

# ***“Welkom in ons wêreld”***

## Tourism and Place Making in Clanwilliam, South Africa.



By: Eefje Notten

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N.B. Quotation in title: Welcome at the entrance of Clanwilliam Superspar

## Acknowledgement

*‘Baie dankie!’*

These are the words I used many times during my stay in Clanwilliam to thank the people who helped me during my fieldwork. I saw some curious and suspicious glances in my direction during my first days. I saw them think: “Who is this stranger in town?”. But later I felt at home in the quiet and small town Clanwilliam. This was thanks to some very helpful and friendly people I met during my stay. I thank all my informants to share their ideas and experiences with me. I especially want to thank Lindie and Derick Melle to be so friendly to offer me their studio for some days so that I had a place to find some rest after the hectic stay at the Living Landscape dormitory. Later I found this feeling of having a ‘home’ at Parkstreet 20. I enjoyed the evenings at the fireplace together with Lavona de Bruyn. We discussed many topics but over all, we just had fun. Anne Schady was the best friend I could imagine to find in Clanwilliam. Who would think I would meet another anthropologist? She introduced me to many people and events in town. I enjoyed the many cups of tea with her to see our life in Clanwilliam in perspective. Sometimes Anne and I had to ‘escape’ from our life in Clanwilliam. I want to thank Norma Coetzee in Stellenbosch for the great time we had together. I learned a lot from you about: ‘How to bake the ultimate cake’. You gave me first of all a feeling of belonging somewhere after the impersonal weeks in the backpackers dormitory. Especially the sightseeing trips and the food we ‘conquered’ were fantastic. Thank you for this special friendship, Norma!

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# Introduction

Already since my childhood, I am fascinated by ‘the African continent’ and ‘the music and culture’ that come from Africa. This fascination made me decide in 2003 to study Cultural Anthropology at the Radboud University in Nijmegen. In the last year of that study I did a three month long fieldwork study about which meaning sellers of tourist art, on a craft market in Stellenbosch, South Africa, attach to the products they sell. And I also tried to find out which meaning the buyers of the products, mostly non-African tourists, attached to these products. During these months I found it very interesting to see the power play between the sellers and the tourists. They both had a stake in the story behind a product and the way it had to look like. During these months in Stellenbosch I saw the economic potentials of tourism.

Tourism is nowadays the development sector of choice for a lot of developing countries (Hill, Nell & Trotter, 2006, p. 164). With the 2010 World Cup Soccer in South Africa, the country was a hot issue in travel magazines and in television programmes. A lot of people were planning a visit to the country in 2010 to support their team in the World Soccer tournament. But this focus of the media on South Africa as a holiday destination is not new. Since the end of apartheid in the mid-1990’s, the international community helped South Africa via political and economic support. Millions of dollars from NGO’s for the development of ecotourism, stories in the press and positive travel advisories, made it for travellers a comfortable idea to visit South Africa.

The literature written about tourism often deals with the positive and negative impacts that tourism has on the local situation. On the one hand tourism creates jobs and businesses and on the other hand the arrival of too many tourists can have a bad impact on the local flora and fauna. Is tourism the panacea to bring economic prosperity to every region and create jobs for the unemployed population? According to Chris de Wet (personal communication, 1 October 2010) does *“Development never arrive in an empty context, because every region has a specific past and this history can result in different consequences for the region.”* It depends on the specific circumstances of an area whether tourism is a good way to uplift a region. It is for instance important to know how many tourists or visitors travel around in the area or are possibly interested to visit the area. Climate is also an important factor. The attractiveness of an area for tourists is for a part depending on the availability of places of interest that they can visit. For a part this attractiveness is already there because of a specific

history, natural circumstances, etcetera, but designers and inhabitants can also create the attractiveness by the making of the place. According to Escobar (2001, p. 140): “*the question of ‘place’ has been newly raised in recent years from a variety of perspectives – from its relation to the basic understanding of being and knowing to its fate under globalization and to the extent to which it continues to be an aid or an hindrance for thinking about culture and the economy.*” I have chosen to explore tourism from the angle of place making. A place can be ‘pushed’ by designers, planners and already existing structures to become popular to be visited and used by people. My hypothesis is that networking plays a central role in the creation of place. Networks are important and through these networks, resources are identified and organized. The existence of a certain place continues to play an important role in the daily life of a human being. The relation people have with a place varies according to the understanding these people have about what happened in a place and how it has been designed, what the boundaries are, etcetera (Holloway and Hubbard, 2001, p. 38). And often a specific identity belongs to the origin of a certain place (Escobar, 2001, p. 140). The initiatives to manage a tourist industry can be taken by a person or company outside a community, but also members inside a community can see tourism as a potential way to develop their local environment<sup>1</sup>. When people in the community work together with other people inside or outside the community to fulfil a task, a web of connected people comes to being. The creation of a web is for me the start of the building of a network. Being present or absent in the network and the dynamics of the different networks towards each other are critical sources of domination and change in our society. It is a society that Manuel Castells (2000, p. 500) calls the network society that is characterized by the “*pre-eminence of social morphology over social action*”.

If there is someone who takes the initiative to develop a tourism industry in a region, an eventful history is often used as one of the most important tourist attractors. Ann Long and Jan Douwe van der Ploeg (1994, p.1) use the term ‘*endogenous development*’ if the development patterns are based mainly on locally available resources. I find it interesting to

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<sup>1</sup> I put myself in a certain danger with using the term ‘community’. Communities are often defined in anthropological literature as “a small spatial unit, as a homogeneous social structure, and as shared norms” (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999, p. 630). Agrawal and Gibson suggest a more political approach. In the context of conservation, the focus should be on the multiple interests and actors within communities and how these actors can influence the decision making within the community (ibid.). Because of a rather vague concept like ‘community’ it is very difficult to give a definition of what a ‘community’ entails. In this thesis I choose to use my own definition of the concept of community. For me a community is not necessary a group of people who have a lot in common. But what they have in common is that they share the same space or village. They have to cope with the same natural environment and the advantages and disadvantages this environment has to offer to these people. In this definition it is even possible that contradicting ideas and struggles exist between different groups within one community.



look at the way endogenous networks are used in Clanwilliam, South Africa, to create a 'place' that tourists find interesting to visit. In the following chapter I clarify the attractiveness of the town for visitors and for the local inhabitants.

In the first chapter I will mention the theories and literature that formed the background to my research in Clanwilliam. In the second part of the chapter I will mention my main research questions and objectives. Chapter two I start with describing the specific history of the town Clanwilliam and I conclude the chapter with explaining what the influence of this history is nowadays on the implementation of development goals formulated by the Cederberg Municipality. In chapter three I will describe on the basis of three projects that currently exist, the Living Landscape project, Comnet and the Red Door project to what extent the tourism in Clanwilliam is a form of an endogenous development initiative. I look at their history, the way they are involved in networks and how the projects are organized and functioning nowadays. I look at the broader picture of what is going on in Clanwilliam else than the projects in chapter four. I pay for example some attention to the main industries in and around Clanwilliam and their role in the place making of the town. During the weeks I was in Clanwilliam I talked with local people who are in a way involved in the local tourism industry. In chapter four these narratives are used to give an impression of the connectedness of these people with the town and their role in place making. The second part of the fourth chapter I describe the role of multimedia in the branding of Clanwilliam. The final chapter includes some conclusions and some recommendations for further research. I will start with describing my theoretical framework.

# Chapter one: theoretical framework and research objectives

## §1.1 Theoretical Framework

I start this theoretical chapter with the most important theme during my research and in the presentation of my results: *Place Making*, an element of the Sociology of Place. All the other subjects are part of this main theme or are influenced by place making (see figure 1.1). The three themes that are part of the making of a place are: *endogenous development*, *development of a locality* and *tourismscapes*. In between these elements networks exist to connect different actors and organizations. These networks can have different appearances. One way to connect people or organizations in a network is via the start of projects or by giving presentations or shows to a specific target group. In chapter two, I come back to this subject. The availability of certain resources influence the elements of place making. These resources can originate from within the network, but can also be brought in from outside the network. Different actors use different resources and a specific combination of these local resources can have an effect on the outcome of for instance a project. In the scheme below the relatedness of the different subjects in my research is visible. In this chapter I will describe the central themes and I conclude this chapter with my research questions.

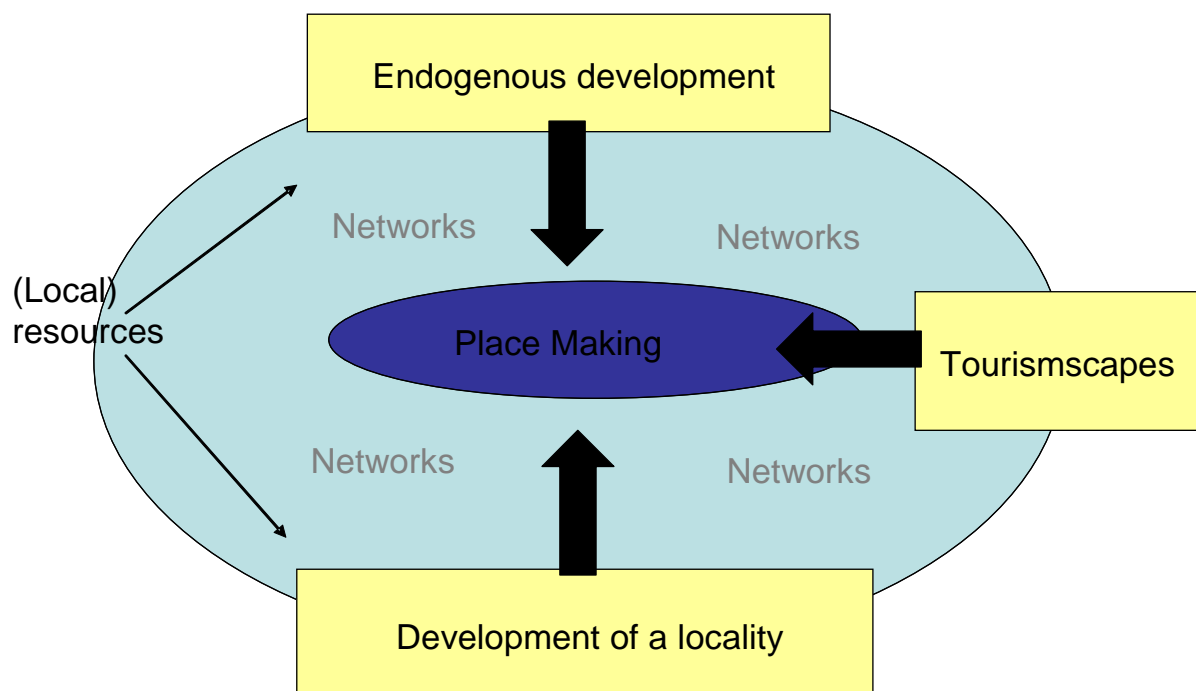


Figure 1.1: Sociology of Place

### §1.1.1 *The Sociology of Place*

The *Sociology of Place* is about how places come to be and how place matters for social life (Gieryn, 2000, p. 464). A place is first of all a unique spot in the universe. It is the distinction between here and there and it allows people to appreciate near and far (*Ibid.*). A place can be a room, a building, neighbourhood, but also a complete village, continent, etcetera. Places have a function in bringing together different groups of people and the design of a place influences the way it is used by its people. Places are able to attract visitors because they represent qualities that were already there prior to the arrival of these visitors (Bærenholdt, Haldrup, Larsen & Urry, 2004, p. 13). The meaning of a place addresses how people perceive the environment of the place and the meaning they attribute to the place (Arefi & Triantafillou, 2005, p. 81). According to Smith (2005, p. 247) do places possess multiple and contested identities. The making of a place is shaped by conflict, difference and social negotiation among differently situated social actors. People can experience something beyond the physical or sensory properties of places and can feel attached to the spirit of the place (Jackson, 1994, p. 157). Sircus (2001, p. 31) links the sense or spirit of a place to a brand that also includes “*certain expectations of quality, consistency and reliability*”. He perceives every place as a potential brand. But brands are not built in one day. The branding of a place is a long-term ‘project’ and requires “*years of consistent and persistent actions for the brand to take shape*” (van Gelder, 2008, p. 21). When I describe the three projects in chapter three, I will come back to this point. Although meanings of places are rooted in their settings, human intentions and experiences make (or break) the place (Relph, in Carmona, 2003, p. 96). Castells wrote: “*The higher the value of people and places, the more they are connected in interactive networks*” (Castells, 2002, p. 551). He (2006, p. 500) sees networks as the constitution of the new ‘social morphology’ of our societies and the diffusion of networking logic substantially influences the outcomes and operation in processes of production, experience, power and culture. Networks support and implement transactions, they solve problems with for instance a technical or logistical character, networks deal with administrative and juridical procedures and more general networks facilitate learning and trust (Bærenholdt et al., 2004, p. 17). A network means that one can count on the support of others that are part of the same network (*Ibid.*) In this thesis I will elaborate the networks that are formed in Clanwilliam with local actors or regional actors. Bærenholdt et al. (p. 19) distinguish six different types of networking relations in their research in three tourism destination areas in Denmark (see figure 1.2). Networks in a tourism destination are for

instance created with local industries, cultural organizations, regional tourism boards and universities with the goal of becoming stronger by working together. Local small-scale networks are not outside the ‘scope’ of capital and modernity. But the former are not exclusively produced by the latter (Escobar, 2001, p. 141). In chapter two, I will elaborate further on the design and creation of a place, because the design of Clanwilliam definitely influences the way the town can become a popular place by tourists. Now I will describe the role of networking in the development of a town as a touristic ‘place’.

