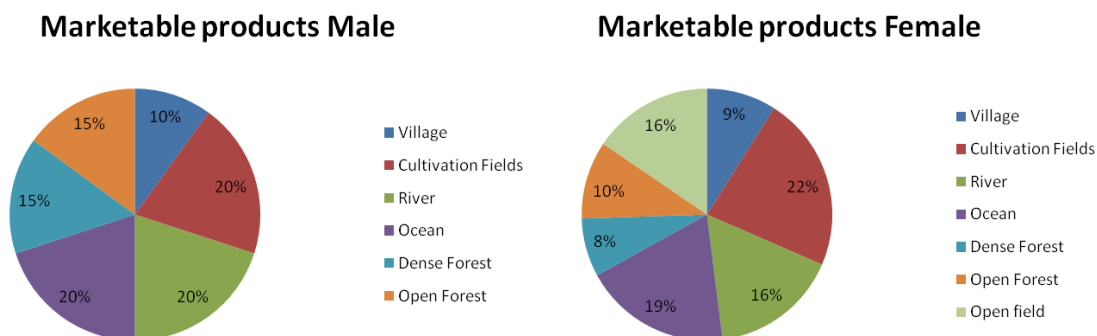


Figure 6.9. Landscape importance for marketable products (males and females)

Many of the villagers have a very low income or no income at all. Therefore they are selling natural resources and the crafts which they have made from materials gathered from different landscapes (see also paragraph 6.2.2). As has been mentioned before, they gather

plant materials from which they make sedge mats and traditional brooms. These products are made by women and are being sold within and outside the village. Tharfield is located relative close to the ocean, and in the dunes near the ocean is one of the few places where the Cape Reed is growing which is essential to make the traditional broom. The same applies for the Emezi grass which is being used to make the sedge mats which is really abundant at the river mouth of the *Mgwalane River*. These cultural crafts are important for the *amaXhosa* culture and they are able to sell these products to other villages, who do not have the ability to gather the species required to build these cultural important crafts.

6.4. LEISURE

6.4.1. RECREATION

In figure 6.10 an overview is given about important landscapes for recreation practices. The village (males 10%, females 31%) is being used for recreation by singing, dancing, stick fighting and performance of rituals. Working on the cultivation field (females 10%) is considered as recreation by the women and the males keep the cultivation fields (males 5%) free from animals, such as birds. They go to the rivers (males 6%, females 22%) and the ocean (22%) for swimming. At the beginning of each year they go to the ocean to celebrate new years day. Different sports are being performed at the open field (males 20%, females 10%). Hunting in the open forest (10%), dense forest (10%), the mountain (5%) and the caves (12%) is a recreational practice for the males. The collection of fuel wood from the forest (5%) is considered as recreation for the females.

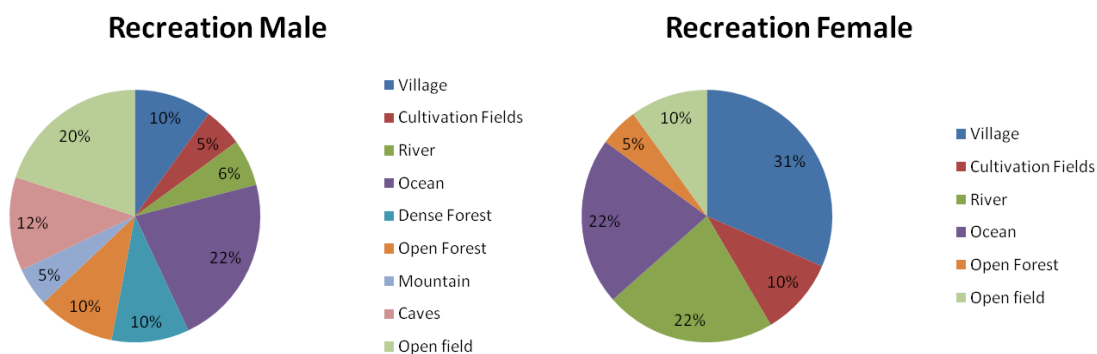


Figure 6.10. Landscape importance for recreation (males and females)

Within the village a group of young women perform traditional dances and are singing songs as a social-cultural practice to show that they are still virgins and promote their culture. All the women in the traditional dancing group are virgins and perform to promote their cultural heritage. An elder woman has set up this traditional dancing group and in the forest these young women are being checked regularly for their virginity. During their dances they are wearing traditional *Xhosa* clothes and necklaces made out of different colours of beads. They

are singing traditional songs about their culture and history but also about current topics as HIV. They do not only perform in their own village but also go to other places and festivals to show and promote their cultural heritage. The girls are practicing their songs and dancing in the village at the home of the traditional dancing leader and some are also practicing in small groups or individually.

“It is a good thing to take care of our tradition by means of the traditional dancing group and also as a way to promote our culture to other people.”

The young boys are doing stick fighting games which they do as a social practice as well as to strengthen themselves for when they go for hunting. The stick fighting was also observed after the boy came back from his initiation. While many of the men were singing celebration songs a couple of men were having stick fights in front of the group while walking back to the village. The sticks which are being used for the stick fighting are being made from the Wild Olive (*Olea europaea* subsp. *africana*).

6.4.2. TRADITION AND RITUAL PERFORMANCE

Ritual slaughtering is an important cultural practice of the *amaXhosa* culture and most of the rituals are taking place within the village (males 35%, females 17%). Certain rituals are performed along the shores of the river (males 35%, females 24%) due to the importance of the rivers as the place where their ancestors are living. There are however no fixed places along the river where a ritual will take place, this differs depending on the family. For the *Sangomas* the rivers are even more important because of the dreams they have and the close connections they have with the ancestors. The females also mentioned the ocean (16%) as being important for performing rituals especially for *Sangomas* who have received the calling from the ancestors. When a *Sangoma* receives the calling she can start the training process of becoming a *Sangoma*. The dense forest (16%) and open forest (males 14%, females 10%) is important for gathering plant species which are necessary during rituals. The forest is also important for performing rituals and is also the place where their ancestors are living.

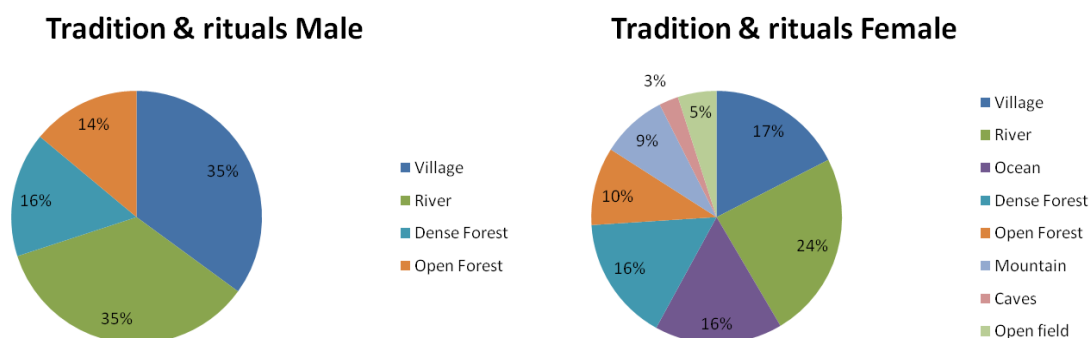


Figure 6.11. Landscape importance for tradition and ritual performance (males and females)

According to the females, depending on the direction given by the *Sangoma*, it could also be that a ritual would be performed at the mountain (9%), caves (3%) or in the open field (5%). The males did not mention about any importance of these landscapes for tradition and ritual practices.

Ritual slaughtering is most of the time being practiced at the *ubuhlanthi* and is done for multiple reasons. For example, when a child is born, if someone is sick or has died and other important changes in people's life. Ritual slaughtering is also performed if someone is moving to a different home, during a life crisis or if one goes on a hazardous journey, then an animal is slaughtered for protection during his or her journey. The animals which are being slaughtered are, a totally white goat, for smaller ritual slaughtering (e.g. sickness or initiation), or an ox for bigger events (e.g. death of the head of the household). Before slaughtering the animals they talk to the ancestors and put a mixture over the body of the animal. This mixture is made out of water, which is gathered from the river, together with the crushed roots of *Umbulawu* (*Ilene undulate*) gathered from the forest, which they mixed and this substances creates bubbles. This same mixture is also used for medicinal purposes. After the animal is slaughtered it is being cooked, on fuel wood collected from the forest, and the animal is eaten in three days. On the first day they eat the intestines, the second day the body and the final day the legs of the animal. The remaining bones are all collected and at the last day these will be burned. The meat is divided between all the people who are present. There exist a strong paternal system *Xhosa* culture, the elder men divide the meat between men and women, and following the men give meat to the younger boys. The meat is served on plates consisting out of branches of Wild Olive (*Olea europaea* subsp. *africana*, isiXhosa = *Umquma*) and Sneezewood (*Ptaeroxylon obliquum*, isiXhosa = *Umthathi*).

When the young boys are old enough, which is decided by the family, they are being send away from the village to undergo their initiation (isiXhosa = *Umkwetha*), either alone or in a together with other boys. The purpose of the initiation is for the young boys to "become a man". This is done by letting the boys learn to be able to fend for themselves and teach lessons to show respect to the elders, women and the ancestors, learn to be independent, to look after yourself and others.

Far away from the village at a distance, so the boy is not able to see the village and people from the village are unable to see them a hut (isiXhosa = *iboma*) is build. The first day in the forest the boys are being circumcised. They stay in the *iboma* for period ranging from 1 till 3 months, in the past even as long as 6 months and are not allowed to return to the village during that time. The first week the boy is not allowed to eat or drink, except for water and food which they collect from the forest. After the first week, younger boys from the village will come over and bring food. During the period in the bush the boy is not allowed to have any possession and he is not allowed to wear any clothes and is covered in white clay. Before the boy returns home (isiXhosa = *Umkwaluka*) the boy first has to be washed. He leaves all his cloth and he runs to the river, totally naked, to wash away all the white clay, symbolizing his time as a boy. As they returned back to the village they burn the *iboma*.

One of the elder women in the village is taking the young women to the forest to check them regularly for their virginity. The checking of the virginity is done in the *Xhosa* culture to keep the young girls healthy and free from aids. The girls whom are still virgins are also allowed to participate in the traditional dancing group where the girls are singing and dancing.

intanjane is an initiation ceremony for the girls. A special place within the house is created for the girls, which is blinded by using the sedge mats. Before going behind the sedge mats the girls wash themselves in the river. There can be more than one girl at a time in the same house undergoing this initiation ceremony which can take from 1 till 3 months. During the initiation she will be served a special meal, called *Nmazimba*, and is not allowed going outside the house during the day. Other girls, who are family members or relatives, will take care of the girls hidden behind the blinds. The men are not allowed to go behind the sedge mats.

6.5. CONCLUSION

Four main categories of livelihood strategies were identified with their specific practices (see table 6.2): (1) food gathering and production, including the activities of fishing, hunting, food collection and livestock herding; (2) well being, including the practices of fuel wood collection, gathering of crafts materials, collection of construction materials and *Amayeza* collection; (3) income generation, including collection of marketable products; and (4) leisure, including the activities recreation, and tradition & ritual performance

All the practices are being performed by men although some specific cultural craft are only made by women, such as the sedge mats and traditional brooms. Fishing, hunting and livestock herding is predominately done by men, while all the other practices are being done by men and women.

Table 6.2. Overview of the main categories of livelihood strategies and the specific practices

	Food gathering and production	Well being	Income generation	Leisure
Specific practices	Fishing	Fuel wood collection	Marketable products	Recreation
	Hunting	Gathering of crafts materials		Tradition and ritual performance
	Food collection	Collection of construction materials		
	Livestock herding	Traditional medicinal plants collection		

A summary is presented below summarizing the importance of the landscapes for the different practices as identified by males, (see table 6.3) and females (see table 6.4).

Table 6.3. Importance of different landscape units for specific practices as identified by males (+++ = importance > 20%; ++ = importance 10 – 20%, + = importance < 10%; - = not used).

	Fishing	Hunting	Livestock herding	Food gathering	Fuel wood	Crafts materials	Construction materials	Medicines	Marketable products	Recreation	Tradition & rituals	
L												
A	Village	-	-	+++	++	-	-	-	+	++	++	+++
N	Cultivation field	-	+	-	+++	-	+	-	+	++	+	-
D	River	+++	-	++	++	-	++	++	++	++	+	+++
S	Ocean	+++	-	-	++	-	++	-	+	++	+++	-
C	Dense forest	-	+++	++	+	+++	++	+++	+++	++	++	++
A	Open forest	-	++	++	+	+++	+++	+++	++	++	++	++
P	Open field	-	++	++	++	-	++	++	++	-	++	-
E	Mountain	-	++	++	+	-	+	++	++	-	+	-
S	Caves	-	+	-	+	-	++	-	+	-	++	-

Table 6.4. Importance of different landscape units for specific practices as identified by females (+++ = importance > 20%; ++ = importance 10 – 20%, + = importance < 10%; - = not used).

	Fishing	Hunting	Livestock herding	Food gathering	Fuel wood	Crafts materials	Construction materials	Medicines	Marketable products	Recreation	Tradition & rituals	
L												
A	Village	-	-	+	++	++	++	-	+	+	+++	++
N	Cultivation field	-	-	-	+++	-	-	-	-	+++	++	-
D	River	+++	+	+++	+	-	+++	+++	++	++	+++	+++
S	Ocean	+++	+	-	+++	-	+++	+++	++	++	+++	++
C	Dense forest	-	+++	++	++	+++	+	+++	++	+	-	++
A	Open forest	-	++	+++	++	+++	++	++	++	++	+	++
P	Open field	-	++	+++	++	+	++	++	++	++	++	+
E	Mountain	-	++	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+
S	Caves	-	++	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

Looking at the specific practices there is quite some difference between the values attached towards specific landscapes. The dense and open forests are important landscapes for almost all practices. The same also applies for the river and the ocean which are valued for numerous practices and a high value is attached to these landscapes. The landscapes which are valued as least important are the cultivation fields, the mountain and the caves. The cultivation field is mainly related to specific practices such as food production and marketable products. The mountains and caves are valued as less important and are relevant for a small number of specific practices.

Looking at the overall importance of each landscape the men value the forest landscapes highest due to their gender specific activities, such as hunting, livestock herding and gathering of construction materials for the *ubuhlanti*. The forest (open and dense forest) is also valued highest for multiple practices. According to the men, the river and the ocean are also considered important and various practices are taking place there. The open field and the mountain are moderate important and quite a wide range of practices are taking place there. Followed by the village and the cultivation field and the least important landscape are the caves.

The important landscapes for women are related to the river and the ocean, which they use for the creation of cultural crafts, such as sedge mats and traditional brooms, which are only crafted by females. The women have also valued the river and ocean highest for most practices. The open and dense forests are valued as next important landscapes for collecting fuel wood and construction materials to build the *igoqo* and gathering of *amayeza*. The open field is moderate important and valued for quite a number of practices. The village is valued as important for performance of rituals and recreational activities. The cultivation field, mountain and caves are valued for only a small number of practices. The cultivation field is highly valued for food gathering and production and marketable products however. The mountain and caves are not considered that important.

Comparing the result of the cultural landscape values for their specific practices with the overall importance of the previous chapter a different outcome is noticed. The village and cultivation fields were considered highly important for the overall importance but when looking at specific activities the river, ocean and forests are valued higher. The mountain and caves are still valued as least important which is also noted when looking at the overall importance.

7. LOCAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPE VALUES

The identified practices described in the previous chapter emphasize the dependence and importance of the different landscapes for the community and is reflecting their cultural identity. In the research framework of chapter 3 the local cultural landscape values are influenced by the culture of a community and the cultural landscape (elements). This chapter will explore the symbolic and spiritual significance of landscapes, by using the concept of cultural landscape significance involving six categories of specific values: i.e. material, historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic and spiritual values.

7.1. MATERIAL VALUES

The material values of landscapes are related to the use of different cultural relevant materials, plants or animals, gathered from the landscapes and the importance of these landscapes for cultural events. A summary of the most important plants and animals used for cultural practices is displayed in table 7.1. The following description will give examples of the specific cultural significance of material values.

As has been mentioned in the introduction and noted in the literature the ritual slaughtering plays an important role in the *Xhosa* culture. This is also reflected in the following quote which was told by many people by asking, what makes them *Xhosa*:

“Our rituals are what make us Xhosa in which we slaughter a goat or cow for our ancestors.”