<b>Type network</b>	<b>Characteristics</b>
Vertical networks	Based on the delivery of raw materials and services such as cleaning and washing
Horizontal networks and chains	For example between hotels
‘Additive’ networks in marketing	Destination organizations at local and regional administrative levels
Informal social networks	Among local people involved in tourism but who have their network located in other arenas. These networks produce social capital among inhabitants in the same locality
Political networks	Businesses related to tourism express common interests in issues such as the municipal planning of local traffic or the municipal funding of destination organizations
Networking with tourists	Has not been sufficiently studied

Figure 1.2: Types of networks

### *§1.1.2 Endogenous development and the importance of networking*

In this thesis, I make use of the actor-oriented approach. Norman Long, adopted this perspective to explore how social actors are locked into series of battles over resources, meanings and control (Long, 2001, p. 1). According to Long, one advantage of using this approach is that someone begins in explaining the different responses to similar circumstances (p. 13). Long’s approach supports me in analyzing the projects. Differences in economic and cultural change appear because new and old forms of production, consumption, livelihoods and identity are entangled (p. 12). The notion of ‘agency’ is important in Long’s approach. This concept looks at different ways that actors can cope with life even if the circumstances look from the outside similar. Every person has a certain amount of agency in life, but some people know how to utilize this agency over others or resources better than other people.

Actors try to solve problems, learn how to intervene in social events and in a way they organize their own actions (p. 16). Agency comes into being according to Long because of the emergence of a network of actors. They become, partially enrolled in a ‘project’ of other persons or organizations (p. 17). Human agency operates at multiple spatial scales. It is not restricted to a small territory or small group of people. Interplay between a diverse spectrum of local, regional, national and sometimes even global scale actors form wider networks of meaning, power and social practice when they come into contact with locally configured networks (Smith, 2005, p. 245). The negotiations within the network about which actor knows how to use his agency about a specific issue the most effective do result in a certain way of place making. Part of my research was to find out which resources are combined in the tourism sector of Clanwilliam. Interesting for me was to know who triggered the initiatives for the use of the natural resources and the kind of development that evolves from this use. What is the origin of the networks that connects the initiatives and who are these network builders? In other words: Is the development self-determinant, does it serve local purposes and are endogenous potentials used (Mühlinghaus & Wälty, 2001, p. 236)? Or do the actors in the tourism sector in Clanwilliam rely on exogenous networks that are already built by outsiders? I make use of two Clanwilliam-based projects and one regional-based project to show if purely endogenous development is enough to develop a tourism industry in the rural town Clanwilliam.

The three projects play an important role in providing changes to previous disadvantaged<sup>2</sup> people. There are different ways to develop a locality. The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) published in 1996 its so-called “*White paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism*”. In this paper the failed possibility for development in South Africa is acknowledged. It recognizes that tourism had largely been a missed opportunity for South Africa. The writers of the paper consider the fact that tourism could provide the nation with an ‘*engine of growth, capable of dynamizing and rejuvenating other sectors of the economy*’ (Spenceley, 2008a, p. 4). During my fieldwork in Clanwilliam, I paid attention to the development of *tourism* as a way to uplift the community and the economy of the town. To be able to receive tourists to a place, facilities like hotels, restaurants and shops are not enough to be sure that people will come. I add the importance of networking, because these facilities have to be connected to the visitors through networking.

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<sup>2</sup> During Apartheid regulations were imposed on an set out group membership, mostly based on ‘racial’ body features. The regulation was imposed in the 1950 Population Registration Act. Four main categories were in the act divided: white, black/African, coloured and Indian/Asian (Henrard, 2002, p. 19). The previous disadvantaged groups in South Africa are the black/Africans, coloureds and Indian/Asian population.

If a hotel does not have an internet site or does not work together with the local or regional tourism office, visitors do not know about the possibility to sleep there.

Tourism is widely acknowledged as one of the most important economic sectors that have the potential to contribute to national and local development (Hill, Nell & Trotter, 2006, p. 163). Sindiga (1999, p. 2) claims that: “Tourism and travel are the world’s largest industries in terms of the number of people participating, the amount of resources generated, and employment capacity”. Abbink (2000, p. 1) calls tourism the biggest business in the world. Compared to other tourism regions, Africa has a small share in the world tourism market, despite the total size of the continent and its large population numbers (Sindiga, 1999, p. 4). Theories around the issues of tourism are very diverse and both the positive and the negative sides of tourism are illustrated in the literature (Buckley, 2004, p. 9). Tourism brings job opportunities and international money to a place, but on the other hand do the prices of local property and for instance vegetables rise because of the higher demand for these goods and properties. (Boissevain, 1996, p. 8). There is a huge amount of literature about tourism and different kinds of tourism have been distinguished, for instance eco-tourism, community-based and nature-based tourism. It is seen as the panacea to solve problems related to inequality, poverty and economic adversity. In Clanwilliam, I mainly came across *nature-based tourism*. Clanwilliam is situated close to the Cederberg Wilderness area: home to the Cape leopard. The Cederberg is one of the tourist attractions for people who visit Clanwilliam. The Clanwilliam Cedar tree only grows in the Cederberg Mountains and it is facing extinction (Greater Cederberg Biodiversity Corridor, 2010). The Cederberg area is also the only region in the world where the plants can grow that are used to make Rooibos tea. The leaves of the plant are used to make an herbal tea (Cape Westcoast, 2010, p. 33). Tourism is still in development in the region around Clanwilliam and the Cederberg Wilderness Area (Lawson, 2010, p. 21). Another form of tourism I came across in Clanwilliam was *community-based tourism*. Contrary to Spenceley’s (2008b, p. 288) definition of community-based tourism I consider the community initiatives and involvement in the field of tourism as a form of community-based tourism. According to three rules Spenceley sets, tourism should first of all be located in the community. This is the case in Clanwilliam. Take the Living Landscape Project that is based in Clanwilliam. Secondly the project should be runned by a community member. It is run by the University of Cape Town (UCT), but people from the community are educated to be able to manage the project and to carry out the ins and outs of the daily business. The third rule of Spenceley, that the property should be owned by a community member, does not apply. I see community-based tourism as tourism that relies

heavily on the work and input of local citizens, as a way the local inhabitants can educate and employ themselves to improve their situation and livelihoods. They use their local knowledge and local resources to make themselves a living. The different types of tourism that occur in Clanwilliam influence the way the process of place making takes place in the town, because the scope of the tourism creators is focussed on specific attractions. Who these creators are in Clanwilliam and on which attractions and resources they focus on, becomes clear in chapter three and four.

### *§1.1.3 Development of a locality*

This theme is the second part of my main subject: the sociology of place. The creation of a place is important in the development of an area. Obviously when you can talk of development there is a process of change occurring and these changes have positive effects on the living circumstances of local inhabitants. Often people from a previous disadvantaged group (see section 1.1.2) receive support and get a change to uplift their position and their families. Next to a rise in the income per capita, development is also the reduction of poverty and a greater equity in the access to education, health and nutrition. In South Africa tourism could only fully develop after the end of the apartheid era. Till the mid-1990's, the development of tourism was hampered in South Africa because several sanctions were put in place, including condemnation of the country on the basis of its apartheid policies, recognition of its role as an instigator of conflict in southern Africa, etcetera (Fennell, 2008, p. 74). After the mid 1990's when the apartheid bans were lifted, different strategies of development were tried out. Tourism was one of these strategies. Tourism organizations are active in the development and promotion of destination images from different levels: from local, through regional, to national levels (Dredge and Jenkins, 2003, p. 386). According to Urry (in Dredge and Jenkins, 2003, p. 388), destinations need to be actively created and recreated in order to make it a different place than the usual world the visitors are living in.

### *§ 1.1.4 Tourismscapes and the politics of representation*

Burns (1999) wrote about the relations between hosts and guests and he considers these relations to be unequal. Local people, the hosts, depend on the expectations visitors, the guests have about the visited place. I only had contact with the hosts of tourists, so I can only say something about how they perceive their relation with visitors. During the process of

interaction between tourists and communities relations of power are created (van der Duim, 2005, p. 68). Tourists come with an expectation to their holiday destination and want to see this image confirmed there. To please the visitors the host community has to do everything in their power to conform to this expectation. Roughly said, the inclusion of communities in tourism networks leads to the revision of more localized forms of culture, and the emergence of new forms of culture that are created for both domestic and tourism consumption (p. 62). Van der Duim (p. 97) uses the term *tourismsapes* for the people who use tourism services or the people and organizations who provide these services. The environments where these people, services or organizations are located are often in hybrid environments. These are “spaces which are shaped by ‘natural’ and ‘cultural’ objects, human relics such as hotels, restaurant and entertainment facilities, and other resources that meet the tourist gaze”. During my time in Clanwilliam my focus was partly on the way the ‘community’ represents itself to the visitors and which characteristics of Clanwilliam were chosen to attract visitors with. I call this process the *politics of representation*. I was interested in the way hosts represented themselves and their local environment to the guests. Representation has an important share in the production of meaning and the exchange between people in a society (Hall, 1997, p. 15). Tourists base the decision to bring a visit to a country or place on stories they hear from their family and friends or based on articles and photos in magazines. The image these prospective visitors have in their mind is called “*destination personality*” by Ekinci and Hosany (2006, p. 127). This is the set of human characteristics that are associated with a destination. In chapter four, the tourism brochures to attract visitors to Clanwilliam will get attention. It becomes clearer in that chapter which images and metaphors are used to attract possible visitors.



### **Box 1: My first acquaintances with Clanwilliam**

*I arrived around half past seven in the evening of Saturday the nineteenth of June 2010. I made a booking for a bed in the dormitory that belongs to the Living Landscape Project from the Sunday night, but I tried to change my booking, because I would already arrive on Saturday in the evening. Because the people who work for the project did not answer the phone from the Friday afternoon that I started to phone them I decided to just try out if I could already stay one night earlier. I went out of the car and I arrived in a dark and obviously closed project. There was, next to some other guests nobody from the project available and the telephone number on the internet site of the project did not exist. I decided to look for another place to sleep in Clanwilliam. When I drove through the dark and quiet main road I saw a sign for 'the Rectory' guesthouse. I rang the bell to ask if I could stay there for the night, but unfortunately the lady told me that the owners were on holiday, so the guesthouse was closed. I was a bit in shock, because was this the town where I would do my study around the tourism industry in the town? The lady advised me to go to 'the Longhouse' Bed & Breakfast. I asked the woman there if she had a place to sleep for me and luckily I could even choose which room I liked the most. I decided to pay the Rand 400 per night, because I did not see another better option on a Saturday evening. When the lady asked me what my purpose of my stay in Clanwilliam was I told her my reason but also my doubts. She assured me that there is more going on in Clanwilliam than I would expect. And later I realized that she was right.*

### §1.2 Research objectives and research questions

The first time I arrived in Clanwilliam, I did not know what to expect and which issues were going on in the town (see box 1). I prepared myself by searching for more information about the town on the internet and I already read some literature in the university library of Stellenbosch beforehand. The main question I had to answer for myself in the first weeks of my stay in Clanwilliam was: “*What is going on in the town Clanwilliam?*”. This is a very broadly formulated question, but because I did not have any knowledge yet about Clanwilliam, it was necessary to ask myself this question. During the time that I stayed in Clanwilliam the focus of my research went into a more precise direction. I became interested in a social constructive perspective of how Clanwilliam is ‘created’ as a place and produced as a tourist place. I looked at the choice for resources and the way these resources are utilised in businesses that focus on the serving of tourists. In the preparation for this study, I realized that there is an omission in the existing literature that is written about the development of a locality and the creation of a place in this locality. There was a lack of perceptions and narratives from locally involved people. To be able to say more about how these people are involved in the creation of a place and have a stake in the process that leads to the creation of the place Clanwilliam I had to talk to these ‘locals’. I gave these people who work in the

tourism sector ‘a voice’ during my research by conducting interviews with them. It became clear which networks are created between people and organizations in the town with people and organizations outside Clanwilliam. My research had the following objectives:

- *To understand what is going on in Clanwilliam in the field of tourism by paying attention to the kind of networks and initiatives that have been created by actors and organizations to attract tourists to Clanwilliam.*
- *To contribute to the poor amount of sociological studies done in the Clanwilliam area by talking to local people who are actively involved in the local tourism industry and to hear what according to them has to be improved/changed to uplift the town and its community and to make it a place worth visiting.*

By collecting the narratives of people who are part of the local tourism industry and by talking to employees in local projects, I aimed to get answers on the following questions.

*Main research question:*

How is the making of Clanwilliam as touristic product constructed?

*Sub questions:*

1. Which narratives do local people (involved in a tourism businesses) use to describe their relationship with the town Clanwilliam and its surrounding area in the process of place making?
2. Who took the initiative to start tourist oriented projects in Clanwilliam?
3. Which local resources are used in tourism developments in Clanwilliam and how are these resources marketed?
4. In which sense does the history of Clanwilliam influence the development goals of the Cederberg Municipality?

In the continuation of this chapter I describe the methods I used to reach my objectives and to find answers to my research questions.