For those ritual slaughtering a wide range of materials is being gathered, (see also table 7.1). From the forests they collect Sweet Thorn (*Accacia karroo*, isiXhosa = *Umga*) as fuel wood and if a ritual is taking place they collect some additional wood species such as Wild Olive (*Olea europaea*, isiXhosa = *Umnquma*) and Sneezewood (*Ptaeroxylon obliquum*, isiXhosa = *Umthathi*). The branches of the Wild Olive and the Sneezewood are used to serve the meat during a ritual. During certain rituals Sneezewood is also put in the fire due to its distinct smell, but it is never used as fuel wood when there is no ritual being performed.

Most of the rituals are taking place in the village at the *ubuhlanti* where the animal is being slaughtered. For the construction of the *ubuhlanti* a wide range a tree species is gathered from the forest and the open field, the primary species which is being used is the Sweet Thorn which is abundant. Cocks *et al.* (2006) has identified 49 different species which are being used for the construction of the *ubuhlanti*. Apart from the ritual slaughtering, the *ubuhlanti* it is also used as a livestock enclosure for the goats and cows which play an important role in the *Xhosa* culture. Goats and cows are the animals which are being slaughtered during rituals for their ancestors.

Another cultural artefact is the *igoqo* which is built in the homestead next to the house and is maintained by females. Materials for the building and maintenance of the *igoqo* are being gathered from the forest. The most dominant species which is being gathered for the building of the *igoqo* is the Sweet Thorn. Cocks *et al.* (2006) have identified 49 different plant species which are being used for the construction of the *igoqo*.

The traditional beer (isiXhosa = *Umqombothi*) is an essential part of the ceremony for making contact with the ancestors and is being brewed when preparing a ritual. The brewing of the traditional beer starts before the ritual is going to take place. During a ritual the traditional beer is part of the social binding and all of the villagers are informal invited, an invitation is never send but all the villagers are always welcome. Maize is the main ingredient of the traditional beer which being grown at the cultivation fields. Apart from the brewing of the traditional beer the maize is also being used as food in different cultural important meals, e.g. *Nmazimba*.

Other important materials which are gathered from the landscape are the wild vegetables (isiXhosa = *Imifino*) which are gathered from the forest. The wild vegetables are being gathered as complementary food supply but also fruits are gathered, ranging from small berries till bigger fruits. When the villagers are gathering fuel wood or going hunting, they eat the fruits from the trees which they come across while being in the forest. The collection of wild vegetables is also considered as an inexpensive way of gathering food. Some of the wild vegetables and fruits are seasonal while others can be found all year round. An example of a species from which the fruits are gathered is *Scutia myrtina* (isiXhosa = *Isiphingo*).

Close to the ocean on the dunes is the only place where the plant species Cape Reed (*Ischyrolepis eleocharis*, isiXhosa = *Umtshayelo*) grows. This species is being used to make the traditional brooms, but due to governmental restrictions and the control of the rangers this is no longer possible and allowed. The restrictions were implemented as it was said that the gathering of Cape Reed would have a negative effect on the species and its surrounding area. When they would harvest the Cape Reed they could be arrested by the rangers.

The Emezi grass (*Cyperus textilis*, isiXhosa = *Imizi*) is also found along the rivers shores and is abundant and found in large numbers at the river mouth, where the river meets with the ocean. As has been mentioned before Emezi grass is being used to fabricate the sedge mats which are of cultural importance to the villagers. No communal and governmental restrictions are implicated for the collection of Emezi grass. There is a private owned property located closer to the village, which in the past was used to collect the Emezi grass because of the abundance of Emezi grass over there. The present owner does not want them to enter his property to gather Emezi grass anymore.

A wide variety of traditional medicines (*amayeza*) is being gathered from almost everywhere, *amayeza* is gathered from the forest, the shores along the river, the open field, at the ocean and even in the village. In Appendix II an overview is given of the different plants species which have been recorded and for which purpose the species is being used. The *amayeza* are used for different functions, there are the species which are used for health and medical purposes, but there are also species which used for spiritual reasons, e.g. protection against evil spirits. Different parts of the plants (e.g. bark, roots, leaves, branches, etc.) are being used in a wide variety of ways (e.g. boiling, chewing, crushing, etc.).

Table 7.1. Role of different landscapes zones for specific species used for cultural events

Cultural practice	Name	Xhosa name	Part used	Used For	Gather from
Rituals	Wild olive (<i>Olea europaea</i>)	<i>Umquma</i>	Branches	Serving the meat	Forest
	Sweet Thorn (<i>Acacia karroo</i>)	<i>Umga</i>	Only dead wood	Fuel wood	Forest, open field
	Sneezewood (<i>Ptaeroxylon obliquum</i>)	<i>Umthathi</i>	Branches	Serving the meat, fuel wood	Forest
Ritual slaughtering of Livestock	Goat	<i>Ibhokhwe</i>	Whole animal	Meat	Village
	Cow	<i>Inkomo</i>	Whole animal	Meat	Village
Fuel wood collection	Sweet Thorn (<i>Acacia karroo</i>)	<i>Umga</i>	Only dead wood	Fuel wood	Forest and open field
Construction of cultural artefact <i>Ubuhlanti</i>	49 species, dominant spp. Sweet Thorn (<i>Acacia karroo</i>)	dominant spp. <i>Umga</i>	Branches horizontal and stems vertical	Construction	Forest and open field
Construction of cultural artefact <i>Igoqo</i>	49 species, dominant spp. Sweet Thorn (<i>Acacia karroo</i>)	dominant spp. <i>Umga</i>	Branches horizontal and stems vertical	Construction	Forest and open field
Food collection	Maize (<i>Zea mays</i>)	-	Kernel	Traditional beer & meals	Cultivation field
	Various wild vegetables and fruits	<i>Imifino</i>	Vegetables and Fruits	Food	Forest and open field
Crafts of cultural significance	<i>Emezi grass</i> (<i>Cyperus textiles</i>)	<i>Imizi</i>	Stem	Sedge mats	River mouth at the ocean & river shores
	Cape Reed (<i>Ischyrolepis eleocharis</i>)	<i>Umtshayelo</i>	Stem	Traditional broom	Coastal forest near the ocean
Traditional Medicinal plants	Various plant species (see Appendix II)	<i>Amayeza</i>	Bark, roots, leaves, etc.	Health and spiritual purposes	Forest, open field, rivers, ocean & village

7.2. HISTORICAL VALUES

Historical values give an explanation about the landscapes which have a specific historical importance or represent cultural heritage sites with a special relationship with the past. The Mountain of the Sun (*Ntambalenga*) is a mountain where the villagers went to ask their ancestors for rain during periods of severe drought. Mostly older people went there, but sometimes the whole village went there. Even during the time when they were working for the white farmers they were asked by the white farmers to go to *Ntambalenga* and ask their ancestors for rain. It has been quite some time, the respondents could not remember the last time, since they have last visited the mountain to ask for rain.

The second mountain peak is Mountain of the Frog (*Ntambasela*). This mountain peak is located to the north-west of the village. *Ntambasela* is much harder to reach due to its steepness and the dense forest vegetation growing on this mountain. This mountain contains several caves. The caves have historical significance value, because during the frontier wars in the 19th century the *amaXhosa* used to hide from the Europeans in those caves and they would feel safe in these caves because the Europeans would not find them there. Especially the older people emphasize the need for those caves, if in the future they would ever need a place to hide. Respect is also shown to the caves due to the ancestors who can be present over there.

There is a spring, which they call *Mkhanzi*, located to the south of the village, which was important for the villagers in the past. The spring was used to gather drinking water from when the rivers have run dry, during periods of drought.

“There was a rock from where there came water, this spring was important for us because during that time we were depending on the fresh water from the spring.”

Halfway the 1990's a pipeline was installed in the village with only one tap. The villagers themselves have expanded the water taps to different households but still many of the households do not have a tap at their own yard. The households also own water tanks to capture rain water and used it in times of drought to irrigate their crops.

There are rituals which are being performed in different landscapes, such as in the forest, along the river, the open field or at the ocean. Depending on the dreams of the *Sangoma* they go to a certain place to perform a ritual. These places will have a historical meaning for the people who went there to perform the ritual. Therefore almost each family or individual has an area which is of historical importance to them but there is not fixed location and the area where a ritual takes place can differ depending on the family and individual.

The ancestral burial grounds are of historical importance for the *amaXhosa* because of the strong spiritual connection with their ancestors. There are the two burial grounds in the village. The burial grounds are only visited when someone has passed away and needs to be buried or when the graves need to be cleaned. If someone has passed away the men of the village go to burial site to dig the grave together, during the digging of the grave no women are allowed to be present. There are also some households, where the male family head is buried next to the *ubuhlanti* instead of the burial ground. Some of the villagers had to leave their parents burial grounds behind when they were forced to leave the farms where they

worked for the white farmers. Although they are no longer allowed to go to these burial grounds the place where they have buried their families is still of historical significance to them.