### §1.3 Research Methods: Datacollection and Observation techniques

My fieldwork research in Clanwilliam started the nineteenth of June, 2010, and lasted till the sixteenth of August, 2010. During these two months of doing fieldwork, I used different methods to gather information. It depended on the kind of information I needed and in which phase of the research I was at that moment, which strategies I chose. In the first days after my arrival, my research had an explorative character. I first paid a visit to the Tourist Information as a 'visitor'. I asked for affordable accommodation and was interested to see what kind of help they could offer me. This strategy I used more often in the first week. People did not know my role in the town, so I could ask around and look around freely. After I visited a place or observed something useful I made a short note of this experience. I especially paid attention to what kind of services or facilities were offered to me and to tourists. In the first week I stayed in one of the dormitories of the Living landscape Project. First, I acted like as a 'normal' tourist, but after a while my role changed to that of a researcher. Just like a tourist, I also experienced what it is like to arrive in town without contacts. I already organized a place to sleep beforehand, but because I did not like it there, I had to go to the tourist information to ask for help. The same can happen to tourists. The difference between me and other tourists in Clanwilliam is that I was there with a second goal. I was not only there to explore the town but I was at the same time more aware of the things that happened around me and which were appropriate to experience in my situation. Tourists only experience the activities in Clanwilliam, but they do not pay attention to all the details (Spradley, 1980, p. 54). I used the first week to listen to what the employees of the Living Landscape Project told me about the project and the area, and I observed the people who visited the project while I was 'reading' a newspaper. Further I spend my time by doing touristic activities. I paid for instance a visit to the *Tronk* Museum, one of the main tourist attractions in town to experience myself what the museum is about and to see the way tourists are welcomed at the museum. At the end of that visit I explained the curator of the museum what the purpose of my stay in Clanwilliam was and I asked him if he had time to answer some questions on a later moment. I paid a visit to the Rooibos tea factory to watch the information video they show to tourists. I also tried to come into contact with some people in town who let cottages to tourists or visitors of the town. There are many of these cottages around town in the gardens of the owners. Because I was looking for alternative accommodation I phoned some of these cottage owners to ask for their prices and availability. I was surprised to hear that once I told them that I was in Clanwilliam for study purposes, the price per night dropped dramatically. After one week I

was a bit more familiar with the town and the possibilities that were offered to me. I could take a decision on which people I could focus myself in the search for interviewees.

The first contacts I had were mainly with the obvious people who are part of the tourist industry of Clanwilliam. I contacted two employees of the tourism information office and I talked with the curator of the *die Tronk* Museum. I also talked with some people who work at the Living Landscape Project and in 'the Longhouse', the B&B where I stayed one night. Bernard (2002, p. 204) calls this form of information gathering *informal interviewing*. It is characterized by a total lack of structure or control. After a week I met Lindie Melle who in the end fulfilled the role of a *Key Informant* ('t Hart, van Dijk, de Goede, Jansen & Teunissen, 2003, p. 269). Lindie lives in Clanwilliam for twenty years, because her husband could start a business there. In 2002 John Parkington, a professor in archaeology from the University of Cape Town asked her to become the manager of a new project he wanted to start in Clanwilliam: the Living Landscape Project. Lindie's task was to appoint unemployed youth in the age between 18 and 25 (interview, August 4, 2010). After some problems with applying for and receiving of subsidies, Lindie left the project. Nowadays she spends a lot of time painting and she did quite some volunteer work. Lindie volunteers in the nursery of the Ramskop Wildflower Garden and almost every morning she likes to walk an hour in the mountains and fields around Clanwilliam. She teaches at schools and did some reading support on the primary school in Clanwilliam. Since January 2011, she has started with teaching English and Arts & Culture on this primary school. She comes into contact with tourists via the renting out of a self-catering cottage in her garden. I talked a lot with Lindie about my research, she introduced me to some important people and she gave me suggestions where I could get more information. Further she drew my attention to important happenings in town, like the Annual General Meeting of the Clanwilliam Tourism Association.

Although I mention here the word 'interview', I never mentioned that word when I asked someone to give me information. I did not want to make the conversation too official because this could make the person feel uncomfortable. But for myself I was conducting an interview, because I prepared questions and I made an appointment with the informant. My interviews had a semi-structured character. I used an interview guide, but both myself and the informant were free to talk about another subject if someone felt that this was interesting according to the situation. In most of the interviews I did not use a memo-recorder, because I thought that it would scare some people off who are not used to be recorded. Some people like the municipal clerk are more used to interviews and to speaking in public, so during that conversation I asked if he allowed me to record our conversation, and he agreed. A third way

to comfort the informants was that they could choose the location and the moment of the conversation. Sometimes they choose to talk to me at their home or workplace, but I also did a lot of interviews in a tearoom in Clanwilliam.

Next to doing interviews, I gathered information by doing observations. I especially made use of participant observations. I experienced the services they offered to me in the Living Landscape dormitories, or actually the lack of services. I had to take a cold shower every morning and there was no electricity in the toilet building, because the building was in the middle of a renovation. I believe the situation has much improved now, because I saw the place getting more finished every day. Further I made observations while I was participating in a rock-art tour with the Living Landscape Project and a private tour with Babs Simpson. Babs is born in Mpumalanga and since her husband passed away three years ago, she decided to move to Clanwilliam, to stay near her daughter. Her son-in-law used to be very much involved in tourism. He owned a pizza shop that attracted a lot of tourists/visitors. Babs daughter and son-in-law run a farm. In the past they organized tours in the area on squads. Babs has just started in the tourism industry. Since she finished her last exam, she can call herself an official tour guide. She loves to drive around in the area to enjoy the beauty of the Cederberg Mountains and the unique rock formations (interview, July 22, 2010). I listened to the way the tour guides like Babs talked about the places we visited and I looked at the way they showed me around in the mountains around Clanwilliam. At these moments I acted like a tourist. I tried not to ask too many interview-like questions, but to have just an informal conversation with my guides. Fortunately I met a German anthropologist, Anne Schady, in Clanwilliam and together we made some trips in the surroundings of Clanwilliam. One rainy day we decided to drink a cup of coffee in a five-star hotel. The rules of the hotel do not allow serving visitors, so we could not get our coffee there. I think I would have had another treatment if I introduced myself as a student who does research about the level the guests and tourists are treated in the hotel.

It did not matter that people knew my intentions when I visited a “Tourism Enterprise Development” Programme in Clanwilliam. This happening was organized by the Cederberg and Matzikama tourism organizations together with the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDAT) Western Cape and Red Door Vredenburg. In the week between 12 and 15 July, these sessions were held in the following towns in the Cederberg and Matzikama Areas: Citrusdal, Clanwilliam, Van Rhynsdorp and Vredendal (Cederberg and Matzikama Tourism Organization, Department of Economic development and Tourism & Red Door Vredenburg, 2010, p. 10). The organizers of the meeting tried to attract people in

the towns who are interested to work in a tourism enterprise or to start their own tourism occupation. I visited one meeting in Clanwilliam on the thirteenth of July together with nineteen other interested participants (see appendix 1 for an overview). We had to introduce ourselves and I told the attendants my reason for visiting the meeting. In the weeks after the meeting this provided me useful contacts and it was good that people knew me from that meeting.

I used tourism brochures and different multimedia like internet and books for background information. I especially had access to these materials in the local library, but the Tourism Information office was also very helpful to provide me with information. It was especially useful to consult these media to see and read how the area around Clanwilliam and the population that inhabits this area is narrated and displayed in these materials. Tourists do often read this information to see what is going on in the area and they get expectations by reading the stories and looking to the photos. In chapter four I pay more attention to these materials.

I analysed and ordered my ideas and data by writing memos. They especially helped me with ordering my choices and decisions that came into my mind during my research. The memo's helped me to remember. I especially wrote theoretical memos for decisions about central theme's that were useful to read about for my research. And I wrote methodological memo's to reflect about my decisions about the practical side of my research, (Wester & Peters, 2004, p. 100).

In this chapter I explained my theoretical framework behind my research and I introduced my main research questions and objectives. In the second half of the chapter, I gave arguments for the methods I used to find the answers to my questions in Clanwilliam. In the following chapter I give some background information about the turbulent history Clanwilliam has had and how it influences the making of a place nowadays.

*“On all sides we are encircled with Mountains. A fine range, whose dark blue tops are capped with snow in a severe winter, rises in the south; a smaller and nearer range of low lying karroo hills, seems a continuation of the southern range towards the east, and this again is carried in a series of peaks and sandstone battlements as far as the eye can reach round till it joins the eastern end of the southern range. Between lies veld and valley, parched and barren in summer, but clothed with blooms and greenage in spring and winter”.*

Louis Leipoldt<sup>3</sup>

## Chapter 2 Research setting: Clanwilliam, South Africa

### § 2.1 Present-day Clanwilliam

Clanwilliam is situated in the middle of the Cape West Coast and part of the Western Cape Province about two hundred kilometres north of Cape Town (see Map 1) (McIntosh, 2006, p.



Map 1: Western Cape (Source: [www.routes.co.za](http://www.routes.co.za))

85). I chose to do my research in this city, because it is situated near the border with the Cederberg Wilderness Area. This offered me the possibility to be in a place that attracts tourists as well as people who offer themselves or their services to tourists. The Cape West Coast consists of five municipalities and Clanwilliam is the administrative headquarter of the Cederberg

Municipality (West Coast District Municipality, 2009, p. 16).

In 2001, the town Clanwilliam had 7858 inhabitants (Cederberg Municipality, 2010, p. 8). The main economic sectors of the West Coast District are: Manufacturing (20,8 percent), Agriculture (20,1 percent), Wholesale and retail trade, catering and accommodation (15,3 percent) and Finance and the Business Service Sector (13,4 percent). The other 30,4

<sup>3</sup> The Cape Illustrated Magazine, 1896-1897, in J. C. Kannemeyer (1999). *So blomtuin-vol van kleure: Leipoldt oor Clanwilliam* (pp. 14-15). Kaapstad: Tafelberg-Uitgewers Beperk.

percent are other small-scale sectors, for instance the naval base and the commercial and fishing port in Saldanha Bay (p. 17). The West Coast District's population growth for 2001-2007 was projected to be 2,3 percent and the projection is that there will be a decline in the district's population growth rate by 2007-2015. The decline is expected because of an out-migration of the youth, who is in search for better economic possibilities (p. 18), mainly in the direction of Cape Town. The composition of the population in the Cederberg Municipal Area is divided in the following groups: coloured household have a 78.2 percent share, white households have 13.7 percent, 8 percent are formed by black African households (Cederberg Municipality, 2010, p. 9). When I talk about 'white', 'coloured' and 'black' people I do not have any negative associations with these words. I use the names local people also use to describe their own skin colour and that of others. The unemployment rate of the Cederberg Municipality population is estimated to be almost 5 percent. About 28 percent of the inhabitants is not economically active and more than 67 percent is employed (*Ibid.*, p. 11). In Figure 2.1 is shown how the employment status of the different population groups is divided. Obvious is that the unemployment numbers within the black and coloured population is the highest. In chapter three it becomes clear how this affects the goals and target groups of the three projects I describe.