7.3. SOCIAL VALUES

Social values give an explanation about the different landscapes in which social activities are taking place and landscapes which make a connection between people and thus reinforce a sense of unity and identity. In the village there are different important locations which are value for their social significance. The traditional dancing, which is being performed by a group of young girls from within the village and they practice in the village or in the open field and perform in their own village and other villages. The group of traditional dancers is being led by an older woman who is also taking them to the forest to check them for their virginity. Only virgins are allowed to perform in the traditional dancing group. Being a virgin prevents the young girls from getting HIV and the virginity testing is related to the history of their culture. According to the *Xhosa* culture you first need to get married before you can lose your virginity.

The youth is engaged in a wide variety sports as social practices, such as soccer, rugby, singing and dancing. These social practices are performed on the open field next to the school and all around the village. At the start of each new year, they go to the ocean and celebrate New Year's Day together with people from other villages. They will take along food and drinks and go swimming in the ocean.

The men also perceive hunting as a social practice, although the primary reason is to get additional food which is being divided between the families of the hunters. A group of young and middle aged men come together and take with them their dogs when they go to the open fields and the open forest to go hunting. The dense forest is less suitable for hunting as the hunters and their dogs are unable to chase the wild animals. The dense forest is however important because there are many animals hiding there.

"If do not have to work and I want to go hunting, then I will take my dogs and ask some friends along and we go hunting."

Boys and young men go fishing as another way of getting additional nutrition and this is also considered as a social practice. They would bring along food and drinks and go to the river or the ocean to catch fish. If they are in a group, some of them can go swimming while one of them stays behind to look after the fishing rods. The place where the river meets with the ocean is considered as one of the best places to go fishing. It would take them about two hours to walk from the village to the suitable fishing area. The fish the catch is brought back home to eat with their family or being sold.

The ritual ceremonies which are being performed have multiple values, they have a high spiritual value but the ceremonies are also a way of reinforcing a sense of unity between the people, reflecting the social value. The ritual ceremonies are initiated by one family but, without a formal invitation, the whole village is always allowed to join the ceremony, this

creates a sense of unity within the society. People share the meat of the animal which has been slaughtered and traditional beer is being passed along. A host is dividing the Brandy or other liquor evenly between all the people who are present. These ritual ceremonies can take place in various landscapes, e.g. in the village, the forest, the open fields, the river and the ocean depending on the ceremony.

“What makes us Xhosa is that we worship ancestors by means of our rituals.”

The older females consider the gathering of natural resources as a form of social practice when they go together to the forest to collect fuel wood or to the rivers to collect Emizi grass to craft sedge mats. Working together on the cultivation fields is considered as a social practice by the women when they are taking care of the crops.

7.4. SYMBOLIC VALUES

Symbolic values give an explanation about the different landscapes which have a repository meaning and are symbolizing something else. The mountains have a symbolic value, because being on top of a mountain makes them closer to God. Being closer to God has been influenced by Christianity but has not degraded their traditional beliefs. Instead of choosing between religions some of the Xhosa have been able to combine the traditional belief together with Christianity. By talking to the ancestors they are indirectly talking to God. In the past they went to the Mountain of Sun to talk to their ancestors to ask God for rain.

The ancestors are considered to be everywhere around them and are housed in different landscapes and they can never be sure where they are. There are however certain areas which are more important for the ancestors such as the river, ocean and the dense forest. According to *amaXhosa* belief the homes of ancestors are located under water and they are living in houses under water. Therefore these sites are important for worshipping and the villagers are making sure not to disturb their ancestors which could negatively affect the health of community or family life. If they would pass along places along the river which will never run dry they would apologize towards their ancestors for disturbing them. Apart from the rivers, the ancestors are also located in the forest and the ocean. People do not go into the forest during the night because they do not want to disturb the ancestors who are more active during the night. The ocean and the rivers also are considered to have healing powers. It is therefore important for the community to make sure that these different landscapes stay healthy. If they would neglect and no longer take care of the environment they could upset their ancestors which could have a negative effect on family and community life. The strong connection and dependence of the natural environment is also reflected in the following quote:

“If the rivers would be gone it would mean the end of life.”

7.5. AESTHETIC VALUES

Aesthetic values give an explanation about the beauty or scenic features of the landscape. When trying to identify specific landscapes which have aesthetic value and are perceived as beautiful made the respondents think for a long time. Even after thinking for a long time the respondents could not mention a single area which they would perceive as beautiful. They however mentioned that they like to go to specific places which they go to because they like it, for example the *ubuhlanti* or the ocean.

“When I go to the ocean I feel at ease with myself”

According to most of the respondents they did not know any better than that the landscapes surrounding the village have always been there and can be utilized for various reasons, but is seemed impossible for them to identify specific landscapes as beautiful. An older man replied that he likes to see it rain and enjoys the water flowing through the rivers, which could makes his crops grow and which is good for a healthy forest. From the replies of the respondents it appeared that the landscapes is more easily valued for the function for which is can be used instead of looking at it specific landscape and enjoying the scenic beauty.

They could however imagine that other people could find this landscape beautiful, because they are unfamiliar to it. They gave an example of the tourists living near to the ocean and people from elsewhere who come over to enjoy the natural scenery.

7.6. SPIRITUAL VALUES

Spiritual values give an explanation about landscapes which contains sacred sites or related to sacredness or religious activities and ceremonies. The respondents expressed that the ancestral veneration plays an important role in their culture and can be performed in different landscapes. The village is the place where most of the rituals are being performed, a ritual starts in the house where they talk to their ancestors and afterwards they go to the *ubuhlanti* where the rituals continues by the slaughtering of a goat or cow, depending on the ritual. Ritual slaughtering is being practiced for multiple reasons; for example when a child is born, if someone is sick or has died and other important changes in people life. Ritual slaughtering is also performed if someone is moving to a different home, during a life crisis or if one goes on a hazardous journey an animal is slaughter for protection during his or her journey.

The ancestors are housed in the rivers, the ocean and the forest which makes the respondents identify these landscapes of spiritual importance. There is however not a fixed place which is important for the veneration of the ancestors in these landscapes. This depends on the dreams of the *Sangomas* and each family can have their own specific places to worship their ancestors. Certain places within the landscape where a ritual has taken place will be remembered and valued as important for the family who has participated in the ritual. The people from the village will try not to upset their ancestors and when they pass along a river they will apologize to their ancestors for disturbing them. They will never go into the forest during the night as this could also upset their ancestors, which could result in

individual or family misfortune. To ensure that the ancestors are being kept satisfied they will do ensure that the environment stays natural and minimal degradation of the natural environment will occur.

7.7. CONCLUSION

In table 7.1 an overview is given about the local perception of the different cultural landscapes values. All identified landscape zones, except for the caves, were considered to be used for collection of plant and or animals which could be used as supporting materials in their cultural practices. Also all landscapes, except for the cultivation fields, have historical value, but the specific place can differ per individual or family depending on the ritual which has taken place in a specific area. The Mountain of the Sun (*Ntambalenga*) is considered as historical importance. At the top of this mountain the people asked their ancestors for rain during long dry periods. Apart from the mountains and the caves, all other landscape zones have a social value, in which a range of socio-cultural activities are taking place which create a sense unity and identity between the villagers. The landscapes village, forest, river and ocean, are considered to house their ancestors and symbolize the place where their ancestors are living.

Table 7.2. Relevance of different cultural landscape values in relation to specific landscape zones (- = not important, +/- little important, + = important ++ = very important).

		V	A	L	U	E	S
		Material	Historical	Social	Symbolic	Aesthetic	Spiritual
L							
A	Village	+	++	++	-	+	++
N	Cultivation field	+	-	+	-	-	-
D	River	++	+	+	++	+	++
S	Ocean	+	+	+	++	+	++
C	Dense forest	++	+	+	++	-	++
A	Open forest	++	+	+	++	-	++
P	Mountain	+	++	+/-	+	-	+
E	Caves	+/-	+	-	-	-	+/-
S	Open field	+	+/-	+	-	-	+

The aesthetic value was difficult to understand by the respondents, but the village, river and ocean can be considered as areas which have scenic beauty. The villagers are more interested in utilization functions of landscapes instead of the aesthetic value of landscapes. They could however imagine that people from elsewhere, who are unfamiliar with these landscapes, could find these landscapes beautiful. All the landscapes, except the cultivation fields and the caves, are related to ritual or religious activities and therefore these landscapes have a spiritual value. The most important place for spiritual rituals is the village where the ritual slaughtering is taking place. Other landscapes where their ancestors are living, like the forest, the rivers and the ocean, are considered of spiritual importance.

It is interesting to see the relation between the local cultural landscape values (chapter 7) and the cultural practices (chapter 6) taking place in the different landscape zones (see table 7.3). The landscapes which are related to many different local cultural landscape values have a wide variety of cultural practices which are depending on these landscapes. The landscapes, river and ocean, were related to all the different local cultural landscape values. The river and the ocean are also landscapes which have a wide variety of cultural practices which reflect a high value. The same applies for the open forest and the dense forest, which are related to almost all local cultural landscape values, except for the aesthetic value, and is related to a wide variety of cultural practices, which reflect a high value. The open field has no symbolic or aesthetic value, but is related to all other cultural landscape values and contains a large number of cultural practices. The village on the other hand is indicated by all local cultural landscape values, except for the symbolic value, but is related to a minimal number of cultural practices. Although the mountain has a variety of cultural values attached to this landscape it has a minimal number of cultural practices taking place over there. The caves are related to historical value, and are also valued for material and spiritual values. The cultivation field is only related to material values, to collect supporting materials for cultural events, and social values. The caves and cultivation field also have a minimal number of cultural practices taking place over there. It can be concluded that the landscape which have a diverse range of local cultural landscape values are important for a wide variety of cultural practices taking place in those specific landscape.

Table 7.3. Relevance of different landscape values and specific practices (data from males) in relation to specific landscape zones.

	SPECIFIC PRACTICES											VALUES					
	Tradition & rituals	Recreation	Marketable products	Medicines	Construction materials	Crafts materials	Fuel wood	Food gathering	Livestock herding	Hunting	Fishing	Spiritual	Aesthetic	Symbolic	Social	Historical	Material
L	++	+	++	+	.	.	.	++	++	.	++	+	.	++	+	+	+/
A	++	+	++	+	.	+	.	++	+	.	++	+	.	++	+	+	+
N	.	+	++	+	.	+	.	++	.	.	++	.	.	.	+	.	+
D	++	+	++	+	.	++	.	++	.	++	++	+	+	++	+	+	+
S	.	++	++	+	.	++	.	++	.	++	++	+	+	++	+	+	+
C	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	+	++	.	++	.	.	++	+	++	++
A	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	++	.	++	.	.	++	+	++	++
P	.	++	.	++	++	++	.	++	++	.	+	.	.	+	+/	+	+
E	.	+	.	++	++	+	.	++	++	.	+	.	.	+	++	++	+
S	.	++	.	+	.	++	.	.	+	.	.	+/	.	.	+	+/	+/

8. DISCUSSION

This chapter will discuss the empirical relevance of this study in terms of local perception and valuation of cultural landscapes zones and elements. The results of this study will be compared to previous studies and the objectives will be analyzed. Following the theoretical relevance of this study will be research by looking back at the framework which was presented in chapter 3. This chapter will end with a reflection on the research methodology which has been applied for this research.

8.1. EMPIRICAL RELEVANCE

This study was an explorative research in which one of the focus points was to investigate if landscapes can be used as a suitable reference for identifying the significant relevance of, not only cultural practices and the natural resources needed for those practices, but having a wider perspective on the importance of specific landscapes zones and/or elements which are perceived important for a specific culture. In this case study the *amaXhosa* culture in the rural village of Tharfield was therefore investigated.

8.1.1. VILLAGE LANDSCAPES

Many elements of human culture both shape and are shaped by the landscape in which the culture exist (Bridgewater, 2002). As such, more attention is being given towards the different cultural landscapes which play an important role in people's culture. Different cultural landscapes have been identified but it has to be kept in mind, that it suggest as though there are boundaries between the landscapes, this is not a true representation of the reality, as there is rather an interaction between these landscapes (Hebinck, 2007). It also shows that there is no clear separation between the natural environment and the culture of people, but rather that there exist a strong relationship between individual and community health and the well being of the environment (Fox, 2002). This strong relationship between the community and the environment, in which the communities well being is effected by the natural environment is also seen in the presented study. For example to ensure community health certain species, which play an important role in rituals, are only allowed to be collected when performing traditional rituals. Such as species like *Olea europaea* and *Ptaeroxylon obliquum* which could ensure the preservation these species for the future. Che and Lent (2004) noted that this way of harvesting specific species can result in the unconscious conservation, which can lead to minimal deforestation. The knowledge people have of their surrounding landscape, even at species level, should not be neglected, as the people are aware that the degradation of the landscapes would negatively affect community health and it should therefore be conserved and looked well after.

The various identified village landscapes mentioned in chapter 5, play an important role in the cultural lives of the rural *Xhosa*, mainly due to their strong link with the natural environment and their belief that ancestral spirits are living in the identified landscapes. The veneration of ancestor, resulting in the protection of specific landscape is also seen in other studies (Howrowitz, 2001). The collection of natural resources to build cultural artifacts such as the *ubuhlanti* and *igoqo* is also noted in previous studies, which has shown the significant role that wild plants species play in the construction and maintenance of these specific cultural artifacts (Cocks *et al.* 2006a). Although little research has been conducted as to where these plant species are collected from and the value attached to these landscape. Shackleton *et al.* (2007) investigated a coastal forest from where natural resources were gathered which are essential for the manufacturing of the traditional broom which is of cultural significance. Lent (2007) investigated three land categories; (1) rangeland, (2) arable allotments and (3) other, and the species gathered from there. The category 'other' also included landscape zones as mountains, forest, riverine and garden areas. The current study has tried to investigate the various cultural landscapes zones and the value attached to these specific cultural landscapes. It appeared that specific landscape zones, such as the forest and rivers play an important role in fulfilling these demands but also that specific landscape zones play an important role in their daily cultural life.

Various studies have focused their research on forest values and on the cultural significance of these forest landscapes with specific attention towards spiritual and symbolic cultural landscapes (Hakim, 2006, Eeley *et al.* 2004). This study however continued on this perception and look at the wider scope identifying also other landscape zones, next to forest landscapes, which play an important role in the cultural practices of the *Xhosa* culture. Certain landscape elements, such as the sacred pools and burial grounds, were also identified by Fox (2002) and the respect shown and apologizing toward the ancestors when passing by a pool reflects the cultural importance of these cultural elements. Bernard (2001) emphasizes the importance of water which is seen as a living force by the *Xhosa*, as a powerful symbol and medium for purification and healing. Water sources like rivers, wetlands and seas, are regarded as essential parts of the landscape for conducting rituals to aid in the communication with the ancestral world. A study in Central Benin showed that sacred pools can also result as a buffer around sacred pools which are important for cultural practices and resulted in the sustainability and integrity of the forest surrounding these sacred pools (Ceperly, 2008).

8.1.2. CULTURAL LANDSCAPE VALUATION

Rural people, especially in developing countries, are depending on their local natural resources and use a wide variety of species for their daily livelihood practices (Dovie *et al.* 2007; Moyo, 2005; Campbell & Luckert, 2002; Dovie *et al.* 2002) but also cultural practices play an essential role in their lives (Gustad *et al.* 2004; Cocks, 2006a). The rural village where this research has been taking place, was depending highly on the local natural resources from the surrounding landscapes for specific practices, which was also noted in other villages in the Eastern Cape province (Lent, 2007; Chipeta & Kowero, 2004; de

Lourdes Torres, 2007; Cocks & Wiersum, 2003). Various practices depending on different landscapes were identified when conducted this research and the value attached to these landscapes was investigated. Probst (2002) also emphasized the need to investigate the importance of the value attached towards the cultural landscapes. It has become clear that it was impossible to fully differentiate between the livelihood and cultural practices as there is some overlap between the livelihood and cultural practices and it appeared that even the respondents had difficulties to distinguish between them. Therefore the practices were categorized into food gathering and production, well being practices, income generation practices and leisure practices (Lockett & Grivetti, 2000; Hemingway, 1996; Kainer & Duryea, 1992).

8.1.3. LOCAL CULTURAL LANDSCAPE VALUES

The local cultural landscape values were classified into material, historical, social, symbolic, aesthetic and spiritual landscape values. The results have shown that the landscapes contain multiple landscape values and show a close relationship is noted between the *Xhosa* culture identity and the values they attach to the different landscapes. Although most of these cultural landscape values cannot be seen or measured directly they do however play an important role in their culture.