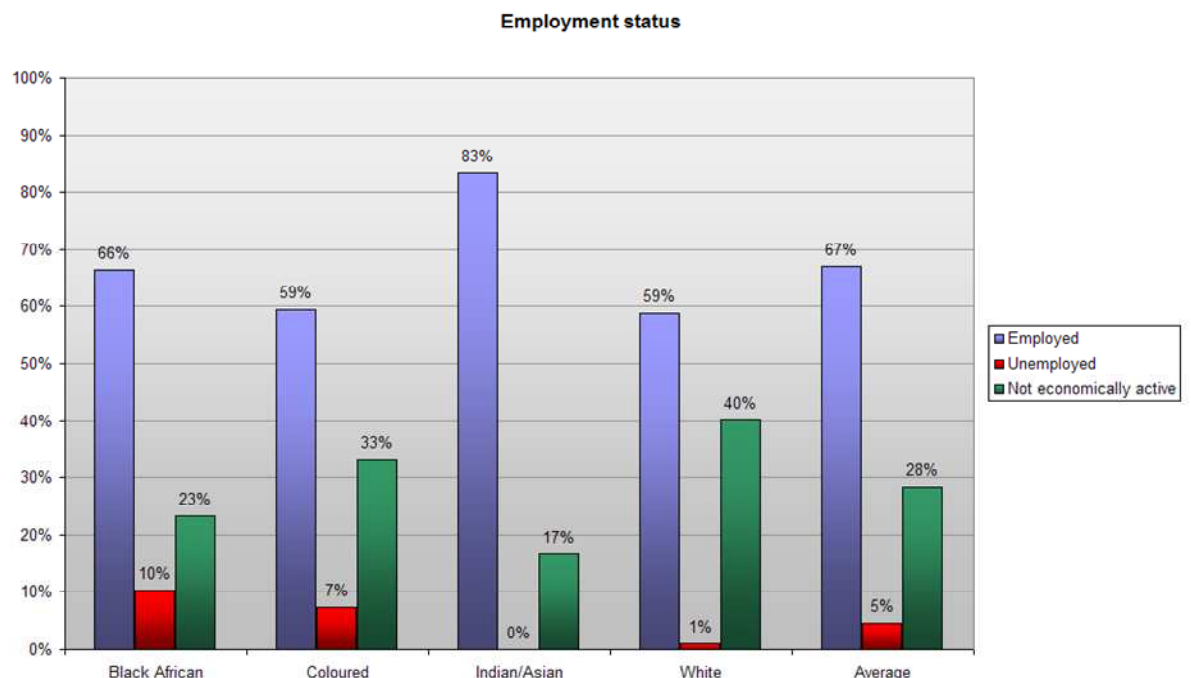
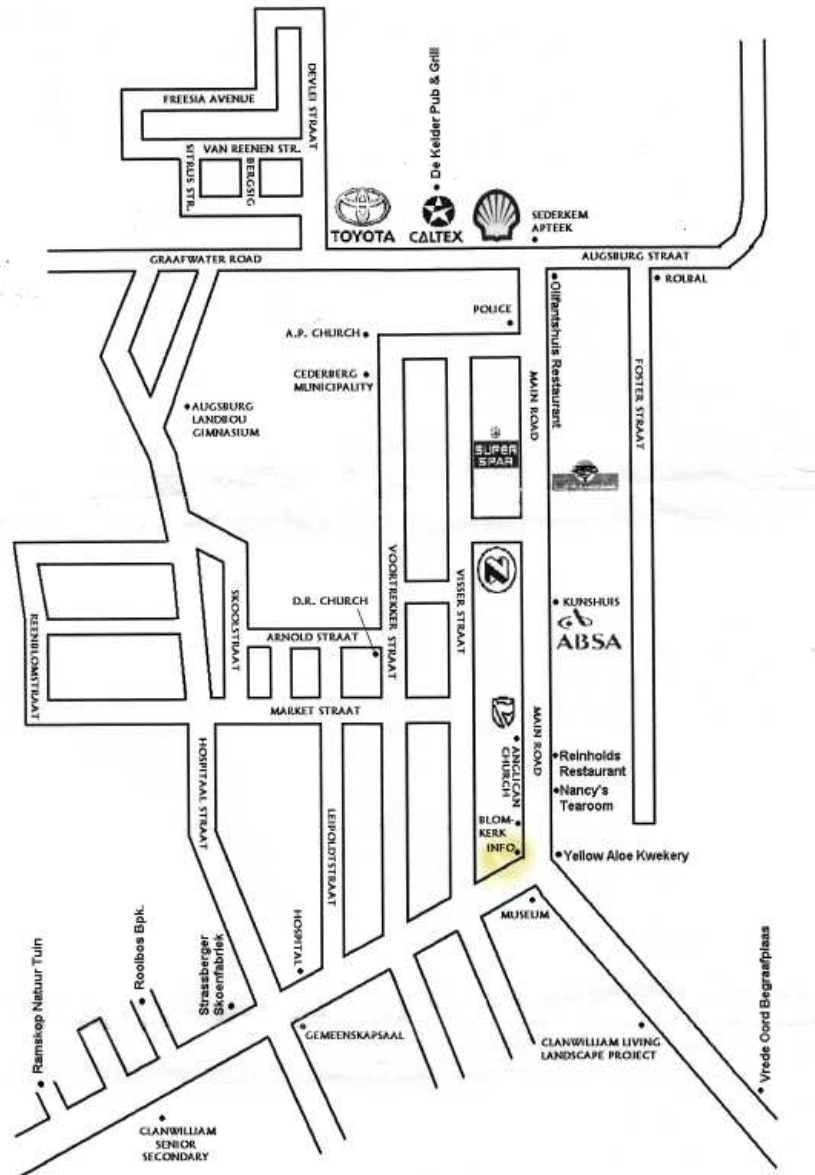


Figure 2.1: Employment status of the different population groups in the Cederberg Municipal Area (source: Cederberg Municipality, 2010)



The main tourist attractions in town are the Tronk Museum, that is the village museum in the former jail, the Rooibos tea factory where it is possible to watch a video about the production of Rooibos tea and different products with Rooibos can be bought in the shop. The Clanwilliam Dam attracts many South African visitors during weekends and school holidays. On map 2, I show the main tourist attractions in town and some other important facilities. The area around Clanwilliam has some characteristics that attract



Map 2: Tourist attractions in Clanwilliam

Especially during springtime (August/September) visitors are attracted, because the daisies were the Cederberg Area is known for create wonderful carpets of flowers (McIntosh, 2006, p. 87). The area receives little rain throughout the year but after winter rains, the landscape changes in a colourful palette of flowers (Cederberg to Sea, n.d., n.p.). The town is, because of its proximity to the Cederberg Wilderness Area, close to many hiking trails and historical routes. The 71.000 hectare Cederberg Wilderness Reserve is best for its rock formations. These are the result of chemical compositions of the rocks, climatic conditions and time. Many plants in the area are endemic and do not occur anywhere else in the world. The Cederberg is further home to the rooibos tea plant and to different types of *buchu*. Animals like baboons, different kinds of antelopes are fairly common in the Cederberg (Cape West Coast, 2010, pp. 28). The Clanwilliam Dam Resort is very popular by water sport lovers

and last but not least is the Cederberg one of the richest regions of southern Africa with rock art sites. An estimated two thousand spots could be traced in the mountains near Clanwilliam (Parkington, 2002, p. 8). But who thinks that the Cederberg area is only pristine beauty of the flora and fauna, forgets to look to the ‘darker’ past of the area.

## §2.2 The history of Clanwilliam

The history of Clanwilliam is eventful and did not result in a positive end for every (former) population group. About these former residents, the hunter-gatherers called San (Bushmen) and the Khoi (Grigiqua Hottentots) who were cattle farmers, little is known. The San and Khoi people first inhabited the Cederberg area, according to the evidence from rock-art shelters, around four thousand years ago (McIntosh, 2006, p. 85). Both population groups had a nomadic way of living without a fixed settlement. Around the end of the year 1660, the San and Khoi came for the first time into contact with white men who came from southern directions to explore the area. Later, around September 1685, Cape Governor Simon van der Stel and his men were on their way from the Cape Colony around Cape Town in northern direction to look for copper reserves in the area, which is now known as Namaqualand (Davenport, 2009). On their way back to the VOC headquarters in Cape Town, they past again the area where nowadays the town Clanwilliam is situated. At the time, Simon van der Stel and his men crossed the area this was not without dangers. Rhinoceros were still living in the area and also the many elephants made such an impression, that the main river in the area is named the *Olifants rivier* [Elephant River]. The Dutch settlers had begun to move northwards when they received grazing rights beyond the Berg River. They started as *trekboere*, but after a while they settled as farmers. A conflictive situation erupted in the arid environment between the white farmers and the original inhabitants of the area, about grazing rights and entrance to water sources. The *burgers* (the settled farmers) formed commando groups and were able to drive the San and Khoi out of ‘their’ area. Many of them were killed and many others died in a smallpox epidemic around 1730. Most of the survivors became the farmer servants and shepherds. One of the earlier pioneers of the area, Jan Dissel, arrived in 1726. He would leave a lasting memory in the area around Clanwilliam. Dissel was granted a loan farm. The farm was located where the Olifantsrivier was joined by a smaller stream, nowadays called the Jan Dissels River. Until 1814, the small hamlet which developed near Jan Dissel’s farm was called *Jan Dissel’s Vlei*, nowadays developed to the town Clanwilliam. By 1814 sixteen Dutch families were residing and the village had been given its present name,

after the first earl of Clanwilliam (Langham-Carter, 1993, p. 4). The local population increased in a short time when the first Irish settlers arrived in 1820. The nucleus of the village had been formed around this period. A map of the locations where the settlers stayed show a track running in southern direction on the axis of what is now Main Street (p. 6).



Picture 2.1: Wild Flowers near the Clanwilliam Dam

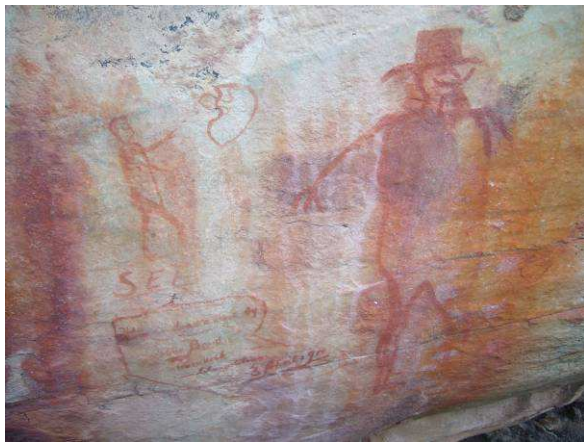


Picture 2.2: Announcement Veld Flower Show

Both the environmental characteristics around Clanwilliam like the Cederberg Wilderness Area and the wild flowers (picture 2.1) during springtime, as well as the specific history of Clanwilliam with the original inhabitants and the settlers, result in possible attention by visitors. For these visitors facilities are needed to accommodate them and to fulfil in their basic needs. Clanwilliam has one hotel in town, four Bed & Breakfasts, four guest houses and many self-catering cottages, some restaurants and tea gardens, and a big supermarket. A tourist office situated on the main road is open six days a week and tourists or visitors can find information there about the activities and attractions in the region. Clanwilliam is about three hours driving from Cape Town. The two months I spent in Clanwilliam was during the weeks that the town was preparing for the flower season. *De Blomkerk* (the Flower Church, see picture 2.2) is every year home to the Veld Flower Show. In August 26, 2010, the show was opened by Helen Zille, the premier of the Western Cape Province, and it stayed open until the 1<sup>st</sup> of September (Die Burger, 26<sup>th</sup> July 2010). Unfortunately I had already returned to the Netherlands in that week and I could not be there during the peak of the tourism season.

Developments in the past are the reason that some previous cultural influences have disappeared. In the main language that is spoken in Clanwilliam: Afrikaans, it becomes clear that since a long time this language was the language spoken by the dominant population, the whites. This language was so powerful that it even has a big stake in the disappearance of the

original languages the San people spoke. On some rock art paintings that are left behind by these original inhabitants and their descendants, some confrontations between the San and the white settlers are painted. On a rock near the former Warmhoek farm, paintings are visible with clear painted domesticated animals like horses and cattle (Parkington, 2002, p. 24) and men with moustaches, beard and hats who have a powerful body posture (see picture 2.4). They look like colonizers. For a part the projects that I describe in chapter three are based on this eventful history. All have to deal with problems that nowadays still exist, but who have their origin in the past.



Picture 2.3: White settler with hat, moustache and powerful body posture

### § 2.3 The effect of a particular history that is used in present-day main industries on place making in Clanwilliam

National, regional and local governments, together with the private sector create a strategy to brand a region or a town. This includes the evaluation, positioning and formulation of the identity of the place (Govers & Go, 2009, p. 49). For localities, superior resources, which are hardly to imitate or to be found, can for instance be the natural environment of the place or the cultural heritage of the town. Also physical assets, such as sites that reflect a rich history or specific architecture, are used in branding the place. Knowledge contained within the host community can play a vital role (p. 51). All of these elements, in a set of competitive advantages, can be referred to as ‘place identity’.

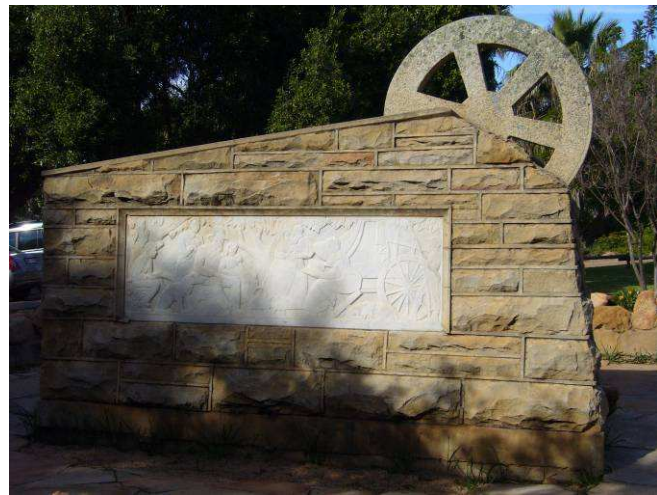
The history of Clanwilliam is still visible in the design of the town. Even after the banning of apartheid, some characteristics of these separations are still visible. Not only when you drive around in the different neighbourhoods, where most of the population groups are still having their own churches and schools, in their own ‘separated’ neighbourhoods. White people for instance live in the area called *die Vlei*, in relatively big, air-conditioned houses,



near all the facilities in town, the coloureds who mostly live in *Cederville* stay on twenty minutes walking distance from town centre in small houses build by the government and the blacks stay in *Khayalitsha*, in poor circumstances in mostly self-built shacks without electricity and running water and on top of this, next to the waste dump (See picture 2.6 on page 25). Although the people are not forced to stay within their former neighbourhoods, most of the inhabitants still stay where their forefathers grew up. The lives of especially white and coloured people intermingle more than in the past in their daily life. Children go to school and make friends with children with another skin colour and their parents work together.



Picture 2.4: Flower Church



Picture 2.5: Monument to remember 'The Great Trek' of the white settlers

For many years the white history was one of the main focus points to attract tourists (see picture 2.4 and 2.5). The map of Clanwilliam with the main attractions, restaurants and shops (see map 2 on page 19) is handed out by the tourism information. One thing that drew my attention is that mainly attractions in the former white area are displayed. To me it seemed like the rest is not interesting enough to mention. It is true that mainly the Flower church and some old Cape-Dutch buildings in Park and Main Street attract visitors, together with the Old Tronk Museum, but I saw a change of mindset in the focus area of tourist guides. The tours that are organized by the Living landscape Project focus on the history of the San people. With paying attention to the San, another side of Clanwilliam history is shown and told. And in the tour I did with Living Landscape, David, the tour guide showed me a bit around in the coloured area and black neighbourhood. Some other changes in viewpoints I will describe in



Picture 2.6: Overview over Clanwilliam and the different neighbourhood

chapter three. Till today this is one of the few initiatives to involve other areas than the city centre to the tourism industry of Clanwilliam. This is because the focus of the Cederberg municipality is not on the development of tourism but on service delivery, water, sanitation and roads (interview, Jevon Kotze, July 30, 2010). According to Jevon Kotze, a municipal clerk, first other shortcomings have to be improved before the focus of the municipality can go to the improvement of tourism in the municipal area. Now the facilities that are already established and involved in tourism receive attention. Jevon was born in Cape Town, but when he was three years old his mother was called up to work at the mission at the border with Namibia. Jevon grew up with his grandparents in Clanwilliam. He studied in Worcester and later in Stellenbosch at a business school. After graduation he decided to go back to Clanwilliam, because he did not like the hectic city life. Jevon does not see enough municipality-initiated development in the community, so he started in 2008 his own company. He exports Rooibos tea and keeps eight percent of the profit, while the rest of the profit flows back in the community.

Next to the historical hot spots and some community-based initiatives in Clanwilliam that are part of the identity of the place Clanwilliam, natural characteristics are another source of interest for visitors. Because the Cederberg area is branded as wilderness, visitors have to find their own way around. A characteristic of a Wilderness Area is that no signs are placed to direct or 'force' the visitors in the 'right' direction. They should get the experience that they 'explore' the area for the first time. This is a different starting point than most of the other attractions in the town. According to Esther Steens, who works at the Tourist Information, there are many negative aspects of the way the wilderness area is organized. *"The hiking routes are not clearly signed, because it is a wilderness area. A lot of people do not have a lot of time and they want to see the highlights while they pass by with their car, but you cannot see all the highlights from your car. You have to go out of the car and walk sometimes for 8 hours to see the boog. People are disappointed; because this was not clear for them. Only ones a year the Cape Nature clears the paths to make them better visible"*. Esther originally comes from Belgium and since 1999 she lives in Clanwilliam. Her job includes the provision of information to tourists/visitors, answering of emails and answering the phone. It is according to Esther important to inform visitors about the Cederberg Wilderness Area, because otherwise tourists would easily miss the interesting places. Some decisions from a higher level can harm the tourism potentials of Clanwilliam. This is the case with the idea Cape Nature has with the Wilderness Area. But some tourists would talk positive about the fact that they do not walk in a very organized and structured environment. Lastly, I want to

pay attention to some local industries that are based in Clanwilliam and are well known in South Africa and even worldwide. The most famous product, Rooibos tea, is an important source of income for Clanwilliam. Like I have already mentioned, the region is the only producer of Rooibos tea in the world. The former locals of the area, the San found out that the needle-like leaves from the plant can be used to make a tasty, aromatic tea (Cape Westcoast, 2010, p. 33). They first harvested the wild-growing plants, chopped them with axes and bruised them with hammers and left to ferment in heaps, before drying them in the sun. Nowadays Rooibos is still harvested in kind of the same way, but the process is more mechanised now. The factory where the tea is packed and distributed is situated in Clanwilliam and several days a week a video is shown to visitors to explain more about the production process. A free cup of tea is offered and after the video it is possible to buy Rooibos tea and other Rooibos related products. Because the tea is originating from the area around Clanwilliam, this is a huge potential to become known all over the world. A second industry that was famous in Clanwilliam, was the Strassberger Veld Shoe factory. This business was started by a missionary that was stationed in the nearby former missionary station: Wupperthal. In 1921 Willy Strassberger a German missionary acquired the shoe business and in 1954 the factory was relocated to Clanwilliam, since then the shoes were produced in Clanwilliam (Smart Holidays, 2010, p. 49). In the months that I stayed in Clanwilliam the shoe factory was in the news, because the employees received the message that the seventh of June would be their last work day. After the factory fell into other hands four years ago, the credibility became worse (Esterhuyze, 2010, p. 1). For about 176 years, the factory quality leather shoes were made in the factory and this attracted local visitors and tourists. I assume that the factory was not connected in the right networks to stay reliable. In Wupperthal the factory that is still there, attracts tourists. They can have a look in the workplace and buy their own pair of *Veldskoene*.

### Conclusion

In this chapter, I tried to link the history of Clanwilliam with the current state of the town. The history is still visible in the design of the town and in current businesses; traces of the past are still to be found. In order to use Clanwilliam history in the tourism development goals of the municipality, I see networking as one possible solution. Not only conventional networks are necessary to make a business more prone to be successful. I also think that virtual networks or connections should be created between historical events and the current situation. Even



connections between different population groups, like coloureds and white are necessary to make a town feel like a place for everyone. In the following chapter I will describe three projects that are partly running on historical events and that try to overcome the old segregated structures in Clanwilliam.

## **Chapter 3: The origin of tourism initiators and their use of local resources in the marketing of Clanwilliam**

Now I have written about the history of Clanwilliam, it is time to look at the situation of Clanwilliam nowadays and then especially on the field of tourism. In this chapter, I want to answer two of my research questions. Who took the initiative to start tourist oriented projects in Clanwilliam? And: Which local resources are used in tourism developments in Clanwilliam? In answering these questions, I use three projects I came across during my stay in Clanwilliam: The Living Landscape Project, UCT Fairheads Clanwilliam Arts Project and the Red Door Project. These projects are all (partly) offering their services to tourists. After describing the origin of the projects and their aims I will say something about their target groups. At the end of this chapter, I will give some conclusions about the way the projects are part of a bigger network and in how far the projects function with the help of endogenous powers. I start now with describing the Living Landscape project.

### §3.1 Living Landscape Project

The Project is initiated in 2001 by an Archaeology professor from the University of Cape Town: John Parkington. The area around Clanwilliam is rich in archaeological sites with fossils, artefacts, natural features and ruined structures. This is due to the fact that the indigenous population inhabited the area, long before the white settlers entered the area. Parkington's interests are in these stone-tool using people of the Western Cape. His objective is to make the results of his research as widely available and useful as possible (Parkington, 2002, n.p.). The Living Landscape Project is a Community-based initiative to create jobs by using the results of many years of archaeological research (Clanwilliam Living Landscape Project, 2010). The facilities of the project are constructed to teach especially schoolchildren about 'time'. One attraction of the project is a garden that embodies the patterns of the seasonal time that influenced the activities and life of the hunters and gatherers who once inhabited the area. The Time Garden houses plants used by San people as foods, as medicinal aids and as artefacts (*Ibid.*). The job creation initiative initially employed twenty-four members of the local community of whom eight had to come from the black community, one white person was appointed and fifteen coloured (informal communication, Lindie Melle,

January 11, 2011). and they are trained as trainee craftspeople, guides and caterers (Clanwilliam Living Landscape Project, 2010). Reviewing figure 2.1 on page 18, the focus of the project was to appoint mainly people from the two groups with the highest numbers of unemployed. The training they received included an accredited bookkeepers training, computer literacy, and a training on how to run your own business. Some had a welding course or a catering course and there was an unaccredited rock-art guide and archaeology course (interview, Lindie Melle, August 4, 2010). Some people could get their driver license, which was necessary to drive visitors to the different tour sites. The Living Landscape Projects firstly started as an education product for local schoolchildren and unemployed adults between nineteen and twenty-five. During the first years, Lindie was very positive about the place and the trainings that were offered to the appointed people. But she lost her confidence in the project. One of her tasks was to design the garden around the property with indigenous plants and flowers, but the employees did not water the plants properly, so most of plants dried out and died. She did not receive salary for some months because of a lack in funds, so she decided to quit. Nowadays the project is also offering services to tourists. Visitors can book a tour with a guide to explore paintings in the Cederberg mountains and self-catering and backpacker accommodations are offered at the centre (Clanwilliam Living landscape Project, 2010).

John Parkington started to build a network when he came with the idea to start a project in Clanwilliam. Now local people are involved in the daily management of the project and have become part of the network. I assume that local people have to manage the project eventually without the help of John Parkington. I saw the possibilities of the initial idea when I stayed in the dormitory of the project. But on the other hand I saw the disorganized way the project is trying to survive. I stayed for almost two weeks in the dormitory of the project and later I was their 'neighbour', and in those weeks I also saw the problems the project and its employees are facing at the moment. After some years of successful funds gathering, the past years were more difficult for the project. The total amount of visiting school classes dropped since last year and the revenues of the project are not enough to give all the employees a salary. In August 2010, some employees lost their job, because the project could not longer go on the way it was once designed, and others were only asked to come if there was a booking. Last year the project received some funds and finally the building called 'Time Machine' was finished, eight years after the beginning of the project. This building is important in achieving one of the main goals of the project. The project uses several local resources to achieve their goals: local knowledge is used to teach children and visitors about the history of the area, the

artefacts that are sold in the shop are designed and produced with local products. The necklaces are for instance designed in the same style as the way San woman are believed to have worn them. And cups and placemats have the image of a rock art painting. Women that work for the project make the products themselves. What becomes clear is that most of the activities the people from the projects organize and the knowledge that they carry with them, is based on an archaeological foundation. This products and activities get the attention of people who are interested in archaeology. To reach a bigger public more effort has to be put in the marketing of the project according to David van der Westhuyzen (interview, July 22, 2010), the rock art guide, but also the community-liaison officer for the project. He thought that more visitors can be attracted by: *“upgrading our website, distributing more flyers, especially at the information office, the different B&B’s in Clanwilliam perhaps, but also expanding to cities like Cape Town. Big tourism companies based in Cape Town like Routes Unlimited and of course travel agencies”*. But money is needed for marketing tools. John Parkington is responsible for networking to gather funds, and according to Lindie Melle he is good in that. But she thinks he is not a good manager of the project. According to her, the project needs a good manager that does not need to carry a favour to anybody. *“Five years ago the project was a viable thing with strong goals and many visitors, but because of bad management not any longer”*, (Lindie Melle, August 4). During interviews I conducted with Lindie Melle and some other people that are active in the tourism industry of Clanwilliam, different aspects were mentioned that need to be improved in the Living landscape Project to become more successful. According to Ilse Lochner-Strassberger (interview, July 12, 2010): *“They [the Living Landscape] don’t know how to treat tourists”*. Ilse has a lot of experience with tourism because of the role her family played in this industry for centuries. Ilse is born in Clanwilliam and she also grew up in the town. Her grandfather was from Germany and worked as a missionary in Wuppertal. Her father bought the Clanwilliam hotel in 1944 and later Ilse and her husband Flip ran the hotel for many years. They sold it some year ago. Nowadays, Ilse Lochner is the chairperson of the Clanwilliam Business Forum. Ilse confided me her opinion about the Living Landscape Project when she remembered a story about me (box 2).

### **Box 2: ‘Experiencing’ the Living Landscape**

Someone told her that I stayed in the dormitory with about twenty wageworkers from the North West province that worked for Telkom. I had to stay with some men in my room and during the evening and nights there was nobody from the project who kept an eye. Although I know that I can expect something like this when you stay in a dormitory I did not feel comfortable. The buildings of the project was also in the middle of a renovation. This meant that I could only take a shower with cold water and standing in the middle of debris and without light, before the work people arrived. The toilets were dirty with dust and the door could not be locked. But in a way this experience ended up in something useful.

Due to the fact that Clanwilliam is a small town, a lot of people involved in the local tourism industry heard about my story and told me their opinion. Next to John Parkington, networks are created by the employees. David van der Westhuyzen, as the community liaison person for the Living Landscape Project, tries to connect the project to the community and schools in Clanwilliam. I especially saw the connection between the coloured community and the employees in the project. All the employees I met are themselves from this community and the project is situated at the border of the former coloured area of Clanwilliam. I got the impression that the network the Living Landscape has created with local companies and organizations is relatively good, but the networks to people who can bring visitors to the project are weaker. I did for instance not find them in backpacker booklets that are distributed by hostels. If you do not know the name of the project, it is difficult to come across it. Now they do depend too much on guests that are primarily interested in archeology.

Due to the fact that the project is not attracting enough visitors and earning enough income to be able to carry out their own project plan, it does not have a big stake in the creation of Clanwilliam as a place. The possibilities of creating Clanwilliam as a place to learn more about rock art and the previous inhabitants of the area are huge. More money can be earned by the project if they focus themselves more on offering their services to tourists. Now money is earned by renting out the dormitory to wage workers and I do not think they match well with tourists or visitors. Further do I see more potential in changing the opening hours of the project. A lot of visitors have a look on the property outside the opening hours. Almost every day I saw people coming after four o'clock during the week or during weekends. People can be showed around in the project and money can be earned by making bookings for tours or selling self-made articles in the shop if the opening hours match better with the needs tourists show. A space does not contribute to the creation of a place if the facilities are closed and cannot be used the way they are supposed to be used.

### §3.2 UCT Fairheads Clanwilliam Arts Project

The Project started in the mid-1990's when the Living Landscape under leadership of professor Pippa Skotnes of the School of Fine Art and Professor John Parkington of the Department of Archaeology joined their powers. In workshops they taught about a hundred learners from Clanwilliam about the rich heritage of the area (Mail & Guardian, 2010). As interest and participation grew, Skotnes recruited colleague Mark Fleishman and students and performers who run weeklong workshops. The workshops end in a lantern parade through Clanwilliam and a performance of San stories first told to the nineteenth century linguist

Wilhelm Bleek and his sister-in-law Lucy Lloyd (*Ibid.*). The project is aimed at returning the heritage of the Clanwilliam area to the community. Over three hundred children between five and eighteen participate in the workshops and over fifteen hundred people attend the parade and performance (Magnet Theatre, 2010a). Magnet theatre has been working in the area for the past ten years running the Clanwilliam Arts Project. The communities along the highway N7 are historically some of the most unserved, under-resourced and isolated in the region. The Community project in Clanwilliam is designed to increase, deepen and extend the exiting exchange into a more meaningful and sustained intervention that strengthens existing structures in the region and grows new ones. From 2009, Magnet Theatre has placed a fieldworker on a fulltime basis that is trained in Community Theatre and has established a youth drama group called Comnet (Magnet Theatre, 2010b). The group comprises of high school learners from middle and some lower income, previously disadvantaged coloured community of Clanwilliam. The children range from Grade 8 to Grade 12 learners.