The material landscape value, the perception by means of gathering natural resources, plants or animals, from landscapes is little studied in South Africa. The utilitarian functions of natural resources however have been described in various studies, while the focus on these studies is however always on the economic value used by rural communities (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004; Winter *et al.* 2007; Dovie *et al.* 2007). These studies give insight in the cultural relevance of various cultural natural resources. The importance of the coastal forest vegetation reflects the value of this landscape for the manufacturing of traditional brooms and for some harvesters even the primary way of income (Shackleton, 2007, Cocks & Dold, 2004). The collection of *amayeza* has been studied in various ways, at the species level and their uses (Cocks & Dold, 2006) and areas where *amayeza* are collected (de Lourdes Torres, 2007) and here similarities are seen. Rangelands areas, as identified by de Lourdes Torres (2007), included forest, riverbanks and communal rangelands were important for the collection of *amayeza* species.

The historical landscape values are locations which represent cultural heritage and have historical meaning. Due to the veneration of ancestors in the *amaXhosa* culture the burial grounds are of historical significance. Other studies have identified areas where chiefs or kings have been buried e.g. in the forest are of historical significance. These forest are being protected by the people and are considered sacred, the result is that these forest are home to a wide diversity of plants and animals (Eeley *et al.* 2004). The mountains located near the village are of historical importance, other studies have identified the importance of mountains as well. When a specific event has taken place on top of the mountain, e.g. a religious journey, the area is not merely considered as valued for the historical event but nowadays is still considered as sacred (Gunner, 2005). Certain heritage values are linked to ancient

waterfalls or old trees (de Groot *et al.* 2002). This also reflects a historical value towards specific natural landscapes or landscape elements.

The social landscapes values are related to places which are being used for social activities that tend to make a connection between people and reinforce a sense of unity and identity. The *ubuhlanti* is an important social as well as spiritual gathering place for performing the ritual slaughtering of animals for ensuring a good relationship with the ancestral spirits. The *igoqo* is considered an important social gathering point for the women and is the place where the females will congregate when a ritual slaughtering is being performed (Cocks *et al.* 2006). The rituals performed in the village or outside the village, e.g. at riverbanks or forest, are also considered as a social practice.

The symbolic landscape values are places that have repositories of meaning. The rivers and forests symbolize the places where the ancestors are living and should therefore be treated with respect. These landscapes which symbolize the house of the ancestors for the *Xhosa* culture is also described by other researcher (Fox, 2002; Bernard, 2001) and also seen in other cultures. The *Baduy* symbolize the forest with the house of the ancestral spirits and see the forest as the place where the creation of the world has started (Hakim, 2006). Certain animal species can also have symbolic value. For example when a *Sangoma* has received the calling, the snake and the mermaid are specifically associated as the providers of wisdom, knowledge and medicines (Bernard, 2001).

The aesthetic landscape values are related to places that have scenic beauty and or able to embrace an artistical feeling. The villagers were unable to identify landscapes which have an aesthetic value, while they could imagine that people from elsewhere could be able to observe certain landscapes as having an aesthetic value. The value of the villagers attached towards the various landscapes was primarily based on utilitarian and spiritual functions. Another way of trying to identify the importance of aesthetic values is by looking at poetry and songs which could represent the culture and even identify different aesthetic values (Crick, 2008; Tont, 1999). There was a traditional dancing group in the village performing and singing songs, but no detailed investigation was done on the lyrics of these songs.

The spiritual landscape values are related to sacred sites or locations which are used for rituals or religious activities or ceremonies. The natural environment and various landscapes are very important for the *amaXhosa* culture and their rituals are highly depended on the natural environment. Other studies have also mentioned sacred pools, burial grounds and sacred forest being cultural significant (Eeley *et al.* 2004; Fox, 2002; Bernard, 2001). The sacredness of such landscapes results in taboos and restriction preventing people from harming those areas and enhancing their sacred quality. These taboos can even prevent people from going to sacred places, as this could upset the ancestors. In other cultures, historical monument and sacred treasures located in the landscapes are of significant spiritual importance and this has resulted in the protection of sacred landscapes (Ramakrishnan, 1996). Landscapes that have a strong spiritual meaning and have and emotional value are reflecting a strong relationship between a community and the environment (Ceperley, 2008).

8.2. THEORETICAL RELEVANCE

This study investigated the cultural landscapes value from the local rural village perspectives, with specific attention towards specific practices taking place in these landscapes. As little research has been done towards cultural landscape valuation in South Africa, in a non-monetary way, a theoretical framework has been set up to investigate the value attached towards landscapes.

Cultural landscapes are continuously being created by the dynamics of human culture as well as dynamics of nature, and are continuously affecting each other (Buckley, 2008; Nassauer, 1995). Regarding the valuation of landscapes it is important to consider from whose perspective the valuation is conducted, the perception of a researcher differs from the local villagers perceptions. This appeared when relating towards specific cultural landscapes, as the perception towards the cultural landscape also differed between individuals. Although many different value perceptions can be identified, the value perception of those who actually will determine what happens in the landscape, the rural people, are of importance (Gregersen *et al.* 1995). Therefore the identification of the landscape zones and elements was conducted from the rural people's perspective as they are the ones who are utilizing and are in direct contact with the landscapes. This however resulted in some landscapes which overlapped and could include each other. For example the mountains were considered as a separate landscape zone, while one of the mountains contained multiple caves and contained many trees and could therefore also be perceived as a forest. The two mountains located close to the village are also quite different in appearance. *Ntambalenga* was a mountain which had no trees growing on it, while *Ntambsele* was covered with dense forest vegetation.

Nassauer (1995) gives rise to four general principles to examine the intrinsic relationship between cultural and landscape ecology, as the focus in studying cultural landscapes is considered to be too much on landscape structure instead of human behavior: (1) human landscape perception, cognition and values directly affect the landscape and are affected by the landscape, (2) cultural conventions powerfully influence landscape patterns in both inhabited and apparently natural landscapes, (3) cultural concepts of nature are different from scientific concepts of ecological functions and (4) the appearance of landscapes communicates cultural values. These principles emphasize the need to focus the attention of cultural landscape research not only on ecological research but the usefulness of studying landscape at a human scale and that it requires building specific cultural principles in the landscape ecology. The analysis of the livelihood context of resource use is also acknowledged by other studies (Kepe, 2008), emphasizing the need to realize the importance of ecological and social dynamics which would likely enhance a better understanding of the value of natural resources at a local level.

8.3. RELEVANCE OF THIS STUDY FOR CONSERVATION

The value of landscapes at a local level by the analysis of the people-environment interaction, the role of social differentiation and ecological dynamics, can result in a better understanding of this relationship (Kepe, 2008). This exploratory study aimed to get more insight in the cultural values of local cultural important landscapes. The results have shown high natural environment dependence, resulting in cultural valued landscapes which are considered important for their culture as well as specific practices. Dependence on the natural landscapes alone does not automatically imply that it could preserve the biological diversity. The current landscape, as perceived today, has been influenced by their culture and the culture is also being shaped by the landscapes.

The spiritual significance of landscape such as the rivers, ocean and forest due to the veneration of their ancestors could benefit the biodiversity and be used for implementing community based conservation practices. Sacred landscapes elements are of significant spiritual importance for a culture reflecting minimal human practices, and if practices are taking place, the natural environment is treated with great respect (Hakim, 2006; Fox, 2002; Infield, 2001). The landscape surrounding these sacred sites can eventually result in the protected areas are sacred landscapes (Eeley *et al.* 2004; Ramakrishnan, 1996).

Shackleton *et al.* (2007a) investigated the small scale harvesting of the natural resources (*Ischyrolepis eleocharis*) necessary for crafting cultural important brooms, and concluded that little evidence could be found that indicated that the harvesting could be harmful for the habitat and the local knowledge even suggested that the abundance of the species was stimulated by harvesting. The demise of traditional harvesting of *Erica arborea* in Sicily has resulted in a decrease of cultural cultivation, which lead to higher stands, which eventually resulted in an increase of wildfires in that area (La Mantia *et al.* 2007).

8.4. REFLECTION ON RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study used multiple ways of gathering information such as observation, literature study, and interviews with researcher and rural villagers, and different workshops. These various ways of gathering data was used to compare the results gathered from the different respondents with each other and validate the outcomes of these results.

The literature study was conducted on documents and publication on previous studies about rural life and *Xhosa* culture, with specific interest into the cultural activities and relevant landscapes. Although numerous studies have been conducted on the *Xhosa* culture, minimal research was done on the landscape value, and if so, the focus was on monetary values of natural resources gathered for cultural practices or the cultural landscapes which appeared to be unrealistic.

The interviews with researcher from Rhodes University was undertaken to get a first glimpse of the *Xhosa* culture and customs, which was useful to get to know rural life and what could be expected in the field. The interviews in the research village were conducted with key

informants according to their position within the community, knowledge of the topic and reputation, such as *Sangomas*, elders, hunters, etc. For the selection of respondents a methodology was set, but in the field it appeared that with the assistance of my interpreter it was more successful to meet knowledgeable people. Due to the migrating labor of many of the male villagers, working in urban areas, there were more females than males present during the week, although most of the men did return during the weekends. In the weekends most of the rituals are being performed which play an important role in their culture. But as the rituals were important for them, the weekends were primarily used for observations as not to disturb them while performing their rituals. When interviewing a small group of people of both genders, the men who were doing most of the talking, this could over represent the males view a little.

The Participatory Mapping (PM) workshop was a very useful tool to identify important landscape zones and elements, resulting in information concerning natural resources, special sites and local perceptions within a shared geographical framework and making the participants discuss about the different landscapes and their importance. Due to the bulk of information gathered from the PM, and questions which had arisen during the night, the following day additional information was given by the respondents to fill these gaps. The PM-workshop took quite some time and it would therefore be more efficient to do the exercise in two days. So the people can revise information the following day or even after a couple of days or weeks. Other studies have made mention of a pre-drawn base map already showing important rivers and roads which makes it easier to distinguish spatial distributions (Sheil *et al.* 2002). Putting the map in a communal building can give the community members the opportunity to revise the map continuously. This was however not possible in this study due to the unavailability of a communal building and it is also important to be present when revision occurs, so the changes can be explained.

The Pebble Distribution Method (PDM) was used to identify the relative value attached to the various landscapes which have been identified and also the relative value of specific practices which have been identified. The PDM was a very useful way of investigating the value as perceived by local villagers, by using illustrated cards of different landscapes and practices. In the village there were some illiterate people, mostly elders, who were now also able to participate in the exercise, as the older people had lots of knowledge of the landscape and history. For this exercise 100 pebbles were used which gave a clear overview of the relative value given towards different landscapes. As can be seen in the results an ordinal ranking of the landscapes gave less information than the PDM results. The ranking method compared to the PDM did however confirm with each other, which was not always noted in other studies (Fox, 2002). Before each PDM workshop the cards were explained and multiple examples were given to ensure that the participant understood the exercise. Only if everyone understood the cards and the exercise would the workshop start. After all the pebbles have been distributed, they were asked if they all agreed on the division. If this was not the case, changes could be made until everyone agreed.

The *Xhosa* culture and language was totally new for me so I first had to get acquainted to the rural life and was depending on an interpreter to communicate with the rural people, because I was unable to speak their language. My interpreter apart from the translating also helped me to better understand their customs and culture. During a community meeting we introduced ourselves and the villagers were giving me all the possibilities to investigate their

DISCUSSION

culture and were willing to participate with this research. There were some exceptions where people were unwilling to talk about sensitive topics, as this could upset their ancestors, but this happen rarely.

9. FINAL CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

9.1. FINAL CONCLUSION

The cultural value of the landscapes is enforced by the veneration of the ancestors to ensure a good relationship with the ancestors, which is considered to create a sense of well being for individual and community life. The various cultural landscapes zones, such as forest, river and ocean play an important role in the veneration of the ancestors due to their belief that the ancestors are housed in these landscapes. This relation with their ancestors creates a strong spiritual link between the community and the natural environment, and thus results in showing respect towards nature which could ensure a good and healthy natural environment. Neglecting the environment could result in upsetting their ancestors and lead to misfortune for individual, family or community life. The sacred areas are also coupled with numerous taboos, which again indicate the value of these landscapes and could even result in a greater biodiversity due to limited degradation of such landscapes, which is also noted in other studies where sacred forest or groves are well protected and minimal human disturbance is affecting the biodiversity. Sacred elements can even result in a buffer zone created around specific spiritual or cultural important elements.

The landscape zones which have a diverse range of local cultural landscape values are also considered as being important for a wide variety of cultural practices taking place in those specific landscape zones. The landscapes zones, river and ocean, were related to all the different local landscape values, and contained a wide variety of cultural practices for both men as well as women. The same applies for the open forest and the dense forest, which are related to almost all local cultural values. Whereas landscapes zones with few cultural landscape values, such as mountains, cultivation fields and caves, contain less cultural practices taking place over there.

The various cultural landscapes are used for various livelihood practices and cultural practices although a clear distinction between the two was impossible to make. The cultural landscapes were valued highly and are considered for specific cultural practices reflecting their cultural identity. The continuing use of the natural resources gathered from the natural landscape can have an effect on the biodiversity as such, due to the dependence of these natural resources for their cultural activities. The gathering of specific plant and animal species is however restricted especially for the cultural important species. This study however was unable to conclude if the effects of the gathering of cultural important species would have a negative or positive effect on the biodiversity.

It can be concluded that a cultural landscape is at least an area which has been created by human culture as well as by nature itself, the human culture has been created by the landscape as well as by the nature and both of them continuously depend on each other. It should therefore be kept in mind that when looking at a cultural landscape the human actions, by means of livelihood and cultural practices, cannot be seen separately from the natural environment.

As a final conclusion it can be said that the different cultural landscapes identified by the respondents reflect the importance of these landscapes for their way of living as well as for providing specific spaces for social and spiritual activities. The boundaries between the different landscape zones are not always clear, and there are often interactions between the different landscape zones. Overall, many landscape zones and specific landscape elements are perceived as being culturally significant. The villagers are of the opinion that the natural environment ensures communities health and should therefore be preserved. The main reason for preserving the natural landscapes is to prevent misfortune from their ancestors, but also to ensure the future availability of cultural important species. These findings indicate the significance of including cultural values in biodiversity conservation programs.

9.2. RECOMMENDATIONS

This study gives more insight in the local landscape values and the perception of local people towards specific landscapes for their cultural practices. This study however only focussed on the perception of the rural people who are highly depending on the natural environment for their livelihoods and cultural practices. Further research should be done towards the perception of other stakeholders, such as local conservation officials, governments, policy makers and how they perceive the value of the different landscapes which should result in a combined view of the various stakeholders which could benefit the community based conservation programs.

This study focussed only on the cultural landscapes and their perceived value, with minimal attention towards specific plant and animal species. But building forward on this study, one should continue and investigate the specific species, either threatened or not, which have significant cultural value and in which specific cultural landscapes these species are found. For this research however local botanical knowledge is essential in identifying the different species.

One rural village, Tharfield, was investigated in this study. It will be interesting to compare the results of the current village with other rural villages. By comparing villages and investigating how, rural villages with few different landscapes value their surrounding environment and which cultural landscapes still play an important role in their daily life. This could identify the reasons for degradation of landscapes and the factors which have played a role in the natural degradation.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I. THE PEBBLE DISTRIBUTION METHOD WORKSHOP



APPENDIX II.