I focus myself in this section on this youth drama group, because in my daily life I came in contact with this group of children and youngsters. I shared my room in Mark Fleishman's house with Lavona de Bruyn, the fieldworker, and I could get an impression of what the group was doing and facing. According to Fleishman the drama work in Clanwilliam helps to address a broader network and focus on the rural and urban community challenges (Business and Arts South Africa, 2010, n.p.). During the time I was in Clanwilliam, the group of about twenty five children and youngsters were preparing a show called *Soek oz 'it Soe*. That can be translated into English as: *Is this what we (as young people) are looking for (in life, from our elders, from our community to help us prepare to take our place in society)?* The shows often want to create awareness of problems that are experienced by the children that play a role in the show. In 2010, the show was about a young boy searching for help and finding it only from an elderly woman who is willing to help him look for his brother who had been attacked. In his search, he comes across a group of angry young people challenging society; a young girl who was forced to leave home because of an abusive uncle; a young man who is criticized for becoming involved in uplifting the community and young girls who are mocked at school because they do not have the right texture of hair. Each piece in the show was a true story told by the participants that was choreographed into a movement / dance piece with monologues by the actors to whom the story pertained (*ibid.*). Networking for the group is necessary to get help from organizations and businesses in Clanwilliam. During the preparation of the show, shop managers are asked if they can support the group of children with some food and other materials. Networking and making connections with people from

outside Clanwilliam is necessary. Lavona de Bruyn is from Cape Town. But because she is, like most of the children, a colored woman, she can function as the connection between the community and some contacts outside Clanwilliam. It is important that in the end the people from the community go on with this project to make it a viable thing and that community members will come with ideas and initiatives. In a way the theatre group is already working towards independence. The fieldworker let the group leaders of Comnet find their own solutions and she only tried to have a coaching role. It is also important that the leader of the Comnet group has a good relationship with the municipality for funds to be able to give the shows and to organize other activities. Sometimes the Comnet group performs on festivals in other places around Cape Town and they have won several prizes on these festivals.

Other shows that are played by the children are based on historical shows originating from San stories and their mythical heritage. I talked with Lavona de Bruyn about the opportunities she sees in motivating 'weaker' inhabitants in Clanwilliam like some coloured people. She has the idea that the coloured community does not know about the rock art. *"During apartheid the coloured community were proud on their European ancestors and they lost their own heritage. They do not feel pride or connection with the people who made the rock art and the rock art itself"* (informal communication, July 18, 2010). The Living Landscape Project and the Drama department of the UCT try to revive this 'lost' heritage. This initiative is important in the creation of Clanwilliam as a place. It gives the town something special and unique. Not only the powerful groups in the community get a change to show their heritage, like for instance the 'white' side of the history of the town, but also other groups like the coloureds have a stake in this history. The place not only consists of buildings and streets but the interpretations, representations and identifications actors have for a certain geographic spot (Gieryn, 2000, p. 466). The coloured community is after the apartheid no longer bypassed by what Castells (2002, p. 551) calls the geography of networks, but nowadays they make their own networks. I see a great potential for the coloured community to brand themselves as the descendants of the former inhabitants of the area. This is what is partly done by the youth theatre group, but I see more potential with a group of adults, because they grew up during Apartheid times. These adults can for instance focus themselves on their unique mix of origin and what this mix means for them in their daily life according to their language, use of food and music. In the last project I describe initiatives to develop an idea similar to this suggestion.

### §3.3 Red Door Project

The RED (Real Enterprise Development Initiative) Project is an initiative of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism. The Red Door centres are to be found in most large communities and towns in the Western Cape. The centre who serves since 2010 the area around Clanwilliam is the branch in Vredenburg. From that Vredenburg office, towns and communities between Yzerfontein and Bitterfontein are served (Tourism Awareness Session, July 13, 2010). Hilary George is the tourist helpdesk agent who gave several information sessions in the different towns and communities about the services Red Door has to offer. Red Door is a branch of the Department of Economic Development and Tourism. I visited the first session in Clanwilliam. Hilary is also active in a tourism business herself, because together with her husband, she runs a Bed & Breakfast in Sanddrif. During the information morning, Hilary told about the Red Door and the elements that are important in the development of a tourism business. At the end of the meeting, the attendants could let her know if they were interested in a follow-up meeting. When both parties would agree with the proposed plan, the applicant could start with writing a business plan. Red Door aims to help building new businesses, help strengthen and develop existing businesses and help create and build more black-owned businesses. Around the world, small businesses are a big part of the economy. In developed countries small businesses contribute up to 60 % to GDP. In South Africa, small businesses only have a 35% stake in the total GDP. Part of the reason for this low number is that the level of entrepreneurship and survival rate of small business in South Africa has been low (Red Door, 2010). Babs Simpson (see chapter two) believes in the potentials tourism could offer to Clanwilliam. But around her she sees many people become disencouraged because they are not successful immediately. According to her, a tourism business needs some time to become profitable. Red Door supports these businesses that are sustainable. When the business runs for three years the owner receives a voucher worth three thousand Rand to invest in the business. The tourism awareness meeting I attended in Clanwilliam, mostly attracted attendees from the coloured community (see appendix 1 for the attendance list). Hilary George was delighted with so much attendants, because according to her information “*baie min* [very few] tourists come to the West Coast, so the region needs to be pushed forward”. A problem for Hilary George is that tourism offices concentrate too much on their own region, while tourists do not see these borders. When the offices are able to cooperate better, more time is left to concentrate on the attraction of tourists. Now tourism offices do some work double, while with cooperation, energy and time can be saved.



Hilary sees the importance of networking: *“If you belong to an association you have a voice, feel free to be a member of the tourist office. You must be serious about your business; other people take you serious then.”* The meetings to inform the community members about the work the Red Door is offering are already a good opportunity for the attendants to create networks or to strengthen already existing networks. I heard different people around me talking to each other and making appointments to meet again on a later moment. Some towns, like Wupperthal, that the Red Door visits, are very isolated and this has an influence on the way the people in these areas are informed about the support they can receive. According to Hilary, transport is usually a huge challenge in these areas and people are not very mobile and do not venture beyond their little town, so they stay uninformed and with little frame of reference as to the ways of the world in the bigger cities. The transport entrepreneurs are few and far and often those who operate in the area tend to have the monopoly and can charge exorbitant fares, which the locals are not able to afford. People in these remote towns have fewer opportunities to network with other people and organizations and this was also what Hilary experienced during her visits to the communities. Babs Simpson believes in the cooperation with small local communities and the profits both parties can make from this cooperation. Together with her son-in-law and daughter she used to bring tourists to Wupperthal and Heuningvlei where their guests would stay the night with local people. But more can be done to involve local people in small communities in networks of the tourism sector. According to Hilary George, people in remote areas are far from ready to start their own business. But they want to grab a change of a ‘life-line’ with the government. They were keen to attend the follow-up sessions, in order to receive information about future possibilities and announcements. For these people the attendance of these sessions is the first step to create a bigger network with other people. Outside contacts are necessary in these communities because of the low service level in these communities. This year especially cultural tourism initiatives came out strong. Last year the activities of the Red Door were more confined to the more developed Swartland, Berg River and Saldanha region and then the initiatives were more focussed on the field of accommodation and transport. These businesses of entrepreneurs who had a bit of capital to back them up in the first place are “here to stay” and receive support from various government initiatives (informal communication, December 13, 2010). The differences and variety in businesses that appear when local people start their own gives the area a specific character. Some people start a catering business and others want to start a home stay in their house. The problem is always the relative low numbers of tourists who visit the places. This cannot be completely controlled by the people in the West Coast

region, because other regions get much higher funds from the government to market their places. Foreign tourists, for instance, get much more information about towns along the Garden Route in the Western Cape. That is one reason I think these communities can better focus themselves on local visitors from the region around Cape Town, because they know the area better. The businesses that are started in the communities are very personal and the money that is earned is going directly to the entrepreneurs. Once the networks with other entrepreneurs and government institutions are formed, they can make name for themselves. Betty Witbooy attended the information session organized by the Red Door and she shared her experience with starting a tourism initiative with us. Once Betty (interview, July 20, 2010) had the plan to start a home stay (a B&B, but people stay in the house of the host) in her house in the coloured community Cederville, in Clanwilliam, but she had to change her house to such an extent that it would cost her too much money. Ilse Lochner discouraged Betty even more by telling her that tourists are not interested into staying over in the coloured area, because they think this would be dangerous. She abandoned the plan and went on with her other activities in life. Three times a week Betty cooks together with her sister for the retired old-age people, on behalf of the VG church. Betty attended the first session and she wants to attend the follow-up of the project, because she is full of plans. She is looking for partners to work together in starting a home stay. Or she wants to start a small catering business that serves visitors and tourists during the flower season. An initiative like having a home stay in the former coloured area, which is underdeveloped in the field of tourism, makes the area of a coloured community a lively place and it can make the community proud of their place. The small entrepreneurs are giving something 'extra' to a place, because they fill up fields of businesses that do not or barely exist.

### Conclusion

Projects like *Living Landscape Project*, *UCT Fairhead Clanwilliam Arts Project (UFCAP)* and *Red Door Project* have the effect on the town that it is not just a space to live, but also has something extraordinary and special that makes the space feels like a place. Although Clanwilliam is a viable town according to projects that are initiated or running in the town, the initiatives for these project come originally from external people or institutions. Sustainable networks are created with local and external companies, businesses and communities to build a strong foundation for the years ahead, but these networks are too much focussed on their own field of knowledge. Between the projects and their specific focus

points, not much cooperation is taking place. They are barely part of each others network, and only exist next to each other. Efforts to mobilize the local community to control their own development, future and in the case of the Red Door project also their own business, are all put in these people to trigger them to use their own endogenous resources. Especially people from the former disadvantaged community get opportunities to receive a change and funds to become part of a business and entrepreneur network. Historical events and heritage are predominantly used as a resource for the projects. Cultural tourism is a relatively easy form of tourism and the entrepreneurs do not have to make big financial investments. But because local people are motivated to start their own business, it is a form of endogene development. The connections and networks that are the result of these entrepreneurs can create a unique atmosphere in the area. Once these locally owned projects are running the sense of place gets a unique character and comes alive. The problem is that it can take years before a business is functioning profitable. The brand (see Sircus and Van Gelder, section 1.1.1) the project or business wants to become, needs time to develop.

In the next chapter I will describe what is going on in Clanwilliam besides the projects. I will make use of the narratives that some of my informants used to describe their relation with Clanwilliam and the surrounding area. Further I pay some attention to touristic brochures and the ways they display Clanwilliam.

## Chapter 4: Local perceptions of tourism and its place making

In this chapter I will answer two of my research questions: Which narratives do local people who are involved in the tourism industry of Clanwilliam use to describe their relationship with the town and its surrounding area in the process of place making? And I will answer: How are local resources marketed? I use different media like newspapers, magazines, travel books, brochures and internet websites that I gathered during my stay in town and in the region to get an idea of what kind of resources are displayed in these media to attract visitors and tourist. This gave me some remarkable results.

### §4.1 Local narratives about the place Clanwilliam

During the two months I spend in Clanwilliam I talked to several people about my research and about Clanwilliam as a potential tourism destination. To my surprise were some informants, who were all in their daily lives active with tourists or tourism, not able to express their thoughts on tourism. One of them was Hotto Mareis, the curator of *die Tronk* Museum. This museum functions as the village museum. The information boards and artefacts in the different rooms are about the history of the town, for instance about the Irish settlers and the jail the building used to be. Another room is filled with information about Rooibos and several other subjects that are linked to the town. Since 2004 is Hotto Mareis the curator of the *die Tronk* Museum in Clanwilliam. He is born in the Eastern Cape where he was most part of his life a sheep farmer. He sold his farm and he moved with his wife, who is born in Clanwilliam, to this town. He started to work in the hospital first and later bought another farm. But after a while he sold this farm and he started to work as the curator of the museum. The museum is open during weekdays, between eight o'clock in the morning until one in the afternoon. Hotto could tell me enthusiastic stories about his farms, but did not know much about tourism in Clanwilliam. I thought this was striking because he works in one of the biggest tourist attractions of Clanwilliam. I asked Hotto Mareis (interview, July 16, 2010) why tourists visit the museum. He did not know the answer. He is interested in history, so maybe they visit the museum to learn about the history of Clanwilliam, he reasoned. Hotto likes the town Clanwilliam, but he does not see any possibilities to attract more visitors to Clanwilliam. Next to the Clanwilliam Dam and the flower season, "*the climate is too dry to be a comfortable place to visit*". Another subject I tried to discuss with Hotto is the way

Clanwilliam and its surrounding area is displayed in brochures and magazines. He did not know and suggested me to go to the tourist information office to get an answer.

The curator of the Ramskop Wildflower Garden, Joanny Boer (interview, June 30, 2010) sees the region around Clanwilliam as “*one of the best in South Africa*”, but nevertheless the tourists are mainly visiting the area in the flower season. She is born in Clanwilliam and her first job was in the Ramskop Wildflower Garden. In the garden all the flowers of the West coast are gathered together. Joanny gives away DVD’s about the different flower species to tour guides so that they can show these DVD’s to the visitors in the bus before they arrive in the garden. She hopes that via the visitors more people will hear about the beauty of the flowers and that they eventually will also visit the area. There used to come many overland trucks with tourists in Clanwilliam to stay over one night on their way to Namibia in the garden, but because of a lack in proper security, they do not come on a regular basis any longer.

Another person that shared her opinion with me is Stephany Murrey. She works temporary at the tourism information office, because one employee left to Cape Town. Since 1991 she lives in Clanwilliam. The words Stephany chose to describe the area around Clanwilliam were: “*important and interesting because of the hiking trails and not so much for sightseeing. The nature is untamed and it has special rock formations. Visitors can enjoy the quietness and untamed nature*” (interview, July 2, 2010). Stephany is a tourism employee and tourist guide in the region between Cape Town and Namaqualand. In her work she mainly focuses on the region and the history of the region. David van der Westhuyzen (see section 2.3) likes to use the Cederberg Wilderness Area because it is peaceful and quiet. He likes to use the area for hiking and camping.

Esther Steens (see section 2.3) sees the mountains, hiking, the history / archaeology and Rooibos as the most important attractions for tourists in Clanwilliam. Potential activities that can grow in the future according to her are flowers and activities near the Clanwilliam Dam. Most of the visitors Esther helps in the office are from South Africa, but also a lot do come from foreign countries. Esther thinks that the Germans are attracted to the region to visit the South African Wupperthal, people from the Netherlands like the outside activities that can be done around Clanwilliam. Esther was not sure what brings the people from the United Kingdom exactly to Clanwilliam, but probably the history of the Irish settlers.

For Ilse Lochner (see section 3.1), nature is the most important attraction around Clanwilliam. Because of the proximity of Clanwilliam to the Wilderness Area, many visitors are passing the town and they stay over or buy their groceries. Ilse sees this development

since the last few years. She sees some future in the archaeological value of the area. *“Although the archaeological value is not well known. The base for tourism that is interested in archaeological value is not big. Lasize in France is a whole business and John Parkington had that maybe in his mind”*. The area has on this field a huge potential but according to Ilse is this not utilized. Some kilometres outside Clanwilliam is a lodge called *Bushmans Kloof*. Guests of the luxurious five star so called Wilderness Reserve & Wellness Retreat have the opportunity to view unique and good preserved rock paintings. But these can only be viewed by guests, because outsiders are not welcome on the property of ‘Bushmans Kloof’. On the twenty third of July 2010, I was not welcome in the lodge when I wanted to drink a cup of coffee together with Anne Schady on a cold rainy day. The woman behind the reception desk told us that only guests can make use of the facilities of the lodge. But we were free to take a brochure so that we could come back one day to stay in the lodge. It is very popular by overseas tourists. But because the lodge is very upmarket, many people are excluded because they cannot afford the high prizes of the lodge. A lot of overseas tourists visit the place, but its potential is not utilised. Due to the fact that outsiders are not welcome on the property.

Babs Simpson (see section 1.3) told me that the focus of the tourism industry in Clanwilliam is *“too much on flowers”* at the moment. This creates problems, because the flower season only lasts two months of the year. She sees more potential in the development of activities in cooperation with communities who live in remote areas like Heuningvlei and Wupperthal. A Donkey trail that connects these villages can transport tourists between these communities. A donkey trail is also less depended on the season, compared to the flowers that only bloom in early spring.

Sometimes I used the courier service Charl Smith started a few years ago. Three times a week he drives from Cape Town to the Cederberg region and three times a week he drives back to the region around Cape Town. He started this business, because there does not exist a door-to-door service or another proper transport system in the area. A long-distance bus does pass Clanwilliam on its route to Namibia, but the bus-stop is about 25 kilometres out of town. The problem is that there is no other local transport available from the bus stop to Clanwilliam. I asked him what he thinks about the development of tourism in Clanwilliam. According to him the focus of the tourism industry is too much on the town Clanwilliam and not much attention is paid to the Cederberg Wilderness Area (informal communication, July 24, 2010). I partly disagree with him. The attention is also on the Cederberg Wilderness Area in marketing materials offered by the tourism information. But some main actors in the local tourism business like for instance Hotto and Joanny do not know enough about the highlights

in the area around Clanwilliam to make visitors enthusiastic and to convince visitors to stay longer around Clanwilliam to visit the surrounding nature area.

So far the opinion of the informants about Clanwilliam as a tourism destination. Now I want to pay attention to which resources are displayed in the marketing of Clanwilliam and the importance of marketing.

#### § 4.2 Branding Clanwilliam in brochures

I collected several brochures about the activities that can be done and the attractions that can be visited in Clanwilliam and the surrounding area. In this section I will use this material to say something about the way Clanwilliam is branded in these materials. The first issue that receives attention is the history of the town. The brochure I received in the Ramskop Nature Garden (Clanwilliam Wild Flower Association, n.d.) mentions the fact that Clanwilliam is one of the ten oldest towns in South Africa. [Clanwilliam] “*is the center of various flower and historical routes, hiking trails and rock art viewing*” (Cape Westcoast, 2010, p. 30). It is possible to “*go back in time to see some of the world’s finest Bushmen rock art-sites as well as picturesque old Cape country towns and mission villages*” (Cederberg Tourism, n.d., n.p.). The Cederberg area is called “*the originally home of the San and Khoi people*” by Cape Nature (2010, n.p.).

Next to the history, the nature and landscape around Clanwilliam is a popular attraction to brand. The Cederberg Wilderness Reserve is best known for its spectacular rock formations (picture 4.1) as a result of the chemical composition of the rocks, climatic conditions and time. In the brochure called *Cederberg, raw rugged beauty* superlative words are used to describe the extraordinary qualities of the region: “*magnificent, raw, rugged wilderness, beautiful mountain pools, pristine*”. According to the brochure, the Clanwilliam Dam (Picture 4.2) offers some of the “*calmest, cleanest*” water in the Western Cape, ideal for world class water skiing, fishing and other water sports. Another popular attraction to narrate about or to display in the brochures are the flowers. “*The wild flowers of the Cederberg are one of the finest in the world, with a kaleidoscope of delicate beauty to enjoy*”. They are a natural extravaganza of colour drawing people from around the world (Whitehead, 2010, p. 48). Another natural resource that is utilised to attract people is the Rooibos. The Cederberg is the “*home*” of this kind of tea and “*no alternative source of supply of this unique product is available anywhere else in the world*” (Cape Westcoast, 2010, p. 33). Next to these main focus areas, also smaller scale attractions in the region do receive some attention. For instance

the possibility to go on a Donkey cart Adventure (Cape Nature, n.d, n.p.) or to visit a winefarm called *Tierhoek* (Tierhoek, n.d., n.p.).



Picture 4.1: Rock formations on the farm Klein Kliphuis



Picture 4.2: Clanwilliam Dam

#### §4.3 Marketing of Clanwilliam

One of the most important ways to become better known to tourists and tourist operators is when local media and international media pay attention to ‘your’ town. But it is often expensive for municipalities to use many media to market their area and disagreement between several governing powers result in the prescription of a specific regulation. This was the case in the province where Clanwilliam is situated. The Western Cape government proposed the Cape Town Tourism Council to use one name, one strategy and one organisation to market Cape Town as well as the whole Western Cape (T. van der Westhuizen & C. Smith, July 30, 2010, p. 18). Cape Town Tourism disagrees, because it would change back to how the situation was before. Cape Town Tourism proposes that there should be tourism organizations at municipal, regional and provincial level. Everyone should focus on the area and product that is best known by the different organizations. The Western Cape provincial minister of Finance, Economic Development and Tourism, Alan Winde, disagrees with the Cape Town Tourism Council proposal. He wants to see that the cooperation between the different levels results in an international competing tourism destination with social and economical advantages for every citizen (*ibid.*). The Western Cape government has a budget of a hundred million Rand to spend on tourism marketing purposes (T. van der Westhuizen & C. Smith, July 30, 2010, p. 18). Marketing is a problem for the Cederberg municipality where Clanwilliam is part of. Jevon Kotze (see section 2.3) agreed with me on this point. The



Cederberg municipality receives 50 000 Rand a year from the National Department of Tourism to market the municipal area. Last year this money was used to set up a whole new website to place the municipality at the center of the tourism market and according to Jevon it is working. But money is always a problem. With the 50 000 Rand Jevon Kotze has to work in all the eight towns that are part of the Cederberg municipality. According to



Picture 4.3: Announcement winner *dorp van die jaar 2009* competition

his view, this amount of money is only enough to organize a workshop in every town and to offer some food and drinks to the attendants of the workshop. The tourism office in town first received subsidies from the government, but the office in Clanwilliam does not have the main focus of the government. This focus is more on offices in the main tourist attracting towns (Ilse Lochner, July 12, 2010).

With more urgent problems (see chapter two) than the tourism marketing of the town that also need attention, a competition like the newspaper *Rapport* organizes every year is a welcome initiative. The newspaper (KaaP Rapport, 2009) chooses every year a ‘village of the year’ and in 2009 Clanwilliam was chosen by the readers of the newspaper as ‘*Dorp van die jaar 2009*’ (see picture 4.3). Clanwilliam received the most votes because of its community projects and the variety in activities that can be done around the town: horse riding, walking- and hiking trails, donkey car tracks and water sport. Another advantage of the town, according to the newspaper, is that it is an affordable place to visit (*ibid.*). This free exposure for the town helps it to become more known by South Africans. During the months I spend in South Africa I tried to figure out what the role of Clanwilliam is in the local media. I read South African newspapers and travel magazines and watched South African television programmes. I also paid some visits to tourism offices in the Western Cape Province in Stellenbosch and Clanwilliam to collect tourism brochures. I was surprised to find tourist brochures from the Cederberg area in the Stellenbosch tourist office, because the focus is most of the time on towns that are situated on *the Gardenroute*. Especially during the weeks I was in Clanwilliam I regularly read something about the town in news papers like the *Cape Times*, the *Cape Argus* and *Die Burger*. This was especially in the weeks before the flower season would be at its peak moment, in spring time between the beginning of August and sometimes till the end of October, depending on when the rain season starts. Newspapers

started to show pictures with blooming flowers and to write stories about good flower-spot places. In my view a photo on the front page of the Cape Times with the subscription: “*Blooming marvellous: Flowers near Clanwilliam and along the West Coast are expected to bloom better than ever in a few week’s time, after the wet winter weather*” induce a lot of local people from around Cape Town to spend a day or more on watching wild flowers. The Afrikaans news paper Die Burger included an appendix some weeks before the flower season (July 26, 2010). All the main towns on the West Coast Flower route are described and the main activities, sights, accommodation and restaurants are mentioned. This is an effective way to reach and interest many people who read the Die Burger news paper to convince them to go out to experience the flowers by themselves. I asked Esther Steens at the beginning of August if she already received phone calls from people who inform about the flowers. She told me that already a lot of people informed where they could find the best flowers spots. An article in the South African travel magazine *Getaway* (Whitehead, 2010, pp. 48) is also a way to reach people outside the Cape Town region. All the necessary information for staying a few days in Clanwilliam is given. And colourful photos have to do the rest to convince the travellers to pay a visit to Clanwilliam. Another handy overview of all the towns in the West coast are grouped together in the *Smart Holidays* magazine (2010, n.d.). Roughly the region west of the line Hermanus and Vanrhynsdorp are described in the magazine. A short history of the different towns is given, some information about the climate and local hotspots and the contact information of local businesses and facilities. Again the flowers and the history of Clanwilliam are used as a marketing subject. The short stories are creating an image in the minds of the prospective visitors about Clanwilliam. This image can have an effect on the way the place Clanwilliam is made. This is what Rene van der Duim calls tourism-scapes (2005, p. 68). Both parties, the tourism sector and the tourists, do depend on each other on the way Clanwilliam is becoming known.

According to Stephanie Murrey (personal communication, July 2, 2010) it is very difficult to become well known in a broader public, because of the limited funds the tourism office in Clanwilliam can receive from the province. Tourism offices from towns like Stellenbosch and Hermanus receive much more funds and this extra money make it possible to present the towns on an international travel fair (*ibid.*). Often people who visit such an event, in for instance the Netherlands, are still planning the activities and destinations they want to undertake and see during their trip. And most of the people did not book their holiday yet. Clanwilliam is missing out in this domain. Especially local South Africans are within

reach for the tourism businesses in Clanwilliam, because it is relatively easy and cheap to inform them about the region.

### Conclusion

In this chapter I used the narratives of local inhabitants from Clanwilliam about their town. These people were not randomly chosen by me, but they had to be involved in the local tourism industry. I was surprised about some of the responses to my questions. For instance during the interview with the curator of the village museum. He works in one of the tourist attractors in Clanwilliam, but does not know exactly why the museum attracts visitors. I got the idea that the people I talked to do not see tourism as an important focus. Almost none of the people I interviewed have a educational background in tourism. So they are not the professionals in the field of tourism. The delivery of services to tourists and tourism as a business in general is more something people do next to another job, like farming. Some of the people I interviewed do not have the most enthusiastic nature and are not passionate enough about developing Clanwilliam as a vibrant tourism destination. Only during the two months in the year that the flowers are blooming, tourism is a big industry in the town. The B&B's are fully booked and people visit the tourism information to hear where the best flower spots are of that moment. The rest of the year tourism is almost non-existent and does not bring a lot of money to the town.