LIST OF IDENTIFIED PLANT TAXA AND THEIR USES

Xhosa	Scientific name	Description for use
<i>Amanz'abomvu</i>	-	<i>Amanz'abomvu</i> is used against stomach aches for the people and livestock. The roots of <i>Amanz'abomvu</i> are used.
<i>Gramtiya</i>	-	<i>Gramtiya</i> is used for steaming, vomiting and sending away evil spirits away. This is done by taking a piece in the mouth and spitting it out.
<i>Igcukumba</i>	-	<i>Igcukumba</i> helps people who are suffering from ulcers. The leaves are put on the ulcers this one they use the leaves.
<i>iGqange</i>	<i>Buddleja salviifolia</i>	In the past <i>iGqange</i> was used in the fire it would give a reddish and strong fire. It is also used in times of bad weather and thunderstorms; it can prevent the lightning from doing damage inside the house. You can also use dried dung of a cow or the horns of sheep together with <i>Igcukumba</i> in the fire.
<i>Igwanishe</i>	<i>Portulacaria afra</i>	<i>Igwanishe</i> is used for nutrition; from this species you can eat the leaves.
<i>Ikhala</i>	<i>Aloe ferox</i>	This species is used for spatting and for drinking. The roots and the green leaves of <i>Ikhala</i> or used. The <i>amayeza</i> can sometimes taste bitter, than you can take a piece of dried <i>Ikhala</i> to improve the tast. It also stops the crying baby.
<i>Imizi</i>	<i>Cyperus textilis</i>	It is used to make the traditional sedge mats.
<i>Impepho</i>	<i>Helichrysum odoratissimum</i>	<i>Impepho</i> is burnt and used to send away the evil spirits.
<i>Incaluca</i>	<i>Bobartia indica</i>	<i>Incaluca</i> is used for the thatching the roof of the house.
<i>Inongwe</i>	<i>Hypoxis hemerocallidea</i>	<i>Inongwe</i> helps to boost up your white blood cells and it is mixed together with <i>Impepho</i> for example if you are HIV infected.
<i>Insintsi</i>		The bark of <i>Insintsi</i> is used for multiple remedies. It is used to help, against spraying away evil spirits and also it is being drunk in a mixture.
<i>Intelezi</i>	<i>Gasteria bicolor</i>	<i>Intelezi</i> is used for washing yourselves and sending away the evil spirit by means of eating it and spitting it out again.
<i>Intsinde</i>	<i>Coddia rudis</i>	We use it around the <i>kraal</i> as a source of the fence.
<i>Iphuzi</i>	<i>Gunnera perpensa</i>	The disease or sickness called, <i>Umlambo</i> has different effects to the person it could be that someone would become blind. When someone is suffering from the blindness you can add <i>Hlungughlungu</i> and <i>Iphuzi</i> together and give it as drops into the eyes. The leaves are used.
<i>Isincumncum</i>	<i>Cyunera perpensa</i>	This fruits of <i>Isincumncum</i> are being eaten and the wood is used to make the sticks which are being used by the <i>Sangomas</i> . This stick is used when they make the bubbles mixture, during the rituals

Xhosa	Scientific name	Description for use
<i>Isiphingo</i>	<i>Scutia myrtina</i>	From the <i>Isiphingo</i> the fruits are eaten which come from this tree and it is also used for making fire.
<i>Ityholo</i>	<i>Senecio angulatus</i>	If bad experiences occur which are not good to you, you can use <i>Ityolo</i> to steam. They use all of the plant, from the roots until the leaves.
<i>Krwantsi</i>	-	<i>Krwantsi</i> is used when performing the ritual and take the members of the family and build a house inside the <i>ubuhlanti</i> . The family is being put inside the house which is being made out of <i>Krwantsi</i> .
<i>Lathile</i>	<i>Hippobromus latifolia pauciflorus</i>	<i>Lathile</i> is used to prevent vomiting, if someone is restless and if someone is having fever. Then give it to drink after having cooked the bark of <i>Lathile</i> . It can help the initiates of becoming a <i>Sangoma</i> for when he or she wants to have dreams or visions.
<i>Magqabi Mabini</i>	-	This species, <i>Magqabi Mabini</i> , is used if you have wounds it helps you to cure these wounds. Also if a woman has problems with her womb, it helps to clean the womb. The leaves which grow on the side are used.
<i>Mlungu mabele</i>	<i>Acacia Nigrescens</i>	If someone experiences problem with the stomach you can give the person a bottle of <i>Mlungu mabele</i> and make him drink it. If you have dental problems it also helps you. For this they use the bark.
<i>Noboya</i>	-	<i>Noboya</i> is used for people who are coughing and for women who are having problems with their womb. Chop of the leaves and cook it.
<i>Nonciyo</i>	-	<i>Nonciyo</i> is used for spatting and washing. They use they roots.
<i>Ubushwa</i>	<i>Arctotic arctotoides</i>	<i>Ubushwa</i> is used when someone is coughing and when your chest is dry. By cooking the leaves and drink it. Then the chest becomes moist again.
<i>Uchithibunga</i>	<i>Rhoicissus digitata</i>	<i>Uchithibunga</i> is used for protection against evil spirits, it is used in spatting and it is also used to wash ourselves.
<i>Uhlunguhlungu</i>	<i>Veronica mespilifolia</i>	<i>Uhlunguhlungu</i> is used for disease or sickness called, <i>Umlambo</i> , or if someone develops ringworms, wounds or rushes over the body then you can use the bark of <i>Uhlunguhlungu</i> and drink it.
<i>Umagaqana</i>	<i>Bowiea volubilis</i>	<i>Umagaqana</i> is used to wash yourself and they use only the roots.
<i>Umbhelebhele</i>	<i>Albizia adianthifolia</i>	<i>Umbhelebhele</i> is used for spraying away evil spirits and it is also used as fence around our homes. For the spraying we use the leaves.
<i>Umbongisa</i>	<i>Diospyros lycoides</i>	<i>Umbongisa</i> is used to make sticks, especially knob-sticks which men are carrying around when they are performing their rituals. And it can also be used to send away the evil spirits. By eating a piece of it and spitting it out to send away the evil spirits.
<i>Umbulawu</i>	<i>Silene undulate</i>	The root of <i>Umbulawu</i> is being crushed and mixed together with water to create a mixture which is used in rituals.
<i>Umchachambane</i>	-	The wood of <i>Umchachambane</i> is used for fire making, not any medical effect.
<i>Umdubi</i>	<i>Combretum erythrophyllum or caffrum</i>	<i>Umdubi</i> is used to build the house in which you put the family members inside the <i>ubuhlanti</i> (see also: <i>Krwantsi</i>). <i>Krwantsi</i> is used to cover it and from the <i>Umdubi</i> the sticks are used.

Xhosa	Scientific name	Description for use
<i>Umga</i>	<i>Acacia karroo</i>	The <i>Umga</i> has different uses. If someone would have stomachaches they can cook the bark and give it to drink. Even if you break a leg you can use the bark to guard the leg and put some bandage on top in cases that first aid is far away.
<i>Umgqeba</i>	<i>Brachylaena ilicifolia</i>	When you are coughing you use <i>Umgqeba</i> . The leaves are used took cooked and they boiled.
<i>Umgwenya</i>	<i>Harpephyllum caffrum</i>	<i>Umgwenya</i> is used by humans by eating the fruits and the bark can be used for vomiting. And it is used for dogs, they use the bark to wash and let the dogs vomit.
<i>Umhlontlo</i>	<i>Euphorbia triangularis</i>	Also known as twin tree, you can make fire out of <i>Umhlontlo</i> for when you are preparing traditional beer.
<i>Umkhwenkwe</i>	<i>Sideroxylon inerme</i>	<i>Umkhwenkwe</i> is used when someone is coughing, for vomiting, when someone has pressure on his chest and or when someone wants to lose weight. The bark is used and it is being grinded and cooked.
<i>Umnquma</i>	<i>Olea europaea subsp. africana</i>	They are using <i>Umnquma</i> when they perform their rituals. They are using the branches of the tree. People who have diabetic sickness cook the bark of the tree and drink it.
<i>Umthathi</i>	<i>Ptaeroxylon obliquum</i>	The <i>Umthathi</i> is also used in any ritual where there is either a cow or a goat being slaughtered. It is being used together with <i>Umnquma</i> and they use the branches. It is also used for other reasons, if for example someone has a headache they will grind it and the patient can sniff the grinded <i>Umthathi</i> . In the ritual in the forest they used <i>Umthathi</i> in the fire as in the traditions they use this wood first to start the fire.
<i>Umthi wabafazi</i>	-	<i>Umthi wabafazi</i> is used as remedy or spraying and washing and also to chase away the evil spirits. For this they use the bark.
<i>Umthi welitye</i>	-	From the <i>Umthi welitye</i> the fruits are eaten and it can be used as a remedy for drinking, vomiting and washing. For the remedy they use the bark.
<i>Umth'omnyama</i>	-	It is used by the traditional healers to protect themselves against evil spirits who want to enter the house. By planting these species around the yard. Every part of this species is used, from the roots till the leaves. Also known as: <i>Umjana Umphunso</i>
<i>Umtshayelo</i>	<i>Ischyrolepis eleocharis</i>	<i>Umtshayelo</i> is used to make the traditional brooms. When there are thunderstorms you put the broom outside, next to the door which protects you from the lightning hitting the house.
<i>Umtundzi</i>	-	It grows next to the river and it cures an illness that is called <i>Umlambo</i> .
<i>Umxeba</i>	-	When someone comes back from collecting the wood from the forest they use <i>Uxeba</i> to tie together the branches of wood.
<i>Unysh'bele</i>	-	<i>Unysh'bele</i> is also used for nutrition; they eat the fruits.
<i>Uthulwana</i>	<i>Pinus sp.</i>	<i>Uthulwana</i> is used to make furniture and it is also used for drinking and washing. The bark is grinded and mixed with other remedies and then you drink it.