That the flower season is the most important tourism season in the region became clear in the brochures and magazines that I used for the marketing tool analysis. The flowers had the biggest share in the information about Clanwilliam and the Cederberg region, next to the historical spots and attractions. There is a broad focus field in the offer of activities, but next to the flowers there is not a strong alternative marketed. The projects I described in chapter three are not seen as a tourism attraction on their own by the locals I talked with. They mention the possibility to do a tour with the Living landscape, but not the fact that you support the community and the employees by making use of their services. I see some potential in this field. For instance the businesses that are started with the help of Red Door are unique, because they are initiated by locals. The affected people themselves decide what kind of business is necessary in their community.

I see a huge potential in the rock art sites in the region, but I do not see this represented in the brochures enough. The focus on the area around Clanwilliam is too limited and narrow, because of the lack in diversity of activities. Clanwilliam does not have a unique selling point in the region compared to the other towns in the region. They all offer kind of

the same activities and attractions. And this is the reason that there should be more cooperation between them to become a single and stronger brand than the crushed brand that is marketed now.

## Conclusion

In the previous chapters I answered my central question: *How is the making of Clanwilliam as touristic product constructed?* The place making of Clanwilliam was based on three local projects, tourism brochures about Clanwilliam and the surrounding area and on interviews I conducted in town with people that are involved in the tourism industry. The tourist product that Clanwilliam is, is formed by the three projects, and other attractions in town, like the village museum, small tourist serving businesses and the Rooibos factory. The three projects do organize activities that serve tourists, but are not seen by the locals as a tourist attraction on their own. They all have their own focus area depending on their field of knowledge and experience. The problem with the local businesses and projects is that they focus themselves too much on their own field of knowledge. Their focus area is reflected in the networks that are build between these businesses and projects. These networks are mainly horizontal relations, with partners in the same kind of businesses and field on knowledge. More efforts have to be made by the projects and local tourism initiatives to create informal social networks with local people who are also involved in the tourism industry but who are part of another network. ‘Additive’ networks with local and regional marketing organizations are also important to communicate the brand of the business to a bigger public. To apply Castells (see chapter one) to the situation in Clanwilliam: the higher the value of a project or an initiative the more this is reflected in the kind of network relations that are created. Because of the limited interest by tourists to visit Clanwilliam and for instance the projects, more cooperation between these networks is necessary to profit from other experiences and network relations. The projects can become more valuable then.

The tourism industry in Clanwilliam is based on an endogenous foundation, but with some ties to exogenous elements. In the first years after the start of a project like the Living Landscape, the focus of the network builder, in this case John Parkington, is on building a network with people he knew from his own field of expertise. These connections are not always with local people. The resources that originate from external sources are not always adapted enough to the local circumstances. This becomes visible in for instance the strong focus of the Living landscape on people with an interest in archaeology. In a place like Lasize in France that is worldwide known for its rock art, this is enough to attract people. In a town like Clanwilliam that can count on a minimal level of attention by tourists and marketing, this narrow focus is not enough to stay a viable place. More diversity is necessary to become

attractive to visit for a broader public. Diversity can be brought in by exogenous ideas. But sometimes the ties to exogenous ideas are so strong that endogenous initiatives are controlled and affected by them. This was the case with Betty Witbooy (see section 3.3). She did not initiate her plan to start a home stay in the coloured community, because the tourism bureau and people who have a big stake in the local tourism industry do not believe in the successfulness of her plan. Local people see possibilities to start their own business, but people or organizations outside the community do not believe in this locally initiated plan or do not see the need to develop the plan. Endogenous developments are in a way oppressed by the power of exogenous influences. These oppressors pass over Relph's (see chapter one) idea that human intentions and experiences can make a place. The place is created by making use of local resources. If the endogenous initiatives do not get the chance to be developed because they fall outside the regular scope of thought, it does not become clear if there is a need for this kind of development in the community or in the field of tourism. The discussion is not if development needs to have an endogenous background, but if endogenous initiatives receive the right to survive by exogenous developers and financiers.

Next to the flowers, the tourism industries in Clanwilliam do not have another strong field of focus. The projects that I described and the other initiatives that I mentioned in this thesis all have their own focus, but they do not cooperate in the marketing of these activities. Everyone is working and marketing on their own isolated island. Again the creation of 'additive' network relations can contribute to the cooperation between the tourism initiatives in branding the town as a single brand instead of a spectrum of brands. A project like the Living Landscape or the businesses that are initiated with the help of the Red Door Project can become a selling point of Clanwilliam and one of the attractions, if the focus is more on the fact that they are community based. The initiator and employees are people from the community and the profits flow back to these communities. This can appeal to tourists, because they can see where their money flows to. But even if the focus is on community-based tourism, this does not mean that no cooperation with networks outside this community is needed. A community like Wupperthal is too small and isolated to function on its own.

Because of a lack of trust in the success of Clanwilliam as a tourist product by the local inhabitants, the making of the place Clanwilliam has failed. It is not a place that attracts tourists just because the town on its own is attractive enough. During the two months of flower season, Clanwilliam is a tourism place. And the local people I interviewed see the opportunities this season offers to the economy of the town. The rest of the year the town is a space that has the facilities for tourists to stay over, but more because it is situated near the

Cederberg Wilderness Area or because people pass the town on their way to Namibia. A way to become a tourism place is when the town has a strong and unique brand that attracts the attention of visitors. The expectations of what tourists can see and get in Clanwilliam have to stroke better with what is actually offered to them. The tourism scape failed, because there is no clear idea what attracts tourists to Clanwilliam. And there is no clear idea of what Clanwilliam lacks in its offer. The question can be raised: for who is this failure a problem? Obviously not for the local people I spoke to. They often have another source of income and do not depend completely on the income they generate with offering services to tourists. For tourism organizations that do depend on tourists for money the problem is bigger. If the focus is on endogenous development, the community can decide if tourism is an industry that they want to develop. If not, than it is their right to decide to focus on other industries.

The case of Clanwilliam shows that tourism is not the panacea to improve the living circumstances in every town of South Africa. Only for some people tourism can be a way to improve their living circumstances. Especially the coloured community and in a lesser degree the black community have the main focus of projects initiated by some main network builders in Clanwilliam. These people receive education and job opportunities. But there is not enough work for all these people. The person who knows how to utilize his or her agency in the most effective way compared to the other people, survives in the end in the tourism industry. I see tourism as one way to develop a community, but it is in the case of Clanwilliam definitely not the only way.

### Recommendations

I conclude this thesis with some recommendations in case the local population wants to improve the tourism situation in Clanwilliam. First I suggest that the tourism office in Clanwilliam collects responses from tourists about their experience and opinion in the making of the place Clanwilliam. The office can circulate short questionnaires in B&B's, hotels, restaurants and other places that are used by and visited by tourists. The second advice is that projects and businesses in Clanwilliam should focus more on their interrelation than on their difference. They all have to deal with similar difficulties and circumstances and they can share this load when they work together and become involved and connected in networks that fall outside their own field of focus.

To receive more support for the development of tourism initiatives from the local community, it is important that these people are heard by people and organizations that work on a higher level. If a local person feels the need to develop an initiative like starting a courier

service and the business plan is well reasoned and written, they should receive some support from these organizations like the Red Door. Endogenous initiatives should receive the chance to manage their own right of making use of their agency. Next to support in writing the business plan, I see the need of other workshops that help the local people to strengthen their social position. For instance a course to learn some basic English words and sentences. Now Afrikaans is the most spoken language in Clanwilliam, while speaking some English is needed to communicate with tourists from overseas.

In the marketing of the town Clanwilliam cooperation and coordination is important. Now the different towns on the West Coast Region all market their own town, but they do not have something distinctive to offer. It is better when they bundle their powers and market the region as a whole and focus more on the diversity in the area. According to Hilary George this is one problematic point. *“Tourist offices have to see the bigger Westcoast structure”*. Now they are too much focussed on directing the tourists to attractions within their own municipal area, while within a short distance other attractions are within reach for tourists.

I suggest that the different tourism offices should focus on route tourism. To become a stronger ‘brand’ in the tourism industry, ‘Route tourism’ can be seen as an option to create sustainable travel and tourist markets (ECI Africa in Lourens, 2007, p. 475). Greffe (In Lourens, p. 475) defines this as *“an initiative to bring together a variety of activities under a unified theme and thus stimulate entrepreneurial opportunity through the development of ancillary products and services”*. A variety of terms is used to describe this kind of tourism. It is for example called a ‘trail’ when the distances between the different attractions is not far and can be reached on foot. When a car is necessary to visit the different places, the term ‘drive tourism’ is used (Lourens, p. 475). The concept of trails or heritage routes has been used all over the world. They are especially useful in rural areas. Routes offer opportunities for the creation of local development partnerships. These partnerships can for instance be in the field of food and drinks, like wine routes in Australia and South Africa. In South Africa are already some developments on the field of route tourism. The towns on the south coast are linked via the Gardenroute and in KwaZulu Natal the *Midlands Meander* has a core offering of arts and crafts and agricultural produced products. In South Africa route tourism is being actively developed to link together the tourism resources of a number of smaller centres and marketing them collectively as a single destination region (Briedenhann & Wickens, in Lourens, p. 476). I see the concept of route tourism as an opportunity for the region around Clanwilliam to develop to a stronger and better known destination. The Cederberg Area can for instance become the Rock Art route destination in South Africa.



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DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT & TOURISM  
DEPARTEMENT VAN EKONOMIESE ONTWIKKELING & TOERISME  
ISEBE LOPHULISO LWEZOQOQOSHO NEZOKHENKETHO

BENEFICIARY DATABASE (ATTENDANCE REGISTER)

Service/Intervention: <b>TOPS - TOURISM AWARENESS</b>	Budget:	Start date: <b>13/7/2010</b>	End date: <b>13/7/2010</b>
Implementing Agent: <b>HILARY GEORGE</b>		Venue: <b>REINHOLD'S RESTAURANT</b>	

Initial and Surname	ID Number	Other details								Signature
		Age	Gender	Race	Residential Address	Contact details	Education	Employment status		
M. L. Williams	6704130112080	43	Vroulik	Kleur	Kesbyslaan 9		Std. 6	Skaan maker	M. Williams	
B) P. J. W. W. W.	6107115239086	49	Man	Kleur	Kesbys 9		Gr. 12	N/A	P. J. W. W.	
B) M. M. Titus	8312190135086	29	Vroulik	Kleur	Suiterbos- lokom 01		Gr. 12	Kasier	M. Titus	
B) B. Simpson	4807240073084	62	Vroulik	Kleur	Kesbyslaan 2		Gr. 12	Tour guide	B. Simpson	
B) A. Kupp	6203070136089	48	Vrou	Afrikaner	Grootlaanpulei		B. Verpleegkunde	N/A	A. Kupp	
B) W. C. MANDEN	6402255519080	46	MAN	COLO	11 HEUNINGTEESTR		GR. 10	DRIVER	W. C. MANDEN	
S. KOOPMAN	77071135160086	33	MAN	COLO	KEURTSIE STRAAT		GR. 5		S. KOOPMAN	
C. van Nieuwen	5211080085085	58	Vroulik	blank	Center View		300 H/N Teacher	Tour guide	C. van Nieuwen	
L. Swartz	6308080133086	47	Vroulik	Kleur	Sipreslaan 6		Gr. 11	Werkloos	L. Swartz	
B) B. Wilton	5202010136080	58	V	Brown	Jakarandast. 4		STD 7	KOK	B. Wilton	



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Initial and Surname	ID Number	Other details							Signature
		Age	Gender	Race	Residential Address	Contact details	Education	Employment status	
(B) C. Fortuin.	8 Feb. 1990 90020816088	20	Vroulik	Kleur	Katjepleiering 5	[REDACTED]	Gr. 12	Toerisme kantoar	[Signature]
R. SEPTEMBER	360825012083	23	"	CID	BLOCK 11 VV - 25	[REDACTED]	"	ACTIVITY COORDINATOR	[Signature]
T. Swarts	8701090270088	23	"	Kleur	CACUSBIOMKON 9	[REDACTED]	"	OPVOEDER (ABET)	[Signature]
F. Lenns	7202130160088	38	"	Kleur	Kesbosl. 6	[REDACTED]	Gr. 12	OPVOEDER (ABET)	[Signature]
L. MCHILAMBO		25	"	Kleur	Kolosie, Str. 12	[REDACTED]	Gr. 12	Warter	[Signature]
K. Beukes	660829514088	44	Male	Kleur	Speerslaan 20	[REDACTED]	Gr. 8	N.D.P.W.	[Signature]
A. Coetzee		18	Vroulik		Lambrechtsingel	[REDACTED]	Gr. 12		[Signature]
E. Notten		27	Female	Kleur	perthreest 20	[REDACTED]	m. 20	Warter	[Signature]
(B) E.J. Beukes	8907130316086	28	Female	Kleur	Boetombon 20	[REDACTED]	Gr. 12	Tourguide (Field)	[Signature]
L. van Reenen	8208110072088	26	Woulik	Kleur	Oranjestraat 21	[REDACTED]	Gr. 12	Admin-beampte	[Signature]